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To cite this article: Ali R. Chaudhary & Luis Eduardo Guarnizo (2016): Pakistani immigrant organisational spaces in Toronto and New York City, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.2015.1126084](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1126084)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1126084>



Published online: 08 Jan 2016.



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Pakistani immigrant organisational spaces in Toronto and New York City

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how 'contexts of reception' in two migrant cities shape the organisational infrastructure for Pakistani immigrant communities in Toronto and New York City (NYC). Previous research is divided into two epistemic camps, one focusing on locally oriented organisations promoting settlement/incorporation and the other on transnational organisations—thus obscuring the relationships between these organisations. The present study transcends this division by examining how the combined effect of state policies, socioeconomic incorporation, community characteristics and societal attitudes shape the composition and geographical orientation of an immigrant group's collective organisational space—comprised of local and transnationally oriented organisations. Data come from a newly constructed database of Pakistani non-profit organisations based in Toronto and NYC and from qualitative research conducted in both cities. Contrary to our expectations and previous research, we find that state-sponsored multiculturalism in Toronto is not associated with a larger or more transnationally oriented organisational space. Rather, it is the affluence of the Pakistani community in NYC that is associated with the larger and more transnational of the two Pakistani organisational spaces. Findings also reveal tensions between local and transnationally oriented organisations in both cities, reflecting a growing fragmentation between affluent cosmopolitan immigrant elites and the impoverished segments of Toronto and NYC Pakistani communities.

KEYWORDS

Immigrant organisations;
non-profit organisations;
contexts of reception;
institutional completeness;
Pakistani immigrants;
transnational organisations;
Toronto; New York City

Introduction

International migration continues to transform the social, economic, and political landscapes of major metropolitan areas throughout the world (Foner et al. 2014). A growing body of scholarship examines how non-profit organisations located in receiving cities facilitate immigrant incorporation and cross-border transnational engagement between migrants' places of origin and settlement. Migrant organisations promote incorporation by providing access to social services, political engagement, and religious incorporation (Bloemraad 2005, 2006; Breton 2005, 2012; Cordero-Guzman 2005; De Graauw 2008; Levitt 2007; Min 2010; Moya 2005). They also foster and sustain transnationalism by

facilitating migrants' economic, political, and sociocultural engagement with their homelands (Lacroix 2011; Landolt and Goldring 2010; Portes and Smith 2012; Portes, Escobar, and Radford 2007; Smith 2006).¹

Existing literature largely focuses on how contextual conditions in receiving societies explain variation in the prevalence and development of migrant organisational infrastructures. However, previous research overemphasises the centrality of state policies at the expense of other contextual factors. Existing research is also split into two, apparently unrelated, epistemic, and empirical camps: one focused on the role of immigrant organisations in processes of settlement and incorporation and the other on their roles as transnational actors and agents of development in migrants' homelands.² This analytic separation between local and transnationally oriented immigrant organisations makes it difficult to uncover the dynamics and relationships between organisations with divergent geographic scopes of action.

In order to gain a better understanding of the contextual factors that shape immigrant groups' organisational infrastructure, research must move beyond state-centred analyses and overcome the epistemic division between local and transnational organisations. After all, immigrant organisations, whether working locally or transnationally and regardless of their domain of activity, are embedded in the same context of reception, belong to the same immigrant community, and thus form and occupy a collective social space. Using the case of Pakistani immigrants, this paper analyses how multilayered 'contexts of reception' including state policies, levels of socioeconomic incorporation, co-ethnic community characteristics, and the receiving society's attitudes towards Pakistani immigrants shape the size, programmatic focus, and geographic scope of the collective Pakistani *immigrant organisational space* (IOS) serving the Pakistani communities in Toronto and New York City (NYC).

Data come from an original database covering the universe of Pakistani non-profit organisations in Toronto and NYC and from an analysis of data gleaned from 84 in-depth interviews with organisation leaders, government officials, and key informants.³ Findings reveal significant differences in the size, heterogeneity or degree of institutional completeness, and geographic scope of Pakistani organisational spaces in Toronto and NYC. However, variations in the two IOSs are not explained by differences in state-centred factors such as immigrant incorporation policies and national membership ideologies. Rather, varying levels of socioeconomic attainment in the Pakistani immigrant communities across the two cities, coupled with each community's internal composition, seem to better explain these variations. The only common phenomena found in both cities are significant local tensions between the leadership of the locally focused settlement and incorporation organisations and the transnationally oriented organisations focusing on Pakistan.

Background

A well-established body of sociological research has demonstrated that not-for-profit organisations work as key meso-structural agents connecting individual citizens to larger sociopolitical and economic structures (Bloemraad 2006; Breton 1964, 2005; Marwell 2004). In addition, a growing literature within the field of international migration documents how contextual factors affect organisations facilitating migrants' settlement,

integration, and transnationalism. However, most existing research concentrates on a particular subset of organisations, thus creating an epistemic bi-polarity where studies focus either on locally oriented organisations associated with settlement and incorporation or transnational organisations facilitating engagement with migrants' places of origin (for an exception, see Gleeson and Bloemraad 2012). This epistemic fragmentation obscures the shared contextual environment inhabited by both local and transnationally oriented organisations. In addition, the concomitant empirical fragmentation makes it difficult to analyse the complete composition of a given migrant group's organisational infrastructure or relations between local and transnationally oriented organisations. The present study moves beyond this fragmentation by comparing the entire Pakistani IOS in each of the cities under study. By analysing all Pakistani migrant organisations, irrespective of their local or transnational orientation, we are able to analyse the overall geographic scope of the Pakistani immigrant organisational infrastructure and better understand the dynamics between local and transnational migrant organisations.

Immigrant organisational space

In order to analyse how a context shapes the complete organisational infrastructure serving the Pakistani immigrant communities in Toronto and NYC, this paper employs the concept of an IOS. The concept of 'organisational space' builds on research examining organisational fields (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Powell and DiMaggio 1991) and transnational social spaces (Faist 2000).⁴ It constitutes a heuristic tool to analyse the ecological environment in which organisations serving or representing an immigrant community are embedded. Analytically, IOSs encompass the dynamic set of relationships structuring the size (number of organisations), programmatic domain of action (social, economic, cultural, political, or religious), and geographic scope (local or transnational) of non-profit immigrant organisations. IOSs should not be equated with the geographic spaces in which they are located, for they are formed by a diverse array of organisations engaged at different scales (local, national, and international). Yet, for the present analysis, the boundaries of Pakistani IOSs are limited to the metropolitan areas where they are located—that is, Toronto and NYC. IOSs have a complex geometry shaped by the overall size of the organisations' infrastructure, their programmatic focus, and their level of influence and sociopolitical recognition (i.e. status) in the immigrant community and receiving society.⁵

The Pakistani IOS is the universe of not-for-profit, Pakistani-led organisations in metropolitan Toronto or NYC offering services to or representing the Pakistani migrant community in each city. Given the variations across the organisational environments, as well as the ethno-national, religious, historical, and geographical boundaries in which the two Pakistani IOSs are embedded, this study investigates the extent of variance in their size, programmatic domain of action, and overall geographic scope.

