

**TELUGU DIASPORA IN THE  
UNITED STATES**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the  
University of Hyderabad for the Degree of**

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

*In*

**SOCIOLOGY**

*By*

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**TO MY PARENTS**

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## DECLARATION

I here by declare that the work embodied in this Dissertation entitled "TELUGU DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES", carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Chandrasekhar Bhat, Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, is original and this has not been submitted for any degree in any part or in full, to any other or this University.

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Telugu Diaspora in the United States", submitted by Mr.T.L.S.Bhaskar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology is prepared under my supervision. The dissertation or a part thereof has not been submitted for any other degree at this or any other University.



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# **INTRODUCTION**

Humans have been migrating since their evolution, in search of better living conditions and resources. In the remote past these population movements were free in the sense that there were no defined geographical boundaries. "Uneven distribution of population and resources, unbalanced utilization of resources, and variations in economic and cultural developments have influenced the mobility of men from one region to another (Sinha and Ataullah 1987: 1). The emergence of institutions like family, religion, polity and government have made these moving populations to settle into communities with defined geographical areas. This has resulted in the birth of city- states and later on, the nation states with definite territorial boundaries.

The process of migration is a continuous one, whether it is within a nation state or across the nations. Though it is the migratory laws of the both sending and receiving nations which control the moving populations, other issues like the push and pull factors, opportunity cost of migration, diversities in the division of labor in the place of destination act as barriers to free migratory flows.

The rapid changes in the contemporary global economic and technological spheres have further increased the magnitude of migration overseas. This has a significant effect on the division of labor in both the sending and receiving nations.

The nature and extent of contemporary international migration has been well described by Castles and Miller (1993:3) as follows

"... People migrate as manual workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, and refugees or as family members of previous migrants. Whether the initial intention is temporary or permanent movement many migrants become settlers. Migratory networks develop, linking areas of origin and destination, and helping to bring about major changes in the both. Migrations can change demographic, economic and social structures, and bring a new cultural diversity, which often brings into question national identity."

According to the I.L.O reports (*Economist*, Nov1, 1997: 91), international migration has reached a magnitude of 80 million migrants and another 20 million refugees outside their countries of origin. The report further says that every year, nearly one and a half million emigrate away from their motherland and another one million seek temporary asylum in the place of destination.

The overseas migrants not merely take with them their skills and expertise, but also their culture, styles of their life and ideologies to the place of destination. This has resulted in the long run, the birth of ethnic communities, which have become a part and parcel of the host social systems. The initial process of migration and the settlement of ethnic communities in due course in the host nations occur in various stages. Castles and Miller (1993:25) speak of a four-stage model when they discuss on the dynamics of migration pattern:

Stagel: temporary labor migration of young workers, remittances of earning and continued orientation to, the homeland,

Stage2: prolonging of stay and the development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin and the need for mutual help in the new environment;

Stage3: family reunion, growing consciousness of long- term settlement, increasing orientation towards the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their institutions (associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions).

Stage4: permanent settlement which, depending on the policies of the government and the behavior of the population of the receiving country, leads either to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalisation and the formation of permanent ethnic minorities.

It is in the context of formation of communities away from their motherland that the word **Diaspora** finds a place in the literature. A brief conceptualization of the term is attempted below.

### *Definition of Diaspora*

**Diaspora** may be broadly defined as the migration of a population or a section of it, along with their ways of life to the place of destination or the receiving nation(s). They generally maintain their ways of living and cultural patterns, and get integrated into the host society.

The term **Diaspora** has its context of origin in the forceful expulsion of Jews from their motherland. Etymologically *dia* means **through** and *speiro* means **to scatter**, and is used to refer the dispersion of Jews after the Babylonian exile in 586 BC. The New Oxford Encyclopaedia Dictionary defines the term **Diaspora** (n) as the dispersion of the Jews after the exile, among Gentile nations; Jews so dispersed.

The Webster Dictionary (in the United States), defines 'Diaspora' as referring to a **dispersal from** and thus embodying a "... notion of a **centre**, a locus, a home from where dispersion occurs. It invokes images of multiple journeys" (Brah 1996: 181). Elaborating on the concept of multiple journeys, Brah notes that "...diaspora journeys are essentially about settling down, about putting down **roots** elsewhere." And that " these journeys must be historicized if the concept of Diaspora is to serve as useful heuristic device" (Brah, *ibid*: 182). The ideas of a home, with a defined **border**, **dispersal** and the formation of new **identities** form important aspects of a **Diasporic community**.

Robin Cohen (1996:515) analyses the concept of 'Diaspora' and brings out certain significant contexts under which Diaspora communities emerge. For him, Diaspora communities are formed as a result of

- (a) Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign nations
- (b) Expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions
- (c) Entertain collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements
- (d) Possess idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment, its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation
- (e) The development of a return movement which gains collective approbation
- (f) A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate

- (g) A troubled relationship with the host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group and
- (h) A sense of empathy and solidarity with co- ethnic members in other countries of settlement.

The Diaspora communities are a result of the transnational migration of certain populations beyond their geographical boundaries, and the resultant formation of ethnic communities when they try to trace their origin to the motherland. The concept of 'Diaspora' has been increasingly employed today to understand the process of dispersal. Transnational migration and settlement. There is considerable literature on the Chinese and African Diaspora besides the Jewish Diaspora. It is only recently that a few studies of Indian Diaspora are available and there is much to be covered to understand the dispersal of people of Indian origin across the globe.

### *Objectives of the Study*

The present work seeks to explain the phenomenon of the migration of Telugus (*Andhras*) to the United States in the post 1965 era and the related socioeconomic and political aspects of the migration. The immigrant Telugu population in the U.S. is treated as a Diaspora community in light of their acquiring citizenship and evolution of regional and linguistic associations through which they maintain the Telugu culture and identity. The present work on the Telugu Diaspora in the United States is an explorative study with the following objectives-

- (a) To examine the reasons that lead to the migration of the Telugus to the United States: the causes for their migration, the conditions of their life in

the States and their opinions on the differences of working conditions in the United States and India

- (b) To analyze various socioeconomic and political implications of migration on the Telugu migrants and their families back at home in the place of origin in Andhra Pradesh.
- (c) To examine the views of the Telugu community in the United States on the role of Telugu Associations in maintaining their social and cultural heritage.

### *Sources of Data*

The study includes a description of the Indian Diaspora in general, Indian Diaspora in the United States and finally the Telugu Diaspora in the United States. The study is based on the data collected through both primary and secondary resources. The Primary data is collected through the responses to the questionnaire sent to 50 Telugus residing in the United States (temporary or permanent). Out of the 50, 22 respondents were kind enough to respond.

The Secondary resource for information is from the Internet and the published literature on the Indian Diaspora. Information on various socio- cultural and political aspects of the Telugus in the United States is obtained from various web sites, which are maintained by the emigrant Telugus and the Telugu Associations in the United States. The data on Asian Indians in the United States is obtained from various archival (U.S. Census Reports), and documented (published and unpublished books, articles and papers presented at Conferences) sources.

## *Research Techniques*

The research techniques used here are 'questionnaire' and the 'survey'. Since the study is first of its kind on the Telugus in the United States, a questionnaire is administered to get the information on various aspects of their life in the United States. It contained both open and closed ended questions. There were more open-ended questions to allow the respondents to freely express their views.

This explorative study took the help of the Internet for information on Telugus in the United States, from various web sites on Telugu culture, Telugu Associations, and web sites on Andhra Pradesh.

## *Types of Data*

(a) Data on the respondent- Information with regard to the age, sex, marital status, educational qualifications, occupation, place of origin and destination, year of departure to the United States, Place of destination and Income is collected. The age and marital status informed are at the time of answering the questionnaire. The status of the stay of the migrant is asked to distinguish the respondents from actual Telugu Diaspora and the Potential Telugu Diaspora. It is to be noted that, in no case the information thus collected can be generalized for the whole of Telugu Diaspora in the United States, "although a representative of a whole population, they are unlikely to be generalized to other populations at different times and places" (Sayer 1992: 243).

(b) Information on the process of the migration and consequent formation of the Diaspora community is collected. Information on the causes for the migration, the mode of help, is also obtained from the respondents.

(c) Opinions with regard to the differences in the working conditions between the Indian and American context, the impact of the migration on the socioeconomic and political, cultural lives of the migrants as well as on the family back home, are collected.

The respondents are also requested to express their views on the nature and functions of the Telugu Associations.

The tabulation and analysis of the data is done manually, as the number of respondents is small. A comparative analysis has been tried with the help of percentage is done.

### *Chapterization*

The dissertation comprises of three chapters besides an introduction and a conclusion. The second chapter provides a general description of the Indian Diaspora. The chapter also examines some of the theoretical approaches employed in the analysis of the Indian Diaspora.

The third chapter explores the nature and extent of the Indian Diaspora in the United States. Data is obtained from various census reports and the published and unpublished works on the Indian Diaspora in the United States. The chapter also deals with process of migration of Indians to the United States. An attempt is made to look into geographical dispersal and cultural continuity among the Indians in the United States.

The fourth chapter explores the Telugu migration to the United States, in terms of the causes for the migration, the place of origin, destination, year of departure to the

United States. Information on initial contact, the socioeconomic and political impacts on the family back home are also dealt with. The chapter further examines their participation in the Telugu associations and their views towards such associations. The respondents were also asked to express their opinions on the existing conditions in the state of Andhra Pradesh and the policies towards the Non Resident Indians. The conclusion is an attempt to frame some theoretical propositions, and to indicate areas of further research on the Indian Diaspora.

# INDIAN DIASPORA

## *Introduction*

When we talk of **Diaspora** we begin with the Jewish context, where the persecution and expulsion led to the dispersal of Jews away from the homeland carrying with them the fond hope of returning to the motherland one day.

Despite some limitations of specificity of the concept of Diaspora, it is gainfully employed in the analysis of emigration and settlement of people beyond the boundaries of their homeland. Retention of the cultural identity in the host society is another important parameter of the concept Diaspora. There is already considerable literature on various Diasporas such as the Chinese, African and Caribbean besides the Jewish. Similarly, research on overseas Indians is also being carried out today under the premise of Diaspora Studies.

Much of the literature available on the Indian Diaspora pertains to Indian migration, their socioeconomic and cultural experiences, experiences of adaptation and assimilation in the host societies.

As Kingsley Davis (1968) puts it in the Indian context, "...pressure to emigrate has always been great enough to provide a stream of emigrants much larger than the actual given opportunities." And Tinker (1977: 10) puts it, " there is a combination of push and pull: the push of inadequate opportunity in South Asia and the pull of the better prospects in the West."

Overseas emigration of Indians may be examined in terms of three phases:

- (a) The ancient and the medieval,
- (b) The colonial and
- (c) The post- colonial phases.

#### *The Ancient and the Medieval Phase*

Indians have been migrating to various parts of the world from ages immemorial. The earliest emigration of Indians may be traced to the trade and religious contacts with other civilizations like the Greek and the Mesopotamian. Later on there are also instances of the Buddhist monks spreading the religion and religious gospels across the South and Southeast Asia.

Indians and Indian Kingdoms have spread over across the seas. According to Tinker (1977: 1), " The **Palas** of Bengal were in contact with the Sailendra kings of Indonesia. Then in the eleventh century the Cholas (Tamil Princes) organized expeditions which vanquished the great Indonesian Empire of SriVijaya." Population

movements in the ancient phase never led to any formation of permanent Indian settlements abroad. Apart from the above, Indians had trade links with the East Africa, by various groups such as the *Ismailis*, the *Bhoras*, the *Banyas* and the *Chettiyars* under the banner of **Nattukottai Chettiyar Association** (Tinker, *ibid*).

Ever before the colonial indentured labor migration, " population mobility was inherent in the social order..." and is observed in the case of the marginal peasants who "...shifted their loyalties from one master to another and hence traveled from one region to another" (Jain 1993).

### The Colonial Phase

Most of the literature on the Indian Diaspora deals with the Indians who emigrated during the colonial period, especially from 1830s to 1930s. The British rule and its impact on the Indian peasantry, the famines, and the consequent economic backwardness have resulted in mass unemployment. The institution of Slavery was banned by the British in 1830s which created an acute labor shortage in sugar plantations of the British and European colonies. This situation gave birth to the indenture form of labor from India and other parts of Asia. Much of the recruitment of this form of labor was done from Western Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Orissa. The system of indenture labor came up initially to overcome the labor shortage following the ban on slavery. But the life as plantation labor was rigid that the 'indenture form' of labor, according to Tinker (1977) was a "**new system** of slavery."

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The indenture was a form of contract labor. The contract is fixed **for five** years of work in a particular plantation and the owner of the plantation paid the laborer as per the contract both in cash and kind. After the five years of a specific contract, the laborer is free to work elsewhere in the colony. The indentured laborer had two options after the stipulated time of indenture contract- either to return back to the motherland with the money earned under a subsidized passage or continue to stay on entering into another contract to work as indenture laborer and subsequently buy a piece of land for cultivation when affordable.

The processes of emigration from India as well as immigration **to** work as plantation labor was governed by an Immigration Ordinance enacted in the country of destination. The prospective emigrants testified before a Magistrate in India and understand the terms of the contract as required under the British administration (Jain, Ibid). The recruitment process involved emigration agents, sub- agents and depots in the rural areas. The chief features of the **indenture system**, "...were five years of stereotyped state regulated labor, denial of the right to change the employer or employment, recruitment of labor units and not families, gross dis-proportions of men to women, changes for recruitment by the employer, and the denial of increased wages inspite of increased prices and profits. The employer was under a legal obligation to fixed wages, free housing, medical attendance, and other amenities." (Kondapi 1951).

According to Singh (1987: 4), " The recruiters of indenture laborers were instructed to prefer laborers from 'agricultural caste' in the expectation that these men would work well as plantation laborer." In one or the other way this form of labor met the colonial requirement of the human resources to build the plantation economy.

R.K.Jain talks of the initial emigration under indentured system to three destinations (the years below signify the year of indenture labor initiation in the respective colony):

- (a) The Indian Ocean ( Mauritius-1834, Uganda, South Africa, Malaysia and SriLanka),
- (b) The Pacific Ocean (Fiji- 1878), and
- (c) The Caribbean Sea (Trinidad-1845, Guyana-1838, Surinam-1873).

The system of indenture labor was followed by *kangani* or *maistry* form of labor for a brief period from 1890s to countries like Burma, SriLanka, Mauritius, and Malaya. This kind of labor was mainly recruited from South India. The *kangani* is a "... man with capital who lent his followers the expense of travelling to and settling down on a plantation"(Jain, *ibid*). He is like a respected middleman and is like a mediator between the laborers and the manager of the plantation in the colony. The *kangani* always selected the prospective laborers from his kin-group or caste group.

The Indian Diaspora in Malaysia mostly consists of the descendents of the *kangani* form of the labor, overwhelmingly Tamilians from South India. Wiebe and Mariappan (1978: 1) did a comparative study of the Indian Malaysians through a

"...perspective possible from the vantagepoint of people who live within the rubber estate context."

There are visible differences between the two kinds of labor recruitments during the colonial period. The laborer in the indenture system was recruited from the North India and was from various backgrounds. They proceeded to far away colonies together, with a little hope of returning back. But the laborer in the *kangani* system was basically from South India and was often belonged to *kangani*'s village, kin or caste group.

Apart from the indenture and the *kangani* forms of labor in the colonial period, there were also free or passage migrants, where in the migrants paid their own expenses. They included students, merchants and politically significant individuals.

