Members of the Sikh Community Remember the Victims of 9/11 AP Photo/Prakash Hatvalne

"We Are Americans Too"

A Comparative Study of the Effects of 9/11 on South Asian Communities

A Report by June Han • Discrimination and National Security Initiative
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Discrimination and National Security Initiative (DNSI)

The goals of the project are (1) to chronicle the mistreatment of minority communities during times of military action and national crisis in an informational repository, and (2) to present the human consequences of this mistreatment from the perspective of these communities.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. SUMMARY

South Asians are among the minority groups that have been targeted in the post-9/11 backlash.[1] The three individuals who were known to be murdered in retaliation for the 9/11 terrorist attacks, including Waqar Hasan, Balbir Singh Sodhi, and Vasudev Patel, were all of South Asian descent.[2] The South Asian American Leaders for Tomorrow (SAALT) documented 81 bias-motivated incidents against South Asians in the first week after 9/11.[3] The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (NAPALC) documented nearly 250 bias-motivated incidents against Asian Americans in the three-month period following September 11, 96 percent of which involved victims of South Asian descent.[4]

While South Asians have been targeted in the backlash, not all South Asian groups were impacted by 9/11 in the same way. Through the analysis of in-depth interview data, this report examines the effects of 9/11 on three different South Asian communities: Indian Hindus, Pakistani Muslims, and Sikhs of South Asian descent. In addition to examining the effects, this report also looks at the responses on the part of the three groups with regard to their identification and their political participation and mobilization.

9/11 affected Indian Hindus, Pakistani Muslims, and Sikhs in the sample in different ways. The Indian Hindu respondents were largely unaffected by the post-9/11 backlash. They were only affected to the extent that minority individuals with brown skin were targeted. Most Indian Hindu respondents (85 percent) indicated that they did not feel afraid for their physical safety, and the majority (76 percent) said that they were unaffected by either hate crimes or hate incidents after 9/11.[5] Some respondents (32 percent) mentioned incidents in which they believed they were victims of racial profiling, mostly in the form of airport profiling.[6] None of the respondents were subject to detention or deportation, nor did they know of any other Indian Hindus who were either detained or deported after 9/11.

Because Indian Hindu respondents were minimally affected by the post-9/11 backlash, their response was also minimal. Most respondents (77 percent) still believed that they had a place in American society and, for the most part, felt that opportunities for themselves and their families had not diminished in any way since 9/11. In addition, the respondents generally did not think more about their identity or develop an increase in political interest, awareness, or participation after 9/11. Most Indian Hindu informants (73 percent) did not believe that Indian Hindus experienced greater political mobilization in response in 9/11, mainly because

[1] "South Asia" is a geographic term that generally includes the countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan (Leonard, Karen, *The South Asian Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997)). "South Asians" can then be defined as individuals who descend from these countries.

[2] Human Rights Watch, *We Are Not the Enemy: Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to Be Arab or Muslim After September 11*, Vol. 14, No. 6 (G), November 2002, p. 18.

[3] South Asian American Leaders for Tomorrow, *American Backlash: Terrorists Bring War Home in More Ways Than One,* 2001, p. 9.

[4] The number stands in contrast to the 400 to 500 anti-Asian American incidents that NAPALC has reported annually in previous years (National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Backlash: When America Turned on Its Own*, 2002). NAPALC is now called the Asian American Justice Center.

[5] The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines a hate crime as a criminal offense that is motivated by a "preformed negative opinion or attitude toward a group of persons based on their race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national origin" (U.S. Department of Justice, *Hate Crime Data Collection Guidelines*, October 1999, p. 2). A hate incident is a bias-motivated act that may not always fall under the legal definition of a hate crime (National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *2000 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans, Eighth Annual Report*, 2002, p. 6).

[6] Racial profiling is the practice of relying on race, ethnicity, national origin, or religion in selecting which individuals to subject to traffic stops, pedestrian stops, or other routine investigatory activities (see http://feingold.senate.gov/releases/04/02/2004304407.html). Airport profiling is the targeting of an individual for searches, questioning, or harassment by airport or airline security officials based on his or her race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, or gender (see http://www.sikhcoalition.org/AirportProfiling.pdf).

they, as a group, were not directly affected by the backlash.[7]

Despite media reports of a backlash against Pakistanis and Muslims after 9/11, the majority of Pakistani Muslim respondents (59 percent) were not fearful about their physical safety, except in the period immediately after 9/11. 48 percent of respondents said that either they or someone they knew had experienced a hate crime or incident, and 43 percent stated that either they or someone they knew had experienced racial profiling after 9/11. 35 percent of respondents also talked about an increase in employment discrimination that either they or someone they knew had experienced. Some Pakistani Muslim respondents (33 percent) personally knew of people who had been detained or deported since 9/11. 19 percent of respondents also knew of individuals whose homes and businesses had been raided by federal law enforcement officials.

Unlike members of the other two groups, the majority of Pakistani Muslim respondents (62 percent) stated that their feelings about their place in American society had changed since 9/11, and they generally felt as though they were not fully accepted. 62 percent of respondents also stated that 9/11 had changed their outlook about the future, and they believed that opportunities for themselves and their families had declined. Some respondents (35 percent) even considered leaving the country because of the hostile post-9/11 environment against Pakistanis and Muslims. Overall, many Pakistani Muslim respondents, including some U.S. citizens, talked about a general sense of fear and insecurity that they felt after 9/11, and they expressed concern about becoming a potential government target.

The Pakistani Muslim respondents believed that they were targeted in the post-9/11 backlash mainly because of their religion. As a result, most respondents (59 percent) thought more about their identities as Muslims because they were often placed in positions in which they had to defend their religion to others. While some respondents felt a greater sense of solidarity with other Pakistani Muslims and Muslims in general after 9/11, others were angered by what they perceived to be an overly politicized and defensive position on the part of some American Muslims.

Among Pakistani Muslim respondents, 9/11 brought about not only a greater interest in U.S. domestic and international politics, but also a stronger desire to participate politically. However, some respondents were afraid to participate in the political process because they did not want to risk becoming a potential government target. Despite this barrier, the majority of Pakistani Muslim informants (58 percent) believed that Pakistani Muslims have become more politically mobilized since 9/11. They noted, however, that there have been many challenges and difficulties along the way, in large part because Pakistani Muslims are a relatively young immigrant community in the United States.

Turban-wearing Sikhs have been targeted for hate crimes and profiling incidents since 9/11 because they often are misidentified as Arabs and Muslims.[8] The majority of the Sikh respondents (64 percent) feared the possibility of potential danger, particularly in the days and months immediately following 9/11. 83 percent of respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced a

[7] "Informants" refer to community leaders and "respondents" to community members. In this report, a "community leader" is defined as an individual who holds a leadership position in any type of social, political, legal, religious, or cultural organization.

[8] The *dastaar*, as the Sikh turban is known, is an article of faith in the Sikh religion. The turban is regarded as a symbol of sovereignty, dedication, self-respect, courage, and piety, and practicing Sikhs choose to wear the turban as a sign of love and obedience to the founders of their faith (see http://www.sikhcoalition.org/Sikhism11.asp).

hate crime or incident, while 65 percent stated that either they or someone they knew personally had experiencing racial profiling since 9/11. While most respondents (90 percent) said that neither they nor anyone they knew personally had experienced detention or deportation after 9/11, one individual described an incident in which he came close to being detained by a law enforcement official.

While the initial impact of the backlash was great, most Sikh respondents (75 percent) felt that they were accepted in American society and did not feel that opportunities for themselves and their families had diminished in any way. The Sikh informants and respondents attributed the attacks and hostility against Sikhs mostly to ignorance and a lack of understanding about their faith, and now more than ever believed that there was a need to educate others about who they are.

Like the Pakistani Muslim respondents, the Sikh respondents generally thought more about their religious identity after 9/11. Sikhs have been caught in the backlash because of their religion, but in their case have been targeted because of misidentification. As a result, they often were placed in a position in which they had to explain who they are and what they believe as Sikhs. Some Sikh informants and respondents stated that 9/11 has brought a tight-knit Sikh community even closer together.

Most Sikh respondents (64 percent) also developed more of an interest in politics and a greater desire to participate politically after 9/11. While many Sikh respondents were politically aware and involved even before 9/11, they felt more of a sense of responsibility and urgency to participate in the political process. 9/11 also brought many more 1.5- and second-generation immigrants into the political arena.[9] All Sikh informants stated that Sikhs have become more politically mobilized since 9/11. They noted that there now are more Sikh organizations, and that the ones in place before 9/11 have become more active. Even some Indian Hindu and Pakistani Muslim informants praised the efforts of the Sikh groups, and they observed that the Sikh response to 9/11 was both effective and coordinated.

The majority of informants (55 percent) did not believe that South Asians as a whole experienced an increased level of political mobilization after 9/11 for a variety of reasons, mostly stemming from political differences among the various national and religious groups on the Subcontinent. Because of these differences, most informants felt that a unified South Asian community does not exist. The 1.5- and second-generation informants, who are generally far removed from the political situation on the Subcontinent, were much more optimistic than the first generation informants about the ability of South Asians to work together. They also were more likely to think that the political activities following 9/11 were the first step toward greater collaborative efforts among South Asian groups.

In terms of other observations, the discrimination that the middle- to upper-class respondents in the sample faced after 9/11 was not always in the form of an overt hate crime; rather, this discrimination often

[9] Second-generation immigrants are individuals who are native-born (in the United States), while first-generation immigrants as those who are foreign-born. The term "1.5 generation" was first coined by sociologists Ruben Rumbaut and Kenji Ima in 1988 to describe the generation that is part of neither the first generation nor the second. They define the 1.5 generation as young people who were born in their countries of origin but are completing their education in the United States during the formative periods of adolescence and early adulthood (Rumbaut, Ruben G. and Kenji Ima, *The Adaptation of Southeast Asian Refugee Youth: A Comparative Study* (San Diego: San Diego State University, 1988)). In recent years, the term has become widely used in the academic social science literature. For the purpose of this study, 1.5-generation immigrants are defined as individuals who immigrated to the United States before the age of 15.

was more subtle. At times, they were left wondering why they did not get jobs or promotions, or why someone sitting next to them on a plane would ask to be reseated. In many cases, they concluded that these types of occurrences resulted from 9/11-related discrimination.

As a final point, the informants and respondents emphasized in various ways that they were Americans too—from calling themselves "Muslim Americans" and "Sikh Americans" to putting up American flags on their cars and homes. While some chose to take these actions as a way of defending themselves against potential danger after 9/11, many also wanted to make the statement that they are as American as anybody else.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Many acts of discrimination, including hate crimes, occur as a result of ignorance. Employers and schools should provide opportunities for diversity awareness and sensitivity training on a wider scale.

2. Law enforcement agencies must work in partnership with members of minority communities, rather than alienating them, in order to achieve the most effective results in the War on Terror.

3. 9/11 has introduced a myriad of social and political issues, and coalition building is an important and effective means of addressing the various issues South Asian communities face after 9/11.

4. Respondents from all three subgroups reported experiencing incidents of airport profiling after 9/11. Existing Department of Transportation (DOT) and Transportation Security Administration (TSA) regulations must be carried out in full accordance with the law to ensure that individuals' civil liberties are protected.