Contexts of reception and immigrant organisations

Portes and Rumbaut ([1996] 2006) explain how migrants' modes of incorporation are shaped in part by contexts of reception. Four dimensions form these contexts including: state-centred policies of the host government; migrants' socioeconomic

incorporation into the labour market; community socio-demographics; and the perceptions the dominant society has of the immigrant group. The unanimous consensus seems to be that the legal, cultural, economic, and social conditions immigrants encounter upon arrival greatly shape their fate in their new homelands (Castles 2000; De Haas 2010; Portes and Böröcz 1989; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). However, such contexts are not absolute conditions that equally affect each and every immigrant group in the same way. Moreover, contextual conditions of reception have significant effects not only on individual immigrants' socioeconomic incorporation (Bauer, Lofstrom, and Zimmerman 2001; Boswell 2003; Brubaker 2010; Geddes 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2006), but also on their likelihood to remain transnationally engaged with their homelands (Guarnizo and Chaudhary 2014; Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003). Recent research on the prevalence and effectiveness of immigrant organisations examines how contextual conditions in the host society affect immigrants' organisational capacity (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). Each of the four dimensions of the context-of-reception framework may help explain variations between the Pakistani IOSs in Toronto and NYC.

State-centred policies

Existing research on immigrant organisations documents how the contextual environments shaped by state policies partially explain the size and composition of a given migrant group's organisational infrastructure. Structural and institutional contexts 'from above' seem to equally impact not only organisations providing services to local immigrant communities (Bloemraad 2005, 2006; Breton 1964; Schrover 2006), but also those supporting transnational endeavours (Lacroix 2011; Portes, Escobar, and Radford 2007; Portes and Zhou 2011; Smith and Bakker 2008). The state policies and associated narratives of national membership relevant for the present analysis are the official state-sponsored multiculturalism observed in Canada and the more *laissez-faire* assimilationist approach of the US (see Bloemraad 2005, 2006 for a similar comparison of US and Canadian state policy).

Different state policies may explain how migrants from the same country of origin experience divergent levels of incorporation, civic participation and organisational capacity in different host countries (Bloemraad and Wright 2014; Koopmans et al. 2005). For instance, Bloemraad's (2005) comparative research on Vietnamese and Portuguese immigrant organisations in Toronto and Boston finds that the Canadian government's official multiculturalist policies, which are considered the most inclusive state-sponsored approach to immigrants among all Western liberal democracies (see Kymlicka 1995), offer symbolic and material support to immigrant organisations. Bloemraad (2005) argues the Canadian approach explains why there is more immigrant organisational capacity between these two groups in Canada than in the US.

Indeed, the US does not have a comparable government policy for immigrant integration. While NYC may be considered multicultural in a demographic sense, like other US immigrant gateway cities with high levels of ethnic diversity, it does not have official policies or a philosophy akin to state-sponsored multiculturalism (see Bloemraad and Wright 2014; Wright and Bloemraad 2012).⁶ In contrast to Canada, in the US, the century-old model of assimilation continues to be the dominant national ideology advocated by the government, politicians, and US-based immigration researchers (Kivisto and

Faist 2010). The latter generally employ assimilationist models, which under-theorise the role of the state by focusing exclusively on individual attributes such as human capital and sociocultural distance between newcomers and the dominant society (Chaudhary 2015a; Waters and Jimenez 2005).

Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) argue that in addition to government policies, the size of an immigrant community is a key factor in explaining the focus and stability of immigrant organisations. However, they add, the relationship between state intervention and group size is not linear. Somewhat contradicting Bloemraad's (2005) argument, they contend that too much state intervention leads to reduced organisational activity. Similarly, communities that are either too small or too large experience problems in maintaining stable organisations.

Evidently, there is not a clear consensus on which national approach, the *laissez-faire* 'assimilationist' or the state-sponsored 'multiculturalist', is more conducive to promoting the organisational capabilities of immigrants. Yet, the view that multicultural nations exhibit higher organisational membership and political participation among immigrants than non-multicultural nations seems predominant with respect to North America (Bloemraad 2005, 2006; Breton 2012; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010; Wright and Bloemraad 2012). Following Bloemraad's (2005) argument, it is hypothesised that:

H1-A: Because of the official multicultural context of reception, the Pakistani organisational space in Toronto is proportionally larger than that in NYC.

H1-B: Because of the official multicultural context of reception, the Pakistani organisational space in Toronto is more organisationally diverse than that in NYC.

While previous research on immigrant organisations offers insights into how state-centred contexts of reception may affect the size and diversity of an immigrant group's organisational space, the literature reviewed thus far does not explain how they might be associated with the geographic scope of an IOS. To what extent are state-sponsored multiculturalism or *laissez-faire* assimilationism more or less likely to be associated with a transnational orientation? The vast literature on transnational communities and diasporas assumes migrants are more likely to be motivated to engage in the social, economic, and political issues of their homelands in receiving societies with commitments to the acceptance of cultural differences (see Koopmans et al. 2005, 127). In other words, state-sponsored multiculturalism in societies such as Canada or Sweden may enhance a migrant community's transnational connections to their homelands (Akesson 2011). Similarly, research examining criticism of state-sponsored multiculturalism in the case of Canada finds that migrant communities may be more likely to engage in what critics refer to as 'unhealthy' transnational engagement due to their split loyalties and the weakening of a national identity (Satzewich 2007).

In their analysis of transnational 'claims-making', Koopmans et al. (2005) find that migrants' transnational activities are more frequent in countries without official policies of multiculturalism such as Germany and Switzerland—challenging the notion that such policies are associated with greater transnational engagement. In contrast, Akesson (2011) finds that multiculturalism in Sweden encourages transnational family relations among second-generation Swedish-Cape Verdeans. In brief, there is no consensus on whether state-sponsored multiculturalism increases or decreases transnational activities.