### *The Post- Colonial Phase*

The migration in the post- colonial period was entirely different when compared with the earlier forms of migration in the ancient-medieval and the colonial phases. Here the migrants are from the middle-class, with Instruction in English, and were skilled. The educational system in the post Independent India was patterned after the British and American educational systems. The system produced professionals who outnumbered the availability of jobs that can absorb them. In a situation dominated by underemployment and unemployment, the prospective migrants were

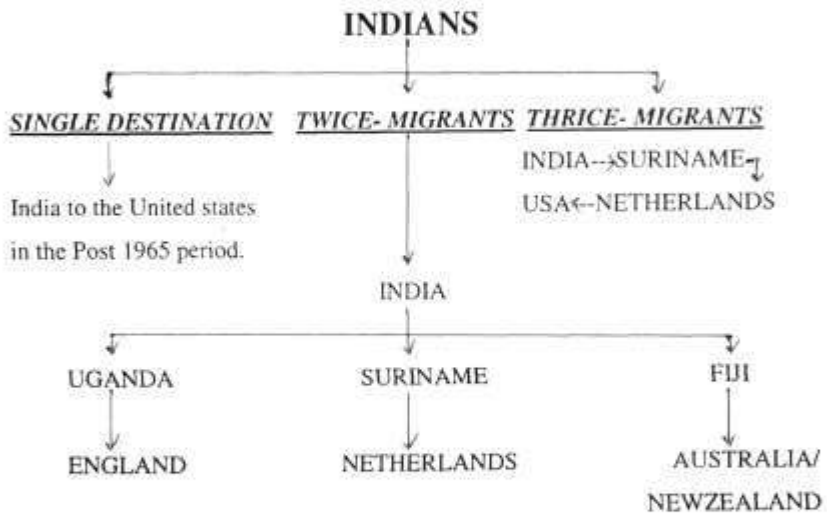
attracted with the available opportunities abroad. This led to a kind of professional migration, often termed as 'brain drain', facilitated with the rapid transformations in the transportation and communication. The migration was mainly to the developed nations of the West- the U.S., the U.K., and some in the Europe and Australia.

According to Nayyar (1994: 13), the basic characteristics of emigration from India to the industrialized world are:

- (a) Such labor outflows are made up almost entirely of permanent migration in so far as the proportion of emigrants, who returned to India, after a finite period, is almost negligible.
- (b) A large proportion of the migrants are persons with professional expertise, technical qualifications or other skills perceived to be scarce, or needed in labor- importing countries who would be at the upper-end of the spectrum of incomes in India even before emigration.
- (c) For an overwhelming proportion of these migrants, the destinations are the U.S., Canada and the U.K., possibly because of the common ties with English language.

Apart from the above reasons, as said before, the prospective emigrants are educated in a pattern that is set up by the British and the American patterns. Moreover they are familiar with the political and economic ideals of the West and keep in contact with those who are already present in the host or receiving countries.

The period also saw migration to the west Asia, particularly to the Gulf region and the case of the Twice-Migrants- like the Fiji Indians to Australia. Surinam Indians to Netherlands and the Ugandan Indians to the U.K. There is also a possibility of thrice- migrants like the Indians who migrated to Suriname initially, migrated later to the Netherlands after Surinam's Independence in 1975. Later, they again migrated to the United States.



Bhachu (1985) provides us an ethnographic account of the East African Sikh community in Britain and shows " their command over mainstream skills, combined with a lack of 'home' orientation, has catalyzed the settlement process and the formation of a British Asian/Sikh identity." A comparative study between this migrant *Ramgarhia* community (from East Africa) and the *Jat* community (direct migrants from India) is done.

## *Conclusion and Statistics*

Jain C. Prakash identified four major periods of fluctuation in the overseas migratory pattern:

(a) The period 1834- 1914 was of indenture labor migration, and from 1890s, '*kangani*' or *maistry* form added. (b) 1915- 1920 saw difficult years of the First World War and end of indenture system in 1717. (c) 1921- 1930 saw *kangani* or *maistry* labor migration to Ceylon, Burma and Malaysia. (d) Post Second World War migration to the advanced west, giving rise to the processes like brain drain. However according to Jain, there is no single and evolutionary pattern of Overseas Indian settlements.

As for the recent statistics of the Indian Diaspora, according to Ramesh (Indian Today, Nov 9, 1998: 62), " The true overseas Indian (TOI) community- the Diaspora- is probably around 15million strong. These 15million fall into five broad categories: roughly five million in Nepal and Sri Lanka, three million in Mauritius, Fiji, South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam, three million in the US, UK, Canada and the Netherlands, 2.5 million in the middle east and 1.5 million in east Asia."

The map (see next page) and the table below (Table 1.1) show the migratory patterns of the Indians during the colonial and postcolonial periods-

**Table 2.1**

**Years of Migration and Percentage of Indian Population**

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>YEAR</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Reunion	1829	Mauritius	70
Mauritius	1834	Guyana	50
Guyana	1838	Fiji	48
Trinidad	1845	Trinidad	41
Jamaica	1845	Surinam	35
Martinique	1854	Nepal	23
Guadeloupe	1854	Reunion	15
Grenada	1856	Bangladesh	11
St.Lucia	1858	Malaysia	9
South Africa	1860	Guadeloupe	8
St. Vincent	1861	Singapore	6
Surinam	1873	Sri Lanka	6
Fiji	1879	South Africa	3
East Africa	1895	U.K.	1.8
Seychelles	1899	Pakistan	1.7
Singapore	1895		
Burma	1852		
Malaysia	1895		
Canada	1875		
U.K.	1955		
U.S.A.	1965		
Australia	1973		

**Source: Parekh, Bhikhu (1994:8) Table 1 and table 2 are combined**

Commenting on the heterogeneous nature of Indian Diaspora, Lakshmana says, " There is much diversity in numbers, economic levels, relations with other coexisting ethnic and social groups, cosmopolitaness, religious perceptions and **above**



MAP IS AN ART

all in political participation." If at all, some uniformities may be observed among the overseas Indians in the following contexts:

- (a) Indian majority or Indians as the largest group.
- (b) Dominant Indian presence (Indians as an influential minority group).
- (c) Countries with recognizable Indian population.
- (d) Middle East.
- (e) Other countries with small Indian population.

### LIST OF DESTINATIONS

(For the Map on the previous page)

<b>1.WEST INDIES</b>	<b>11.BURMA</b>	<b>21.CANADA</b>
<b>2.GUYANA</b>	<b>12.THAILAND</b>	<b>22.UNITED STATES</b>
<b>3.SURINAME</b>	<b>13.MALAYSIA</b>	<b>23.AUSTRALIA</b>
<b>4.SOUTH AFRICA</b>	<b>14.SINGAPORE</b>	<b>24.NEWZEALAND</b>
<b>5.KENYA</b>	<b>15.SUMATRA</b>	<b>25.FAR EAST</b>
<b>6.UGANDA</b>	<b>16.JAVA</b>	
<b>7.SUDAN</b>	<b>17.PHILLIPPINES</b>	
<b>8.ETHIOPIA</b>	<b>18.HONGKONG</b>	
<b>9.MADAGASCAR</b>	<b>19.FUI</b>	
<b>10.MAURITIUS</b>	<b>20.GREAT BRITAIN.</b>	

### *Theoretical Perspectives*

The dispersal of various populations and their settlement in the receiving countries has attracted the attention of scholars from different disciplines in social

sciences and humanities. Several of the studies have been country specific. Very few writers have taken comparative studies and offered theoretical paradigms for Diaspora studies.

There is a serious need to study Diaspora analytically for valid reasons. We see a major shift in the overall scenario of the societies when a comparison is done between societies of the remote past and of the contemporary ones. The shift can be seen from changes in socio-cultural patterns, ways of life, value systems to the rapid changes in the transport, scientific developments, and invention of the press and media advancements. The shift has an obvious impact on any kind of movement of population and formation of a Diaspora community. We should always note that not all migrations lead to the formation of the Diaspora communities.

The interest in the study of these communities strengthen, as we see great movements of populations across the national borders in this free-market economy, finally resulting in the formation of a multiethnic transnational society which is culturally pluralistic. A review of literature on the Indian Diaspora reveals that most of the analytical perspectives have their roots in the concepts of 'migration', 'culture', 'ethnicity' and 'nationalism'.

Tinker (1977) in his work looks at the Overseas Indians in two different approaches- Overseas Indians as recreating India in the land of adoption and seeing

'Indians as always victims of circumstance in the lands where they settle' and provides empirical proof for both to substantiate his study.

Kurian and Srivastava (1983) did a comparative study on the adaptive and adjustment patterns of the Indian immigrants, and show how differences arise and vary with places of destination, in adjustment patterns, lifestyles and attitudes.

Singh's works (1982, 1984, and 1987) on the Indians in South East Asia, South Asia, and the Caribbean are explorative and provide us with empirical information. Singh (1984: 2) was interested in the historical migration, and settlement of Indians, and as a diplomat on the developments and 'effects on South Asia cooperation, bilateral relations etc.' And in the case of the Caribbean, Singh stresses the understanding of the East Indians as a major ethnic group in the Caribbean.

Chandan (1986) analyses how capitalism leads to the formation of immigrant workers in the receiving countries, and their resultant marginalisation. The immigrant is entangled between the two cultures and suffers from double consciousness, finally finding detached away from his or her own culture, language, and roots.

Mearns (1995: 14) carried out an ethnographic study on the *Melaka Chitties*, Indian immigrants in Melaka, Malaysia. The author focuses on the 'wider link between identity thus developed out of various sociocultural processes and wider global or macro social processes in a plural society like Malaysia

A brief note on the concepts like 'ethnicity', 'ethnic group' and forms of assimilation would allow us to comprehend better on the theoretical approaches towards Indian Diaspora. Almost all the immigrant groups evolve into ethnic groups in the receiving countries to facilitate cultural conformity and survival in the host societies. They develop a distinctive cultural and social life, which is entirely different, from that of the dominant host. According to Greeley, "... for all practical purposes, we can equate ethnic group with immigrant group" (Greeley 1976: 21).

Jary and Jary (1995) in the Collins Dictionary of Sociology define an ethnic group as " a group of people sharing an identity which arises from a collective sense of a distinctive history." Infact every ethnic group has its own distinctive culture that includes norms, traditions, value- systems, and a defined language for communication with and among the members of the group.

Ethnicity is defined as a 'shared racial linguistic or national identity of a social group', and we should note that 'racial attributes are not necessarily or even usually the defining features of ethnic groups.'(Jary and Jary, Ibid)

According to Gandhi (1974), ethnic communities form when, (a) members of members accustomed to a different way of life find themselves as guests of a complex community, (b) only if receiving community is open to outsiders, and (c) only if there

are reasons why the guests find it possible, necessary and advantageous to band together into a sub- community of their own.

Every ethnic group in the receiving country becomes a part, partially or completely, of the host culture through various mechanisms like assimilation, adaptation, and absorption. The process depends on how both cultures mutually respond towards each other and at micro and macro level situations. Eisenstadt and Gordon (1965: 24) bring out the following two hypotheses to understand such processes observed among **the** ethnic groups:

- (a) Cultural assimilation or acculturation and
- (b) Structural assimilation or assimilation.

According to them, the former involves the process where in the immigrant ethnic group tries to learn the 'manners and style of the new society.' The latter arises in a situation ' in which members of the immigrant group relate to members of other groups, particularly on the intimate levels of friendship and family formation, without regard to ethnic differences.'

Park (1950) defines assimilation " as a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and, by shaping their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 289) write about the melting pot concept where in the entire immigrant cultures in the United States would

turn American finally. But as immigrant populations increase in **the** United States, writers on ethnicity and culture began to search **for** new perspectives to explain the emerging processes.

Malik (1996) writes on various kinds of possible societal formations that may result out of the processes like assimilation, adjustment, and adaptation of the immigrant groups in the host societies. He mentions various options like Multiculturalism, **Plural Society** and **Cultural Pluralism** (coined by Horace Kallen). Malik mentions Horace Kallen who describes cultural pluralism in the context of how different immigrant groups maintain their 'particularistic identity' even when they have integrated into the American society. Furnivall talks of the Plural Society in the context of Indonesia and Burma.

Apart from the above two concepts, the idea of Multicultural society is gaining popularity today in the context of multiethnic societies like the United States. It is a situation where in every group, including the dominant, will accept the differences in the cultures, meanings, and value systems of the other groups. In other words, 'differences are welcomed as expressions of cultural diversity' (Malik *ibid*: 170).

Still another kind of option is the Anglo- conformity in which various immigrant groups conform with the mores and value- systems of the dominant group. It is like institutionalizing role expectations of the dominant group (Eisenstadt *ibid*).

When we think of the theoretical aspects **for** the Indian context, many sociologists have talked about different types of approaches to study Indian Diaspora. Sharma finds most of the existing literature on the Indian Diaspora falling under three broad kinds- historical, diplomatic and anthropological, and identifies two main perspectives underlying these studies (Sharma 1989):

- (a) The sociocultural perspective and
- (b) The political economy perspective.

The sociocultural perspective revolves around the issues like place of origin, destination, the resultant identity, "cultural continuity and change", "cultural identity and integration". This approach examines the phenomenon and the process from the following angles:

- (a) that overseas Indians tend to recreate Indian social structure wherever they go,
- (b) they tend to hold fast to their native culture in their lands of adoption,
- (c) their mode of adaptation is marked by a clear preference for economic integration more than cultural assimilation.

When they carve out a niche for themselves, Indians find the necessity of constructing and continuing certain traditional institutions of their motherland. Sharma (1989) also talks of three modes of adaptation in the host nation- (a) assimilation (b) cultural preservation with economic integration, (c) ethnic polarization for power cultivation,

He considers the following factors to control this adaptation- (a) Background conditions and characteristics of immigrants, (b) Their demographic, generational and organizational status in the country of immigration, (c) Their economic preference and power position in the host country, (d) Response of host community, culture and religion, (e) Level of development and man power needs of the host country and (f) State policy in respect of immigrants.

On the other hand the political economy perspective stresses more on objective conditions and the consequent development of the subjective consciousness, taking in to consideration history, economy, class and power as its central explanatory categories. This perspective can be better used in understanding the differences in the phases of Indian migration.

The above two approaches provide us with a broad understanding of the Indian Diaspora. However, much of the research studies on the Indian Diaspora have been independent of the other disciplines of social sciences. And they mainly concentrated on the migratory aspects, the processes of integration and adjustment, in a specific context. These studies also stressed more on the aspects of culture, identity formation and retention. But the approaches to the study of the Indian Diaspora "should go beyond the barriers of the disciplinary boundaries (Bhat 1997).

The research studies, instead of merely looking from only historical, anthropological, or political point of view, should be more interdisciplinary and

comparative in nature and analysis (Jayaram 1997). The Indian Diaspora community under study should be clearly specified under time and space contexts. This is required so because, Indians abroad are treated under different categories in various 'receiving societies' though they are from the same geographical entity (Kalam 1997). They are called Asian Indians, Indian Americans, and South Asians, Asians and so on. This results in giving various identities to a population from the same origin. So, for an analytical understanding of the category Indian Diaspora, a prior definition of the category under study is a pre- requisite.

As said earlier, much of the research done on the Indian Diaspora revolves around the statistical importance and the cultural processes involved. Coming to the cultural context, the Indian Diaspora has always been viewed in terms of either maintaining its culture of the home or integrating in due course with the host society in the long run. Jain (1997) brings out a synthetic *civilizational Perspective* where in he brings together the two views of cultural persistence (maintenance) and the sociocultural plurality of the host society (integration), which he terms *settlement societies*. He is more interested to see the ongoing emigrant group as a *developing civilization*.