5. Both Pakistani Muslim and Sikh respondents talked about incidents of employment discrimination that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced since 9/11. Existing anti-employment discrimination laws under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be fully enforced.

6. Respondents from all three subgroups said that they had experienced a hate crime or incident after 9/11. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA) is a bill that would provide federal assistance to states and local jurisdictions to prosecute hate crimes. The enactment of tougher hate crimes legislation would ensure that perpetrators of such crimes are punished to the full extent of the law.

7. Respondents from all three subgroups were unjustly targeted by law enforcement in racial profiling incidents after 9/11. The End Racial Profiling Act (ERPA) is a bill which would prohibit this practice by law enforcement agencies and officials, and it would help protect the rights of minority individuals under the law.

8. While a multifaceted problem-solving approach is important, different types of problems warrant different solutions. For Sikhs who were targeted in hate crimes and racial profiling incidents after 9/11, the problem is mainly one of ignorance about Sikhs and their faith, which can be addressed by increasing education and awareness. For Pakistani Muslims, the most appropriate and effective response would be to address specific government policies that have disproportionately affected members of their community since 9/11.

9. There is presently a dearth of empirically based research on the effects of 9/11 on minority communities, and more research in this area must be undertaken.

10. The government must take active measures to balance national security concerns with the protection of individuals' civil liberties.

III. METHODS

This study draws upon in-depth interviews with both informants and respondents as the primary source of data.[10] The author relied upon her professional contacts with South Asian community leaders through her prior work in the nonprofit policy sector in Washington, DC for information and identification of informants and respondents for interviews. Because of these contacts, the Washington, DC Metropolitan Area was selected as the venue for this research.[11] Subjects also were recruited through the author's personal networks and through places of worship, and the snowball method of sampling was used to identify additional interview participants.[12] In addition to the in-depth interviews, demographic survey data on variables such as age, sex, marital status, level of education, occupation, and income was also collected.

This study focuses on individuals of Indian and Pakistani descent, who make up the nation's two largest South Asian national origin-based groups, and on Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, the three largest religious groups among South Asians living in the United States.[13] The sample is roughly broken down into the three following subgroups: Indian Hindus, Pakistani Muslims, and Sikhs of South Asian descent.[14] Both male and female individuals were interviewed as informants, but only males were selected as respondents in order to limit the study's scope. The interviews focused on first- and second-generation immigrants, but a limited number of 1.5-generation immigrants were also interviewed.[15] The following table provides a breakdown of the national origin, religion, and generational status of the sample's 120 informants and respondents (see Table 1).[16]

[10] As previously noted, "informants" refer to community leaders and "respondents" to community members. This study is part of a larger doctoral dissertation project on racial, ethnic, and religious identity, intergroup attitudes and relations, and responses to 9/11 among South Asians in the Washington, DC area.

[11] The Washington-Baltimore Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is home to a sizable South Asian population, housing the nation's fifth largest Indian population (88,211), and the third largest Pakistani population (13,515). U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census, Summary File 2.

[12] As part of the snowball method, informants and respondents were asked to recommend others who might be interested and willing to be interviewed.

[13] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000 Census, Summary File 2; Leonard, Karen, "State, Culture and Religion: Political Action and Representation Among South Asians in North America," Diaspora, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2000): 21-38, p. 23.

[14] A limited number of individuals of other South Asian national origin and religious groups were also interviewed.

[15] As previously mentioned, second-generation immigrants are individuals who are native-born, and first-generation immigrants as those who are foreign-born. For the purpose of this study, 1.5-generation immigrants are defined as individuals who immigrated to the United States before the age of 15.

[16] See the Appendix for information regarding the interview participants' demographic background information.

Table 1. Sample Characteristics

National Origin/Religion	Generational Status	Total
Indian Hindu	First Generation	17
	1.5 Generation	9
	Second Generation	14
Pakistani Muslim	First Generation	22
	1.5 Generation	1
	Second Generation	14
Sikhs of SA Descent	First Generation	16
	1.5 Generation	4
	Second Generation	13
Other*		10
Total		120

* The "Other" category includes one Indian Christian (second generation), five Indian Jains (four first generation and one second generation), two Indian Muslims (both first generation), one Indian/Pakistani Muslim (second generation), and one Sri Lankan Hindu (1.5 generation).

In all, 42 informants and 78 respondents were interviewed during the period between June 2003 and March 2005.

The decision was made to focus only on individuals of middle- to upper-class backgrounds, and as a result, the sample was limited to persons who hold college degrees or are currently enrolled as college students.[17] The respondents were not selected on the basis of being victims of the 9/11-related backlash; rather, they were for the most part "average," if not wealthier than average individuals. Most interview participants were professionals or college or graduate-level students who were on their way to becoming professionals. Therefore, they were not the cab drivers or the convenience store clerks who are in regular contact with different segments of the general population. Individuals in lower-wage, service-oriented professions and those living in more rural and less diverse areas are arguably at a greater risk of encountering people who might wish to harm them physically.

IV. FINDINGS

The Impact of 9/11 on Indian Hindus

Indian Hindus are among the groups that have been caught in the post-9/11 backlash. On October 4, 2001, Vasudev Patel, a 49-year-old Indian American man, was killed while working at his gas station convenience store in Mesquite, Texas.[18] Mark Stroman, who was tried and convicted of murder for killing Patel, said in an interview that he wanted "to retaliate on local Arab Americans, or whatever you want to call them."[19] Since 9/11, there have been firebombing attempts on Hindu temples in Matawan, New Jersey and St. Louis, Missouri.[20] There also have been numerous incidents of verbal and physical assault against Indian American individuals.[21] In one of the more serious incidents, a 19-year-old Indian American man named Subneet Sahjal was beaten and stabbed by three unknown assailants in Tulsa, Oklahoma shortly after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. One of the attackers said to Sahjal, "We're going to

[17] This decision was made for a number of reasons, partly because this is a demographic group whose experiences were largely unaddressed by existing reports focusing on the post-9/11 backlash. The main reasons, however, were to limit the scope of the study and to "control for" the effects of class.

[18] Michael Tate, "Mesquite Seeks Clues in Killing of Gas-Store Owner," *The Dallas Morning News*, October 5, 2001. Also, "Patel" is a traditional Hindu caste name.

[19] Robert E. Pierre, "Victims of Hate, Now Feeling Forgotten," *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2002.

[20] Phillip O' Connor, "FBI Looks into Firebombing of Hindu Temple," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 4, 2003. See also http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/16/gen.hate.crimes/.

[21] South Asian American Leaders for Tomorrow, *American Backlash: Terrorists Bring War Home in More Ways Than One*, 2001; National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Backlash: When America Turned on Its Own*, 2002.

hurt you the way your people hurt us."[22] On the other hand, there have not been many officially reported cases of racial profiling specifically against Indian Hindus since 9/11. There was one reported case of an Indian Hindu man who was questioned by FBI agents shortly after 9/11.[23] He had overstayed his visa, but was released by the FBI when they learned that he was a Hindu and not a Muslim.[24]

Most Indian Hindu respondents were unaffected by the 9/11-related backlash, and the large majority (85 percent) said that they did not feel afraid for their physical safety. Those who did have concerns often chose to put up American flags on their homes and cars as a way of defending themselves against potential danger. One respondent wore a pin with an American flag both as a form of self defense and as a way to show patriotism. He believed that "a lot of Indians tended to use the flag as a way of saying, 'Hey, we're Americans too. Don't hurt us'" (*N17*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 30).[25]

24 percent of Indian Hindu respondents indicated that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced a hate crime or incident after 9/11. One respondent spoke of an incident in which he was verbally harassed in Washington, DC a day after 9/11 by a man who told him, "You guys need to get out of here" (*N54*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 28). Another respondent personally knew of a couple that was physically assaulted shortly after 9/11 (*N52*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 27).

32 percent of Indian Hindu respondents mentioned incidents in which they believed either they or someone they knew personally were victims of racial profiling. One respondent described an incident that happened a day after 9/11 when his car was surrounded by law enforcement officers in flak jackets:

> The day after 9/11, I was driving in DC, and call me crazy, but I made some illegal left turn. I got pulled over by the police, which was fine. They surrounded the car, and they had flak jackets on too….They gave me such a hard time. They were like, "Where are you going?" And I said, "I'm just going to the camera store." Maybe it's just me, but I thought that was a little bit odd….I definitely felt like if I had been the average Joe Schmoe guy, I don't think they would have surrounded the car (*N65*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 40).

21 percent of Indian Hindu respondents believed that they were pulled aside for additional airport screenings more often than in the past. Some respondents personally knew of other Indian Hindus who had been removed from planes after 9/11. One respondent talked about an incident that occurred 20 days after 9/11 in which a woman on his flight chose to switch seats with somebody else because she did not feel comfortable sitting next to him. When I asked this respondent how he felt about the woman who asked to be reseated, he answered: "I just felt that the person doesn't know anything, and she just has to go back to school and learn a lot" (*N64*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 27). An Indian Hindu informant noted the increase in airport profiling incidents against people with brown skin by stating that "[t]he airports have been hell for us. We used to call it 'driving while black.' Now there's 'flying while brown'" (*N44*, Indian Hindu informant, female, 27).

[22] Michael Overall, "Victim of Attack Harbors no Hatred," *The Tulsa World*, September 17, 2001.

[23] Somini Sengupta and Christopher Drew, "A Nation Challenged: the Immigration Agency; Effort to Discover Terrorists Among Illegal Aliens Makes Glacial Progress," *The New York Times*, November 12, 2001.

[24] Ibid.

[25] *N17* refers to the corresponding number on the list of interview participants included in the Appendix. The number at the end is the age of the informant or respondent.

None of the Indian Hindu respondents were subject to detention or deportation, nor did they know of any other Indian Hindus who were detained or deported after 9/11. India is not included among the list of countries whose citizens are required to participate in the Special Registration program, under which adult males from 25 predominantly Muslim countries must register with immigration officials.[26] Since December 2003, however, individuals are no longer required to re-register after 30 days and again after one year.[27]

While some Indian Hindu respondents felt that they had experienced greater discrimination since 9/11, most (77 percent) still believed that they were accepted and that they had a place in American society. In addition, most respondents (62 percent) indicated that their outlook about the future, in terms of opportunities for themselves or their families, had not changed in any way because of 9/11. Because they did not feel that their group was specifically targeted, their concerns about the post-9/11 environment were usually more general. For example, one respondent was concerned about the downturn in the economy after 9/11, and another was troubled about the possible political consequences against all immigrants and minorities, not just those of South Asian descent.

Overall, 9/11 did not greatly affect the Indian Hindu respondents' identities. However, it did make some of them realize that they were part of a racial minority group. One respondent stated that 9/11 "created more of a divide between whites and non-whites" (*N17*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 30). Whereas before, he felt that he was able to overlap with both groups, 9/11 led him to believe that he belonged in the non-white group. An informant noticed that after 9/11, "brown" people are looked at a little differently:

> Before 9/11, I never really thought of myself as different. I just thought of myself as American, but after 9/11, you definitely kind of start looking around. You realize that people are afraid of one another, and it's totally understandable. It's a completely human response. You see people looking at brown people just a little bit differently (*N31*, Indian Hindu informant, female, 27).