However, based on the viewpoints of both proponents and opponents of official multiculturalism, it is expected that:

H1-C: Because of the official multicultural context of reception, the Pakistani organisational space in Toronto is more transnationally oriented than that in NYC.

Finally, as discussed above, recent studies have demonstrated that immigrants' degree of legal incorporation into the receiving polity plays a crucial role in predicting their organisational capabilities. Smith and Bakker (2008), for example, concluded that the leadership of the transnational organisations they studied 'is largely the domain of migrants who have established an economic foothold in the United States and acquired US citizenship, rather than the domain of the poor and undocumented' (208). It is plausible then to expect that for Pakistani communities:

H1-D: The higher the proportion of naturalised Pakistani citizens, the greater the proportion of transnational organisations in the Pakistani organisational space.

It is important to notice, however, that most of these studies limit the meaning of the context of reception to the receiving society's state policies and national membership ideology. This analytical approach undoubtedly has significant shortcomings, for, as Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) have rightly indicated, it neglects or minimises the other critical contextual dimensions (i.e. the immigrant community's labour market incorporation and resources and the dominant society's perception of the newcomers) that help shape immigrants' capacity to construct an organisational space.

Socioeconomic incorporation

The second contextual dimension shaping immigrants' mode of incorporation and, thus, their organisational capabilities is the condition of the labour market and their participation in it. Immigrants' individual human capital and marketable skills to a great extent determine their socioeconomic fate. Civic leadership, both at the local and transnational levels, more often than not emerges from the ranks of the better off (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). This pattern has been found among different immigrant groups in the US (Portes, Escobar, and Radford 2007; Smith and Bakker 2008). Thus, it is plausible to expect that the better off the group is, the more likely it is to have a higher organisational capability—that is, a larger organisational space.

However, half a century ago, renowned Canadian sociologist Breton (1964) argued that the opposite was true; that is, the larger the proportion of poor people among an immigrant group, the more likely the group will be to have a large and diverse set of organisations. This conclusion, based on his study of thirty immigrant groups in Montreal before the official adoption of multiculturalist policies, was informed by the logic of increasing needs, rather than that of increasing resources, as more recent scholarship has shown in the case of the US. As Breton puts it:

If a large proportion of the members of an ethnic group have few resources of their own, as indicated for instance in rural origin and lack of occupational skills, then there is in this ethnic group an important 'clientele' to support welfare and mutual benefit organizations.

Accordingly, unmet group needs represent an opportunity that a 'social entrepreneur' will seize by organising 'something for the new immigrants in need'. Indeed, in his study he found 'a strong positive relationship [...] between the proportion of manual workers in an ethnic group and the degree of institutional completeness of that group' (Breton 1964, 204).

By *institutional completeness* Breton (1964) refers to the relative ability of the immigrant community's organisations to provide all the services required by their members for everyday life. As such, institutional completeness ranges from zero immigrant organisations to a set of organisations able to provide education, religious services, health care, work, and so forth. Of course, absolute institutional completeness is an ideal type that cannot be found in reality. However, Breton's central analytical point is that the higher the degree of social isolation and alienation of the immigrant group within the receiving society, the higher its degree of institutional completeness. This conclusion is the antipode of that presented by contemporary analysts of locally focused immigrant organisations, as discussed in the last section.

In order to test these contradictory arguments regarding the meaning of immigrant groups' institutional completeness, or organisational capacity, it is essential to include, in addition to state policies and membership principles, measurements of the group's socioeconomic attainment in its place of settlement. Therefore, it is hypothesised that, comparing the Pakistani communities in Toronto and NYC:

H2-A: The higher the average human capital of the local Pakistani community, the larger its total organisational space.

H2-B: The higher the median income of the local Pakistani community, the higher the proportion of transnational organisations.

H2-C: The higher the poverty rate among Pakistanis, the higher the degree of local institutional completeness.

Immigrant community

Social research indicates that an immigrant community's size, resources, and relative newness are significant factors molding its ability to organise and determining the viability of its immigrant organisations. Yet, the direction and meaning of such relationships are still in dispute. Scholars agree that the larger the community, the larger the number of potential members and clients that immigrant organisations would have—even heeding Schrover and Vermeulen's (2005) argument that there is a non-linear relationship between group size and organisational capacity. Based on these arguments, and keeping in mind that the Pakistani population in Toronto is much larger (Table 1) than that in NYC, it is hypothesised that, again:

H3-A: The Pakistani organisational space in Toronto is larger than that in NYC due to the larger size of the Pakistani community.

In addition, time since arrival appears to play a significant role in the group's organisational capability. Echoing Breton's (1964) argument, Bloemraad (2005, 881) argues that newer immigrants 'have a greater need for settlement and social services than an older immigrant group'. Therefore, newer immigrants are more likely to build organisations than older ones. We should thus expect that:

H3-B: The larger the proportion of recent Pakistani arrivals, the larger the local Pakistani organisational space.

Dominant society

Finally, perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants by the larger host society are an essential part of the newcomers' context of reception (Portes and Rumbaut [1996] 2006). The host society's hostility towards outsiders can affect how and where immigrants settle and what kinds of jobs and opportunities are made available to them. Depending on the host society's perception of the new entrants, immigrants may face more discrimination than others based on the colour of their skin, their country of origin, or their religion. In some cases, the negatively perceived characteristics may be exacerbated by the group's size. Zolberg and Woon (1999) contend that the size and visibility of the Mexican immigrant community in the US results in more discrimination and hostility than is experienced by other groups; two years before the 11 September 2001, attacks, their paper argued that Muslim immigrants in Europe were facing similar prejudice for the same reasons.

World events can also shift societal attitudes towards particular groups of immigrants. In the wake of 9/11, most Western countries introduced new policies restricting immigration from Muslim countries, while in countries like the US, where Arabs and Muslims used to be 'invisible', they overnight became subject to close scrutiny and stigmatised as potential terrorists (Cainkar 2002; Cesari 2010; Jamal and Naber 2008; Peek 2011; Tirman 2004). Due to the 9/11 attacks and the intensity of the anti-Muslim backlash in NYC, there seems to be more hostility directed towards Pakistanis in NYC than in Toronto. How might such hostility affect the programmatic focus or spatial scope of Pakistanis' organisations in NYC? Breton (1964) offers an appealing answer to this question. He contends that sociocultural characteristics that differentiate an immigrant group from the host society lead to difficulty of acceptance and reduced socioeconomic mobility of immigrants and thus 'constitute the basis for the formation of a clientele [...] for ethnic organizations'. He further argues that 'This is particularly true—or perhaps only true—when the differentiating features are negatively evaluated by the native community' (204). Breton's reasoning leads us to hypothesise that:

H4-A: Because of the hostility directed towards Pakistanis following the 9/11 attacks, the Pakistani organisational space in NYC is significantly larger than that in Toronto.