Jain (1993) observes that there are two kinds in the processes of cultural interactions which the Overseas Indians face- the *cultural relationist* and the *cultural adoptionist*. The former holds the view that the customs and traditions persist in spite of the fact that the Diasporic Indians are 'outside' their historical homeland. In the

latter, the question of the adaptation of the social group or an immigrant society in to the social environment of the host society is an important one. The Indian Diasporic community can also be understood from the point view of Jain's (1997) *settlement societies*, as post- colonial identities.

The approach by Nadarajah (1994) is of more analytical in nature. He talks of a semiotic theory of the Indian Diaspora, which is based on the *context*, and *discourse-as* depending on who is speaking the discourse changes. This is clearly seen when he speaks on the naming of Trans-national community of Indians:

"...the meaning of a category is neither objective nor scientific that it can be taken as unproblematic. This is more so in the social world. Such acts are not merely cultural but also political. From the perspective of (social) semiotics, this can be understood as signs that are produced within particular discourses. Different agencies and point of view are involved in the production names..."

From "...a careful examination of the various works on the transnational community of Indians, a list of names can be identified: Coolie Beast, Indian Coolie, Indian Immigrant, Indian Community Abroad, Indian Abroad, People of Indian Origin, Sucked Oranges, Indian Minorities, Indian Settlers, Indian Indenture Labor, East Indian, Indian Overseas, and Diaspora Indians."

Jain, Prakash (1990: preface) looks at the Indian Overseas from a class approach in dealing with race relations that develop between the immigrant groups

and the host society and the resultant transformations in both the groups in the context. "... to show that a class approach can better explain the race relations situations of overseas Indians than other theoretical approaches. It is suggested that a class analysis of race relations must take into account the ideologies as well as material bases of class formation and class conflict, and the interventionist role of the state."

Presently, many social theorists view the contemporary societies as multicultural ethnic societies or multicultural communities, which have resulted mainly due to large-scale transnational migrations. Indian Diaspora can be seen as one such constituent ethnic community in any of the receiving nation(s), which are multiethnic or multicultural. According to Yinger (1997: 5) one can find four major types of societies in the contemporary multiethnic societies-

(a) A society can be built out of formally equal ethnic groups. (b) A society can be characterized by a major national cultural group, separated from one or more ethnic groups, by a highly permeable boundary. (c) One or more ethnic groups can be strongly oriented toward an outside society. (d) One or more ethnic groups can be "imprisoned" as disprivileged minorities within the larger society.

Indian Diasporic community can be understood as a component in any one of the above kinds of contemporary societies. However, a multicultural society should find "ways of developing a strong sense of mutual commitment and common belonging without insisting upon a shared comprehensive national culture and the

concomitant uniformity of values, ideals and ways of organizing significant social relations" (Parekh at <http://kvc.minbuza.nl>).

Overall we see great transformations in the cultures of the migrating populations. Though their physical or geographical position is de-localized, their social and cultural position is still attached to the old memories of the culture from which their living patterns have emerged. This would be seen in the fourth chapter dealing with the case of Telugus rebuilding their culture through various mechanisms.

We thus observe that the Indian Diaspora, as a large and distinctive group which has its origin in the British colonial subjugation of the rural Indian population. It not only disturbed the traditional social structure but also created the indenture and *kangani* forms of labor that led to large-scale migration of the Indian laborers to the plantations in the British colonies, starting from early eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The phenomenon of the migration took a new turn with the migration of the professionals to the developed nations, one such is the migration to the United States in the post 1960s period.

# THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN THE

## UNITED STATES

Indian Diaspora in USA is a culmination of different phases of Indian migration to the States including the twice- migrants. Though a major portion of the present day Indian Diaspora is a result of the post- 1960s, it has its roots way back in the later part of the eighteenth century to the mid- nineteenth century. The present day Indian Diaspora in the United States consists of the following: the descendants of the migrants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the descendants of and the migrants in the post 1965- era, the **twice- migrants**, and all the Persons of Indian Origin staying in the United states.

Indian emigration to the USA and the resultant Diaspora formations can be analyzed in two different phases. The dividing line can be either the year of Indian Independence (1947) or the year 1965 when the historical Hart- Celler Act (see Appendix B) was passed which has changed the type of migration to the United States. In the section below, the year 1965 is used as the dividing line to differentiate the two phases. This is because Indian migration took a different turn with the migration of professionals to the United States when the Hart- Celler Act was passes in 1965 (See

Appendix). The year of India's Independence does not have that significant relevance with regard to the migration of Indians to the United States.

Sheth (1995) indicates that any study or research on the Indian Diaspora in USA should analyze when and why Indians have migrated, where from it took place, how the immigrants were treated, the residential patterns, the socioeconomic profiles, the ethnic identity and the contribution of the Indians to the host society. We can briefly examine at the Indian Diaspora in the United States in two different phases.

### *The Pre 1965 Phase*

The presence of the Indian Diaspora in the United States begins with the migration of Indians in the mid- nineteenth century. The first recorded migrant was from Madras in 1790, who was taken to Massachusetts by a sea faring captain. But large scale documented migration began during the last decades of nineteenth century.

A brief account of the context, under which Indian immigration to the United States during the mid-nineteenth century occurred, is essential to analyze this early phase. In 1838 the institutional practice of slavery was banned. This ban created a vacuum in the workforce in lumberyards and plantations in the British colonies and North- western America. Around these years the white American workers began to demand more wages and better working conditions, putting pressure on the

managements of the plantations and mines. It resulted in a situation where in the managements sought cheap labor from European colonies in Asia and Africa.

Around these years the British had already established a kind of mercantile capitalism in India in the form of colonization. The colonial land tenure pattern gave rise to the decline of the cottage industries and pauperization of the peasantry. Frequent famines further contributed to poverty, unemployment and availability of a large workforce in India. Infact British India became an appendage to the colonialist economy. The need for cheap labor in the United States and the availability of a large workforce in India in the late nineteenth century formed the context under which the early phase of labor migration took place to the New World. The United States labor agents looking for workforce in the British India found the Indian workforce suitable for the hard work on the lumberyards and for laying railroads in the North- western part of the United States.

Migration of the Indian workforce to North America during the 1880s and 1890s was mainly from Punjab by the Sikhs who were very distinctive in appearance, either as the prospective labor on the lumberyards or as the police to the British colony of Canada. There were also migrants from Gujarat, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Travelling via Hong Kong most of them reached the West Coast of North America and finally settled down around British Columbia and California.

Initially most of them were engaged **for** work on the North Pacific railways, the lumberyards and some of them, mostly Sikhs as the **farm** labor in the Imperial, San Joaquin and Sacramento valley. The Sikhs, who had already the experience in the farming, found it easy to adapt to the existing working conditions. They began to work hard and started saving enough. Kitano and Daniels (1988:91) opine that the migrants' goal was to save and send back or to purchase land. They refer to a study of Mills on East Indians, who found that earning two thousand dollars was the goal of many. They were joined by many other Sikhs working on the British Regiments, who migrated from the United Kingdom after attending the Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.

Immigrants from the British India were called East Indians to distinguish them from the Amerindians. It would be interesting to note that the U.S. Immigration Commission's Dictionary of Races or People defined **East Indians** as any native of the East Indies. The definition included people ranging from the inhabitants of Philippines to the Aryans of India, and that the East Indian immigrant, regardless of their home, culture or religion, were called the *Hindus* or the *Hindoos* (Melendy *ibid*: 186). With regard to the composition of the east Indians, I quote Jensen:

"Sikhs are only two percent in the homeland but between 30 and 40 percent of the East Indian population in California. Muslims make up 5 percent of the population of India, but are probably a smaller proportion in the U.S. The Jains from the areas of Gujarat and the Zoroastrians from Bombay are small groups in both countries" (Jensen 1994).

The East Indians were the most preferred labor as they were ready to work for long hours and for lesser pay than the native **workforce** was. This made the local workforce to turn hostile towards the East Indians, and the hostility was later translated into sociopolitical and economic discrimination against the East Indians.

The European immigrant workers in USA formed Asian Exclusion League, the AEL. It was formed exclusively for the purpose of lobbying for expulsion of the Asian workforce- the Chinese, the Japanese, and the East Indians and others- from Canada and the North- Western U.S. With the increase in the European workers' immigration into USA, the AEL forced the managements of the lumberyards to lay off the East Indian labor. The AEL was extremely active in Canada. The East Indians were forced to cross the borders into California, the intensity of discrimination increased with the riots by AEL in 1907 at Bellingham in Washington State (Melendy *ibid*: 193). The activities of the Asian Exclusion League (AEL), the Judiciary and the United States Consular Representative in the British India aggravated further, the nature of discrimination against the East Indians.

Both the U.S. and the British authorities joined hands with the AEL to block further labor import from India. A Canadian Inspector and Interpreter, W.C.Hopkinson was responsible in persuading them to bar East Indians entering in to USA on the pretext that the East Indians are not suitable to the living patterns of the United States. There were instances of racial discrimination too. The incident of *Komagatu Maru* is worth mentioning here. In 1914, the Immigration Officials

(Johnston 1979) subjected 400 Sikhs who left to British Columbia led by Gurdit Singh, to physical privation and harassment. As Josh (1975:iii) said, the incident "...exposed the hypocrisy of the British colonialists' claim that Indian subjects had the same right to travel and reside in any part of the British Empire as the Whites had. But the ship's passengers and settlers saw through this fraud very soon out of their own experience." The whole issue has turned out to be a question of Indians being treated racially inferior.

The period between 1901 and 1920, clearly shows that the east Indian migration to the United States was on increase to 1910, but then gradually slowed down when the formalities to enact the laws of Exclusion and Restriction began around 1911, to stop the migratory trends from Asia (See the Table 3.1).

**Table- 3.1**  
**East Indian Population in the United States (1900- 1915)**

YEAR	NUMBER	YEAR	NUMBER
1900	9	1908	1710
1901	20	1909	337
1902	84	1910	1782
1903	83	1911	517
1904	258	1912	165
1905	145	1913	188
1906	271	1914	172
1908	1072	1915	82

(Source: U.S. Census, 1975)

The anti- East Indian lobby achieved considerable success in blocking **East Indians** entry in to the U.S. by the early 1920s, through the enactment of following legislations:

(a) **Immigration and Regional Restriction Act, 1917**, where in the British India was kept under the **Barred Zone**. The Act is also known as the **Barred Zone Act**.

(b) The East Indians were made ineligible for the Naturalization in 1923 with the opinion delivered by Justice George Sutherland, though they were given citizenship rights in 1920, under the category of 'Caucasians.'

(c) The **Asian Exclusion Act** of 1924.

The impact of the acts on the East Indians was restrictive in the sense that the Emigration of the east Indians from the British India was restricted. Naturalization rights were denied to the East Indians already living in USA. They were also denied land ownership rights. Discrimination against East Indian immigrants and emigration from India, which was enforced from 1898, continued almost till early 1940s. The immigration policy turned to be against the entrance of the Asians and the bureaucracy was ordered to strictly implement the laws made with an idea of restrictionism.

Many of the East Indians left the United States, and the rest of them who were in the California and other places were 'aided by the **Sikh Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society**, the **Muslim Association of America**, and the **Hindustani Welfare**

Reform **Society'** (Jensen 1994). Yet Indian emigration continued to be high in the years from 1890 to 1930 as the table below shows:

**Table- 3.2**  
**East Indian Immigrants to the U.S by decade (1820- 1970)**

YEAR	NO OF IMMIGRANTS
1820-29	9
1830-39	38
1840-49	34
1850-59	42
1860-69	50
1870-79	166
1880-89	247
1890- 99	102
1900-09	3026
1910- 19	3478
1920-29	2242
1930- 39	554
1940-49	1692
1950-59	1850
1960-69	18638

**Source:** U.S **Department of Commerce and** Bureau of the Census  
(Historical **Statistics of the** U.S: Colonial times to 1970)

The period also saw the migration of students from India to the campuses of the universities like the Cornell (1901) and Berkeley (1904). Many of them came under the scholarship schemes and are from the elite, ruling families in the British India, sufficiently exposed to the English system of education. The students were

active in the associations formed on the campuses aiming at mobilizing for India's independence.

As said earlier the reasons for this predicament were primarily social and economic. No single cause be behind such hatred and the consequent legal enactments, as Seattle Times puts it-" It is not a question of race, but of wages; not a question of men, but modes of life; not a matter of nations, but of habits of life..."

Melendy (ibid: 195) quotes from the Survey, which analyzed the reasons for the immense hatred towards the East Indian workforce, and identified the following as the main causes:

(a) a civic and social question related to the inability of the East Indians to assimilate because of their belief in Caste, their cultural habits, the imbalance between men and women, their lower standard of living and

(b) the receiving nations were concerned with what to do about the already residing on the Pacific coast, the Japanese, the Chinese etc, with laws prohibiting them.

Melendy (ibid) further says," The Survey looked at the new immigrants from the view of cultural superiority and made no efforts to understand the way East Indians lived. Their basic problem was that they were different and thus did not belong to."

In 1944, Representatives of the House, Emmanuel Celler and Clark Booth, Senator Langer, proposed a bill that grants citizenship to all East Indians who came to U.S.A. before 1924. The proposal was shelved at the committee level itself until it was reintroduced a year later in 1945 by a Congressional Committee. It was finally signed by the then President H.S.Truman on July 2, 1946,providing a quota of 100 immigrants per year from the British India. The act also gave East Indians the right of naturalization to "...persons of races indigenous to India."

The **Fulbright- Hays Act** of 1946 also provided an international student and research exchange programs on student and training visas. The 1950s saw a migration of students and researchers on various scholarships and fellowships (Pettys: 1994). To summarize, the salient features of this phase of the emigration to the U.S. are:

(a) The immigrants were from a heterogeneous background, culturally and linguistically, and were mostly from the Northern India- the areas of Punjab and Chotanagpur plateau, (b) the emigration process was not a continuous one, (c) the emigration depended on the migratory laws of both the sending and receiving nations. This condition applies even now and (d) the emigrants never evolved into a community, except for the Sikhs of the Fresno Valley in California.

### *The Post 1965 Phase*

The second phase of emigration during the post 1960s to the U.S. is different in many respects. The post World War II period brought several changes in the

politico- economic profile of many nations, including independent India, which had by then had established as the world's largest democracy.

After the Second World War, the U.S. emerged as a world power laying importance on the technical competence necessitated by a shift to the post- industrial society. The post- industrial society is characterized with the rise of expanding multinational corporations and a breakthrough in the communication revolution and the printing media. Professional and Managerial talent forms an important requisite for such a society.

India continued the then existing British educational system where the medium of instruction was obviously English. The manpower in the system led to incongruity between the number of skilled professionals and the non- availability of jobs relevant to the educational qualifications. This has resulted in unemployment, underemployment and availability of a large pool of professional talent. The above situation provides a context for the second phase of migration in the post 1960s era, with the under-mentioned features (Helweg and Helweg 1990: xii)-

(a) the technological base of the receiving nation is not industrial, but post-industrial, oriented towards the service sector and (b)the socio- economic level of the migrant community is primarily educated professionals , not uneducated peasants or laborers.

The post 1965 migration was a result of the laws passed in the year 1965 (See Appendix B for the Act and Preferences). The **Hart Celler Act**, a modified version of **The McCarran- Walter Act** of 1952, was passed in the October 1965. The Act abolished the national origins quota system in which immigration from certain nations was restricted and limited. Each country was fixed with a quota of 20 000 visas per one year. The Act also favored family union of the citizens of the United States. Apart from the above, the Act stressed on the labor certificate. After its implementation, the prospective Asian arrivals were considered to be potential settlers by policy. Elaborating more on the Act, Gosine quotes Kohli (1988:8),

" Replacing the national origins preference quota Western Hemisphere residents, were for the first time, numerically restricted to 120,000 annually. In addition 170,000 visas were to be issued to the Eastern Hemisphere with no more than 20,000 visas issued to any one country. While the 1965 law appeared to be more open toward immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere its main emphasis was on **the** joining of 'brothers and sisters' to their U.S. citizens. Seventy- four percent of the visas were reserved for family reunification."