For these individuals, 9/11 made them realize to a greater extent that they were part of a racial minority group and were not accepted as "real" Americans. 9/11, however, did not make them think more about their identities specifically as Indians, Hindus, or South Asians.

Most Indian Hindu respondents did not feel closer to other Indian Hindus, South Asians, or any other group after 9/11. The one respondent who said that he felt closer to other Indian Hindus after 9/11 stated that there is "a comfort level where you're not going to be thought of as a terrorist within your own group" (*N17*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 30). A few respondents said that they felt closer to other South Asians after 9/11: "[Y]ou just feel that when you're a common target, there needs to be solidarity…it's just kind of a sense of a common experience and the need to work together and understand each other" (*N67*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 29). A few respondents also mentioned that they felt closer to Arabs and Muslims after 9/11 because they were thought to be going through a difficult time:

> I just feel like you have to make more of an effort to align yourself with Arabs and Muslims in general because I feel like they're really going through a tough time right now. I feel a closeness where I would just like

[26] See http://www.ice.gov/pi/specialregistration/index.htm.
[27] Lillian Thomas, "Immigration Rules Eased; Program that Targeted Males from 25 Muslim Countries is Ended," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 3, 2003.

> to defend them, to say this small group of crazy people is clearly not indicative of the entire group as a whole (*N17*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 30).

While none of the Indian Hindu respondents openly engaged in disidentification with Arabs or Muslims after 9/11, a number of informants pointed out that this was a fairly common response. One informant believed that 9/11 led to two types of responses among Indian Hindus: "One is a unity among the South Asians to sort of look out for each other. Two, it's led to a division between Hindus and Muslims" (*N44*, Indian Hindu informant, female, 27). She and others observed that some Hindus have been distancing themselves from Muslims since 9/11. A Pakistani Muslim informant pointed out that he had seen "numerous examples of Indians going out of their way and telling others, 'We're not those bad people. We're not like those fanatic Muslims. We're Hindus, and we're peaceful people'" (*N11*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 46).

The Indian Hindu respondents did not develop an increase in political interest, awareness, or participation after 9/11, except perhaps on a more general level. Those who acquired more of an interest in the political process did so because they realized to a greater extent that their lives in the United States can be impacted by both U.S. domestic and international policies:

> Q: Since 9/11 have you become any more interested in either U.S. domestic or international politics?
>
> A: Yeah, I think I follow them both more closely.
>
> Q: And why do think you're more interested?
>
> A: Well I think that I feel like more of a stakeholder in the political process domestically, and internationally you see the consequences that foreign policy could have on our community here. So that's why I'm more interested (*N67*, Indian Hindu respondent, male, 29).

Most Indian Hindu respondents did not connect with any type of community organization, participate in a protest, vigil, or rally, write to their member of Congress, sign any petitions, or attend any political meetings after 9/11. Three respondents stated that they had applied or were planning to apply for U.S. citizenship after 9/11, but their reasons were due to factors such as better employment opportunities and the ability to apply for financial aid as citizens. 9/11 did not change the respondents' voting habits or patterns. Most said that they were registered to vote, and of those who were registered, many indicated that they voted regularly. 40 percent of respondents stated that either they or someone they knew personally had considered running for political office, but their reasons were generally not because of 9/11. However, two respondents who themselves had considered running for office said that the backlash experienced by South Asians after 9/11 made them realize a need for greater South Asian political representation in the United States.

The large majority of Indian Hindu informants (73 percent) did not believe that Indian Hindus experienced greater political mobilization in response to 9/11. One common reason provided by the informants as to why this was the case is that Indian Hindus did not see themselves as "directly affected" by the backlash (*N44*, Indian Hindu informant, female, 27). Others mentioned that organizing for Indians is generally a difficult proposition:

> There's sort of a little joke in our community that goes, "If you have a hundred people in a room who are trying to tackle the same problem, they will each form their own organization"….Maybe it's an ego thing. Maybe it's a cultural thing. I don't know…but

> do I think we're better organized [after 9/11]? I think we have more organizations, but that doesn't necessarily mean that we're better organized (*N55*, Indian Hindu informant, male, 37).

These types of issues, however, are by no means particular to Indian Americans. Many informants and respondents also associated the Pakistani organizational network with fragmentation and a lack of unity, as discussed in the next section.

The Impact of 9/11 on Pakistani Muslims

Of the three groups, Pakistani Muslims have been the most greatly affected by government programs and policies after 9/11, including the Special Registration program and the U.S.A. Patriot Act.[28] In particular, Pakistani Muslims, more than any other group, have borne the brunt of new restrictive immigration policies. The Daily Times of Pakistan reported that of the 1,264 deported in 2001, the largest number were from Pakistan (375), followed by Indonesia (248) and Egypt (101).[29] Of the 2,760 individuals who were deported in 2002, as many as 961 (or 35 percent) were Pakistanis, while the second and third largest number of deportees came from Egypt (352) and Jordan (270).[30] One informant stated that among the 300,000 absconders (or individuals with immigration violations) in the United States today, 90 percent are of Latino descent. However, since 9/11, the Department of Justice (DOJ) has selectively focused their law enforcement efforts on absconders who are Muslims or of South Asian descent. He pointed out that 13,000 Muslims were deported as part of the Special Registration program after 9/11, and he also emphasized that Pakistanis make up the largest single national origin group among those who have been deported (*N59*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 27).

In addition to being deported, an unknown number of Pakistanis were detained by immigration officials. In one notable detention case, Hasnain Javed, a 20-year-old Pakistani college student, was on a bus from Houston to New York on September 19, 2001, when he was apprehended and arrested by Border Patrol agents in Mobile, Alabama for having an expired visa. He was severely beaten by other inmates in a Mississippi correctional facility while prison guards allegedly ignored his cries for help. During the attack, Javed said that his assailants taunted him and called him "bin Laden." A federal immigration judge in the case ruled that he had until April 19, 2002 to leave the country for immigration violations.[31]

Pakistani Muslims also have been victims of hate crimes since 9/11. On September 15, 2001, a 46-year-old Pakistani American man named Waqar Hasan was murdered while working in his grocery store near Dallas, Texas.[32] The case remained unsolved until Mark Stroman, the same perpetrator who killed Vasudev Patel on October 4, 2001, admitted to killing Hasan in January 2002.[33] Several mosques throughout the country have been targeted in acts of both arson and vandalism since 9/11.[34] In addition, numerous reports of verbal and physical assaults against Pakistani Americans and attacks

[28] Under the Patriot Act, the government is free to conduct secret searches of private homes and businesses, detain individuals for an indefinite period of time, and deport immigrants without hearings (National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Backlash: When America Turned on Its Own*, 2002, p. 12).

[29] Khalid Hasan, "Pakistanis Bear Brunt of Immigration Swoop," *Daily Times* (site edition), July 29, 2003.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Edward Hegstrom, "Pakistani Family Wants Answers from Prison; Man Beaten After INS Arrest Must Leave Country," *The Houston Chronicle*, December 18, 2001.

[32] National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Backlash: When America Turned on Its Own*, 2002, p. 17.

[33] Human Rights Watch, *We are Not the Enemy: Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim After September 11*, Vol. 14, No. 6 (G), November 2002, p. 18.

[34] Ibid., p. 23.

against Pakistani-owned homes and businesses since 9/11 were documented in various publications.[35]

Despite the backlash reported in the media, most Pakistani Muslim respondents (59 percent) were generally not fearful about their physical safety after 9/11. Those who did express concerns were the most afraid immediately after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Two respondents expressed concern about the safety of female family members who wear a hijab[36]:

> Q: Did you at any time feel afraid as though you or members of your family were in any physical danger after the terrorist attacks on 9/11?
>
> A: Yeah, I worried more about my sister who wears a hijab, which identifies her as a Muslim (*N91*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 26).

This respondent encouraged his sister to carry around mace, and he did so himself "just in case a situation were to occur."

Like some Indian Hindu respondents, several Pakistani Muslim respondents used the American flag as a shield to ward off potential danger. One informant believed that many Pakistani Muslims felt the need to "wrap themselves in the flag" to prove their allegiance as Americans and protect themselves after 9/11: "Because of the decline in civil liberties protections for Muslims post-9/11, for many of these people, they saw this as the only way to ensure the safety of their families and businesses" (*N59*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 27).

48 percent of Pakistani Muslim respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced a hate crime or incident after 9/11. One respondent knew of another Pakistani Muslim who had been beaten severely in New York City soon after 9/11 (*N90*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 24). Another respondent described an incident in which he was crossing the street when someone pulled up to him in a car, rolled down the window, and said: "Get out of the street, terrorist" (*N100*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22). Three respondents also mentioned incidents in which they knew of Pakistani Muslim women wearing the hijab who were verbally harassed, threatened, and even assaulted.

43 percent of Pakistani Muslim respondents stated that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced racial profiling after 9/11. One respondent said that he had many problems traveling immediately after 9/11, and "it was sort of the longer stares, a little more aggressive pat-downs, things like that" (*N100*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22). Another respondent talked about a friend who was singled out on an airplane and made to raise his hand on a crowded flight because his name is Mohammed. His name and where he was sitting was announced to the rest of the passengers as a precaution for those on the plane (*N98*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 33). One respondent had a close female friend who was strip searched at Chicago's O'Hare Airport because she refused to remove her hijab. The woman in the case, Samar Kaukab, is a 22-year-old Pakistani American from Columbus, Ohio, and the incident occurred on November 7, 2001. She filed a lawsuit with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) against the Illinois National Guard and a security firm involved in conducting security checks at O'Hare airport back in January of 2002.[37] The case has since been settled.[38]

[35] South Asian American Leaders for Tomorrow, *American Backlash: Terrorists Bring War Home in More Ways Than One*, 2001; National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, *Backlash: When America Turned on Its Own*, 2002.

[36] A hijab is a head covering that some Muslim women choose to wear.

[37] See http://archives.cnn.com/2002/LAW/01/17/airport.search.lawsuit/index.html.

[38] Information provided by the ACLU of Illinois in an e-mail correspondence dated 3/31/06.

35 percent of Pakistani Muslim respondents talked about an increase in employment discrimination that either they or someone they knew had experienced since 9/11. One respondent said that he personally knew of other Pakistani Muslims who did not receive promotions that they felt they deserved or who were unable to get jobs commensurate with their qualifications and as a result moved back to Pakistan. He believed that 9/11, along with the subsequent downturn in the economy, "made discrimination easier" (*N86*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 66). Another respondent even tried out an experiment in which he sent out resumes with different names:

> I actually did a little test for myself. I sent resumes with my real name and some with my nickname. They were the same exact resumes. My resume with my real name would never ever get looked at or get responses, whereas the same company would sometimes reply back to my "nickname resume."
>
> Q: By nickname, do you mean your first name?
>
> A: My real name is Mohammed. My real name is different from my nickname….I wanted to test it out because I was applying for jobs at that time, and I was not getting a call back. And I thought, "There's got to be something to my name." So I tried out my nickname, and I got a few more calls. And that happened not only to me but also to other people who graduated with me who had the same background and were in the same situation (*N109*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 25).