Group selection—Pakistani immigrants

Despite their growing significance, Pakistani immigrants represent a relatively understudied ethnic group in North America. This is especially surprising given increasing scholarship on Muslims in the West and the fact that Pakistanis comprise the largest Muslim immigrant community in North America.⁷ During the past decade a handful of studies examining the lived experiences of the North American Pakistani community have emerged. Yet, much of this research is limited to issues of identity and how Pakistanis respond to the post-9/11 hostile environment in their day to day lives (Ameeriar 2012; Rana 2011; Maira 2004, 2009; Mohammad-Arif 2009). Very few studies examine how

the 'war-on-terror' environment has affected organisational spaces of Pakistanis in North America (for an exception see Najam 2006).⁸

Large scale Pakistani migration to North America began in the 1970s.⁹ Historically, most Pakistanis identify themselves as Muslims, both in Pakistan and abroad (Bolognani and Lyon 2011; Mohammad-Arif 2009). The first waves of Pakistani migrants to North America were high-skilled professionals such as doctors, scientists, entrepreneurs, and students. Subsequent waves throughout the 1980s and 1990s represented a more diverse range of migrants, including professionals as well as low-skilled migrants reuniting with family members. By the 1990s, the Pakistani migrant communities in Canada and the US were experiencing divergent levels of incorporation.

Site selection

Both Toronto and NYC are paradigmatic symbols of the immigrant-rooted national narratives of their respective countries, with long traditions of serving as gateways to North America and facilitating the incorporation of countless immigrant groups. These two metropolises are home to the largest Pakistani immigrant communities in Canada and the US, respectively (2006 Canadian Census; 2013 US Current Population Survey). Historically, however, the two cities diverge with respect to their national and local state policies of immigrant integration and their local contextual environments—particularly since the 9/11 attacks.

Following 9/11, NYC simultaneously became the symbolic epicentre of the moral panic surrounding international terrorism and the focal point of US domestic counter-terrorism policies and practices (Apuzzo and Goldman 2013; Nguyen 2005). The Pakistani community experienced first-hand the effects of counter-terrorism-inspired enforcement, including unpleasant encounters in a variety of everyday experiences (see Das Gupta 2006; Nguyen 2005). Hundreds of Pakistani migrants were rounded up, detained and eventually deported due to minor immigration violations in the two years following the 2001 attacks (Mohammad-Arif 2009; Nguyen 2005). Recent journalistic investigations have also revealed the New York Police Department's widespread covert surveillance programme targeting public meeting places frequented by Pakistani migrants, such as cafes and mosques, as part of numerous investigations seeking to uncover potential 'homegrown' terrorists (Apuzzo and Goldman 2013; Greenberg 2012). The Pakistani community and its organisations soon found themselves experiencing a collective fear, alienation and precariousness related to the growing stigma linking Pakistanis with religious extremism and terrorism (Mohammad-Arif 2009; Najam 2006; Nguyen 2005).

Meanwhile, Toronto, and Canada in general, lack direct experiences with terrorism on the massive scale of 9/11. As the metropolitan symbol of Canada's official policies of multiculturalism, Toronto projects a model of acceptance and inclusion that appears to contradict the exclusionary politics and policies associated with post-9/11 NYC. Yet, the global scope of the US-led 'war on terror' contributes to an increasing use of surveillance and negative media stereotyping directed towards Islamic extremism within Canadian society (Steuter and Wills 2009). This has lately contributed to the emergence of stigma directed towards Pakistanis and Muslims in general within Canadian society (Ameeriari 2012; Kazemipur 2014), albeit not yet quite to the levels experienced and documented in NYC and the US (Chaudhary 2015b).

Data and methodology

Data were collected in two phases over an 11-month period in 2013. The first phase sought to determine the size, composition, and spatial scope of the Pakistani IOSs in metropolitan Toronto and NYC. In order to do so, a new database consisting of the universe of registered Pakistani immigrant-serving non-profit organisations was constructed using national databases of non-profit organisations in each metropolitan area. This data collection strategy replicates that of previous studies by relying on comprehensive databases such as the U.N. Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations, *Associations Unlimited* (previously *The Encyclopedia of Associations*) and *GuideStar* (see Lacroix 2011; Okamoto 2006; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008 for examples using these same sources). Organisations that are Pakistani or serve the Pakistani community were identified by searching for organisations with Pakistani, Muslim/Islamic or South Asian identities. In the case of Muslim and South Asian organisations, each organisation was closely examined and included only if it did in fact represent or offer services to Pakistanis.

It should be noted that large databases such as the ones used here are notorious for undercounting immigrant organisations. To correct for possible undercounts, supplemental information about Pakistani organisations in each city was collected through in-depth interviews with key informants, consultation of ethnic directories and media, and intensive web searches. While it is possible that the databases used here could have missed some organisations, such sub-enumeration is surely minimal in both cities. Any missed organisations would most likely be very few, very small and informal; thus, their exclusion does not significantly affect our findings.

The overall number of organisations in each organisational space is used to measure its size. Counts of organisations are a conventional approach used in previous research on immigrant and ethnic organisational density or capacity—especially when membership or financial information is not available or accessible (see Bloemraad 2005; Breton 1964). In addition, counts of organisations are a better proxy than organisational membership numbers because many immigrant and ethnic organisations do not have traditional memberships. The non-membership associational form is especially common in the US (see Johnson 2014), making counts the only reliable way to compare the overall size and organisational capacity between the US and Canada. Once the main list was constructed, each organisation was coded and categorised according to its year of foundation, programmatic domain of action (social services, advocacy/politics, economic development, culture, or religion) and geographic scope of services/activities (local or transnational). This database provides the core evidential information to compare the Pakistani organisational spaces in the two cities.

