Chapter 4
Association of Expatriate Indians in the Unites States: An Overview

Networking among expatriates is not a new phenomenon. But with emergence of new kinds of needs and requirements, along with strides made in IT, the scope of networking has expanded leading to formation of structured associations in the host country by the expatriates. Indians have also formed such associations in their countries of abode, especially in United States over a period of time. Interestingly, Indian expatriates, compared with other ethnic migrants, have formed the maximum number of associations. This may be attributed to the fact that multicultural, sub-national and multi-professional associations are formed by expatriate Indians, who form the third largest community of immigrants in the USA. Hence, classification of Indian expatriate associations on the basis of profession, culture and sub-national identity makes their number more sizeable. Diversity in profession and occupation of high skilled Indians has further led to the formation of additional associations which can be categorized as professional or scientific associations. Although other immigrant communities like Chinese and the Filipinos have also formed such associations in the host country, they are fewer in number compared to Indian associations. Such networks or association of expatriates have the potential for acting as some kind of ‘virtual return’ option in the age of globalization for the expatriates as shown by expatriate associations of Chinese who have explored possibilities of contribution to the development of home country in the field of investment. Hence, professional associations become important in transmitting reliable

1 Indian community is the third largest community with over 1 million population, following Mexican and the Filipino in US. Indian expatriates form 3.3 percent of the total 31.1 million foreign born expatriates (US Census, 2000).

2 Weidenbaum and Hughes (1996), focusing on the 50 million Chinese diaspora, state that Chinese diaspora is well positioned to do business with the home country because of its widespread entrepreneurial experience, specialized knowledge and relationships which has allowed them to overcome language, cultural and legal barriers though it actually limits other diaspora investors. Their non financial motivation to reconnect with their homeland is also seen as an important stimulus for early stage investment. It also shows that Chinese entrepreneurs were the first or second most significant source of foreign investment in Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam.

On the other hand, Jewish diaspora helped native country Israel to experience remarkable growth in its high tech industries in the 1990s. Foreign direct investment increased from less than $100 million to $ 9 billion at its peak in 2000. Thousands of high tech companies were started and hundreds had accomplished initial public offerings. The Jewish diaspora community from United States has been famously generous to Israel. (Davone, World Bank).
and relevant information both formally and informally (Meyer, 1999 and Hugo 2003). To facilitate this, professional associations are required to maintain strong linkages in countries of origin and destination so that ideas flow freely in both the directions. For example, in Taiwan, meetings of local and diasporic scientists are held regularly to share the ideas with the home country (Kuznetsov, 2006). In the scientific world, flow of information is of utmost significance and expatriates can play a role in technology transfers and knowledge sharing through such associations. The potential for such interactions, to accelerate the diffusion (fusion) of new ideas, products and processes etc., is extensive (Lucas, 2001). A study by Saxenian (1999) had also revealed the importance of networking where Chinese (Taiwanese), Korean, and Indian Immigrants from Silicon Valley, in the form of associations, have tried to engage with their nations to promote entrepreneurship and building up of trans-national technical communities.

In this context, this chapter sets out to define, count, explore the stock of associations of Indian expatriates formed in the US. The second section examines the types of associations formed by Indian expatriates over the years. The third section has made attempt to examine few selected professional associations vis-à-vis their structure, activities, membership and their possible roles. The last section analyses the inter-linkages of professional associations with other types of associations in order to evolve comparative understanding between the two and to explore the other possible areas of contribution by the associations of Indian expatriates.