The Migration in the post 1965 period began with doctors and engineers migrating to the States in late 1960s due to the vacuum created by the Vietnam War. They easily obtained the jobs after **a** formal training, which is essential to start the corresponding profession on **the** American lines. Generally speaking, they came from the urban middle class, English educated elite families who would easily go in to the ranks of middle and upper classes in the American class structure. There was an

obvious out flow of talent, which always remained an unsolved problem to the Indian nation even today. Infact, they are the quality migrants (Babu 1989: 140).

This period also saw the migration of the unmarried sons and daughters, and parents of the U.S. Citizens on a preferential treatment due to 1965 Act's emphasis on the family reunion. This has an obvious impact on the demographic composition of the Asian Indians in the United States. The immigrants were entering into USA on various statuses. They come on the preferential basis to join their close kin who had already obtained U.S. Citizenship or on the sponsored visas with the work permits. Some also immigrate into USA on student visas, or as potential investors and as other categories like the cases of lottery and refugees.

The period also saw the twice- migrants from Uganda to the United States around August 1972. As Sheth (1995: 173) says, " 7000 Indian refugees from business and professional classes, expelled by Idi Amin regime in Uganda in early 1970s, were admitted to this country under a special clause."

Indian emigration took a new turn in late 1980s with the growth of software industry in India. This industry was exporting, not products but people, "a process Indians call body shopping"(Streamlau John: 1997). The magnitude of such migration went to an extent that an outstanding pool of Indian talent outside India is in the United States, a talent that is a pre requisite for a society which is in the stage of becoming a post- industrial society. As Glenn Garvin (1995) observes, "... immigrants

bring with them high- tech expertise and the knowledge of the way businesses organize and market themselves in other parts of the world."

The immigrants who gradually replace the native workforce were not always received kindly. They often faced hatred from the natives, leading sometimes to the racial and ethnic problems. The Asian Indian group has now begun to play an effective pressure group in the American political process. But there were also some attempts to curb and restrict the incoming populations. There were instances like: (a) Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming promising to introduce a bill slashing the number of legal immigrants by 25%, (b) the March 16, 1995 proposed Federal law aimed at cutting the number of legal immigrants entering the United States are worth mentioning here (Streamlau John, *ibid*).

Garvin (*ibid.*) says the proposed bills "...could severely damage the computer and semi- conductor industries that rely on the immigrant expertise." Streamlau John quotes Bill gates observation on such propositions as "disaster" and they "prevent companies like ours from doing work in the United States."

The **Immigration Act of 1990** (Appendix B) took a 'labor market approach' and 'linked the admission criteria to the enhancement of a country's capacity to effectively compete in the international marketplace.' The skilled professional quota was increased from 54000 to 140000 for 'priority workers' (and their close family

members), who are specialized 'in the fields of science, medicine, and technology ([www.indolink.com](http://www.indolink.com)).

The migration continued to increase day by day with the companies hiring professionals on contract basis with H-1B visas. The migrating professionals are specialized in various fields required by the multinational companies that have to compete in the World market. The relationship between the employer and the employee professional, in most cases is turning out to be a kind of new indenture, as in most cases, in this regard the employed were not in a position to break the contract. If it happens, the employed is demanded to pay compensation in light of breaking of the contract. The professional is also made to get a new work permit from the company he has shifted to.

On the other hand there are reports on the mis- use of the **H-1B** visas by some 'body shoppers' who mediate for both, the companies requiring professionals and the professional who are in search of better job prospects in the United States. The 'body shoppers' in some cases would hire unskilled professionals for the companies, who inreturn are sent back to India on the clauses of inexperience and lack of proper required skills. For the professionals who join the work, are paid lower compared to their American counterparts, and are made to work long hours. The companies in most cases tempt the professionals working on H-1B, promising them to offer them the Green Card Status, and in return make them to work for their companies. In most cases the professional's life is not as sweet as described by many.

The President of the United States has recently signed the FY 1999 Omnibus Appropriation Bill in to law, which was passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate by a majority of 333 to 95 and 65 to 29 respectively in both bodies. According to the law the quota of the H1-B visas is increased from 65000 to 115000 for the FY 1999 and 2000, 107000 for FY 2001 and reverting back to 65000 in the FY 2002. It implies further migration to the United States from the developing nations like India.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Census gives following figures of arrival in to the U.S. from India during the post 1965 period.

**Table 3.3**  
**Asian Indian Arrivals by year (1965- 1990)**

YEAR	ARRIVALS
1965	582
1970	10114
1975	15773
1980	22608
1985	26026
1989	31175
1990	30667

(Source: **Immigration and** Naturalization service)

## *Geographical Distribution*

There is a clear distinction in the settlement patterns between the immigrants during the early phase and that of the recent immigrants. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the immigrants settled mostly around the western parts of the U.S. like California. They were more concentrated on the West Coast. The recent immigrants are widely dispersed all over the United States. They never formed in to segregated groups like the Chinese in the Chinatowns though they are found in large numbers in some localities.

Sheth (1995: 175) observes, " The New York- NewJersey metropolitan area, home to more than 200000 Indians, can be considered the capital of Asian Indians in the United States" and further adds that " the subethnic diversity characterizing Indian immigrants is a disadvantage for establishing a territorial community. Moreover, because Indian immigrants, like Filipinos, are generally fluent in English, they may not need a territorial community." Though the Asian Indian community mostly constitutes of the Hindus, followers of Sikhism, Islam (Indian Muslims), Christianity (Anglo- Indians), Jainism (Jains from Gujarat), Zoroastrainism` (from Bombay) are also found.

Considering the four censuses regions taken into account, their percentage geographical distribution (Bhardwaj and Rao 1990: 201) is as follows: Northeast (34.20), Northcentral (23.10), South (23.40), and the West (19.10). We should also

note here that according to the 1990 census, there are 815447 Indians in the United States (on various statuses), and that there is an observed 33 percent increase in the Indian population since 1990, which makes it to be more than 1080000 now (Mitra, 9Dec, 1997: [www.indianetwork.org/demog/0030.html](http://www.indianetwork.org/demog/0030.html)) and they are present in high numbers in the states like California (159,973), NewYork (140,985), NewJersey (79,440), Illinois (64,200), and Texas(55,795). Refer the Appendixes for information on Asian Indians and data on the state wise population of Indians in the United States (appendixes A & C).

**Table- 3.4**

**U.S. Counties with largest Asian Indian Population**

<b>COUNTY</b>	<b>INDIAN POPULATION</b>	<b>% OF COUNTRY</b>
Queens, NY	56, 601	2.9
Los Angeles, CA	43, 829	0.5
Cook, IL	39, 225	0.8
Harris, TX	21,191	0.6
Santa Clara, CA	20, 164	1.4
Middlesex, NJ	19,110	2.9
Kings, NY	15,641	0.7
Alamedo, CA	15,282	1.2
Orange, CA	15,212	0.6
Dupage, IL	14, 172	<b>1.8</b>
Montgomery, MD	13,339	1.8
Massau, NY	11,875	0.9
Hudson, NJ	11,552	2.1
Bronx, NY	11,051	0.9
Dallas, TX	10, 114	0.6

**Source: Reprinted with permission from the web site:**

**<http://www.littleindia.com>**

## *Economic and Political Participation*

The Asian Indians have made their presence felt in the host nation of immigrants both in economic and political spheres. The Report of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans (1994 October 25) mentions that the mean family income (per annum) of an Indian is \$59,777, the highest of any Asian group. The average per capita income is above 25% of the national average, second to Japanese.'(Reported in the web by INDOlink).

Writing on the economic affluence of the Asian Indians, Kanjilal (1996: 88) quotes President Nixon that " the average Immigrant to the U.S. has higher income than the average American." He further stresses on the point that according to the 1990 U.S. census, Indian Americans had the highest median house- hold annual income of \$48320 in 1989.The economic affluence has made the Asian Indian community to participate in the American political process either directly or indirectly.

As Kanjilal (ibid: 88, 89) writes that the financial affluence gives to an individual the freedom to express his views and encourages his/her participation in the political processes apart relieving the individual from other burdens. Of course he stresses on the point that willing to participate in the political processes acts as limiting factor. He quotes Dan and Thomas (ibid: 88), " People with high income are more like to express informed opinions, vote, support political candidates, contribute

money to campaigns and be active in organizations." One should keep in mind that there is an observed difference in the political activism of the East Indians those who migrated to USA in the pre- Independence period and that of the present day Asian Indians.

The political activism of the community has its roots way back in early 1900s when the East Indian community fought for the right of Naturalization under the able leadership of prominent leaders like S.G.Pandit, Sailendranath Ghore, Ramlal Bajpal, Haridas T. Muzumbdar and others. Sheth (1995: 186) mentions of Mubarak Ali Khan, founder of the Indian Welfare Rights in 1937, who convinced the U.S. Attorney General 'that granting Indian citizenship would provide links to Asia.' The case of Bhagat Singh Thind is also worth mentioning who was denied Citizenship Right by the Supreme Court though he was granted the Right by a Federal Court in Oregon. Their fight finally resulted in the India Citizenship Bill of 1946 signed by the president Truman.

During the early part of this century we also see political activism for India's Independence with the growth of many organizations and associations. The prominent among them are the Indian Home Rule League, the Hindustan Students Association by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1915 and the Young India organization. The Hindu Association, the Ghadar (revolution or mutiny) Party, the Yugantar Ashram of Har Dayal also have become so popular in their fight, targeting the British as the cause for the way they are treated in the United States. The Ghadar Party was started in 1911 and was based at

San Francisco. According to Sheth (ibid: 187), "The Ghadar Party was a combination of nationalist and communal **sentiments** brought from India and the working- class consciousness and the ethnicity immigrants discovered in America." Many of the student participants in the associations were later on deported on the excuse of the Great War to dispense with the East Indian students who were identified as political activists in the campuses of Berkeley, and Stanford. One can easily observe that the immigrant labor, the political exiles, and the students were at the core of the Ghadar party, fighting for India's freedom from the colonial rulers.

Some of the above mentioned organizations which were active before India's Independence, were short lived and discontinued once the goal was achieved. However as the strength of the Indian Immigrants increased in the post 1965 period to the United States, people began to re-organize themselves again. They also entered into the political arena of the USA through their active participation in the elections. The instance of Dilip Singh Saund **who** became the first Indian Congressman from California (1956 and 1958) is worth mentioning. There are also instances where Indians contested in the elections or contributed actively in fund raising both for the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE) played a crucial role in instilling **the** ideas of political awareness among the Asian Indians from 1983. The main issues concerned included ethnic representation in the American Political process, the minority and discrimination question, working for the anti- Pakistan

lobby, and the foreign policy of the U.S. towards India. Niranjana Shah, the Chairman of Globetrotters Engineering Corporation, says, " We try to influence the U.S. foreign policy towards the country we left behind"(Shah and Joyce 1995).

Noting on the growing need for more political involvement by the Asian Indians, the Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez says," I believe that it is very important especially in the coming year that the Indian American community thinks very strategically about how it handles itself within the mind and the workings of what goes on in Congress", and " ...I suggest that you form a task force, a few people-nationwide- who will come in to congress..." (Panchapakesan for IndiaWebPost 1997)

" Politically, Indians are likely to play an enhanced role in the future. They have begun realizing the importance of it in getting recognition and in redressing their grievances. Being intellectually gifted and financially sound they can accomplish their political goals through concerted efforts. They would achieve this as a single ethnic group in the U.S. Above all, such a political achievement will be the foremost manifestation of their identity" (Parangimalil 1990: 114).

As the number of immigrants from Asia including the Asian Indian immigrants increase, there are chances that the evolving ethnic groups in the States may begin to play crucial role in the American political and economic processes. Hwang (1994: forward) observes, "... unsurprisingly, since power in America has historically been distributed along racial lines, and Anglos now feel their influence diminishing before

new demographic and cultural realities." Their role may also lead to the ethnic upheavals as the immigrants groups struggle for the share in the political power.

Another aspect of the Asian Indians in the U.S. is to see them as a part of the larger group, the NRIs. They play a crucial part in their investments in the Indian companies, savings in the Indian Banks, and their remittances to the families back. In a way, their contributions reduce the burden of the foreign- exchange deficit of India. The NRIs are given various incentives like considerable rates of interest for their savings, the Resurgent India Bonds (RIBs), Automatic Clearance for their investment, raised individual investment to 5% and issue of the India Millennium Scheme by the UTI. The government policy towards the NRIs has always been to attract the investments and there is an observed neglect in formulating a concrete policy.

Jairam Ramesh opines (India Today, Nov 9. 1998: 62)- " Our policy towards global Indians must change from chasing money to leveraging and networking their professional skills. Indians abroad are distinguishing themselves in a large number of fields like science, engineering, medicine, management, economics, informatics, biotechnology, agriculture, finance, and energy. But this segment, which has the potential to transform and revitalize our educational, research. Financial and manufacturing systems, has been largely ignored."

The recently concluded Global Indian Entrepreneurs Conference (GIEC), 12-13 Nov 1998, NewDelhi, suggested that the government should form a separate

ministry to look into the affairs of the NRIs and that they should be issued an Orange Card for the PIOs holding foreign passports. The Prime Minister said that the government 'decided to implement a scheme for issuance of a Person of Indian Origin card for those living abroad and having foreign passports. The PIO card would be extended to Persons of Indian Origin settled in countries to be specified by government. The card would confer upon them a range of special benefits, which would include a visa- free regime and several other facilities in the economic, financial and educational fields' ([www.mahesh.com](http://www.mahesh.com)).

### *Sociocultural Profile of Asian Indians in USA.*

When we try to understand the sociocultural aspects of the Asian Indians, the institutions of family, religion have to be analyzed with. The immigrants are from a religion that stresses on aspects like the *dharm*, *karma*, *moksha* and various other taken from *Upanishads*, *Vedas*, *epics* and the *Bhagavadgita*. Hinduism as a way life gives due importance to the actions performed in this birth that would have an impact in the next birth. This makes the individual to perform good deeds and work for his own good and for the good of the others. It is more an "individual- oriented rather than a congregational religion"(Bhardwaj and Rao 1990: 211).

The immigrants are from a society that is based on the four *Varnas*, and four *Ashramas*. The identity of the immigrants is formed out of an exposure to the kind of life led under the above institutions. The *Varna* system paved way for the more rigid

caste system. Hindus identify in terms of their respective castes. Indians in the United States too are more organized on the basis of linguistic and caste identities rather than on the religions. This helps in the reinforcing their identity and maintaining it thus.

The institution of family plays a significant role in the immigrants' life. Generally the traditional Indian family, from which most of the immigrants come from, is generally the joint family owning a common property, where the decision of the head is supreme. But the family in USA is more individualistic and where primary members have little role to play in the lives of the other family members. This implies that the environment plays a crucial role than the family socialization of the individual.

The first generation immigrants and their children who constitute the second-generation children now face with problems of identity, cultural and inter-generational conflicts. The First Generation parents, who were born and brought up in India, migrated to the United States to make a living by utilizing the available opportunities. They never thought they would settle there, the reason for which they could not easily give up their culture. They always tried to maintain and preserve their culture and this was facilitated by the growth of Indian Associations, hotels and supermarkets with Indian food and goods, and with growth of community, religious and regional centers. Indeed they have the potential for the acculturation process but 'their behavior is more in line with the Indian ethos'. So, they are more Indian at the

primary group level and are Americanized at the secondary group level (Saran: 46-47).