The second phase was designed to gather first-hand qualitative information on the inner working conditions, everyday experiences, and general landscape of the Pakistani organisational space in each metropolitan area. It consisted of 84 in-depth interviews with organisation leaders and executives, government officials, community leaders, and key informants, including scholars and non-Pakistani local residents who could provide information about the target population and their organisations. Organisation leaders and executives were selected using a stratified random sample of organisations in each metropolitan area drawn from the complete database of organisations, in order to

reduce possible homogeneity among the interview respondents. The local universe of organisations was stratified according to main domain of action and assigned unique identifiers. Random samples were then drawn within each domain. The first organisation in the random list was contacted to set up an interview. In cases when the selected organisation did not respond to three attempts at contact, the organisation was removed and the second organisation in the random list was contacted. In general, contact was made by the third attempt, yielding a response rate of 73%.

All interviews were conducted in English and lasted an average of 1.5 hours, with some of them lasting as little as 45 minutes and others as long as 3 hours. In addition to the in-depth interviews, the first author conducted over 200 hours of observation in Toronto and NYC, attending organisation sponsored events and meetings in order to gain a first-hand perception of the dynamics within each organisational space—paying particular attention to inter- and intra-organisational relations, as well as relations between organisations and the local community.

Results

Comparing immigrant communities

The Pakistani communities in Toronto and NYC share some striking similarities in their sociodemographic characteristics, but dramatically differ in their socioeconomic mode of incorporation. As data in [Table 1](#) indicate, although the Pakistani population in Toronto is 2.5 times as large as that in NYC, the populations have a similar gender composition (47.5% and 45.4% women, respectively), an identical median household size (four members), and very high levels of homeownership and human capital. Indeed, while the proportion of Pakistani New Yorkers holding at least a college degree is five percentage points higher than that of Pakistanis in Toronto (47.4% vs. 42.3%), these proportions of highly educated Pakistanis are substantially higher than those of the general population in each city (32.0% in NYC and 26.8% in Toronto). Evidently, this is a very select group, not only in relation to the receiving societies, but most especially in relation to Pakistan, a country that according to UNESCO has some of the worst education indicators globally and ranks 113 out of 120 countries in the Education Development Index (UNESCO 2012). Pakistani immigrants in both cities have also relatively high levels of labour force participation (66.8% in Toronto and 60.0% in NYC), very close to those of the local general population (68.1% and 61.7% in Toronto and NYC, respectively). But it is here where the similarities end, for the paths of socioeconomic incorporation of the two immigrant populations take them in sharply different directions.

Despite their similarly high levels of human capital and labour force participation, and notwithstanding Toronto's officially welcoming multicultural environment, Pakistanis in Toronto appear to fare far worse than both their co-nationals in the Big Apple and the Toronto population as a whole. In Toronto, Pakistanis' median per capita income is just 85% that of their co-nationals in NYC and just 48% that of the Toronto population (see [Table 1](#)). Meanwhile, Pakistani New Yorkers' median per capita income is 89% that of NYC as a whole. These differences appear more acute when we look at median household income, which is a better indicator of a group's economic attainment. Pakistanis in New York basically earn the same median household income as New Yorkers in

general (US\$68,000), while those in Toronto earn around two-thirds of the median household income of Toronto as a whole (approximately US\$52,000).

The unequal economic rewards that Pakistanis receive for their high human capital are reflected in the startlingly different socioeconomic conditions they experience in the two metropolises. While those in NYC have a poverty rate slightly higher than the general population's (14.4% versus 13.6%), a staggering 40% of their Toronto counterparts live in poverty, more than twice the total rate for Toronto (see Table 1). It is worth emphasising here that Pakistanis in Toronto experience such a high rate of poverty despite their higher labour force participation and lower unemployment rate than their counterparts in NYC.¹⁰ This suggests their high poverty rate is not because of a lack of economic participation or lack of employment, but because they earn too little for their labours—a result of either labour force mismatch (i.e. being underemployed and thus underpaid vis-à-vis their high qualifications) or labour market discrimination. An alternative explanation could be their relatively recent period of arrival, for nearly one-fourth of the Pakistanis in Toronto arrived after 2001, while just around one-sixth of Pakistanis in New York have arrived since that year. Determining the factors shaping this process is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, what the evidence presented reveals is that, contrary to our initial expectations, Toronto's officially multicultural environment appears less inclusive in socioeconomic terms than assimilationist NYC.

Notwithstanding these aggregate differences, direct observations for this study, as well as results from previous research, indicate that the Pakistani community in both cities is

Table 1. Characteristics of foreign-born Pakistanis in the greater Toronto area and New York City.

	Greater Toronto area		Metropolitan New York area	
	FB Pakistanis	Canadian population	FB Pakistanis	US population
Total population ^a	97,070	2,576,025	40,039	8,336,697
Female (%)	47.5	51.9	45.4	53.9
Less than high school (%)	14.1	19.7	15.4	20.0
High school diploma (%)	23.3	25.5	25.8	26.5
College degree or higher (%)	42.3	26.8	47.4	32.0
Labour force participation (%)	66.8	68.1	60.0	61.7
Unemployment rate	4.39	4.51	8.62	8.03
Median total income per capita	12,000	25,000	14,000	20,282
Median total household income ^b	50 to 54,000	75 to 79,999	68,035	68,625
Low income/below poverty ^c	39.7	17.4	14.4	13.6
Median household size	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00
Homeownership	62.0	73.6	61.9	54.7
Naturalised ^d	60.8	74.4	67.0	47.4
Proportion arrived after 2001 ^e	26.8	–	15.7	–

^aTotal population estimates for foreign-born Pakistanis over the age of 15 are taken from the 2011 Canadian National Household Survey and the 2012 American Community Survey.

^bThe 2006 Canadian Census only provides ranges of household income. The 2009–2013 CPS provides specific estimates of household income.

^cThe Canadian 'low income' measure reports the proportion of individuals who self-identify as members of a low-income family. The US measure indicates the proportion of individuals with incomes below the official poverty line.

^dThe proportion of naturalised citizens is calculated among foreign-born Pakistanis and the total foreign-born populations in Toronto and NYC.

^eThis measure represents the proportion of the foreign-born Pakistani population that arrived in Toronto and NYC since the year 2000.

Source: 2006 Canadian Census and US March Current Population Survey 3-year Pooled Cross-Section Sample (2009–2013). Data are restricted to Foreign-Born Pakistanis over the age of 15 residing in the metropolitan statistical areas of Toronto and New York City. The NYC metropolitan statistical area includes Northern New Jersey and Long Island.

deeply fragmented between a small affluent professional class and a growing, impoverished working class toiling in the service sector as taxi drivers, retail clerks, petty merchants, and gas attendants. Such social fragmentation appears to be more acute in Toronto than in NYC (Fieldwork notes; Das Gupta 2006; Mohammad-Arif 2002, 2009). It is in these disparate and stratified socioeconomic conditions that these Pakistani populations have managed to construct diverse and vibrant, albeit very different, organisational spaces.