4.1 Associations of Indian Expatriates: A New Opportunity

The historical roots of associations of Indian immigrants can be traced back to around 1910. Associations of that period like Gadar Party, were formed by the Indian migrants

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3 Gadar means "revolution" and the movement hoped to overthrow British rule from India. Lala Har Dayal, a visiting professor at Stanford University was the central figure of this movement. GADAR Party was the popular name of the "Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast" which ran the newspaper "GADAR". A meeting of the Indians was held in Portland in 1912 at which the Hindustani Association was formed which ultimately turned into Gadar party. There existed a branch or branches of the Gadar party in almost every country. Similar organizations were formed by Indian migrants with the same objective. In 1908, in Seattle (Washington) Mr. Tarak Nath, started a monthly magazine named "Free India". This magazine advocated armed rebellion against the British rule in India. Mr. Tarak Nath also formed "East India Association" in 1911. Similarly in Oregon State too, a meeting of the Indians was held at Portland in 1912 at which "The Hindustani Association" was formed which published an Urdu weekly newspaper, "The India.". In countries, other than those the British-ruled, these branches worked openly; in British-ruled countries they worked underground.
in Canada and US to overthrow the British rule from India. Though the aggregate contribution of these organizations may appear smaller they played a pivotal role in generating awareness about the Indian freedom struggle. These associations were very few in number and became dysfunctional during the World War I as all the functionaries of the party were arrested.

Mid 1970s represent a watershed in terms of tone, tenor and membership of Indian expatriate associations. Indian associations formed prior to this period were mainly restricted to the rights of naturalization and freedom struggle. The associations formed later are of a recent origin and act as a cultural and social meeting point while many assist in various developmental programs in the home country. They also offer a forum for political participation and activism. In the last 40 years, there has been a steady growth of Indian expatriate associations in United States especially in areas like New York, Los Angles, Silicon Valley in Northern California and New Jersey since the Indian community is large, fairly widespread and thus has had the basic character to constitute associations. The first Indian-community based group was formed in New York in 1968, namely, the Associations of Indians in America. Ten years later, in 1978, another association, Federation of Indian Associations (FIA) was formed in the New York City, with chapters in other major cities of US. But such associations remained few in number until the cultural/ sub-national associations originated in the early 1980s.

The cultural associations were formed mainly to fulfil the emotional and cultural needs of their members. For instance, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamilian, Telugu, Kannada and Marathi communities made their presence felt in all the states and major cities of the United States. Large scale migration of Indian students to the US universities also initiated newer kinds of associations referred as students associations. On the other hand, some associations based on their alma mater in India like AIIMS (All India Institute of Medical Studies) and IIT (Indian Institute of Technology), Indian Institute of Management (IIM), have come into existence in early 1990s. In 1990s, yet another kind of association emerged, generally categorized as scientific or professional associations.
like NetIP (Network of Indian Professionals), PRINA (Professional Indian Networking Association), TiE (The IndUS Entrepreneurs), AAPI (American Association of Physicians of Indian origin) etc., formed by Indian professionals. These types of associations have gained more prominence due to their continuing activities, roles and potential to engage with the home country.

4.1.1 Types of Indian Expatriate Associations

The concept of network nourishes a vast literature (Hakansson, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett 1989; Thompson et al., 1991 and Cohen, 1996). Hakansson (1987) stated that content of network varies very much according to the object of study (institutions, enterprises, social actors, etc.) and of the disciplinary approach (macroeconomics, microeconomics, etc.). However, a more recognizable definition can be given which identifies the network as a structure of relationships among actors of a specific sector or territory. It can be said that a network consists of three basic elements (1) actors, who perform the activities and/or control network resources, (2) activities, which include transaction activities (for resources development) and transformation activities (those connecting various actors and shaping their relations' typology); and (3) resources, which are exchanged among actors in the network: natural, financial, human, informational, etc. (Hakansson, 1987). It appears that combinations of these three basic elements lead to formation of various types of networks/associations. Development and professional networks are determined by their activities and their actors. Hence, Indian expatriate associations formed in USA have been classified on the basis of their actors and activities as structured bodies of expatriates known as associations are carrying out diverse activities ranging from culture promotion to knowledge sharing. Since 1990s, Indian expatriates have also started playing a critical role of ‘opinion building’ in the political sphere to the extent that both the political parties in US - Republican and Democrat, could no longer ignore the concerns of the Indian community. This is manifested in the elevation of many Indians to influential official positions. In this regard, many political forums have been formed by the Indian expatriates4. Other important set of associations