To expect the same from their children born and socialized in the U.S., gives rise to conflict between the two generations. The second- generation children, who are exposed to the American way of liberal life, all the time outside their home, find it difficult to accept the conservative views of their parents. The impact of the host community, particularly the peer group is more profound than the family members are. Infact the second generation should properly adjust and assimilate with the American way of life to be fully accepted by their peer groups. Being born there they are the citizens of the U.S. and are more inclined to the American way of life than the Indian. The parents urge the second- generation children to learn the culture of their motherland by participating in the activities promoted by the Indian organizations.

The Indian immigrants are from a society where tradition rules the life and acts as a guide to the right living. But the Second- generation questions the desirability and use of such outdated rules and customs. As Jain (1993) puts it "...parents want to maintain the traditional authority structure in their families and often ignore the fact that the child's socialization is highly influenced by the environment outside the family." The children, who are born and brought up in India, but later on joined their parents in the U.S., cling to their native culture and try bringing balance between the two cultures. So, it is obvious that the environment the children are brought up plays a crucial role.

With the immigrant flow to the United States continuously increasing, ethnic and minority groups play a crucial role in the transformation of the American sociopolitical and economic structure. When it comes to the maintenance of their respective ways of life and cultures, they are automatically or unconsciously preserved. According to Greeley (1976: 167), the cultural links are preserved in two ways: first, by the unconscious transmission of role expectations, some rooted in the past and others in the early experience in this country, and second, through scholarly or artistic interest in customs of the past. Thus, though the ethnic groups in this country have their own culture, more or less independent of their countries of origin where their roots lie, many of the old links survive, indirectly, and undeliberately, or in a highly self-conscious fashion. This makes us to know about the role played by the immigrants' associations /organizations in the maintenance and continuity of the immigrant's culture.

### *Asian Indian Associations in USA*

Associations and organizations have always played a crucial role in the lives of the Asian Indians in the United States, politically and culturally. Participation in the activities of the organizations is stressed to have political influence and on the other hand organizations become the centers of cultural activity and help in maintaining the identity (Saran: 47). They are the places where people from the similar cultural and social background would get together and celebrate festivals, organize musical and

cultural concerts, national conventions. The participants identify with the traditions and cultural aspects observed at the celebrations. The associations cater to the social and cultural needs and act as safety valves for the adaptive problems of the immigrants.

There are visible differences in the types of Indian organizations in the United States that were active before India's independence and those which have come up there after. The former were short lived and were fighting either for the rights of naturalization or for India's independence. The later ones are of a recent origin and offer forums for political participation and activism of the Asian Indians, act as cultural and social meeting points, and assisting those back at home in various developmental programs.

The prominent organizations are the Associations of Indians in America (AIA), the National Federation of Indian Americans Associations, Inc (NFIA), the Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO), the Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE), the National Association of Americans of Asian Indian Descent (NAAAID) and Association for India's Development.

The NFIA organized the First Global Convention of People of Indian Origin from Aug 28- Sep 3, 1989, with an objective of ' sharing the experience of international Indian communities on a common forum and to foster harmony with a feeling of brotherhood and fellowship amongst the people of Indian origin

**([www.sourceindia.com](http://www.sourceindia.com))**. G0PI0 was formed as a result of the First Convention. It was formed with a purpose ' to serve as a coordinating body for the people of Indian origin living outside India' and '... to conduct future global and regional conventions as well as to coordinate activities of common interest to people of Indian origin around the world ([www.sourceindia.com](http://www.sourceindia.com)).

But today as more and more Indians migrate to the United States, they tend to associate themselves more on linguistic and regional basis. The caste has also made its way, slowly deepening among the Indians abroad. People began to identify themselves with their regions in India on the basis of their respective cultural and linguistic affiliation. This gave rise to organizations like Telugu Association of North America, America Telugu Association (ATA), World Malayali Council, Bengali Cultural Association, Kannada Koota, New England Marathi Mandal and Gujarathi Samaj. Saran writes that 'in view of the emergence of a larger number of regional associations, it seems that the present time a greater emphasis is placed on viewing the Indian regional organizations as providing a setting for the maintenance of Indian identity' (Saran: 47).

Apart from the associations of various regions in India, one can also find the Hindu Temples, Sikh Gurudwaras and Jain temples. Various Indian Christians have their own places of worship too. Organizations based on occupations can also be mentioned: the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPPI)- the 'largest medical organization representing the interests of over 26000 physicians of

Indian heritage in the US, the American Society of Engineers of Indian Origin (ASEI), the Silicon Valley Indian Professionals Association (SIPA), the South Asian Journalists Association, the Indian International Economic Association which is 'an association of professional economists of Indian origin...' and the MSU India Club- the association of graduate students and faculty of Indian origin.

Almost all the universities in the United States have Indian students associations, like the Mayur at the Carnegie Mellon University or the Sangam at MIT, under the banner of Indian, South Asian or Asian identities. The associations form a part of the social and cultural life of the students bringing them together. The associations have discussion forums on issues concerning their life in USA. They also organize cultural shows, some basing on the themes like the generation and cultural gap problems, the issues related to the identity. They also arrange seminars and conventions on crucial political issues and build opinions, raise funds for various developmental projects and programs for the socio- economic development of the motherland. This is a general comment made after reading about some student organizations.

There are some women organizations like the *Manavi* that provides social services to women, *Sakhi* that has a hotline for battered women, and the Asian Indian Women in America (AIWA), which deals with various women and family issues (Khandelwal: 1991). There are also other organizations like the *Maitri* based in the

San Francisco Bay Area to help South Asian women who face 'physical and emotional abuse, family conflict or cultural adjustment problems.'

A typical observation made on the Asian Indians in USA is their tendency to differentiate themselves on the basis of regional and linguistic lines. This results in the evolution of sub-ethnic identities among themselves, as they start to identify with categories like *jati*, religion, sect, and regional and linguistic bases. Today Asian Indians in USA have several of such associations based on the above mentioned bases.

## TELUGU DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES

At the outset, the phrase **Telugu Diaspora** needs explanation before we analyze the context of it in the United States. The Telugu Diaspora in the United States refers to those families who have made U.S as their home. There are also other Telugus in the U.S who are yet to secure the Green Card and subsequently citizenship in due course. In addition to the above, the recent migrants too. form a part of the Potential Telugu Diaspora. For the purpose of this study, the Telugu Diaspora includes those Telugus who have already become the citizens of the U.S and also those with Green Cards entailing the permanent resident status and also the potential Telugu Diaspora. The potential Telugu Diaspora includes all the Telugus in the U.S who are there on various work permits, visiting visas, officials, and those who stay for the entrepreneurial activities.

### *Migration of Andhras-a Note*

Telugus form the pre- dominant population in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the fifth largest state in India. The state consists of 23 districts divided in to three major geographical regions- *Coastal. Telengana, and Rayalaseema*. The Telugu language is spoken by nearly 88% of the population in Andhra Pradesh (Rao 1983). The Telugu

speaking population consists of 88% Hindus. 1% Muslims. 47c Christians, and 1% Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists and Jains (Rao, *ibid*).

Telugus are also known as the Andhras. **Andhras** were first mentioned in the Aitreya Brahmana. Various opinions exist on the exact date of the Aitreya Brahmana. According to RajGopal Rao (1984), the date is of 8(X)BC where in Andhras were mentioned as the cursed sons of Vishwamitra. Andhras were expelled from the Brahmana fold along with *Pundras*, *Sabaras*, *Pulindas*, and *Matibas* "when the fifty eldest sons of Vishwamitra refused to accept his adoption of Sunahsepha" (Rao, *ibid*).

The word Andhra is identified synonymously with the words Telugu, Tenugu. RajGopal Rao (*ibid*) gives an explanation for the origin of the terms. The word *andhra* has its origin from the word *andha* (blind man) and it means the 'destroyer of blindness'. Telugu has **its** origin from the phrase **trilinga desa** and *tenugu* from *tene+* **agu** (sweet like honey) or *ten+* *nudugu* (the language of the south).

According to Rajgopal (*mimeo*), the literary tradition of Telugu language has a long history and dates back to eleventh century CE, 'when the project of translating the Mahabharata (a great Sanskrit epic) into Telugu was undertaken.

There is enough written literature available on the migration of Andhras to other countries across the borders during all the stages of Andhra history, but there is no enough recorded data in figures related to the literature on **the** migration. Andhras

had contacts with the people outside Indian Subcontinent even during the historical times. They had both maritime and land trade links. The trade links existed with Rome, Persia and later extended to colonial countries like Portugal, Netherlands, Britain and also to their colonies.

Historical data suggests that " The Andhra Satavahanas had trade contacts with Rome and the ladies of that city took pride in dressing themselves with Indian silks and other textiles"(Rao 1983:19). The textile industry flourished and the trade links have extended to Europe, Persia, and South East Asia. Andhra had centers of textile business in India. There were centers like Tuni, Bhimunipatnam, Kakinada, Vizagapatnam, Gollapalem and others. Around the years, King Ganapatideva of Kakatiya dynasty has issued an *Abhaya Sasana* at the port of Motupalli for health trade and commerce with traders coming from beyond the maritime borders. The above explanations clearly give us an idea that the Andhras have migrated in the past for trade and commerce purposes beyond the sea and land frontiers.

Raju (1981: 177) refers to Telugu kings who ruled the Central and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka during whose period, eight century, "...several Telugu chieftains, military and other personnel were brought to the island but no records are readily available about their achievements worth of note." In later stages the successive generations, among the Telugus, married Tamilians, and in due course lost their native identity.

The colonial period has the instances of indenture and *kangani* labor from Andhra Desa also. Discussing on the geographical origin of the indenture labor Jain (1990) writes " In south India the Tamil- speaking areas of Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad, Salem and Tanjore and the Telugu speaking areas of Vizagapatnam and Ganjam were the main recruiting districts" in South India for the indenture labor. South India was particularly known for the supply for *Kangani* form of labor, which was mainly drawn from the Tamil populations, followed by the Malayalese, Telugus, and the North Indians (Jain *ibid*).

As early as 1824, with the annexation of the Lower Burma, the British recruited labor for the 'economic expansion of Burma' which included Telugus (Rao, Venkateswar 1975:8). The recruitment resumed after the British annexed the Upper Burma in 1885. Many of the labor returned back from Burma after its Independence. People who remained back became a part and parcel of all classes.

The migration to South Africa occurred as a part of the indenture system from the Madras Presidency. Infact the first ever-Indian migrant to the colony was a Telugu, "... Baboo Naidu, who was brought here in July 1855, to work for an English farmer RathBone, in Natal" (Sansay 1975: 23). Sansay writes, apart from a large number of *Naidus (Naidoos)*, the migrants included peasants, farm laborers, clerical, teachers, *kamsala* and *kummarra*. A few numbers of *Komatīs* also migrated but lost their identity later on. The Andhras were very active in business along the coast of Natal, Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and were involved not only in the 'distribution of food,

clothing and household goods' but also owned cinema halls, garages, and some as transport operators and laundry owners (Sansay 1975: 24).

Telugus migrated to Mauritius too as a part of the indenture labor in the nineteenth century, around 1850s, and worked on the sugar estates, and were widely spread over the islands. The Telugu migrant labor "...was very hard working and did their tasks with zeal and enthusiasm and thus won the esteem of their masters and got promotion with higher wages" (Utchanah 1981: 180). Telugus migrated in large numbers along with Tamilians in 1903 in the Vessel ELBE from Madras (Govinda 1981: 183).

The migration of the Telugus to Malaysia occurred well before the indenture and *Kangani* forms of labor migration. There were instances of free migrants who travelled on their own accord to take up lucrative jobs and business. Later, Telugus also formed a part of the Indenture and *Kangani* labour to migrate along with Tamilians and Malayalese to the Malay Peninsula. The main recruiting centers for the *Kangani* labour were Vizagapatnam and Nagapatnam (Rao, Appa 1975: 16). The contract in the *Kangani* form was for three years as compared to five years in the indentured form. The laborers mainly worked on the rubber plantations, oil palms, and coconut plantations. There were also instances of the labor working on the road construction, drainage, sanitation, electricity board and railways too. But these were working as the employees of the government (Rao, Appa *ibid*: 17).

The periods from the 1930s saw no significant migration from India any form due to the restricted movement of such labor following due to certain legislations. Indeed the period saw more return migrants than emigrants due to **the** world wars and the Great Depression.

Especially after the Second World War. United States made rapid advancements in the fields of Science and technology. Both public and private sectors have invested considerably in the enhancement of a post- industrial society. Students from all over the world were sponsored to get admitted into the universities of the United States and contribute to the ongoing research in various fields. Meritorious students from the major Indian universities were offered scholarships, fellowships by the universities in the United States. Several of them have returned home after the completion of their studies, but a good number of them elected to remain in USA as permanent residents (Rao, Venugopala, *ibid*: 12).

The period after 1965 saw considerable increase in the migratory trends to the overseas destinations. This phase, as said earlier, was different from the labor migration during the colonial period. The migrants in the post 1965 were mostly from the urban based, middle class English educated, often with the professional skills. The 1965 law provided opportunities to migrants to accompany their family members to the United States (See Appendix). The period saw a considerable migration of doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers and students to the United States, mostly from the *Coastal* region. After the enactment of the 1965 Law, many students who were on the student visas as well as the professionals on various kinds of exchange programs

started applying for the **permanent** resident status **in the United States** in order to become the citizens of the U.S. Many of them who have become **the** citizens or permanent residents started sponsoring their kith and kin on various preferential bases (See Appendix B for Preferences in the 1965 Act).

Back in the state of Andhra Pradesh, advancements **in** Science, Technological applications, Communication and Printing media along **with** the **government** planning have resulted in a situation where the secondary and higher education is made available to all major towns and cities of the State of AP. "...one of the **few** states which has the advantage of a sound education structure at **present'**(Chalam 1998:68). Both the parents and children are aware of **the** professions that are in great demand and were therefore sought after. This has resulted in a pool of professionals throughout the country, including Andhra Pradesh. It is well known fact that the late 1980s saw a shift to courses in computer applications or the so-called software engineering.

Emphasis on education gave rise to a steep growth in the number of professionals in the market often outnumbering the jobs available in India. The market operations also show that wherever the professionals are better paid they tend to migrate to those destinations. Such a process is often is called **Brain drain**. With the outbreak of the software application industry along with the transformations in the Information Technology in the state of Andhra Pradesh, migration from A.P. increased profusely, with software engineers and consultants migrating to the United States.

## *Migration of Andhrasto the U.S.*

The above section reveals the nature of the migratory aspects of Telugus to various parts of the world at different points of time. It also shows that the migration to the U.S. is of a recent phenomenon, that is, in ~~the~~ post 1960s period. There is a considerable presence of the Telugu Diaspora from then, and is widely dispersed throughout the U.S. though concentrated around regions like NewYork, New Jersey, Illinois, Texas and California.

The present work, as mentioned in the Introduction, is an explorative study of the Telugu Diaspora (including the Potential Telugu Diaspora). It includes a micro study, by administering a questionnaire through e-mail to 50 Telugus selected employing the snow ball technique. Of these 22 respondents provided necessary details asked in the questionnaire. Data on the locations in A.P from which large number of migrants have gone to the U.S, occupational structures, affiliation and opinions on the Telugu Associations were collected.