Comparing IOSs

Neither a supportive state multicultural context, nor group size nor human capital resources seem to work in favour of Pakistanis in Toronto vis-à-vis Pakistani New Yorkers regarding their organisational capacity. As Table 2 shows, the Pakistani IOS in Toronto has fewer organisations in absolute and relative terms than that in NYC. The total number of immigrant organisations in Toronto (54) represents just three-fourths of the number in NYC (71). Given the significant difference in the size of the two communities, the rate of organisations per thousand immigrants provides a more accurate comparison of the level of organisational capacity between the two spaces. Results, presented at the bottom of Table 2, show that the difference is surprisingly large; Pakistani New Yorkers have an organisation rate 3.2 times higher than their compatriots in Toronto (1.77 versus .56 organisations per thousand immigrants, respectively).

These results challenge hypothesis H1-A predicting that the organisational space would be larger in Toronto due to the more inclusive official multicultural context. Similarly, these findings refute hypothesis H3-A, which also predicted greater organisational capacity in Toronto due to the larger size of its Pakistani community, as well as hypothesis H3-B, according to which immigrants’ organisational capacity is positively related to the proportion of recent arrivals. This does not seem to be the case, since the proportion of recent arrivals (since 2001) in Toronto is higher than that in NYC. However, these results do lend support to hypothesis H4-A, which expects Pakistani New Yorkers to possess a larger organisational space than their co-nationals in Toronto as a result of the hostile post-9/11 environment they confront.

Table 2. Programmatic domain and scope of Pakistani non-profit organisations in Toronto and New York City.

Programmatic domain Geographic scope	Toronto				New York			
	Local		Transnational		Local		Transnational	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Social services	9	19.1	2	28.6	7	12.3	5	33.3
Advocacy/political	11	23.4	2	28.6	7	12.3	3	20.0
Economic	8	17.0	1	14.3	7	12.3	3	20.0
Cultural (non-religious)	9	19.1	2	28.6	5	8.8	2	13.3
Religious	10	21.3	0	0.0	31	54.4	2	13.3
Organisations per scope/city	47	100.0	7	100.0	57	100.0	15	100.0
Proportion per city (%)	87.0		13.0		79.2		20.8	
Total Organisations (N)	54				71			
Organisation Rate ^a			.56				1.77	

^aThe organisation rate refers to organisations per 1000 immigrants in each city.

Source: Database of Pakistani non-profit organisations in London, Toronto, and New York City (Chaudhary 2015b).

In sum, these initial results strongly suggest that, contrary to expectations drawn from previous studies, an active, inclusive multiculturalist state is not enough to promote immigrants' organisational infrastructure. So far, findings actually support the opposite, namely, that it is in the less engaged state-centred policy environment that Pakistani organisations seem to flourish—which is consistent with previous comparative research finding higher levels of civic engagement and claims-making in countries lacking official multiculturalism policies (Koopmans et al. 2005). This leads us then to inquire to what extent Pakistanis' socioeconomic resources affect the formation of organisational spaces.

At first glance, the differences in the organisational spaces between the two locations seem to be explained by the higher human capital in NYC, as described in hypothesis H2-A. While this is plausible, it could be argued that the difference in human capital (a mere 5% higher proportion of highly educated Pakistanis in NYC than in Toronto) cannot fully explain the gargantuan difference in organisational capacity (3 to 1) between the two cities. This leads us to look into another dimension of the Pakistani migratory experience.

Evidently, the strongest explanation for the Toronto-NYC organisational difference seems to be the disparate modes of incorporation Pakistanis experience in the two cities. As discussed earlier, Pakistanis in Toronto earn much lower individual and household median incomes, have very high rates of poverty, and tend to have less access to homeownership, the most important financial asset for average North American families. This situation, however, seems to have two different, contradictory effects. On the one hand, it limits the size of Toronto's organisational space. On the other hand, as predicted by hypothesis H2-C, and in accordance with Breton's (1964) expectation, a higher poverty level leads to a greater degree of institutional completeness within the organisational space.

Institutional completeness: diversity of programmatic domains

Results regarding the diversity of organisations (i.e. level of institutional completeness) in the two IOSs suggest Pakistani organisations are more evenly distributed across programmatic domains of action in Toronto than in NYC (see columns 1 and 3, Table 2). Indeed, the Toronto Pakistani organisational space contains roughly similar numbers of social, political, cultural, economic, and faith-based organisations. This confirms the predictions of hypothesis H1-B—that multiculturalism policies are associated with more organisational diversity. Findings also confirm hypothesis H2-C—that poorer immigrant communities are more likely to have a higher degree of institutional completeness. Incidentally, the proportion of secular organisations providing cultural services to Pakistanis in Toronto is twice as large as that in NYC, where cultural outfits represent the smallest proportion of organisations.

The organisational space in NYC is dominated by religious organisations, which represent over half of the total. In contrast, Toronto's organisational space is much more secular, with just one-fifth faith-based organisations (see Table 2). The apparent 'overrepresentation' of religious organisations in NYC should not be seen as surprising. Rather, what is surprising is the predominance of secular organisations in the Toronto organisational space, for multiple studies have documented the central role religious organisations have played in facilitating the settlement process of immigrants throughout North American history up to the present (Breton 2012; Hirschman 2004; see also Levitt 2007; Min

2010). It is highly plausible that the secularised organisational space of Toronto may be a result of the multiculturalism of Canada's and Toronto's government policies. Conversely, the lack of diversity within the NYC organisational space due to the dominance of religious organisations may be a result of the US and NYC governments' 'hands-off' approach to immigrants and immigrants' historical tendency to rely on religious organisations instead of the state to gain access to socioeconomic services.

Geographical scope

The vast majority of organisations forming the Pakistani organisational spaces in both Toronto and NYC are local service providers. Which organisational space contains the largest proportion of transnational Pakistani organisations? It was expected that Toronto would because of the inclusive, multicultural context (hypothesis H1-C). It was also expected that the city with Pakistani migrants with higher rates of naturalisation (H1-D) and a higher median income (hypothesis H2-B) would be the home of a more transnationally focused organisational space.