4 IAIFE- The Indian American Forum for Political Education is one of the important political forums which is considered oldest and is the largest Indian American organization for political education in the country. It is nationally recognized for its outstanding work in political empowerment. The forum, established in 1982, has 22 State Chapters across the nation. It is a dynamic and growing organization that has helped educate the Indian American community to participate as full partners in American democracy.
also emerged which assist expatriates in their businesses and jobs and many associations organize “mentorship programs” for juniors. It can be mentioned that activities of these associations are not restricted to the host countries but have expanded to the home country as well. In this study, associations have been classified on the basis of actors and activities hence the associations of Indian expatriates can be classified into six categories, as follows:

a) Cultural Associations
b) Student and Alumni Associations
c) Women/Support Associations
d) Professional/Intellectual/Scientific/Knowledge Associations
e) Development Associations
f) General/Umbrella Associations

This classification of associations focuses on the nature of their genesis which reveals that the associations have been formed on the basis of culture, occupation, political and development motives and gender. There are other kinds of associations as well which have been formed primarily with the objective of development of India. These associations seem to have played significant roles in the lives of many Indians, especially the rural and urban poor, as discussed later on.
Table 4.1
Estimated number of Indian Expatriate Associations in the USA, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.I.</th>
<th>Types of Association</th>
<th>Total number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cultural/Sub-national Associations</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malyaleese</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Student and Alumni Associations</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Support Associations</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women Associations</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others – Business Chambers, Political</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Associations, Intellectual society, etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Professional Associations</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Development Associations</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>General/Umbrella Associations</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The total number of Indian expatriate associations given in the table can be taken as a tentative figure because here only those associations have been taken into account which have presence on the internet either through their own home page or accessed through search engines. It is suspected that there may be few more associations which are not listed or mentioned anywhere. Significantly, this figure is much higher than the one listed on the Indian Embassy website and on the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, GOI. Firstly, the number of associations given on the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and Indian US embassy is 242. Secondly in both the official websites there is a lot of duplication and repetitions, various chapters of the associations have also been recognised as independent associations. However, the table presented here does not include chapters of different associations.


5 A list of Indian expatriate associations along with their address has been given in annexure IV-IX.
These expatriate associations act as a meeting place or platform where people from similar cultural and sociological background meet and celebrate festivals, organize music festivals, national conventions, debates etc. As each category of the associations has a different objective, activities are organized in connection with their stated mission. Even the size of associations under each category varies (Table 4.1). However, in total, the Indian community in the US has well over 400 associations. The following discussion explains the nature and types of these associations and their emergence.

**Graph 4.1**

**Proportion of Various Indian Expatriate Associations in the USA as on 2007**

Source: Table 4.1

**4.1.1(a) Cultural Associations**

The cultural associations of Indian expatriates play many roles and take up new responsibilities. Firstly, cultural associations cater to the social and cultural needs of the immigrants. Secondly, associations act as safety valves for the adaptive problems of the immigrants.
The first generation immigrants and their children, constituting the second-generation immigrants, are now struggling to cope with the problem of identity, cultural and inter-generational conflicts. The first generation parents, those born and brought up in India but who later migrated to United States to make a living by utilizing the available opportunities, maintain and try to preserve their culture (Jain, 1993, p 45). This seems to be a major factor which has led to the growth of cultural associations. Understanding this need, various cultural or sub-national organizations came into being in United States over years such as Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati, Oriya and so on. The number of these associations is ever increasing but majority of them originated between late 1970’s and early 80’s. This period has been witness to significant migration of Indians who desired to preserve their cultural identity. This appears to be the reason, why a sizable number of cultural associations were formed in this period. Table 4.1 indicates that Tamil and Kannada communities have the maximum number of associations i.e. 38 in United States, followed by associations of Telugu community since presence of this community is also very strong all over USA. Even, Bengali and Gujarati communities have significant presence in United States. Their cultural and linguistic identity has resulted in the formation of a significant number of associations i.e. 30 and 22 respectively and many having chapters in various cities. The associations, under the ‘Other’ category are formed on the basis of spiritual and religion, art & heritage, political group/forums and information. These associations have grown in recent years as indicated by their origin. Religion based associations primarily spread and promote the value of religion and culture such as Promised Mehndi (Muslim association). Others like Hindu and Sikh Associations are also part of this category and can be found in all parts of USA. Informative associations related to sub-nationals provide general news and information to Indian expatriates, could be area specific, and work for well-being of the Indians in USA).