The following sections provide brief details of the responses, analyzed to understand the context of Telugu Diaspora in the U.S. In all the cases the names of the respondents are changed to protect their identity.

### *The Place of Origin*

Since the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh and before, the Coastal Andhra was more developed than the other two regions of the state. The differences are due to the availability of natural resources, fertile land on the Coast and the form of political set up between coastal and other regions. The areas of the *Telangana* and *Rayalaseema* were under feudalism that deteriorated the developmental activities in those regions. As a part of the Madras Presidency, the British form of education influenced the Coastal region with English as the medium of instruction. The public education was made available to most of the interior areas, and awareness was created on the benefits of the higher education. As Chalam (ibid: 71) writes. "... The Zamindaris of the Telugu speaking areas appeared to have not encouraged universal education either in the coastal districts or in the *Telangana* region Further, the missionaries who were working in the education field had concentrated only in the rich Godavari and Krishna delta "(parts of coastal Andhra). The post 1965 era saw initially the migration of doctors to the United States from the coastal Andhra, followed by the engineers, teachers and students. But the process reached its heights with the recent migration of the software professionals to the United States in the recent years.

As the table 4.1 below shows, most of the respondents in the present research are from the coastal region, followed by *Telangana* and *Rayalaseema*. The *Telangana* region is dominated by the respondents who origin from the city of Hyderabad, the center of all professional activity.

**Table- 4.1**  
**Place of Origin**

<b>REGION IN A.P.</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Coastal	13	59.09
Telangana	7	31.81
Rayalaseema	1	4.54
Did not Specify	1	4.54

*Age and Marital Status of the Respondents*

The characteristics like the age of the migrant, marital status of the respondents are shown below in the two tables- Table 4.2 and Table 4.3

**Table- 4.2**  
**Age of the Respondents**

<b>AGE INTERVAL</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
20-30	10	45.45
30-40	9	40.90
40-50	-	-
50-60	1	4.54
60 & Above	2	9.09

**Table- 4.3**  
**Marital Status of the Respondents**

<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>	<b>RESPONDETNS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Married	14	63.63
Unmarried	6	27.27
Did Not Mention	2	9.09

Most of the respondents are in the age group between 20 and 30 (table 4.2). This implies of the recent migration of the software professionals, who form a part of the Potential Telugu Diaspora. It is also observed that most of the respondents above 50 years of age have already become the citizens of the U.S, forming a part of the Telugu Diaspora in the United States.

From the Table 4.4 below, it is observed that nearly half the number of total respondents mentioned that they received help from those who already settled there in the United States. There are two respondents who did not mention anything when asked about the same.

Table- 4.4

Whether received any help from those already there in the U.S.

CATEGORY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Yes	10	45.45
No	10	45.45
Did Not	2	9.09

And most of the respondents came to know about the opportunities in the United States through their educational institutions and friends. Some respondents sought help from those who those who are already there in the United States (Table 4.5)

**Table- 4.5**  
**Member instrumental in helping**

<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Friend	12	54.54
Relative	2	9.09
None	-	-
Others	8	32.32

***Education, Occupation and Income***

Almost all of the respondents had either Bachelor or Masters in Higher education. The following tables 4.6 and 4.7 show the respondents' educational background, and occupations.

**Table- 4.6**  
**Educational Background of the respondents**

<b>EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Bachelors (B.S.& B.E)	6	27.27
Masters (M.S., M.Tech., M.C.A., M.Pharm.,&MBA	13	59.09
Doctorate	3	13.63

The migrants from **A.P** to the U.S, throughout, like doctors, engineers, teachers, technologists, and the software engineers are highly qualified with professional skills. Many had their formal education in prestigious institutions with reputation of higher order.

**Table- 4.7**  
**Occupational Status of the Respondents**

<b>OCCUPATION</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Software	10	45.45
Engineer	<b>4</b>	18.18
Scientist	<b>2</b>	9.09
Academics	2	9.09
Professor	2	9.09
Biotechnologist	<b>1</b>	4.54
SAP Consultant	<b>1</b>	4.54

Many of the respondents in the present research, with their professional background, draw considerable income per annum. As professionals, the Telugu Diaspora has been successful in recent times in making their presence felt among the Asian Indians in the United States. Making this observation, RajGopal writes, " The average income of Telugu immigrants compares favorably with the average income for all Asian Indians in the U.S. and tends to be higher than the overall American average"(ibid). Such a view is supported by this study. The average income of the respondents is around \$ 64100 per annum. The following table 3.8 shows income per annum in ('000 dollars).

**Table- 4.8**  
**Income of the Respondents**

<b>INCOME</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
20-40	-	-
40-60	8	36.36
60-80	4	18.18
80- 100	3	13.63
100 & Above	1	4.54
Did Not Mention	<b>6</b>	27.27

The Status of the Respondents

Table- 4.9  
**Residential Status of the Respondents**

STATUS	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
U.S. Citizen	5	22.72
Going to become U.S. Citizen	1	4.54
Green Card Holder	2	9.09
Going to get Green Card	5	22.72
H-1B Work Permit	8	36.36
Student Visa	1	4.54

As said in the introduction to this chapter, the Telugu Diaspora community can be said to be consisting of both the Citizens and the Green card holders, who form a part of the permanent residents in the United States. The rest of the Telugus form a part of the potential Telugu diaspora.

From the above table 4.9 we can deduce the following **information:** (a) 36.35% of the respondents form part of the actual Telugu Diaspora, which constitutes of those who are citizens and those who hold Green Card (the status of permanent residence), (b) the percentage of population who are going to get their Green Card Status stand between the actual Telugu Diaspora and the potential Telugu Diaspora. They constitute 22.72%, and (c) the third category consists of the potential Telugu Diaspora. They are in the United States under various kinds of visas like the H1-B

visa, the Student visa and others. They constitute 40.90%.

Recent trends reveal ever-increasing migration of the professionals to the U.S and these immigrants further added to the category of the potential Telugu Diaspora.

Rao, Venugopala (ibid: 12) categorizes Andhras who are presently staying in the United States into the following heads: (a) Students who are pursuing higher studies, (b) Persons who obtained their postgraduate education in the USA and settled down with permanent residents' status and (c) Persons who entered the US as professionals.

#### *Causes for Migration and Views on Working Conditions*

The initial migrants are doctors followed by engineers, technologists, students and teachers, who migrated to the States in the late 1960s, and settled mainly around the Metropolitan areas of NewYork and NewJersey. They were recruited to fill the void created with the migration of doctors to Vietnam during the Vietnam War. The migrants from the A.P have come to know about the opportunities from those who had already settled in the United States.

There is a further increase in the migration of skilled persons from Andhra Pradesh from the late 1980s for a different reason. Technological advancement in the field of computer applications made computers an integral part of work processes in

all spheres of life. This led to the automation of the industrial **processes** and also the office work. The computer aided industrial processes increased the productivity. The computerization of the official data processing led to quicker data interpretations and analysis of the production systems and decision making.

The 1990s saw an everending demand for software professionals in the American labor market. Thanks to the exponential growth of training institutions in and around Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka to cater to this new demand. These information technology professionals are easily absorbed in the expanding economies of Indian and the West, mostly by the software industry in the U.S. Apart from the reasons of opportunity, there are several other reasons and conditions under which these professionals migrated to the United States. Most of the respondents in the present study expressed their opinions with respect to the economic and professional reasons besides opinions on the working conditions in India. For most of the respondents, it was their career that brought them to the United States.

Prospects for better career have made them to migrate to the United States. A respondent, Ramesh who works for a company in Chicago as a software consultant says, " ...just my career brought me here". Suryanarayana who works for a company San Antonio as digital design engineer feels that he has come to the U.S searching for a better career and better practical education. Narayana who had come to the United States as a student " to pursue higher education and perform research " presently works in Knoxville with satisfactory career advancement.

Apart from the reasons related to the career, search **for** better economic prospects, better living conditions also act as necessary reasons **for** migration. As Ramadevi who works as a systems manager in NewYork says," ...looking for a better life- good education, well paid job and better living conditions and less corruption". There are also other reasons; for instance Shekar from Dallas who works as a software engineer," ... was basically interested in going places, it started with Singapore and eventually landed up in U.S.A.". Raviteja who works in Omaha "... just wanted see U.S. in professional life, ... had an ambition of coming abroad for studying."

Some of the respondents consider their experiences in India, owing to rampant corruption and red tapism, as reasons for their leaving India. Subrahmanya Shastri, who works in NewYork as an engineer left for the United States "... under the circumstances when I was treated like dirt in India; yet was given recognition by U.S. on basis of my innovative skills and research work". Similarly Kiran a biotechnologist in Maryland left India " ...because a hard working engineer cannot make a decent salary and a decent job without bribing or recommendation. I tried to start a business, which in fact I did, but selling to the government also involves lot of corrupt practices. Talent and creativity are always neglected and in certain cases punished".

But the main reason has to do with the working conditions. As we observe, the revolutions in the communication technology are helping to develop networks among professionals of same kind. Each of the professional is accessible to

information on the market position of their respective profession and the nature of working conditions all throughout. Some of the respondents found that the present working conditions in India as not conducive and the quality of work as routine in nature

While comparing the differences in the working conditions in India and U.S.A., many observe that the working conditions are better and healthy in the United States than in India. The differences in the working conditions also play a crucial role in the migration of the professionals to other countries including United States. But in any case comparing the existing conditions in the United States and India is very puzzling as Raviteza puts, it "depends on whatever company you are working either in India or the U.S. and the position you are in".

Though there are different reasons for migrating to the U.S, most of them express their dissatisfaction over the existing conditions in India. Many found working environment is more professional in the U.S. and it is too rigid and against accepting good, creative ideas in India, besides being bureaucratic. Anil, a software engineer in Dallas informs that some of the bosses in India treat the newcomers and beginners like a child or student. But back in the U.S, the boss is a co-ordinator for the working team and other related matters of the project. Similar are the observations of Ramadevi and she says working conditions are very poor in the Indian context and that people have no respect for each other and they do not trust others.

The conditions in the United States are less bureaucratic and flexible. There is recognition to the work accomplished in the given time. As Narayana says." In U.S. one has to work with tight schedules and low man- power. The contrary is true in India. Accomplishments are readily rewarded in U.S. However there is hardly any job security in U.S., Where as it is almost taken for granted in India." Further " ...in U.S. if you do your work in the given time frame, you are fine. Good recognition for good work. In India, you are forced to work after- hours as a responsibility (at least where I worked) and no recognition to the work you did."

It appears that the main characteristics of the working conditions in the United States are, as Kiran puts it "... better pay, more respect, clearly defined jobs, greater job satisfaction, greater efficiency, faster rate of promotion, flexible and intense."

There are also other kinds of opinions on the nature of working conditions in India. Respondents like Ramesh and Ramarao, feel very positive and optimistic. They opine that a comparison on the working conditions between the United States and India cannot be made as the work ethics, nature of the work done are different. But, even otherwise they feel that the pace at which work is done is faster in India with improving working conditions, and say that their colleagues in India are doing the work of same caliber.

Generally speaking the working conditions anywhere in the global economy depends on the ratio between the available resources and population, existing

economic position of that nation in the context, and inter- related socio economic and political conditions. Srinivas from NewJersey opines that " work here is more organized mainly because of the financial support these guys have here." " In U.S. people work very hard and use the talents of the immigrants without perceivable discrimination. In India people with talents are unutilized and under utilized; the technology is not put to use for generating wealth in the nation. The employees even if hardworking, get cheated to the extent of the payments made to the political and governmental thugs as kickbacks."

The existing working conditions in the multinational corporations are similar everywhere, whether in India or the U.S. Hari who works as an electrical engineer in Dallas opines, " Since I have never worked in India, I can't really comment. However, from what I have gathered from my colleagues in high- tech companies located in India, it is no different than what is there in the U.S. Especially in the multinational companies. They have a very challenging work environment, excellent compensation packages, good and pleasant working conditions. In short it is as good as the situation in the United States."

Even when the working conditions are alright in contemporary India, we still find a large section of the professionals migrating overseas due to the non availability of suitable jobs. Apart from this, there are also reasons beyond the control of the companies. Outside the work place they encounter instances of corruption at all levels, redtapism, non-availability of the infrastructure.

Most of the migration is also due to the pull factors than the push factors as more and more people come to know about the existing vacancies, attractive pay packages, living conditions that the prospective migrants come to know through friends and well wishers. The e- mail and Internet facilities have further augmented this process.

### *Impact of Migration*

Every kind of migration has a considerable impact on both the individual and the family. The impact is profound on the social and cultural aspects of life than on the economic and political. The geographical distance between the place of origin and destination, the type of society that the migrant enters and the way he is received act as limiting factors to understand the impact of migration. Sinha and Ataullah (ibid: 134) opine, " The growth of civilization has broadened the dimensions of the impact of human migrations from primary activity to secondary and tertiary. The impact has started to be felt on other walks of life as well."

The respondents in the present research are asked to express their views on socioeconomic, political and cultural impact of their migration to the United States. Many feel that the migration has potential to bring about changes in every sphere of life and opine that their migration had a considerable impact on their family back in India, though they always keep in touch with the family back through letters, phone calls, etc.

The migration leads to changes in the social relations related to the institutions family and marriage which are the significant constituents of the Indian social structure. Impact on the attitudes and perceptions of the migrants can also be observed from the responses. When asked to express views on the impact, Shekar said that his migration resulted in " ...losing touch with the nephews and nieces. Not being with the parents when they need the most, with them in their old age." Rama Krishna expresses on his parents and family members that "...they just miss us seeing often and having around with us for family functions."

One of the respondents Subrahmanya Shastry mentions, " Socially the impact is marginal. Economically, very great in the land of opportunities to the people with talent (but not by default), politically: the happiness of being away from corrupt, fraudulent, cheap politicians and government officials and injustice done to the poor people (of any creed or language) of India during last 50 years of Independence ruled through license Raj, hypocrisy, fraud, immorality etc."

The migrant enters into a new way of life altogether where in various aspects of life, such as the social structure, organization, culture and language are entirely different from those he has come from. But his/her migration results in a change in the social position and enhances the achieved status. His/Her financial position in the host society and the continuous remittances to the family back at home would generally raise the prestige and esteem, increases the life chances and transforms the **life** styles

of other family members back home. Many of the migrants are able to save and send back some money to the family, which is used, for various family obligations and commitments. As Kiran says," more money, parents have greater status and Uday feels his migration helped his family "financially."

The question of status enhancement can be further analyzed. There is an observed improvement in the financial status and social position of the migrant. But there is no evident change in the ritual status. It appears to remain the same even if the migrant grows rich through his earnings abroad. It might be the cause for growing caste consciousness, awareness, thus resulting in the birth of various castes based Telugu associations among Telugus in the United States. This aspect would be discussed in detail in the next section.

There are also instances of migrants helping their families to join them in the United States. Ramadevi puts," I feel my migration to this country helped my family tremendously. I helped my brothers and sisters to migrate to U.S.A. In this country they are all well to do socially and economically and it is up to them to keep their culture and teach their children." This shows that the migrants have not only helped their family members but also set an example to them to come up in the life. " I was able to help financially many close relatives. I think I also served as an inspiration for many relatives to pursue and excel in higher studies", says Rama Rao.

"...Socially, I have developed new friendships and relationships with other people and have learnt a lot through experiencing other cultures here. Economically I am much better off as an individual through self-made means than I could have hoped for if I was still in India. Politically, I think I have become more of a liberal now through understanding the stands of other people. I am more tolerant and have also comprehended some of the world happenings better. Culturally, I think I have developed an interest in all things Indian and have also picked up several good and bad things from the American culture."