As [Table 2](#) shows, NYC's Pakistani organisational space is actually more transnational than Toronto's, with a full one-fifth transnational organisations, as compared to Toronto's one-eighth. This result refutes hypothesis H1-C. However, it lends support to hypotheses H1-D and H2-B, for NYC's Pakistani community has a higher median income and a higher naturalisation rate than its counterpart in Toronto. Again, keeping in mind the different contexts of reception, it is plausible to conclude that the spatial scope of Pakistani organisational spaces is mostly shaped by immigrants' mode of incorporation, rather than by state policies and ideologies of national inclusion. Contrary to expectations, the material and symbolic support of state multiculturalism appears to stymie rather than encourage the formation of transnational organisations, while enhancing organisations aiding with local incorporation processes. Conversely, organised transnational activism seems more likely to develop in a context of reception in which the state refrains, for the most part, from aiding immigrants.

Internal dynamics and tensions

The interaction between state policies and immigrants' modes of incorporation is further substantiated by data gleaned through interviews with Pakistani organisation leaders. The perceptions and socioeconomic polarisation within the two Pakistani communities are reflected in tensions observed between the leaders of local and transnationally oriented organisations in both Toronto and NYC. The strategies adopted by local and transnational organisations are interrelated as they are embedded in the same structural contexts that also include the receiving state's interest in their homeland. This is nicely captured in the comments provided by a leader of a transnational Pakistani charity in Toronto, who, when asked about his organisation's source of funding, explained:

We have to rely on donations from the community for our work in Pakistan. You see, these big social service organizations get all of the grants. You get a few Pakistanis or South Asians together and make a Board. Then you get [official] non-profit or charity status and make sure your mission is about integration. That's it! Then you can get all of the government grants for multiculturalism. But for us? We don't get those funds. We want to help poor villages in

Pakistan and help improve our homeland. There is no government help for us. The aid money the government gives goes to big NGOs who are in cahoots with the UN. It'd be easier to throw a bunch of dances, or have a big dinner, then we could get grants and say we are doing multiculturalism.

These comments reflect common, albeit unfounded, beliefs among transnational organisation leaders in Toronto that integration focused organisations are obtaining large grants through official multiculturalism programmes. While the symbolic support offered by state policies and programmes associated with official multiculturalism may tend to favour locally oriented organisations, there was little evidence that integration organisations were recipients of major government funding schemes.

If the lower proportion of transnational organisations in Toronto can be explained by the Canadian state's multicultural intervention, perhaps the higher proportion of transnational organisations in NYC could be explained by the state's lack of action. However, a closer analysis reveals the key role migrants' modes of incorporation play in the process. Funding for organisations in NYC is primarily a function of corporate and individual donations. Since the Pakistani community there is, on average, more affluent than that in Toronto, its transnational organisational space ends up being comprised of more organisations.

Evidently, transnational organisations are the exclusive domain of the better off in both cities. Observations indicate wealthy Pakistanis have many ties to transnational organisations promoting economic and social development in Pakistan. The better off can afford to participate in and co-sponsor transnational organisations to facilitate their personal, economic, political, or nationalist interests. The poor, even if they would like to, often cannot afford it—because of either lack of resources or lack of time due to the long working hours required to survive in North America. This finding coincides with what has been observed in the case of individual transnational political engagement (Guarnizo and Chaudhary 2014; Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003; Smith and Bakker 2008).

Disparate class origins and the uneven competition for scarce financial resources contribute to tensions between transnational and locally focused Pakistani organisations. Approximately 70% of the interviewees from organisations focusing on their respective local Pakistani communities expressed resentment towards the often larger and better funded transnational organisations. This sentiment is well captured in the remarks of a female director of a Pakistani social service organisation in New York:

Those rich Desi's just pretend like there are no problems here. The Imams do the same. They all want to send their money and volunteer their time to help poor people in Pakistan, but don't want to lift a finger to help Pakistanis suffering here in New York. Many of them act like big shots when they go back to Pakistan ... they'll say, 'look at all the good I have done for the country, show me some respect!' It's bad enough that the foundations and the city don't give us anything, but when you have these rich Pakistanis doing the same thing, it really hurts and shows you how divided the community is between the haves and have nots.

Similar frustrations with transnational organisations were also found among locally oriented Pakistani organisations in Toronto. As a member of the executive board of a Pakistani organisation working on housing issues in Toronto explained:

There is this myth that the government funds ethnic organizations in Canada, but it just isn't true. Every time we apply for a government grant, we never get it! We rely mainly on donations. But the big [transnational] Pakistani charities have lots of big shots working for them. They use their connections to bring famous singers from Pakistan or something and hold big events and raise like 20,000 dollars in one night. We don't get the same kind of people at our events because rich Pakistanis here don't want to be bothered about other Pakistanis struggling here. They just focus their resources on Pakistan because I think they feel guilty for everyone they left behind.

The comments above reflect how fund raising and donations pose practical challenges for all Pakistani organisations, regardless of their geographic scope of action. In general, the competition for scarce resources found in both the Toronto and New York Pakistani IOSs generated tensions between local and transnationally oriented organisations, reflecting the growing class polarisation within both communities.

Discussion and conclusions

Drawing on key perspectives from existing research, this study examined how multi-layered contexts of reception shape the overall size, institutional completeness and geographic scope of Pakistani organisational spaces in Toronto and NYC. One of the most important findings is the counterintuitive effect of the context of reception on the size, diversity in programmatic action, and geographic scope of the organisational spaces. The inclusive state-sponsored multicultural context of reception associated with Toronto does not appear to be a strong positive factor promoting the formation of more organisations or organisational capacity, as previous studies have reported it to be. Conversely, a rather hostile post-9/11 context of reception ruled by a laissez-faire system of governance, coupled with successful socioeconomic incorporation, appears to have fostered the construction of a larger Pakistani IOS in NYC. In this sense, our results somewhat challenge Bloemraad's (2005, 2006) findings. However, our findings do not offer definitive evidence either for or against multiculturalism policies' being conducive to immigrants' organisational capacity. Rather, they suggest that particular opportunities and constraints associated with official multiculturalism policies may vary across different immigrant groups.

Another key finding concerns the importance of moving away from analyses that over-emphasise state policies in relation to immigrant organisations. Our findings indicate that the state's role by itself may not constitute a sufficient condition or explanatory factor for variation in size and composition across these two organisational spaces. Rather, the effects of state policies seem to be contingent on immigrants' mode of socioeconomic incorporation and internal social stratification. That is, a state-sponsored multicultural context of reception could prove insufficient to promote immigrant organisational capabilities *if* it is accompanied by an economic context that compensates immigrants' human capital unfairly. Conversely, the evidence suggests a labour market in which immigrants' human capital tends to be fairly rewarded may be associated with more organisational capacity and a more transnationally oriented organisational space, even if the immigrants encounter a hostile sociocultural reception.