Overall, the growth of all kinds of cultural associations has been phenomenal in terms of membership and activities. With a large membership base, they have been bringing more and more Indians together. Associations also conduct activities which

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6 Indian community centre is an association which works for the Indian community living in Austin. It provides news and information on various items related to daily life such as local shopping or celebration of Independence Day, etc. ICC states that 'ICC’s mission is to develop a strong Indo-American Community in the Austin area and provide a forum to bring together people from all walks of life. We look forward to co-operatively work with other organizations to serve the Indian and larger communities. We wish to contribute to the growth of the Indian culture and its heritage in its entirety and work toward the betterment of the members and the Austin Indian community in general. (www.iccaustin.org)
intend to preserve the cultural value and ethnic identity. Analysis of the associations’ activities reveals that they have also responded to the needs of the home country at the time of crisis. For instance, many associations have raised charities at the time of natural calamities like Maharashtra and Gujarat earthquakes, the Orissa Cyclone, Tsunami and more recently the Mumbai Floods in 2005. However, questions have been raised on few cultural associations for their umbilical links with ‘religious bodies’ of the home country as some associations prefer to contribute for religious activities than philanthropic causes. There have also been some discussions on contribution patterns of associations which appreciate the efforts and contributions made by such expatriate associations even for religious purposes, provided there is no negative impact on the development process (Kapur, 2006). Although efforts of cultural associations may be considered remarkable, there is a need for mechanisms for more productive involvement of cultural associations in the home country.

Table 4.2
Examples of Indian Expatriate Associations in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Cultural/Sub-national Associations</td>
<td>Samband, KORKA, UANA, Telugu Association of North America, American Telugu Association (ATA), World Malayali Council, Bengali Cultural Association, Kenada Koota, Gujarati Samaj, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Students and Alumni Associations</td>
<td>Mayur at the Carnegie Mellon University; Sangam at MIT; Ashoka at California University; Diya at Duke University; SASA at Brown University; Boston University, India Club, Friends of India, IGSA Houston University and Indian Students Associations at various universities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Women Associations</td>
<td>MITHAS, Manavi, Sakhi, Asian Indian Women in America (AIWA), Maitri, IBAW (Indian Business and Professional Women), etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Professional Associations</td>
<td>AAPI, SIPA, NetIP, TiE, EPPIC, SISAB, WIN, AIIMSONIANS, AIPNA, ASEI, IPACA, IFORI, SABHA, and IACEF, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Development Associations</td>
<td>Association for India’s Development (AID), AIA, American India Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 General / Umbrella Network</td>
<td>GOPIO, NFIA, The Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE), The National Association of Americans of Asian Indian Descent (NAAH), and Federation of Indian Associations (FIA), etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 (b) Student Associations

There has been a large number of Indian students’ association in the US since Indian students have become integral part of US higher education system. It is evident from the migration flow of students as discussed in the previous chapter and associations formed by them in almost all the US universities, such as Mayur at the Carnegie Mellon University or Sangam at MIT. Moreover, second generation Indians, studying in the US universities also affiliate with the cohorts of Indian students though many have US citizenship. Due to their activities, student’s associations have been instrumental in the social and cultural life of students. They have brought them closer to each other and assist in solving their problems. These associations have numerous activities like discussion forums on issues concerning students’ life in USA, organizing cultural shows, talks on themes like generation gap and cultural gap, etc. Such student associations also act as a bridge for students living in India (future migrants) and those who wish to migrate for higher education in the USA. Their assistance to the students varies from helping them in admission procedures to solving discrimination problems. These associations also arrange accommodations, part-time jobs and take care of the needs of newly migrant Indian students.