Changes are obvious and observable in the social and cultural contexts of life of immigrants and their families. However there is also continuity in culture that the immigrants seek in their new surroundings. Cultural associations/organizations formed by the immigrants facilitate the maintenance and continuity of their culture. The presence of many Telugu Associations makes the Telugu Diaspora to affiliate with the same and reinstitute the Telugu way of life and reinforce the identity with the Telugu culture.

### Telugu Associations

An association is a "group organized for the pursuit of an interest or group of interests in common" (MacIver and Page). According to Kannan, "by cultural association we mean an organization which is formed by these immigrants in order to bring their countrymen together with a view to celebrate some of the native festivals

marked by the performance of certain cultural programs, such as dramas, dances, and music (Kannan 1978).

Expressing his opinion on the Andhras, Rao, Venugopala (ibid: 13), says, "They often feel more patriotic about their home region and try to cherish and nourish the Telugu tradition through informal groups, associations and organizations." Thus, we can see the formation of association by Andhras even in the contexts of the early migrations to the colonies. The associations in the early years were comprised of a temple, a school and a community hall, each having its own specific function.

Andhras retained their traditional way of life and the culture, and never integrated with others in the colonies. They began to reinforce their emotional attachment with the Telugu culture, language and tradition through celebration of the festivals like *Ugadi*, and *Deeapvali*, and other cultural festivities. The children were made to learn, read and write the Telugu language and the classes were run by the respective associations at the school or temple.

To name some of the early temples, The Bear **Vallon Andhra Mandiram** of 1925, and the **Vishnu Mandiram** of 1928 were active in Mauritius. But in the later years the Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha was started 8 Aug 1947. The objective behind forming the association was "... to group all the Telugu people under one banner and fight for its proper place in the Mauritian Society." (Utchanah 1981: 181). The **Dakshina India Andhra Sangam** of Fiji, started in 1941 under the

Chairmanship of David Robert, saw that Telugu was taught in one of the Primary schools run by it. There were also instances of the laborers who used to get together in the evening after the days toil to enjoy readings from the Telugu literature like *Bharatam* (Govinda, 1981: 183-184).

In the post 1965 period, one can find the **Andhra Cultural Association** in Canada started in January 1969 (Murthy, 1981: 175). It was formally registered in 1975. The Telugu associations had linkages with the State of A.P. since their origin. This association has the credit of starting a Telugu library in Canada, and started publishing *vani*, an yearly magazine for all its members. The association also sent its representative for the first ever World Telugu Conference in Hyderabad, in 1975.

Telugu associations are present in almost all the States in the United States, as a result of the increasing migration of Telugus to the U.S. Though Telugus are found in almost all the parts of the U.S, they are more numerous in NewYork, NewJersey, Chicago, Dallas, Ohio, Philadelphia and others. As the numerical strength has its advantages, Telugu Associations in these states are active and attract participation of Telugus from the neighboring states also.

Before we look into respondents' views on the associations and their role in the life of Andhras, there is a need to know the following:

(a) the origin of the associations and the context involved, (b) the aims and objectives, the cultural activities, the participants in the associations, (c) the

differences in the views of the first and second generation individuals and their participation in the activities of the associations and (d) the linkage between the Telugus in the United States and the Telugus back home including the matters concerning with the government.

The ongoing political activities in the state of Andhra Pradesh generally have influence on the working of the Telugu Associations in the U.S. Way back in 1975, the Government of A.P organized the first World **Telugu Conference**. It passed a resolution to start the International Telugu Institute, an independent body, to look after the language, literary and cultural needs of the Telugus outside Andhra Pradesh. The Institute (presently the **International** Telugu Centre of the Shri Potti Sriramulu Telugu University) works for strengthening the Telugu Language teaching, organize libraries and schools outside Andhra Pradesh. According to Sivaramamurthy, the Director, ITC, the Centre provides financial assistance for the above activities and trains the Telugu teachers ([www.andhratoday.com/LTELUGU/TU.HTML](http://www.andhratoday.com/LTELUGU/TU.HTML)).

Apart from the International Telugu Centre the mid nineties saw the formation of the **World Telugu Federation (WTF)**, as a single unified Federal body, to unite all the Telugus and to act as a common platform for the Telugu Associations existing both in India and outside. According to V.L. Dutt, the present President of the WTF, the Federation is a ' non- governmental, non- political, non- profitable, sociocultural organization to assimilate, integrate and perpetuate the cultural heritage of the Telugu people...' and '...to foster friendship and goodwill among various Telugu cultural associations throughout the world'.

The first World Telugu Conference and the International Telugu Institute encouraged Telugus in the United States to organize themselves and start the TANA in 1977. It is called the **Telugu Association of North America (TANA)**. TANA was formed to 'preserve and propagate the Telugu cultural heritage and maintain the identity of people of Telugu origin and to provide a forum for Telugu literary, cultural, educational, social and charitable interactions among its members' ([www.tana.org](http://www.tana.org)).

From the very initial stages it was very obvious that the association TANA was dominated by a particular caste namely *Kamma*. When N. T. Rama Rao became the Chief Minister of A.P, this community emerged active and participated in the political processes of the A.P. NTR, as he was popularly called, revived the Telugu identity to its peak during his rule, naming his party as Telugu Desam. Many reports on the web say that when he went to the United States, the members of his caste received him with great honour. It is here that he called for strengthening of the Kamma community, which was the origin for the communal feeling among Telugus in the United States.

Later on when leaders from the other dominant caste, the *Reddy*, went to the U.S, they too encouraged birth of another Telugu Association. It led to the formation of the ATA popularly known as the **America Telugu Association ([www.atasite.com](http://www.atasite.com))**. As an individual mentioned in the web page ([www.telugu.com](http://www.telugu.com)), "...when TANA, the original one was plagued with caste politics, one and only caste

dominating all the time, the other politically and materially powerful caste from Andhra (Telangana too) got wild and started their own organization..." It is evident that the origin of these two well known Telugu Associations had a communal and political base. Kannan (1978) observed in the case of associations in the Britain that leadership fights and complete organizational crisis results at times in the formation of rival associations. Such a situation is reported from the U.S too, where caste differences have encouraged the formation of rival associations.

Most of the Telugus, who expressed their opinions at the site [www.telugu.com](http://www.telugu.com), hoped for a merger of the two organizations for a better future for the Telugus in the United States. They recent migrants, who participate in the activities of the Telugu associations are embarrassed to reply, when they are asked by some members to disclose their caste identity by some of the fellow members of the associations. This is one of the reasons that keep away the recent migrants from affiliating with any of the Telugu Associations.

By mid 1980s, almost every state in the United States had Telugu associations at the regional and local levels. Presently apart from TANA and ATA, there are other associations like the Telugu Fine Arts Society (TFAS), Bay Area Telugu Association (BATA), Detroit Telugu Association (DTA), San Diego Telugu Association (SDTA), Telugu Association of North Texas (TANTEX), Tristate Telugu Association, Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta (TAMA), Hyderabad Association of Atlanta and others.

Every association has its members, the executive committee, and has the programs including conducting conferences, cultural performances and sponsoring of artists from Andhra Pradesh. For Example, TANTEX ([www.tantex.org](http://www.tantex.org)), a non- profit and non- religious organization arranges Telugu programmes for the Telugus in Dallas, Fortworth, Plano, Richardson and midcities, on the local TV once in every week, apart from the cultural programmes. BATA ([www.hata.org](http://www.hata.org)), an organization set up for the 'awareness and promotion of Telugu Culture in the Greater Bay Area. It publishes a newsletter called *Telugu Vani* which not only reports the activities of BATA but also contains various articles, poems, stories and other Telugu related literature. The Hyderabad Association (look after the needs of Muslim populations that have migrated from Hyderabad to the United States. [www.mindspring.com/~amber1/hvdassoc.html](http://www.mindspring.com/~amber1/hvdassoc.html))

Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta ([www.avana.net/~tama](http://www.avana.net/~tama)) which was started to 'preserve and promote the cultural, educational, and literary traditions of Telugu speaking people' has many firsts to its credit. The Association published the first Telugu Magazine in North America, *Telugu Bhasha Patrika*; hosted the **First Telugu Sahiti Sadassu**, started teaching Telugu to children through **Mana Badi** program at the Hindu Temple of Atlanta; and publishes a newsletter *Indradhanush*.

As one respondent feels the associations are doing a great job " by providing the members with good programs"... by artists, musicians and poets from India. Apart from these kinds of activities the associations also publish weekly and monthly

newsletters for the Telugus in the United States and publicize the minutes of the activities along with articles and other informal ion. They also raise funds for various cultural, developmental, and philanthropic activities., both in the United States and in Andhra Pradesh.

The associations, organizations are equivalent to social action groups where in the immigrant group identifies with various social and cultural programs and reinforces their identity with the group in the context. The groups also act as mechanisms for the 'institutional completeness' where in they provide all kinds of sociocultural, economic and professional services to the immigrant group. Thus the group is made to oblige for the social action system and consequently they have minimum contact with the host society (Rao, Venugopala ibid: 14).

In the present study, all of the respondents had friends or relatives already staying in the United States as shown in the table 4.10 below. They had little initial adjustment problems owing to the presence of their acquaintances

**Table- 4.10**  
**Presence of a friend/relative already in the US**

<b>CATEGORY</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Yes	22	100
No	-	-

Not all the respondents are members of the associations, and whatever be the reasons behind the formation and functioning of the organizations, many of the respondents find that the associations are doing a commendable job in maintaining the

cultural heritage of the Telugus in the United States. A member of the Telugu Association of Connecticut informs that"... two times a year we celebrate Telugu festivals and every month we play a Telugu movie". Apart from the above the associations help " to bring children together, to teach them our customs and language..."

**Table- 4.11**  
**Membership in Telugu Associations**

CATEGORY	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Yes	12	54.54
No	8	32.32
Did not Answer	1	4.54
Once was a Member	1	4.54

The associations are also meeting places for the new comers. They offer help to cope up with the problems that the new immigrants encounter. Uday from the Greater Cincinnati Telugu Association, mentions, " We celebrate festivals and arrange picnics for introducing each other. It helps people who move in." Rama Rao, a member of the Detroit Telugu Association, TANA and ATA says that the associations "... organize many cultural events which we participate in and enjoy. They help people to get together..." A member of TANA, Rama Krishna observes that the associations are places where he can "... meet other Telugu people, enjoy listening to Telugu, enjoy Telugu Dance, drama and music, etc."

The views on the usefulness of the associations differ between Telugu

immigrants from the first and second-generation. "Participation in the Telugu associations allows first- generation immigrants to maintain their strong interests in the literature, culture and the fine arts of the Telugu Society" (RajGopal ibid). The first generation urge the second- generation to follow the values and customs of the Telugu way of life. A member of the San Diego Telugu Association says that the associations " encourage cultural gatherings for important festivals like *Ugadi* and *Deepavali* and help passing on our valuable traditions and culture to the younger generation."

There are also other opinions, which convey that the associations are the root cause for furthering the divisions among the Telugu immigrants on the basis of the caste and religion. For instance, a member of the Bay Area Telugu association observes that the associations " ...won't help you in anyway, it is only a place where people of the same language meet and boast about three cars, kids and property they bought in the U.S. and India." Similar is the opinion of Kiran from Maryland who says " I don't think they (associations) are useful and only help in further segregating us from main (host) population."

The recent visit of Nara Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh to the United States, and the call he gave to the immigrant Telugus has attracted many Telugus to participate in the development works in the state of Andhra Pradesh. He also sought their support in starting scientific and technological institutions. Many of them have showed interest in establishing firms or regional offices in the HITEC City. The plans taken up by the Chief Minister surely are going

to attract many of the respondents in the current research, who wished to come back, with the changing working atmosphere in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

On the State Formation Day, November 1, (1998) he launched the formation of *Naandi*, a trust for the developmental activities with no interference from the government. The Telugu Associations and the NRIs around the world represented by ATA President Mr. Gopala Reddy, TANA President Mr. Mallikarjuna Rao, and Mr. Babu Rao of Telugu Association of Europe, promised to contribute to the overall transformation and development of the state. " They expressed readiness to donate computers for schools, medical equipment for hospitals in rural areas, and also funds for self- help programmes" (Special Correspondent. The Hindu, 2.11.98: 3).

Now, apart from the existing associations, the Internet is providing a constructive platform for individuals who are truly interested in the promotion of the Telugu Art and Culture. The Internet is a connecting link for many Overseas Telugus through WebPages on the Telugu way of life and the state of Andhra Pradesh ([www.andhrapradesh.com](http://www.andhrapradesh.com)). There are individual web pages for almost all the Telugu Associations that allow anyone to know about them and their activities in the promotion of Telugu Art and Culture.

One such significant site is: <http://telugu.indnet.org>. It has information starting from the origin of Telugu Language to Telugu associations, Telugu Cinema, news, horoscope and other Telugu related issues. Discussion forms like the [telusa.list](#)-

**archives** (at the site: <http://smartcard.mc.wisc.edu>) exchange views on the language origin, literature helpful to children, dictionaries, **natakalu**, script etc. There are few Telugu writers in the cyberspace that regularly keep articles of interest so that they can be viewed from anywhere in the world easily through the Internet.

The Telugus in the United States have recreated 'Andhra' amidst them through Telugu Associations and the modern Information Technology. The Telugu Diaspora in the United States is active in their linkages with the motherland. Both the people and the Government of Andhra Pradesh too show considerable interest in the role that the Telugu Diaspora can play in the overall development of the state of Andhra Pradesh.

## CONCLUSION

The formation of the Diaspora communities can be found ever since the instances of the transnational migrations came into existence. The reasons for the above said migrations are time, space and context **specific**. The interest in the study of these communities emerged along with the studies on the racial and ethnic minorities in the host nations or the receiving societies, dealing with issues like the cultural diversities, difficulties in the patterns of assimilation, adjustment and other adaptive processes.

Even before the above studies came into existence, there was already a substantial amount of data available on racial and ethnic minorities, maintained by the Departments of Labor and Commerce, of the host nations. The above government agencies maintained data on the immigrants, their country of origin and the related statistics.

Diaspora communities have images of motherland, which range from some vague idea to those personally experienced in the contemporary context. But in most cases the very concept of the motherland is the result of the migration of a community beyond its territorial frontiers. The notion of belonging to a distant land is post migration phenomenon for any immigrant community. The very idea that they are away from the motherland, the feeling that they (Diaspora Community) do not **'belong'** to the host society and that they are 'outsiders' who share many features of community life with the country of their origin, makes them to strongly identify with the

motherland. This situation makes the Diaspora Community to find their roots in the motherland, the land of their origin. And again, the identification with the motherland is strong in the first generation, and slowly diminishes down across the generations.

The recent trends of globalization have lead to such dispersal of communities more than ever and they form a part of the prospective or potential Diaspora communities. These communities present a large canvas for study, and to understand the process of settlement, identity formation, and implications of immigrants' settlement to host societies. Different disciplines have critically viewed these communities from their disciplinary viewpoints.

Various scholars have carried out the study of the Indian Diaspora from different points of view. In spite of such diversities most of them examined the Indian Diaspora around the themes like the cultural conservatism, aspects of identity, recreation of the culture and institutions, problems of assimilation and adjustment with the host society. The attitude of the host society and the Diaspora communities' reinforcement of their culture and its maintenance are also studied.

The Indian Diaspora is a result of different phases of migrations from India throughout the history. And more specifically, it is the result of the indenture and *kangani* form of labor migration, the free or 'passage migrants', refugees, students, and the migration of professionals to various nations across the globe. Infact the migrations were always constrained on account of the emigration laws of the sending

nation and the immigration laws of receiving nations. A distinction is made between the pre- independence type and the post- independence type of migration from India. If the pre- independence type was to the colonies, as laborers on the plantations and estates, the post- independence type was marked by migration to the industrially advanced nations of professional and highly skilled personnel.