It is very important to emphasise here that the particular composition of each Pakistani IOS could neither be attributed to nor explained solely by the community's social and

human resources, as if they were dis-embedded, 'independent' variables. For such resources are embedded in specific contexts of reception in which they are variously valued or devalued. This explains why Pakistani communities possessing very similar human capital characteristics ended up experiencing very different social conditions and having quite different organisational spaces in Toronto and NYC.

In this sense, the size and composition of IOSs are mostly shaped by immigrants' mode of incorporation. Immigrant organisational capacities do not depend just on the state's action or omission, but rather on the resources their mode of incorporation allows them to build and accumulate upon arriving. Immigrants' mode of incorporation has to do with the way in which their presence is dealt with by the receiving society, not only in terms of perception and acceptance, but also in terms of access to the socioeconomic rewards enjoyed by native-born citizens.

Findings suggest that, contrary to expectations; Canadian multiculturalism does not foster a more transnationally oriented Pakistani organisational space. At first glance, it appears that the official symbolic and material support provided by the government to immigrant organisations may constrain them from pursuing issues and activities that transcend national borders. Our findings are consistent with Koopmans et al. (2005) in that the more restrictive assimilationist context of reception in NYC is associated with a greater number of transnational organisations. The evidence collected leads us to propose that it is the intersection between immigrants' mode of incorporation and state policies that better explains the unequal distribution of transnational Pakistani organisations.

Alternatively, it could be argued that the absence of official multiculturalism and that the lack of interaction between NYC-based organisations and the state translates into more organisational autonomy—enabling organisations to pursue a transnational scope of action. However, such autonomy would never be possible to realise unless the Pakistani community accumulated enough disposable resources to finance transnational endeavours. State action or inaction by itself is not enough to spearhead IOSs, let alone organisations with a transnational scope.

IOSs are social spaces in which societal conditions are reproduced. As seen in the Pakistani case examined here, IOSs can also be conceived as arenas of both open and subtle power struggles and social tensions. These tensions, in turn, can have a strong impact on the size, composition and geographic scope of action of an IOS. This is especially apparent in regard to tensions between local and transnationally oriented Pakistani immigrant organisations. While processes of individual assimilation and transnationalism have been found to be complementary among Latin American migrants (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003), at the level of organisations, these same processes present a different dynamic and character, as organisations providing local incorporation services are perceived as diametrically opposed to those involved in transnational activities. Their antagonism is, in part, explained by the fact that the two types of organisations represent different social groups and interests within the same immigrant, qua ethnic, group. Moreover, both types of organisations are embedded in the same sociopolitical context, and thus inexorably end up competing for the same scarce resources in a process that irremediably exacerbates the original social divisions separating their leaders. Thus, Pakistani organisational spaces in Toronto and NYC reflect an assemblage of institutional policies, modes of immigrant incorporation and intra-group class polarisation.

Notes

1. This study uses the term non-profit organisations to refer to different types of immigrant organisations. While not all immigrant organisations have an official non-profit status, those used in this study are all registered non-profits.
2. The terms immigrant and migrant are used interchangeably throughout the paper.
3. The data for this article come from a larger doctoral dissertation project carried out by the first author investigating the Pakistani immigrant non-profit sector in London, Toronto, and NYC (Chaudhary 2015b).
4. The concept of 'organisational field' within organisation studies is primarily concerned with the micro-level interactions and patterns of domination and coalition among a group of organisations whose institutionally defined behaviours draw the boundaries of their organisational field of action (Bourdieu 1992; Vaughn 2008). Similarly, the concept of 'transnational social space' seeks to identify the actors in a given place who engage in transnational behaviours that ultimately generate a space of action that lies between an immigrant community's country of origin and country of settlement. In contrast, our use of the concept 'organisational space' is motivated by our analytic focus on how contexts of reception in a given environment shape the composition of a non-profit sector.
5. We define the size of the Pakistani organisational space by number of organisations. While alternative interpretations of organisational density or size could rely on numbers of members, we rely on the number of organisations because many non-profit organisations use a non-membership model (Johnson 2014) and we do not have complete data on membership rolls for the majority of organisations in the database. As a result, we follow conventions in previous research by using a count of the number of organisations to measure the overall size of the organisational space.
6. We do not use 'assimilationist' and 'multiculturalism' in a normative sense, but to refer to the official government policy discourses related to immigrant incorporation. For a detailed discussion of the different interpretations of multiculturalism see Bloemraad and Wright (2014).
7. According to the PEW Research Center's 2011 survey of American Muslims, foreign-born Pakistanis comprise the largest group of Muslims in the US. According to the 2006 Canadian census, Pakistanis are the largest foreign-born group self-identifying as Muslim in Canada.
8. It should be noted that Bakalian and Bozorgmehr (2009) study the effects of post-9/11 backlash on Muslim community-based organisations in the US. However, the study does not focus on any particular ethno-national groups or on a particular city.
9. The first Muslim migrants from the Indian subcontinent migrated to the west coast of Canada and the US in the late nineteenth century. Although the vast majority were Punjabi Sikhs, many were also Punjabi Muslims who were later categorised as Pakistanis following Independence and Partition in 1947 (Das Gupta 2006; Jensen 1988). The bulk of Pakistani migration to North America occurred in the 1970s following the liberalisation of US and Canadian immigration policies in the mid to late 1960s (see Mohammad-Arif 2002, 2009).
10. It should be noted that the poverty rate as calculated in the US data and the low income measure used in the Canadian census are not the same. The US value reflects the number of Pakistani immigrants with a total income below the official poverty line, while the Canadian data represent the proportion of Pakistani immigrants who are considered 'low income'. Yet in both cases these data reflect the overall economic incorporation of Pakistani immigrants relative to the total populations in the two cities.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Irene Bloemraad, Fred Block and the editors at JEMS for their helpful comments and suggestions. Earlier versions of this paper were presented in the 2014 at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, the Fifth Annual University of California Conference on International Migration held at the Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies-UCSD and the University of Oxford.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

Funding for this research came from a doctoral research grant awarded by the University of California Center for New Racial Studies and through a Dissertation-Year Fellowship awarded by the University of California, Davis Office of Graduate Studies. Additional support came from the UC Davis Departments of Sociology and Human Ecology.

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