Many alma mater associations have also been formed by those Indian students who migrated for higher studies and subsequently settled in the US. These alma mater associations are of students affiliating with Indian technical and scientific institutions like AIIMS, IIT, IIM, Maulana Azad Medical College, etc. but there are not many alma mater associations of social scientists or humanities. These associations also conduct various activities regularly, for example: seminars and conventions on technical and political issues. They also engage in public debates and raise funds for various developmental projects and programs for the socio-economic development of the home country. Membership of alma mater associations is not mutually exclusive since many members appear to have double memberships - members of student association as well as alma mater.
Apart from this, members of alma mater associations also affiliate with professional associations. Many individuals have supported financially their alma mater in India with encouragement of professional associations of which they become members.  

It is found that although most of the Indian student associations in the US universities have not been registered yet they seem to function in structured manner. For proper functioning, a governing committee is in place which manages, supervises and guides the association. Elections are held to select or nominate executive members of the governing committee - President, Vice President, Secretary and other working committee members like any other registered association. These bodies meet regularly to chalk out future plans and activities. There are not many evidences to demonstrate the inter-linkages of student associations with other categories of Indian expatriate associations. Nonetheless, one of the important Indian expatriate associations, the Association of India’s Development (AID), was formed by Indian students in 1991 at the University of Pennsylvania, US, to support social development projects, towards improving the life of the poor and the underprivileged, in India. Over the years, projects and programs of AID have been financially and technically supported by the Indian students studying in the

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7 Kanwal Rekhi graduated from the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay in electrical engineering and migrated to USA for Masters from Michigan Tech University in 1960s. He later founded a company named Excelan and became an entrepreneur. He was named Entrepreneur of the Year in 1987 by Venture Magazine, USA. In 1998, Kanwal Rekhi donated $5 million dollars to his alma mater in Michigan and $5 million dollars to his alma mater in India, IIT Bombay to ensure quality education for coming generations. An institute for Information Technology was formed on his name. The Kanwal Rekhi School of Information Technology (KReSIT) aims at promoting the future leaders of the Indian IT industry by imparting world class IT education to them. The school formally started operation with the first batch of M.Tech students on July 19, 1999. Kanwal Rekhi is also one of the founding members of The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE), an association of Indian Expatriates, formed in the USA which focuses on networking and mentoring for young entrepreneurs and has over 40 chapters around the world.

Alumni of IIT Delhi based in US have formed 'IIT Delhi Excellence Foundation' a non-profit organization, for the benefits of the alma mater. One of the alumni, Dr. P.S. Rana received his Bachelor's Degree in Civil Engineering from IIT Delhi in 1970. He obtained his P.G. Diploma in Town and Country Planning from School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi in 1972 and his Ph.D. (Transport Engg. & Management) from University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, U.K. in 1983. Dr. Rana has taken keen interest in the growth of his alma mater. He has been responsible for the setting up of "National Resource Facility on Bamboo Technology" at IIT Delhi. He has also helped in the setting up of HUDCO Chair Professorship on Bamboo Technology. IIT Delhi recognizes the significant efforts and contributions made by him for the development and progress of the Institute. He received distinguished alumni award by IIT Delhi in 2006.
various US Universities. Due to the nature of its aim and activities, AID has been classified as a development association of Indian expatriates and will be discussed further in the chapter.