The Indian migrants were hard working and were paid less compared to the native work force, in both phases of migration in USA and elsewhere. They saved much of their earnings and always sent a part of it as remittances to their close relatives in India. They make continuous efforts to preserve the ways of living they have taken along with them and retained attachment with the country of origin. The patterns of identity and the criteria with which they identified kept shifting owing to the increase in the number of migrants from diverse linguistic, regional, religious and caste backgrounds. The attachment with the motherland is high among the First generation and gradually decreases with the passage of generations.

With the new Industrial Policy (1991) and globalization, the Indian government welcomes the NRIs and the Indian Diaspora for greater interaction and investment towards overall development. Indian leaders and policy makers wish that the Indian Diaspora and the NRIs follow the Chinese way. Often comparison is done between the Chinese Diaspora and the Indian, where in the Overseas Chinese make large investments in the mainland China and send remittances in the same degree to the motherland. According to **Panchamukhi** (1998: 25), "...the ethnic linkages of the Chinese society with the overseas Chinese in HongKong, Taiwan, Malaysia, and

Thailand, who have had a very successful commercial experience in the global competitive markets, have significantly contributed to the inflow of foreign capital and export related production activities in the Southern and Eastern parts of China."

Though the Indian economy has thrown open its doors to the global market most of the **NRI** investors, inspite of the incentives given, still hesitate to invest and save in India, due to political instability and the government control which is considerably high. The policy towards the **NRIs** has so far been more to attract the foreign exchange than to offer incentives for a long run interaction between the government and the **NRIs**, which can include, not only the economic element, but the sociocultural elements too.

Coming to the Telugu Diaspora in the United States, it is particularly a post 1960s phenomenon. It initially began with the migration of doctors, and later on joined by engineers, technologists, students, teachers and presently the software and IT professionals. Apart from the above, throughout the years, there is considerable migration of the family members of those who already are there in the U.S. on a preferential basis.

The present explorative study examines the Telugu Diaspora in the U.S at two levels, the actual **Telugu Diaspora** and the **potential Telugu Diaspora**. Though the actual Telugu Diaspora is smaller in size compared to the potential one, it has the inherent capacity to enlarge with the growing migratory trends to the United States

from A.P. Most of the Telugu Diaspora members have their origin from the coastal A.P, compared to the other two regions, the Telangana and the Rayalaseema.

The migrants are middle-class professionals with sound educational background in English, that facilitates their migration and settlement in the U.S .They are often helped by a friend or relative who is already present in the U.S, after they come to know about the existing opportunities through their educational institutions, friends, and foreign embassies. Most of them go on work permits or working visas and thus become a part of the potential Telugu Diaspora. The Telugu Diaspora is widely spread throughout the U.S, though they are largely found in places like NewYork, NewJersey, Chicago, Dallas, and Ohio. Once they find their employment assured they begin to apply for the status of Green Card, hoping for a permanent residence beyond the first five years of stay.

Telugu immigrants develop a kind of nostalgia towards the Telugu way of life that they brought with them. This makes most of them to join the local Telugu Association, Arts and cultural societies, and any such forum projecting Telugu Identity. In a way they try to reinforce the Telugu identity, art and culture which offers to speak their language. This enthusiasm is mostly observed in the first- generation Telugu Diaspora. The second- generation, having been born and brought up in the U.S, is more inclined to the American ways of life and do not always wish to entertain this kind of nostalgia, though the first generation try to inculcate the Telugu ways of

life in the second generation, by asking them to participate in the activities of the Telugu Associations.

The Telugu Associations also play the role of mediators between the Telugu Diaspora and the State of Andhra Pradesh, apart from organizing cultural activities. With the activities of the Telugu associations in the U.S. the World Telugu Federation and International Telugu Centre in India, the Telugu Diaspora in the U.S receives the updated information from time to time. Besides the emotional and psychological gratification with the cultural contacts and linkages, the Telugus also get to know the business and investment opportunities that the Government of A.P provides to the Telugu Diaspora in the United States.

The approach followed by the present Chief Minister of A.P, N. Chandrababu Naidu, towards the NRI Telugus appears to be extremely encouraging. The Chief Minister assured non-interference from the government in all the developmental activities taken up by the NRI Telugus living, not only in USA, but also in various other parts of the world. The attitude towards them, in the context of Globalization, should be more investment friendly and with less intervention from the government bodies. The goal is to maximize the investment of the NRI Telugus on the developmental projects in Andhra Pradesh and allow them to participate in the overall transformation of the state. Efforts are under way to augment mutual development interaction between the NRI Telugus, Telugu Diaspora and the motherland.

In his recent visit to the U.S. he wished that the expertise of the Telugu professionals in the United States should be utilized for making a difference in the lives of the common man and stressed that all the Non Resident Telugus should spend atleast ten days in a year to the developmental activities of their *Janmabhoomi*. The NRI Telugus and the Telugu Diaspora proposed to contribute a Janmabhoomi fund of Rs.100 crores. The Telugus in the United States and elsewhere zealously ground their Telugu identity and way of life. This makes them to contribute to their motherland and seek greater interaction.

To conclude, some suggestions towards future policy formation can be mentioned. The present study reveals that the Telugu Diaspora in the United States lacked adequate recognition by the motherland. The work done by the present government has filled in a small gap but needs further recognition and involvement of the Telugu Diaspora in the developmental programmes of the State.

In this regard a separate Ministry or cell can be instituted which can extensively look into the needs of the Telugu Diaspora in the United States and elsewhere. The Ministry can work towards formulating policies to attract the Telugu Diaspora, by creating suitable working conditions. The established and reputed members in the Telugu Diaspora in the United States can be made members in various communities that deal with the investment, industry and information technology so that the committees can use the experience of the Telugu Diaspora in developmental activities related with the above mentioned.

## **APPENDIXES**

### **A. STATISTICS OF ASIAN INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES:**

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---Between 1980 and 1990, the community grew by 125.6 percent.

---More than 5,000 Asian Indians currently are faculty members at American Universities.

---About 25 percent of all small hotels and motels in America are owned by Indian-Americans.

---62 percent of Indians have an advanced degree, more than any other group.

---With a mean family income of \$59, 777, the highest of any Asian group in America, and with an average per capita income that is more than 25 percent higher than the national average and second only to Japanese Americans among all ethnic groups.

---87.5 percent of Asian Indians in America have completed high school with 62 percent having some college education. More than 58 percent hold bachelor or higher degrees, which is the highest percentage among all Asian- American ethnic groups.

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Source:

South Asia Review, Volume II, Issue 4, September 15, 1997.

<http://www.south-asia-review.com>

## **B. MAJOR POST- 1965 IMMIGRATION LEGISLATIONS- A SUMMARY:**

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### **\* Hart- Celler Act of October 3, 1965-**

The discriminatory national origins quota system was abolished as of July 1, 1968. Each country outside the Western Hemisphere was assigned a quota of up to 20,000 emigrants per year. The quota was calculated according to the " alien's " country of birth. However, persons born in Hong Kong, were charged to Great Britain's quota and their emigration to the United States was not to exceed one percent of the total visas issued to Great Britain in one year.

### **\* 1965 Amendment to the Immigration and Nationalities Act-**

When the " Hart- Celler Act " went in to effect in 1968, the bill's co- author, Representative Emmanuel Celler of New York, assured Congress, " Since the people of Asia have very few relatives here, comparatively few could immigrate from those countries because they have no family ties in the U.S. (to serve as a basis for family reunification)." Implementation of the act strongly emphasized family reunification (instead of national origin) and somewhat downplayed labor certification. Caribbean nations, which as colonies had been subject to very small quotas, were not included in the **120,000** quota for all nations in the Western Hemisphere. National limits of 20,000 were set in 1976. The act enabled Asian- Caribbeans to emigrate to the U.S. , and created a " backup " route for emigrants ultimately desiring to emigrate to the U.S. Asian emigrating initially to a Latin American or Caribbean country, could then re-

migrate to the U.S.A quota was set of 170,000 emigrants to be admitted to the U.S. from the eastern Hemisphere.

\* **Preference System, Immigration Act of 1965**

Spouses, unmarried minor children, and parents of U.S. citizens were exempted **from** preference requirements and numerical quotas:

First Preference:

Unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens- 20%.

Second Preference:

Spouses and unmarried adult children of permanent resident aliens- 20% (26% after 1980).

Third Preference:

Members of the Professions and Scientists and artists of exceptional ability- 10%. Requires Labor Certification.

Fourth Preference:

Married children of U.S. citizens- 10%.

Fifth Preference:

Brothers and Sisters of U.S. citizens over age 21- 24%.

Sixth preference:

Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labor is in supply in the United States- 10%. Requires Labor Certification.

Seventh preference:

Refugees from communist countries or communist- dominated countries or the general area Of the Middle East- 6%. Removed when 1980 Refugee Act enacted, with 6% going to Second Preference.

Nonpreference:

Applicants not entitled to one of the above preferences. Not currently being used because preference applicants take up all available places.

**\*\* 1986 Revisions to Immigration Legislation (PL99- 603):**

- (a) Temporary residence is available for 350,000 aliens who have lived in the United States for the past three years and worked at harvesting perishable crops for at least 90 days each year. After one year as a temporary resident, the workers are eligible to apply for permanent residency. A second group of aliens who worked for 90 days in the United States before May 1986 are eligible to apply for temporary status and for permanent residency after two years. More can be admitted if the Secretaries of Agriculture and Labor so certify.
- (b) Employers who hire illegals will receive a maximum fine of \$ 5,000 and six months imprisonment for each illegal worker.
- (c) Discrimination between citizens and residents because of national origin is prohibited.
- (d) Amnesty is granted to illegal aliens who can prove they resided in the United States prior to January 1, 1982.

**\* Immigration act of 1990:**

The first major revision of immigration policies since 1965, this act took a labor market approach to the immigration question. It linked admission criteria to the enhancement of a country's capacity to effectively compete in the international marketplace. Total immigration was allowed to rise each year through 1994 (from 530,000 to 700,000), and dropping thereafter to 675,000 immigrants per year. The act nearly tripled the " skilled professionals" quota, increasing such occupational slots

from 54,000 to 140,000 for "priority" workers (and their close family members) with specialties in the fields of science, medicine, and technology. New immigrants were admitted on the basis of family reunification. Permanent resident preferences grew to 465,000 in 1994 and 480,000 in 1995.

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Sources:

\* Retyped from the article:

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Laws Affecting Asians- compiled by

Dr. John Kuo Wei Tchen.

\*\* Retyped from Helweg and Helweg, 1990, pp. 59- 60.

**C: ASIAN INDIAN POPULATION BY STATE (1990 Census)**

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<b>Alabama</b>	<b>4,348</b>
<b>Alaska</b>	<b>472</b>
<b>Arizona</b>	<b>5,663</b>
<b>Arkansas</b>	<b>1,329</b>
<b>California</b>	<b>159,973</b>
<b>Colorado</b>	<b>3,836</b>
<b>Connecticut</b>	<b>11,755</b>
<b>Delaware</b>	<b>2,183</b>
<b>District of Columbia</b>	<b>1601</b>
<b>Florida</b>	<b>31,457</b>
<b>Georgia</b>	<b>13,926</b>
<b>Hawaii</b>	<b>1,015</b>
<b>Idaho</b>	<b>473</b>
<b>Illinois</b>	<b>64,200</b>
<b>Indiana</b>	<b>7,095</b>
<b>Iowa</b>	<b>3,021</b>
<b>Kansas</b>	<b>3,956</b>
<b>Kentucky</b>	<b>2,922</b>
<b>Louisiana</b>	<b>5,083</b>
<b>Maine</b>	<b>607</b>
<b>Maryland</b>	<b>28,330</b>
<b>Massachusetts</b>	<b>9,719</b>
<b>Michigan</b>	<b>23,845</b>
<b>Minnesota</b>	<b>8,234</b>
<b>Mississippi</b>	<b>1,872</b>
<b>Missouri</b>	<b>6,111</b>
<b>Montana</b>	<b>248</b>

<b>Nebraska</b>	<b>1,218</b>
<b>Nevada</b>	<b>1,825</b>
<b>New Hampshire</b>	<b>1,697</b>
<b>New Jersey</b>	<b>79,440</b>
<b>New Mexico</b>	<b>1,593</b>
<b>New York</b>	<b>140,985</b>
<b>North Carolina</b>	<b>9847</b>
<b>North Dakota</b>	<b>482</b>
<b>Ohio</b>	<b>20,848</b>
<b>Oklahoma</b>	<b>4,546</b>
<b>Oregon</b>	<b>3,508</b>
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	<b>38,396</b>
<b>Rhode Island</b>	<b>3,975</b>
<b>South Carolina</b>	<b>3,900</b>
<b>South Dakota</b>	<b>287</b>
<b>Tennessee</b>	<b>5,911</b>
<b>Texas</b>	<b>55,795</b>
<b>Utah</b>	<b>1,557</b>
<b>Vermont</b>	<b>529</b>
<b>Virginia</b>	<b>20,494</b>
<b>Washington</b>	<b>8,205</b>
<b>West Virginia</b>	<b>1,981</b>
<b>Wisconsin</b>	<b>6,914</b>
<b>Wyoming</b>	<b>240</b>

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Source: Reprinted with permission from the web site:

<http://www.littleindia.com>

**D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE EXPLORATIVE STUDY ON THE TELUGU DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES**

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1. Name \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Marital Status: unmarried/married/other (specify). \_\_\_\_\_
4. Educational Qualifications: (indicate where you studied), \_\_\_\_\_
5. Profession \_\_\_\_\_
6. Income (in U.S. dollars) \_\_\_\_\_
7. Place of origin in Andhra Pradesh. \_\_\_\_\_
8. Year of departure to the U.S. \_\_\_\_\_
9. Place of destination in the U.S.. \_\_\_\_\_
10. How did you come to know about this opportunity in the U.S.?
11. Did you receive any help from the people who were already in the U.S? Yes/No.
12. If yes who was instrumental in helping you? Relative/Friend/Other.
13. If you have moved away from your first assignment please give information the change of jobs, places, and reasons for the same.
14. Do you have any Telugu friends or relatives in the U.S? Yes/No.
15. Mention the approximate number \_\_\_\_\_
16. On what occasions you meet them and the frequency of such meetings
17. Are you a member of any Telugu Association ? Yes/No.
18. If yes give details.

19. **In** what way these associations are helpful to the Telugus in the U.S?
  20. How do you maintain the contacts with your family in India (frequency and mode of contacts)
  21. **What** impacts your migration has had on your family (social, economical, political, cultural).
  22. Under what **circumstances/what** ambitions, you proceeded to the U.S?
  23. **If** the above conditions are fulfilled, mention reasons for your further stay in the U.S.
  24. **Express** your views on the increasing migration of Andhras to the U.S.
  25. What are the main reasons for this phenomenon?
  26. Mention the controlling factors for the same.
  27. **Express** your views on how Andhras adjust to the American way of life? (social, cultural)
  28. What are your views on the American way of life?
  29. How best do you think your stay in the U.S. would help in your carrier?
  30. **If** you have an idea of returning to India, mention the preferences in the working conditions, places, etc.
  31. **Express** your opinions on the differences of working conditions in the U.S and India.
  32. **Express** your views on the Indian govt. policies towards Indians abroad and A.P.govt's policies towards Andhras in the U.S or abroad?
  33. How do you plan the life of your next generation?
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