Compared to members of the other two groups, Pakistani Muslim respondents were the most greatly affected by more restrictive immigration policies after 9/11. 60 percent of respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had to undergo Special Registration (before it was modified in December 2003). Of the four respondents who had to participate in the Special Registration program, two of them had no complaints about the process other than the inconvenience while the other two felt that the process itself was discriminatory. One respondent said that he considered Special Registration "to be discrimination in a big way....I don't see why just because you're from a Muslim country, that makes you more prone to being a terrorist" (*N49*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22).

None of the Pakistani Muslim respondents had themselves been subject to detention or deportation. However, some respondents (33 percent) personally knew of others who had either been detained or deported since 9/11. One respondent had a friend whose father was detained for six months because he was suspected of funding Al Qaeda. Ultimately, no evidence was found against him, and he was released (*N114*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 20). Another respondent talked about how his mother had been interviewed by the FBI because she had the exact same first and last name as someone who had links to terrorism. In the end, the FBI agents realized that they had the wrong person, and they admitted to making a mistake (*N113*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 20).

Though none of the Pakistani Muslim respondents experienced law enforcement raids of their homes or businesses, some respondents (19 percent) personally knew of others who had gone through this experience. One respondent had a friend whose parents' home in Reston, Virginia was searched after 9/11.[39] According to the respondent, the house was ransacked, and FBI agents removed items from the

[39] In March 2002, raids were conducted in homes, businesses, schools, and organizations across Northern Virginia by a Treasury Department task force created after 9/11 to stop the flow of money to terrorists. The raids were part of a federal investigation in a money laundering and tax evasion case involving funds that may have been used to support Middle Eastern terrorist activities. The actions taken by federal agents during that time were largely criticized by Muslim community leaders

home (*N7*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 30). Most respondents had either read or heard about these types of incidents in the news. Hearing about such incidents contributed to the respondents' fears and concerns about becoming a potential government target. A first-generation informant explained that American citizens were less vulnerable, but that they too were afraid:

> The [American] citizens feel that they are not as exposed to dangers, but they fear also. I am a citizen, and I've been a citizen for 24 years, but I am afraid to go to an airport because I don't know what's going to happen, simply because somebody could look at me and say, "Wait, let's question him" (*N28*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 63).

Unlike members of the other two groups, most Pakistani Muslim respondents (62 percent) stated that their feelings about their place in American society had changed as a result of what has happened since 9/11. Some said that they were more aware of being part of a minority group, while others stated that they were more vigilant about dispelling misconceptions about Pakistanis and Muslims following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. One respondent mentioned that after 9/11, he felt as though he should not tell others that he was a Pakistani, and he tried not to do anything that would bring attention to himself (*N114*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 23).

62 percent of Pakistani Muslim respondents also stated that they had changed their outlook about the future since 9/11. One first-generation respondent "wondered if it was the right decision to settle in this country" (*N82*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 57). An informant explained how Pakistani Muslims now feel that the opportunities for them have declined:

> They [Pakistani Muslims] have reached the conclusion that the opportunities are diminishing for them. There are a lot of Pakistanis who have found it difficult to find a job because of their identity. There are many who are trying to hide their names or change their names to sort of hide as much of their identity as possible. It definitely creates a great deal of apprehension (*N28*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 63).

Another informant stated that the Pakistani Muslim community still suffers from the ongoing effects of 9/11 and that second-generation immigrants will be the ones who suffer most greatly, in terms of limited job opportunities and discrimination in schools (*N18*, Pakistani Muslim informant, female, 55).

Overall, many Pakistani Muslim respondents talked about a general sense of fear and insecurity that they felt after 9/11:

> There is a sense of vulnerability and not knowing what any action on your part will entail. I've heard examples where for some traffic violations, people have been put in jail for months and months. So there is I would say a significant change in the whole psychological attitude of being in this country (*N81*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 62).

This apprehensiveness was even experienced by some of the informants. For instance, one informant said that he operated under the premise that he was always being watched, surveyed, and tapped (*N2*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 41).

(Tom Jackman and Brooke A. Masters, "Virginia Raids Continue in Probe of Terror; 2 Sites Searched; Funds Scrutinized," *The Washington Post*, March 22, 2002; Judith Miller, "A Nation Challenged: the Money Trail; U.S. Raids Continue, Prompting Protests," *The New York Times*, March 22, 2002).

Some respondents took active measures to protect themselves against becoming a potential government target. As an example, one respondent mentioned that he only gave cash to Islamic relief organizations so that his donations could not be traced (*N114*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 23). Another respondent stated that he did not participate politically (i.e., in terms of attending protests, vigils, rallies, or political meetings, donating to political causes, etc.) because he did not want his name to be placed on any type of government list. When I asked this respondent if he felt as though he were always being "watched," he answered:

> No, not on a constant basis….I'm a Pakistani Muslim who grew up in the Middle East within a certain age range. I have to be on some sort of list somewhere, and I know that every time I leave and enter the country, they keep track of that. So in that sense, I know that I'm being "watched." I don't feel paranoid about it, but there are things like, "Oh, you're supposed to carry your visa around with you at all the times." I'm very cognizant of these things….Sometimes I feel like, "If I get caught jaywalking, what's going to happen? Is my visa going to be revoked?" I mean you hear horror stories that may be urban legends. So I don't feel like I'm being watched, but I am more careful (*N99*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 27).

Unlike members of the other two groups, some Pakistani Muslim respondents (35 percent) considered leaving the country after 9/11. One informant estimated the number of Pakistanis who have moved out of the country to be around 5,000, and he projected that approximately $4 billion has moved from the United States to Pakistan since 9/11 (*N37*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 26). Another informant explained why he thought Pakistani Muslims were sending money and buying property in Pakistan in such large numbers:

> [T]he people are scared. They don't want to keep their money in this country. They think that someday maybe all their accounts will be frozen.…So a lot of people are making arrangements in Pakistan to buy land and to build houses so that, God forbid, if anything were to happen, they have something to fall back on (*N75*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 66).

Among Pakistani Muslim informants and respondents, there was an overall sense that Muslims are "under siege" after 9/11. Many believed that Muslim countries have been targeted by American foreign policies since 9/11 and that the war against Iraq was part of a larger attack on Islam.

As a side note, some second-generation Pakistani Muslim respondents indicated that their career goals and aspirations had changed since 9/11. For instance, one second-generation respondent said that witnessing the mistreatment of Muslims after 9/11 led him to change his career path:

> It was a critical moment in my life when 9/11 occurred. That event and the subsequent actions in the U.S. in terms of just like how Muslims were being treated and how Muslims were going to respond to that sort of led me to change my career path. That kind of motivated me to come out to Washington, DC and work on Capitol Hill. Prior to that, I was going to work with my family and just kind of go along with things. I always had political interests, and I would participate on a more social level, but I didn't have any plans to come out to Washington, DC before 9/11 or even go to law school or anything like that (*N91*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 26).

A first-generation informant observed that after 9/11, second-generation Pakistani Americans have

become more interested in going into law and policy, instead of becoming doctors and engineers and "just earning money" (*N76*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 54).

The Pakistani Muslim respondents generally thought more about their identity than they did before 9/11. Some respondents (11 percent) thought more about their racial identity: "[Y]ou do become much more aware of your own identity, just the fact that your skin color is different" (*N111*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22). Most respondents (59 percent), however, thought more deeply about their identity as Muslims. Because the 9/11 attacks were committed in the name of Islam, many respondents felt that they were viewed more negatively after 9/11. One respondent stated that 9/11 put him "on the defensive" as a Muslim (*N84*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 71). Another respondent said that he was confronted with questions such as: "Are you proud of who you are? And are you scared of who you are?" (*N109*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 25). Some respondents expressed anger and embarrassment over the actions of the terrorists on 9/11. For instance, another respondent said that he felt "embarrassed at the idiocy of those Muslims who rammed the towers" (*N86*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 66). A number of respondents struggled with being Muslim after 9/11, and they said that the events that occurred that day made them question their religion. For others, however, 9/11 strengthened their resolve to become better Muslims and to be more vocal about defending Islam against its detractors.

One Pakistani Muslim informant talked about how 9/11 introduced the term "Muslim American" to the national dialogue:

> I think there was the creation of a Muslim American identity as opposed to just a Muslim identity [after 9/11], that we are part of the fabric of this country. We have developed institutions and practices here, and we are very much ingrained in this society (*N35*, Pakistani Muslim informant, female, 23).

Several respondents noted that they identified themselves as either Muslim Americans or American Muslims after 9/11 to make the point that Muslims in the United States are just as American as anyone else. Some Pakistani Muslim informants and respondents also talked about how 9/11 brought all Americans together: "I think in America, 9/11 really brought all of us together because we all identified ourselves as Americans to some degree or another" (*N35*, Pakistani Muslim informant, female, 23).

Some Pakistani Muslim respondents (40 percent) said that they felt closer to other Pakistani Muslims after 9/11. There was a sense among these respondents that Pakistani Muslims around the country are facing common struggles and issues. One informant explained that "they [Pakistani Muslims] feel more insecure as minorities, and when they are under that kind of threat, they tend to stick together" (*N80*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 56). A respondent told me that after 9/11, Pakistani Muslims are now more open with one another because they do not feel threatened in their own communities (*N114*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 23).

Almost half of the Pakistani Muslim respondents (43 percent) said that they felt closer to other South Asians, while a few respondents stated that they felt closer to other Asians in general after 9/11. Those who felt closer to other South Asians pointed out that individuals of South Asian descent look very similar to one another and therefore have faced many of the same issues after 9/11, including hate crimes and racial profiling. When I asked one respondent if he

felt closer to other Asians after 9/11, he answered: "Somewhat, like you sort of relate to the Japanese internment" (*N25*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, no age given). Others mentioned that there have been more opportunities to organize with Asian Americans on civil liberties-related issues since 9/11.

The majority of Pakistani Muslim respondents (70 percent) said that they felt closer to other Muslims after 9/11. There was a sense among many of the respondents that all Muslims were "in the same boat" and that they were all fighting for the same causes. One respondent stated that he felt closer to other Muslims after 9/11 because he was angered by how Islam was misinterpreted, and he wanted to join with other Muslims to go out and educate people about the religion (*N48*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22). On the other hand, some respondents chose to disidentify with other Muslims after 9/11:

> I almost feel more distant from other Muslims because now I feel much more suspicious…. I feel like a lot of them aren't getting it. They're being way too defensive and not understanding that there are reasons why there are negative stereotypes. You should try to proactively change those [negative stereotypes] instead of just being so reactive and defensive, and because so many people are reactive and defensive, it's distancing me from them (*N25*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, no age given).

With regard to Arabs, some respondents felt more of an urgency to relate to and to work with them after 9/11. However, others mentioned that many Pakistani Muslims have tried to disidentify with Arabs since 9/11: "A lot of Pakistanis tried to separate themselves from Arabs because they were afraid, and they didn't want to fall in the same category" (*N48*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 22).

As a whole, the Pakistani Muslim respondents developed not only a deeper interest in politics but also a stronger desire to participate politically after 9/11. One informant observed that after 9/11, Pakistani Muslims are feeling discrimination and realizing that they need to protect themselves politically:

> Before 9/11, Pakistanis would come here. They would work here. They would live here. They were not active in politics. They just took things for granted, but after 9/11, they realized that they have to work to protect themselves politically, and that's a new awareness which is slowly gaining ground among the Pakistanis (*N37*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 26).

Most Pakistani Muslim respondents (86 percent) said that they became more interested in domestic and international politics after 9/11. 45 percent of respondents stated that they had joined, connected with, or donated money to some type of community organization. 41 percent of respondents indicated that they had participated in a protest, vigil, or rally since 9/11, mostly involving the war in Iraq and various 9/11-related issues. 18 percent said that they wrote to a member of Congress, while 36 percent signed a type of petition after 9/11. 57 percent stated that they had attended a political meeting or town hall-type meeting after 9/11. Several informants and respondents also mentioned that there has been more interest among Pakistani Muslims to participate in electoral campaigns, either by giving time or money.

Regarding citizenship application rates, one informant noted that the number of applications among Pakistanis has gone down because the number

of people coming to the United States has "decreased considerably. Since that number has decreased, naturally the number of applicants has decreased also at the same time" (*N37*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 26). Most Pakistani Muslim respondents (63 percent) were already U.S. citizens at the time of the interview. One first-generation respondent who was not a U.S. citizen said that after 9/11, he would probably feel "more comfortable" as a citizen (*N89*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 59).

Some Pakistani Muslim informants believed that voter registration rates had risen since 9/11. This observation was generally based on the increase in the number of voters that their respective organizations have been able to register since 9/11. The majority of respondents were already registered to vote at the time of the interview, and many of these individuals said that they had always voted, even before 9/11. 9/11 did affect some respondents' voting habits and patterns. For instance, one respondent mentioned that he generally voted Republican and that he had voted for Bush in the 2000 election. However, he had been greatly disappointed with the Bush Administration's foreign policies after 9/11, and he was not planning to vote for Bush in the 2004 election (*N4*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 61).[40] 60 percent of respondents stated that either they or someone they knew personally had considered running for political office, and in one case, an individual was influenced by the backlash that Pakistani Muslims and Muslims as a whole experienced since 9/11.

In the interviews, many Pakistani Muslim respondents talked about how they had become more politically active after 9/11:

> We [Pakistani Muslims] definitely became more active in the political process of this country. We are very actively working now.
>
> Q: And do you think this was due in part to 9/11?
>
> A: Yeah, it brought us into the mainstream political process. I never used to give time to political activities, but now I give time, and I get involved (*N82*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 57).

This respondent went on to state that he felt the need to get involved in order to combat the negative images of Pakistan and Islam that were portrayed in the media. Similarly, another respondent said that 9/11 provided him with "more impetus to be [politically] involved" (*N91*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 26).

While many Pakistani Muslim respondents felt the desire and need to get involved politically after 9/11, there also were significant barriers on the part of some respondents against political involvement. As mentioned previously, there was a general sense of fear and insecurity among the Pakistani Muslims in the sample. In response to the fear, some informants and respondents felt an even greater sense of motivation to participate in the political process. Others, on the other hand, were afraid to participate politically because they did not want to risk becoming a potential government target.

Most Pakistani Muslim informants (58 percent) believed that Pakistani Muslims have become more politically mobilized since 9/11. Some informants mentioned increased efforts to register voters and coordinate volunteers and political activities such as fundraisers. In addition, others noted that organizations have come forward to provide civic education to community members. However, even those who believed that Pakistani Muslims have become more politically organized perceived many challenges and difficulties along the way, particularly because

[40] This interview was conducted before the 2004 presidential election.

Pakistani Muslims are a relatively young immigrant community in the United States. According to one informant, "you would be giving too much credit if you said they [Pakistani Muslims] were organized. They are in the process….Where there would have been no work before, it's now a work in progress" (*N42*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 23).

A recurring challenge mentioned by the Pakistani Muslim informants and respondents was the lack of collaboration by various Pakistani and Muslim organizations. Some noted the sheer number of organizations. One informant stated that "there is probably one organization for every five to ten people" (*N11*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 46). Similarly, another informant observed that "it's very easy within our community to have different agendas and for everyone to form their own group" (*N35*, Pakistani Muslim informant, female, 23). A respondent made the observation that "[i]f they [Pakistanis] can't hold the leadership positions, they start their own organizations….You just pick up your marbles and go somewhere else" (*N4*, Pakistani Muslim respondent, male, 61).

A number of Pakistani Muslim informants were not in agreement as to whether Pakistani Muslims should organize on the basis of their religion or their country of origin, which poses another challenge to political mobilization. For example, some Pakistani Muslim informants chose to create new Pakistani organizations after 9/11 because they believed that the existing pan-Muslim organizations could not adequately address the myriad of issues facing Pakistanis both in the United States and abroad. One informant, whose organization seeks to educate Pakistani Americans about the political process, said that the organization's founders specifically did not want it be based on religion "because some of the issues are unique to Pakistani Americans and may not be shared by an Arab from Egypt, for instance" (*N78*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 58). Another informant, on the other hand, stated that he purposely chose to make religion the basis of his organization because he realized after 9/11 that Muslims were isolated and invisible. He also understood that numbers are important in the democratic political process, and therefore he chose to create a Muslim organization rather than a Pakistani one because "then it will be a larger group" (*N75*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 66).

One Indian Muslim informant, on the other hand, observed that while Muslims have been targeted after 9/11, most of the work since then has been done by non-Muslims. When asked why she thought this was the case, she answered:

> I think it's complicated. I think some of it is paralysis. There are some people who are worried about being associated as a Muslim. This is totally my personal opinion, but I think there's some sort of victim mentality as well and of feeling sorry for yourself all the time, which I'm not necessarily sympathetic to (*N6*, Indian Muslim informant, female, 31).

The final barrier against political mobilization lies in the fact that some Pakistani Muslims are still living in fear, and this fear has led to greater suspiciousness of others, and in some cases a feeling of paralysis. Mobilizing individuals who live in fear would pose a significant challenge for any community.

Overall, Pakistani Muslims have experienced greater political organization in response to 9/11. However, many challenges and difficulties have hindered the process, resulting in a response that was neither consistent nor coordinated. While substantial efforts were made since 9/11, political mobilization among Pakistani Muslims is still in its early stages.

The Impact of 9/11 on Sikhs of South Asian Descent

Sikhs have also been deeply impacted by the post-9/11 backlash. The Sikh Coalition, a leading civil rights and advocacy organization, provides an up-to-date database of hate-related and racial profiling incidents on their website. According to the database, 242 hate crimes and incidents and 54 cases of racial profiling were reported to the Sikh Coalition since 9/11.[41] The most well-known hate crime case involving a Sikh after 9/11 is the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi. On September 15, 2002, Sodhi, a 49-year-old turban-wearing Sikh, was shot to death while planting flowers just outside of his gas station in Mesa, Arizona.[42] According to law enforcement officials, Sodhi's killer, a man named Frank Roque, bragged of his intentions to "kill the ragheads responsible for September 11" at a local bar just hours before the shooting.[43] During his arrest, he is reported to have shouted, "I stand for America all the way."[44] Roque was sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to life in prison without the possibility of parole in August 2006.[45]

Many respondents also knew about the racial profiling incident involving Sher J. B. Singh. Singh, a 28-year-old network design consultant, was bound toward Washington, DC on an Amtrak train when he was arrested and detained by law enforcement officials in Providence, Rhode Island a day after the 9/11 attacks.[46] During Singh's arrest, some of the onlookers yelled death threats as police led him away from the train in handcuffs.[47] Singh was strip-searched and questioned for several hours before he was released by police.[48] He was charged with possession of a concealed weapon for carrying a kirpan, which is a sheathed sword that some Sikh men carry as an article of faith.[49] News channels repeatedly showed images of Singh during his arrest juxtaposed with an image of Osama bin Laden, as if to suggest that there was a connection between the two.[50]

The majority of Sikh respondents (64 percent) feared the possibility of potential danger, particularly in the days and months immediately following 9/11. Some Sikh respondents were extremely concerned about their safety, and felt the need to defend themselves and their families at a moment's notice. For instance, one respondent said that his "shotgun went from being locked to being loaded" (*N32*, Sikh respondent, male, 33). Another respondent stated that he kept a bat in his car "just in case" something were to happen (*N92*, Sikh respondent, male, 29). A number of respondents talked about how they wore pins with American flags and put up flags on their homes and cars as a way to protect themselves from potential danger. Some were against this tactic because they did not see why they should have to put up an American flag in order to save themselves, while others expressed ambivalence about the issue:

> Q: Did you put up an American flag or do anything like that to protect yourself?

[41] For the number of hate crimes and incidents, the following search criteria were selected: gestures, verbal abuse, threat to injure or kill, attempt to injure, property damage, injured, and killed. For the number of profiling incidents, "racial profiling" was selected as the only search criterion.

[42] Robert E. Pierre, "Victims of Hate, Now Feeling Forgotten," *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2002.

[43] Human Rights Watch, *We Are Not the Enemy: Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to Be Arab or Muslim After September 11*, Vol. 14, No. 6 (G), November 2002, p. 18.

[44] Michael Ellison, "Attack on America: Sikh Shot Dead in US 'Retaliation' Attack," *The Guardian*, September 17, 2001.

[45] David Schwartz, "Arizona Court Overturns Death Penalty in 9/11 Crime," *Reuters*, August 14, 2006.

[46] Erica Noonan, "Sikh is Prosecuted for Sword," *The Boston Globe*, October 11, 2001.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Sarbpreet Singh, "Aftermath Shouldn't Include Stereotyping Ethnic Minorities," *The Boston Herald*, September 15, 2001.

A: My brother put up a flag in his car. I was going to, but I just never really found a flag I liked a lot. I don't know. I guess I have sort of mixed feelings about that, like, "I don't need to prove to anyone else that I'm an American and that I'm not a terrorist. Like what is that?" So I never felt the urgency to walk around and say, "I didn't do it." They made T-shirts that said, "I'm Sikh and I'm proud," and on the back of it, it said, "I'm American, and I'm proud," with the American flag so I have one of those (*N77*, Sikh respondent, male, 23).

83 percent of Sikh respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced a hate crime or incident after 9/11. Many of the turban-wearing respondents were verbally harassed with comments related to Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. Others were called "Muslims" and "terrorists" and told to "go back home." One respondent stated that he was assaulted with gestures when a group of young males in a car pulled up to him on the highway and made motions with their hands as if to shoot (*N104*, Sikh respondent, male, 27). Some respondents personally knew of other Sikhs who had been beaten, shot at, and run off the road in their cars after 9/11. One respondent mentioned that his uncle's restaurant in Baltimore was firebombed shortly after 9/11 (*N110*, Sikh respondent, male, 20). A few of the 1.5- and second-generation respondents talked about encountering problems with belligerent drinks:

Q: Have you or any other Sikhs that you know been physically attacked or verbally assaulted since 9/11?

A: I've gotten into a few fights at bars because of it. Like when you're in college, people get drunk, and they always say stuff. So there's always like the Osama bin Laden comment, "Oh there's Osama bin Laden" or something like that….I got into one real crazy fight and some little fights with pushing and shoving, but one of them was like a full-on brawl outside of a bar in Michigan (*N77*, Sikh respondent, male, 23).

65 percent of Sikh respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced racial profiling since 9/11, mostly in the form of airport profiling. Some respondents stopped flying altogether in the months and, in some cases, years after 9/11 to avoid potential problems. Several respondents said that they almost expected to get stopped for "random searches" at the airport: "[Y]ou feel like you're always pulled out, like you're always the one that's 'randomly searched.' It's happened more often than not" (*N79*, Sikh respondent, male, 23). A few Sikh respondents were asked to remove their turbans at the security checkpoint by airport screeners, which is against Transportation Security Administration (TSA) guidelines.[51] These respondents were generally offended by the request and refused to comply. One respondent explained that the turban is "sacred," and it is "not a hat that you can simply remove" (*N104*, Sikh respondent, male, 27). Another respondent described an incident in which he was almost removed from a plane shortly after 9/11 because the pilot did not like the way he looked:

> I was in London, and I had to come to New York a few days after [9/11]. I got into a little altercation with the pilot of the plane. He wanted me to get off the plane, and I told him he would have to call security to escort me off, at which

[51] On the TSA website (http://www.tsa.gov/travelers/airtravel/assistant/editorial_1037.shtm), it says that "[y]ou are permitted to wear your head covering during the screening process. If you are directed by the Security Officer to proceed to additional screening, then you will be re-screened using hand-wands and a pat-down inspection that includes the torso. Should the hand wand alarm around your head area, then the Security Officer must resolve the alarm by touching that area"

I would sue, and basically we stood up and had a little yelling match until people stepped in.

Q: And do you know why he wanted you off the plane? Was it just because of the way you looked?

A: Yeah, just because of the way I looked. He said he didn't feel safe (*N93*, Sikh respondent, male, 28).

This respondent said that he ultimately did not sue the airline. He did, however, file a complaint with the airline, which was never resolved.

Some Sikh informants and respondents mentioned that turban-wearing Sikhs have always experienced some degree of employment discrimination because of their appearance. None of the respondents, however, stated that they themselves had experienced a greater degree of employment discrimination as a direct result of 9/11. This may be due to the fact that most of the respondents were professionals working with other highly educated and, perhaps as a result, more culturally aware and sensitive people. 19 percent of respondents, on the other hand, said that they personally knew of another Sikh who had been denied a job or promotion because of 9/11-related discrimination.

None of the Sikh respondents said that they themselves had experienced detention or deportation after 9/11. However, 10 percent of Sikh respondents said that they personally knew of another Sikh who had been detained, and one respondent described an incident in which he himself came close to being detained:

> In December of 2001, I was at Tysons Corner [in Northern Virginia] filming for a design project while I was at Virginia Tech….I realized that I was being watched, and there was some type of surveillance set up on me. When I figured out who this was, I went to the individual, and I asked him if he was law enforcement, and he quickly said, "Yes, I am." He was a federal agent. He was FBI, and I am so happy that he was an educated individual. Why I say educated? He didn't jump to any conclusions, and I immediately told him, "Look, whatever you're thinking, it's not true." And at the end, after some very minor questioning, he apologized wholeheartedly, and he said, "Look, in the times that we're living in, unfortunately people go by their gut. I just saw you filming. I saw your long beard, and I didn't know what you were doing." But had he not been a nice person, he could have said "Patriot Act" and detained me right there (*N104*, Sikh respondent, male, 27).

Another respondent talked about a friend who was questioned by the FBI after he went to the park to photograph some birds and was mistaken for a potential terrorist. His friend worked for the Pentagon and had a top secret security clearance. The respondent said that in the end, it was the FBI agents involved in the case who were embarrassed about the incident (*N120*, Sikh respondent, male, 47).

Despite the discrimination experienced by many Sikhs since 9/11, the large majority of Sikh respondents (75 percent) still felt that they had a place in American society, and for the most part, their outlook about the future in terms of opportunities for themselves and their families did not change. They believed that the backlash against Sikhs after 9/11 was significant but temporary, and that most of their problems were due to ignorance about Sikhs and about the Sikh religion.

As a side note, some informants and respondents observed that a greater number of Sikhs have been pursuing career opportunities in law enforcement and public service since 9/11. For instance, one second-generation respondent stated that knew of several

people who found jobs with the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's Office within the last few years: "It's not just about money, but it's about what they can do to help the Sikh community and America as a whole" (*N92*, Sikh respondent, male, 29).

Many Sikh respondents thought more about their identity than they did before 9/11. When asked if he thought more about his race or racial identity after 9/11, one respondent stated that "September 11 was the breaking point. It was then that a lot of us came to that self consciousness that people were looking at us differently" (*N8*, Sikh respondent, male, 20). However, the respondents thought more about their religious identity as Sikhs than anything else. One respondent said that he was more interested in identifying as a Sikh rather than a South Asian because he believed that Sikhs have "borne the brunt of the backlash" (*N95*, Sikh respondent, male, 27). Several respondents stated that their Sikh identity had been strengthened as a result of the backlash that Sikhs have experienced after 9/11. Others mentioned that their identity as Sikhs was strong to begin with, and therefore 9/11 did not make a difference either way. A number of respondents said that 9/11 made them realize that they needed to be more proactive in educating others about Sikhs and Sikhism. For instance, one respondent who was not interested in wearing a turban before 9/11 mentioned that he would now prefer wearing one "just because it shows people who I am" (*N119*, Sikh respondent, male, 24).

Some Sikh informants and respondents talked about how "Sikh American" has become a commonly used term after 9/11:

> I don't think the term Sikh American was used until a couple months after [9/11]. I wouldn't be surprised if you couldn't find that written anywhere before that time…. I think I use that word nearly everyday now. I guess here at work, I use it nearly everyday. Whenever I write a letter or something, instead of referring to the Sikh community, it's the Sikh American community. I think it's just to make a point more than anything else, but I've come to believe in it.
>
> Q: Is the point to say that Sikhs are also Americans?
>
> A: Yeah, it's just legitimizing the American element of being Sikh (*N8*, Sikh respondent, male, 20).

At the time of the interview, this respondent was working as an intern at a Sikh civil rights organization. Several respondents stated that they identified themselves as Sikh Americans after 9/11. Some Sikh informants and respondents also made the point that 9/11 brought all Americans together: "[T]hough a tragic moment for America, it [9/11] was the finest hour of America as well, as the whole of America came together" (*N29*, Sikh informant, male, 50).

Most Sikh respondents (65 percent) said that they felt closer to other Sikhs after 9/11 because the community as a whole was thought to be facing common struggles. Those who did not feel closer to other Sikhs after 9/11 made the point that Sikhs have always been close: "The Sikh community has always been physically different from other people, and so there's always been a sense of fraternity with people who look like you to begin with, and I don't think it was very much heightened even after 9/11" (*N8*, Sikh respondent, male, 20). Many Sikh informants and respondents believed that 9/11 provided the impetus for Sikhs to come together and to educate others about who Sikhs are.

Some Sikh respondents (36 percent) said that they felt closer to other South Asians after 9/11. Those

respondents who believed that "brown" people in general have also experienced greater discrimination since 9/11 were the ones who felt closer to other South Asians: "They [other South Asians] may not be as visible [as Sikhs], but they can be discriminated against just because of the color of their skin" (*N79*, Sikh respondent, male, 23). On the other hand, others pointed out that Indian Hindus have not been as affected by the post-9/11 backlash as Sikhs, and generally these individuals did not feel closer to other South Asians.

Several Sikh respondents stated that they felt closer to other Asians in general after 9/11. One respondent expressed gratitude for the attempts made by some Asian Americans to reach out to South Asians after 9/11:

> I have been extremely impressed with the support Asian Americans have given the South Asian community….I found that in the post-September 11 period, especially in the first month or so, Asian Americans, particularly Japanese Americans, really sort of knew what it was like to be separated out, I think from their experience in World War II, and they were quick to lend support and assistance (*N32*, Sikh respondent, male, 33).

Most Sikh respondents (79 percent) said that they felt closer to Arabs and Muslims after 9/11 because they were thought to be going through similar struggles. Among some Sikh informants and respondents, there was a strong desire and willingness to empathize with the struggles of Arabs and Muslims and to work with them after 9/11. These individuals were often careful not to alienate Muslims by disidentifying with them:

> Q: What about Arabs and Muslims, do you feel more of a sense of closeness?
>
> A: Yes, we do. We feel their pain. We've done a lot of events with them. We don't want people to go and attack them because they're Muslims. One thing that was critical is that we did not say, "We are not Muslims." We said, "Even if we were Muslims, we should not be treated this way," because we didn't want to alienate them (*N21*, Sikh respondent, male, 34).

At the same time, others expressed a strong desire to differentiate themselves from Arabs and Muslims and to educate others about who Sikhs are so that they would not be misidentified.

The majority of Sikh respondents (64 percent) developed more of an interest in U.S. domestic and international politics after 9/11. Several respondents said that they had always been interested, but after 9/11, they were more observant now because they were concerned about another potential backlash. One respondent said that his level of civic and political engagement had increased by "leaps and bounds" (*N95*, Sikh respondent, male, 27). An informant noted that "[t]he younger generation has become much more active than the older generation" since 9/11, which he believed to be a promising development (*N27*, Sikh informant, male, 42).

57 percent of Sikh respondents stated that they had joined, connected with, or donated money to some type of community organization after 9/11. The majority of respondents (68 percent) also indicated that they had participated in a protest, vigil, or rally since 9/11. In particular, many of them attended vigils to remember not only victims of the terrorist attacks, but also the victims of hate crimes after 9/11. 47 percent of respondents said that they wrote to member of Congress while 59 percent stated that they had signed a petition after 9/11. Some respondents said that they had engaged in these types of political activities even before 9/11, but they indicated that the level of their political activity had

greatly increased. One respondent noted that he now signs more political petitions than he did before 9/11 because he "felt more of a responsibility" (*N83*, Sikh respondent, male, 22). 44 percent of respondents said that they had attended political meetings regarding various types of issues after 9/11. In addition, some Sikh respondents stated that they made more of an effort to get involved politically by contributing time and money for elections.

A number of Sikh informants believed that there was an increase in U.S. citizenship applications among Sikhs because they now do not feel secure with only a green card:

> [T]hey [Sikhs] didn't want to have the citizenship initially. They thought that having a green card is enough. In that way, they can go to Punjab [in India], buy property there as well, but certainly there is an increase now in the number of applications for citizenship. One reason is now they think that, "Oh, a green card provides no safety here, and anything happening here is just deportable" (*N29*, Sikh informant, male, 50).

The majority of Sikh respondents (78 percent) were already U.S. citizens at the time of the interview. Of those who were not U.S. citizens, no one specifically indicated that they were planning to apply for citizenship in order to obtain greater protections after 9/11.

Most Sikh respondents were already registered to vote at the time of the interview, and almost all of these individuals said that they had always voted, even before 9/11. However, there was a sense among the respondents that voting was even more important after 9/11. For instance, one respondent stated that voting is "more relevant now" (*N8*, Sikh respondent, male, 20). 56 percent of respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had considered running for political office after 9/11. Three respondents talked about how they themselves had considered running for office. When asked if 9/11 had any impact on his feelings regarding this matter, one respondent answered: "Certainly, yeah. I might have thought about it beforehand too, but 9/11 made me realize more of a need for it" (*N104*, Sikh respondent, male, 27).

All of the Sikh informants believed that Sikhs have become more politically mobilized since 9/11. They noted that there are now more Sikh organizations, and the ones in place before 9/11 have become more active. Since 9/11, Sikh groups have been proactively reaching out to elected officials. Sikhs leaders have met with top-ranking officials in the Attorney General's Office, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Transportation and Security Administration, and they have been conducting diversity awareness and sensitivity trainings with law enforcement officials at various agencies.[52] One informant noted that there is now more of a formal information network between the various Sikh groups and more open channels of communication (*N3*, Sikh informant, male, 25). Another informant pointed out that mobilization at the grassroots level also has increased (*N1*, Sikh informant, male, 36).

Sikh leaders have successfully used the issue of hate crimes as a basis to educate those who are both inside and outside the community. One informant stated that the Balbir Singh Sodhi case "gave impetus to Sikhs to go out and educate everybody. So in that sense, hate crimes are bad with any community, but I think to the credit of the Sikhs, they took advantage of that and used that to educate others about who we are" (*N105*, Sikh informant, male, 53). Many Sikh respondents knew about the Sodhi murder case, and his name and/or his case was even mentioned

[52] See http://saldef.org/ and http://www.sikhcoalition.org/.

by several non-Sikh informants and respondents. In contrast, only one Pakistani Muslim respondent mentioned the Waqar Hasan case and only because Hasan was a family acquaintance. The Vasudev Patel case was never mentioned by any of the informants or respondents. The underlying point is that Sikh leaders have been able to take a tragic incident and to use it as a basis upon which to mobilize the community to go out and to educate others about Sikhism and about who Sikhs are.

Even several non-Sikh informants pointed out that Sikhs have greatly increased their level of political mobilization since 9/11. One Pakistani Muslim informant noted that Sikhs have become "very prominent after 9/11….Many of them are young and very articulate. They have become leaders. Now they're being invited to the White House, the State Department, and everywhere. They have become very organized due to 9/11" (*N76*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 54). This informant compared Sikhs to the Jews, and he believed that they were at an advantage with regard to political organization because "they have a single agenda. Their ethnicity and religion are the same." He contrasted Sikhs to Muslims, who are "all over the globe," and therefore have different agendas and priorities. An Indian Hindu informant echoed similar sentiments:

> I think that the Sikhs have done a much better job of building a base around 9/11-based issues. I think the Pakistanis as usual are in a muddle. They're so internally divided on a number of these issues that they have yet to really formulate an effective response (*N68*, Indian Hindu informant, male, 33).

This informant believed that Sikhs have been able to remain "culturally coherent" because they have chosen to organize on the basis of religion. In addition, because of their distinctive appearance, turban-wearing Sikhs have been a position where they have had to explain and in some cases defend their Sikh identities to others long before 9/11.[53]

The Impact of 9/11 on South Asian Mobilization

The majority of informants (55 percent) did not believe that South Asians as a whole have become more politically organized since 9/11, nor did they believe that a unified South Asian community exists at the present time. While political mobilization among South Asians has increased, the informants pointed out that they were in most cases organizing within their own separate national and/or religious groups. There were various explanations provided by the informants as to why this was the case. One Pakistani Muslim informant stated that South Asians have been unable to mobilize as a unified group because of "their baggage from back home" on the Subcontinent. He believed that first-generation immigrants were "not ready to forget about being a Pakistani or an Indian or a Bangladeshi and just be South Asian" (*N2*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 41). A Sikh informant, on the other hand, stated that South Asians as a whole are not better organized after 9/11 because they as a collective group have not been as impacted as the Sikhs, and therefore "their collective level of organization or mobilization has not been significant" (*N1*, Sikh informant, male, 36). Disidentification also acted as a barrier against collaborative efforts, as some of the Pakistani Muslim informants and respondents were disappointed by the perception that members of other South Asian groups were disassociating themselves with Muslims.

Those who believed that South Asians as a whole are better politically organized after 9/11 were mostly 1.5- and second-generation informants.

[53] Some of the Sikh respondents mentioned a similar backlash against Sikhs during and after the Iran hostage crisis in the late 1970s.

Because they are generally far removed from the political issues that divide South Asians on the Subcontinent, they were much more optimistic than the first-generation informants about the prospects of greater collaboration among South Asians after 9/11. For instance, one second-generation Sikh informant said that he believed South Asians were moving in the right direction (*N3*, Sikh informant, male, 25). A second-generation Pakistani Muslim informant felt that the backlash after 9/11 has brought South Asians together, similar to the way the Japanese internment brought Japanese Americans together during and after World War II (*N42*, Pakistani Muslim informant, male, 23). Pan-South Asian organizations led by 1.5- and second-generation immigrants, such as the South Asian American Leaders for Tomorrow (SAALT), have become more prominent since 9/11, and they continue to do important work.

V. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The Need for Diversity Awareness

Many incidents of discrimination, including hate crimes, occur as a result of ignorance. A Society for Human Resource Management report found that 20 percent of employers provided diversity training to its employees a year after 9/11.[54] While this is a good start, much more needs to be done on the part of employers to provide diversity awareness and sensitivity training on a wider scale. In addition, schools and universities should require courses that educate students about America's diverse racial, ethnic, and religious traditions. For instance, at the University of California, Berkeley, all undergraduates are required to take one course that introduces them to the diverse cultures in the United States in a comparative framework.[55]

[54] See http://www.eepulse.com/documents/pdfs/9-11%20Survey%20--9-02.pdf.

[55] See http://amercult.berkeley.edu/.

Partnerships between Law Enforcement and Minority Communities

To achieve the most effective results in the War on Terror, law enforcement agencies must work in partnership with members of minority communities rather than alienate them. In the Washington, DC area, the Arab, Muslim and Sikh Advisory Council (AMSAC) works closely in conjunction with the FBI Washington field office.[56] Moreover, the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF) created the Law Enforcement Partnership Program (LEPP), which aims to build relationships between law enforcement and the Sikh American community.[57] To date, SALDEF has provided training for over a hundred agencies and 5,000 local, state, and federal law enforcement officials.[58]

The Importance of Coalition Building

Nearly all informants stated that coalition building is an important means of addressing the many social and political issues facing South Asian communities after 9/11. In terms of the benefits, informants stressed that there is political strength in numbers, and they pointed out that working in coalitions is an effective and efficient way of pooling limited resources. Coalition building is also a way of building bridges across differences in race, ethnicity, religion, and culture. Most informants believed that the coalitions should be issue-based, meaning that they should focus on specific issues such as hate crimes and racial profiling. On the other hand, some informants pointed out pitfalls that come with working in coalitions. Because individuals and organizations come from different perspectives and have different beliefs, goals, and strategies, coalition

[56] Ramirez, Deborah A., Rabia Zafar, and Sasha Cohen O'Connell, *Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities: The Washington, DC Experience* (New York: Open Society Institute, 2005).

[57] See http://www.saldef.org/content.aspx?z=11&a=1436&title=Training%20.

[58] Ibid.

building can often be a difficult and time-consuming process in which one's own message and agenda can be diluted. Despite the pitfalls, most informants believed that the benefits of coalition building far outweigh potential drawbacks.

Enforcement of Airport Security Regulations

Respondents from all three subgroups reported experiencing incidents of airport profiling after 9/11. On October 17, 2001, the Department of Transportation (DOT) issued a formal policy statement to officials throughout the airline industry entitled, "Carrying Out Transportation Inspection and Safety Responsibilities in a Nondiscriminatory Manner."[59] The statement emphasized that it is against DOT policy to discriminate against individuals on the basis of their race, color, religion, ethnicity, or national origin, and it urged airport security officials to treat people who are or appear to be Arab or Muslim in a polite and respectful manner. The statement also pointed out that it is unlawful to select individuals for inspection solely on the basis of appearance (i.e., for wearing a turban or hijab). The Transportation and Security Administration (TSA) also provides detailed guidelines for airport security inspections on its website.[60] All existing DOT and TSA regulations must be carried out in accordance with the law in order to ensure that individuals' civil liberties are protected.

Enforcement of Anti-Employment Discrimination Laws

Both the Pakistani Muslim and Sikh respondents talked about incidents of employment discrimination that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced since 9/11. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.[61] The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has been tracking 9/11-related charges alleging employment discrimination by individuals who are or are perceived to be Arab or Muslim.[62] Between September 11, 2001 and September 10, 2002, 654 such charges were filed under Title VII against employers in a wide range of industries.[63] Existing anti-employment discrimination laws under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act must be fully enforced.

The Need for Stronger Hate Crimes Legislation

Respondents from all three subgroups reported experiencing a hate crime or incident after 9/11. Most notably, 83 percent of Sikh respondents said that either they or someone they knew personally had experienced a hate crime or incident after 9/11. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA), formerly known as the Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA), is a bill that would provide federal assistance to states and local jurisdictions to prosecute hate crimes.[64] The Local Law Enforcement Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2005 (H.R.2662) and the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2005 (S.1145) were introduced in the House and Senate on May 26, 2005.[65] On September 14, 2005, the House of Representatives approved the House version of the bill in a bipartisan vote of 223-199.[66] LLEEA is endorsed by more than 175 law enforcement, civil rights, civic, and religious organizations, including the National Sheriffs' Association, the International

[59] See http://airconsumer.ost.dot.gov/rules/20011012.htm.

[60] See http://www.tsa.gov/travelers/airtravel/assistant/editorial_1037.shtm.

[61] See http://www.eeoc.gov/abouteeo/overview_laws.html and http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/vii.html.

[62] See http://www.eeoc.gov/origin/z-stats.html.

[63] Since this is a new category, there is no point of comparison for the same reporting period during the previous year.

[64] See http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:SN01145:@@@L&summ2=m&.

[65] Ibid.

[66] See http://www.hrc.org/Template.cfm?Section=Local_Law_Enforcement_Enhancement_Act&CONTENTID=31364&TEMPLATE=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm.

Association of Chiefs of Police, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association, among others.[67] LLEEA would strengthen existing hate crimes legislation by providing more resources to prosecute those who perpetrate hate crimes.

The Need for Anti-Racial Profiling Legislation

Respondents from all three subgroups were unjustly targeted by law enforcement in racial profiling incidents after 9/11. The End Racial Profiling Act (ERPA) is a bill that would prohibit this practice among law enforcement agencies and officials.[68] The End Racial Profiling Act of 2005 (S.2138) was introduced in the Senate on December 15, 2005.[69] When ERPA was first introduced with bipartisan support in 2001, both President Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft expressed their support for ending racial profiling.[70] However, in the aftermath of September 11, the legislation has been stalled indefinitely.[71] ERPA would ensure that the rights of minority individuals are protected under the law.

The Importance of a Targeted Response

While all of the recommendations mentioned thus far would help minority groups that have been caught in the post-9/11 backlash, the report found that 9/11 has had a differential impact on the three subgroups. Therefore, to some extent, different types of problems warrant different solutions. For Sikhs who have been targeted in hate crimes and racial profiling incidents, the problem is mainly one of ignorance about Sikhs and their faith, which can be addressed by increasing education and awareness. Many Sikh groups, including the Sikh Coalition and SALDEF, have launched campaigns to educate the general public about who Sikhs are, and have also conducted numerous diversity and sensitivity training sessions for government and law enforcement officials. This type of response would be appropriate and effective given the situation at hand. On the other hand, for Pakistani Muslims who have been disproportionately affected by government policies such as the Patriot Act, many more policy implications relate to individuals' civil rights and liberties. The most appropriate and effective response in this type of situation would be to address the specific policies that are negatively affecting the Pakistani Muslim community. Civil rights organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the National Council of Pakistani Americans (NCPA) are in many ways already doing this important work.

Suggestions for Future Research

There is presently a dearth of empirically based research on the effects of 9/11 on minority communities, and more research in this area must be undertaken. In terms of ideas for future research, one of the Pakistani Muslim respondents tried an experiment sending out resumes with his real name, which was Mohammed, and his nickname, which was something else. His experiment was similar to that of Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan, economists who found that job applicants with "black-sounding" names on their resumes were less likely to be called for an interview than applicants with "white-sounding" names and the exact same qualifications.[72] More recently, a report released by the Discrimination Research Center (DRC) found that applicants with identifiable Arab American and South

[67] Ibid.
[68] See http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:SN02138:@@@L&summ2=m&.
[69] Ibid.
[70] See http://www.amnestyusa.org/racial_profiling/index.do.
[71] Ibid.

[72] Bertrand, Marianne, and Sendhil Mullainathan, "Are Emily and Brendan More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal?: A Field Experience on Labor Market Discrimination" (see http://gsb.uchicago.edu/pdf/bertrand.pdf).

Asian names received significantly fewer responses from job agencies than comparably qualified applicants of any other race or ethnicity.[73] While the DRC report focused on applicants to temporary employment agencies in California, a similar study covering a wider range of geographic areas and industries would yield important results. In addition, it would be interesting to see if job applicants with "Muslim-sounding" names also face discrimination as compared to their non-Muslim counterparts.

A number of respondents stated that they were always chosen for "random" airport security inspections. A scientific study could be conducted to see if those who are selected for further inspection are indeed "randomly" chosen, or if in fact individuals who are or appear to be Arab or Muslim are selected at a higher rate. On a related note, law professor David Harris uses data from various sources to show that the "hit rate," or the rate at which law enforcement find contraband on the individuals they stop, is actually lower for African Americans than whites.[74] A research study comparing the rate at which airport screeners and other security officials find weapons and other prohibited items on members of various racial, ethnic, and religious groups would provide valuable insight into the issue of airport profiling. It would be both interesting and important to see if the 'hit rate" is lower for those who are or are perceived to be Arab or Muslim as compared to whites.

Balancing National Security and Civil Liberties

The events of September 11 reminded the nation that protecting America's national security is a matter of vital concern. However, history teaches us that this concern cannot completely override individuals' civil liberties. On December 7, 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, and the United States declared war on Japan the following day. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the mass incarceration of over 120,000 Japanese Americans.[75] Over two-thirds of those forcibly interned were American citizens, and half of them were children.[76] Forced to evacuate their homes and leave behind almost everything they owned, the internees were incarcerated for up to four years without due process of law in desolate relocation camps.[77] Nearly 50 years later, on August 10, 1988, Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act (otherwise known as the Japanese American Redress Bill), which acknowledged that "a grave injustice was done" against Japanese Americans and ordered that each victim of internment receive $20,000 in reparations.[78] The actions against the Japanese American people during World War II were taken by the government in the name of protecting national security. If any lessons are to be learned from the Japanese American internment that can be applied in the post-9/11 era, it is that the government must balance national security concerns with the protection of individuals' civil liberties.

[73] Discrimination Research Center, *Name Makes a Difference: The Screening of Resumes by Temporary Employment Agencies in California* (Berkeley, CA: Discrimination Research Center, 2004).
[74] Harris, David A., *Profiles in Injustice: Why Racial Profiling Cannot Work* (New York: New Press, 2002).
[75] See http://www.lib.utah.edu/spc/photo/9066/9066.htm.
[76] See http://www.asianamericanmedia.org/jainternment/.
[77] See http://www.pbs.org/childofcamp/history/index.html.
[78] Ibid.

List of Interview Participants

Number	National Origin/ Descent	Religion	Type	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education	Generation
1	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	36	Software consultant	-----	First
2	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	41	Activist	Graduate degree	First
3	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	25	Graduate student	College degree	Second
4	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	61	Physician	Graduate degree	First
5	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	26	Graduate student	College degree	First
6	Indian	Muslim	Informant	F	31	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
7	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	30	Physician	Graduate degree	Second
8	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	20	College student	Some college	1.5
9	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	68	Banker	Graduate degree	First
10	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	46	No answer	Graduate degree	First
11	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	46	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
12	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	65	Research scientist	Graduate degree	First
13	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	58	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
14	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	31	Network engineer	Graduate degree	First
15	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	38	Physician	Graduate degree	First
16	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	42	Entrepreneur	Graduate degree	First
17	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	30	Attorney	Graduate degree	1.5
18	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	F	55	Consultant	Some graduate school	First
19	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	61	Physician	Graduate degree	First
20	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	68	Professor	Graduate degree	First
21	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	34	Senior security analyst	Graduate degree	First
22	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	29	Engineer	Graduate degree	1.5
23	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	32	Attorney	Graduate degree	1.5
24	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	63	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
25	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	--	-----	-----	Second
26	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	26	Graduate student	Some graduate school	First
27	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	42	Dentist	Graduate degree	First
28	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	63	Home builder	Graduate degree	First
29	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	50	Human rights activist	Graduate degree	First

Number	National Origin/ Descent	Religion	Type	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education	Generation
30	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	36	Software engineer	Graduate degree	First
31	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	27	Consultant	Graduate degree	Second
32	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	33	Physician	Graduate degree	Second
33	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	71	Retired NASA scientist	Graduate degree	First
34	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	25	Consultant	College degree	Second
35	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	F	23	Project manager	College degree	Second
36	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	27	Publisher	College degree	Second
37	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	26	Lawyer	Graduate degree	Second
38	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	38	International public servant	Graduate degree	First
39	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	31	IT specialist	Graduate degree	First
40	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	34	Physician	Graduate degree	Second
41	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	28	Banker	Graduate degree	First
42	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	23	Congressional staffer	College degree	Second
43	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	25	Journalist	Graduate degree	Second
44	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	27	Reporter	Graduate degree	Second
45	Indian	Jain	Respondent	M	26	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
46	Indian	Jain	Respondent	M	25	Graduate student	Some graduate school	First
47	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	27	Lawyer	Graduate degree	Second
48	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	22	Research analyst	College degree	First
49	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	22	College student	Some college	First
50	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	29	Journalist	College degree	First
51	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	30	Program analyst	Graduate degree	Second
52	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	27	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
53	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	28	Attorney	Graduate degree	1.5
54	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	28	Physician	Graduate degree	1.5
55	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	37	Trade association manager	No answer	1.5
56	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	31	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
57	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	30	Real estate developer	Graduate degree	Second
58	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	30	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
59	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	27	Lawyer	Graduate degree	Second

Number	National Origin/ Descent	Religion	Type	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education	Generation
60	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	46	Business consultant	Graduate degree	First
61	Sri Lankan	Hindu	Respondent	M	31	Sales specialist	College degree	1.5
62	Indian	Jain	Respondent	M	38	Entrepreneur	Graduate degree	First
63	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	31	IT engineer	Graduate degree	First
64	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	27	IT engineer	Graduate degree	Second
65	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	40	Patent examiner	Graduate degree	Second
66	Indian	Muslim	Informant	M	30	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
67	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	29	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
68	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	33	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
69	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	57	Business consultant	Graduate degree	First
70	Indian	Jain	Respondent	M	29	Finance specialist	Graduate degree	First
71	Indian	Christian	Informant	M	29	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
72	Indian	Hindu	Informant	M	61	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
73	Indian	Jain	Respondent	M	44	Banker	Graduate degree	First
74	Indian	Hindu	Informant	F	--	-----	-----	First
75	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	66	Shipping broker	Graduate degree	First
76	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	54	Researcher	Graduate degree	First
77	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	23	Consultant	College degree	Second
78	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	58	Businessman	Graduate degree	First
79	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	23	Consultant	College degree	Second
80	Pakistani	Muslim	Informant	M	56	Professor	Graduate degree	First
81	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	62	Scientist	Graduate degree	First
82	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	63	Consultant	Graduate degree	First
83	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	57	Businessman	Graduate degree	First
84	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	22	Consultant	College degree	Second
85	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	71	Retired	Graduate degree	First
86	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	66	Consultant	Graduate degree	First
87	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	67	Retired	Graduate degree	First
88	Indian	Muslim	Respondent	M	72	Retired	Graduate degree	First
89	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	59	Economist	Graduate degree	First
90	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	24	Congressional aide	College degree	Second

Number	National Origin/ Descent	Religion	Type	Sex	Age	Occupation	Education	Generation
91	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	26	Legislative aide	College degree	Second
92	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	29	Intelligence analyst	Graduate degree	Second
93	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	28	Law student	Some graduate school	Second
94	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	20	College student	Some college	Second
95	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	27	Attorney	Graduate degree	Second
96	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	27	Program officer	Graduate degree	1.5
97	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	22	Student	Some college	Second
98	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	33	Physician	Graduate degree	First
99	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	27	Energy analyst	College degree	First
100	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	22	Business analyst	College degree	1.5
101	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	53	Restaurant owner	Some graduate school	First
102	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	F	22	Student	College degree	Second
103	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	39	Computer consultant	College degree	1.5
104	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	27	Engineer	College degree	Second
105	South Asian	Sikh	Informant	M	53	Engineer	Graduate degree	First
106	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	33	IT Consultant	Graduate degree	First
107	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	23	Student	College degree	Second
108	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	47	Network manager	College degree	First
109	Indian/Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	25	Business analyst	College degree	Second
110	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	20	Student and graphic designer	Some college	1.5
111	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	22	Student	Some college	Second
112	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	26	Engineer	College degree	1.5
113	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	20	Student	Some college	Second
114	Pakistani	Muslim	Respondent	M	23	Student	College degree	Second
115	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	57	Postal employee	College degree	First
116	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	55	Engineer	College degree	First
117	Indian	Hindu	Respondent	M	23	Administrative worker	College degree	1.5
118	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	33	Computer engineer	Graduate degree	First
119	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	24	Network engineer	College degree	1.5
120	South Asian	Sikh	Respondent	M	47	Consultant	Graduate degree	First

* A few interview participants chose not to answer some demographic background questions (indicated by "-----").