4.1.3 (c) Women and Support Associations

Over the years, a large number of Indian women has migrated to the US for various purposes. Some migrated for family reunification and some for work. Indian women, by and large, have been subjected to violence, discrimination and psychological trauma irrespective of their geographical positioning (www.sakshi.org), as is evident from the various support associations of Indian women that have emerged in the US to support them. Apart from many other activities, women support associations provide assistance to Indian women who face physical and emotional violence in the host country. One such association is ‘Manavi’ which provides emotional and cultural support to the women while ‘Sakhi’, another association, has 24 hours hot-line phone facility for battered women to address their marital problems. Several cases have been registered with this associations by Indian women who have been victimized by their husbands and others. Another association, namely, Asian Indian women in America (AIWA), also deals with women and family related issues. ‘Maitri’, a San Francisco Bay based association, was formed to help South Asian women facing physical and emotional abuse, family conflict and cultural adjustments. It is an astonishing fact that Indian women are still subject to such cruelty and violence by their husbands even in the developed nations.

Apart from above mentioned associations, there are other associations which aim to enhance the capabilities and skills of Indian women who either incline to work or already engage with the labor market. Indian Business and Professional Women (IBPW) is one such association which was formed in 1988. It organizes meetings and workshops on career development strategies, communication styles, leadership skills, media and marketing, managing personal finances and investments, balancing career and family, growth and proliferation of the Internet, etc. The membership of such associations is unknown but it varies. These associations have taken interest in welfare of Indian Women and handling the grave issues like fraudulent marriages as well (www.moia.gov.in).
4.1.4 (d) Development Associations

In the US, Indian expatriates have formed associations which aim to contribute to the development of the home country. These associations have been termed as development associations since they have been formed, irrespective of cultural and professional identities, to contribute to the development and progress of India. Within development associations, there are two types of associations - one, formed by group of Indian expatriates and second, by individuals. There is not much information available on individual efforts but there are some evidences showing that individual associations also provide assistance to various programs and projects in India apart from supporting the development work in their native place. In numbers, there are not many development associations of Indian expatriates. The number could be high if individual efforts (organizations, foundations) of Indian expatriates are taken into account. In general, most of the development associations have been engaged in generation of funds to promote social entrepreneurship and support the activities or programs of civil society organizations in India.

8 Dr. Romesh Wadhwani has formed ‘Wadhwani Foundation’ in 2000. He received his bachelor’s degree from IIT Mumbai and M.S. and Ph.D. degrees from Carnegie Mellon University. The Wadhwani Foundation has many programmes such as ‘national entrepreneurship network’, ‘Wadhwani Scholarship’, etc. One such programme supports non-profit organizations with innovative and effective approaches for increasing the ability of disadvantaged individuals. Through this program special education, preventative and rehabilitative health, economic reform, and development of those with disabilities are supported. Wadhwani foundation provides financial support to India based organizations which are working for the poor. One of such organization is ‘Foundation for Excellence’ (FEE) which provide scholarships to poor students for higher education so that FFE scholars will start their own businesses and create employment opportunities for other talented persons (www.wadhwani-foundation.org and www.fee.org).

9 India Development Service (IDS) is one of the oldest associations formed in 1974 in Chicago, USA. As per the association mandate, it is a non-profit, voluntary, non-sectarian and non political organization that primarily supports grassroots economic and social development programmes in India. IDS supports small, grass roots development projects under various categories, like income generation, women-empowerment, education, research and environment all across India taken up by the Indian NGOs. IDS extends its support to those projects which emphasize on self-reliance, accountability and a strong sense of ownership for the beneficiaries. The IDS projects are initiated and carried out by the community members themselves ensuring that they are responsive to the local conditions and needs. Careful prior monitoring and ongoing dialogue with the project has been the mainstay of IDS project support .The projects are both short term and long term. To nurture the younger generations interests in the development, IDS has initiated a programme, ‘internship’ under which students are encouraged to participate in an IDS supported project in India. Through this programme, young people from the U.S., Indian or non-Indian, gain first-hand experience in the world of the poorest of the poor. Interns spend time at an IDS project, giving and receiving, sharing and learning about the numerous odds the poor face, and the invincible will power they possess to overcome those odds (www.idsusa.org).
There are also some associations which provide funds as well as technical support to the organizations so that funds are utilized meaningfully and the needy people are benefitted. One such association is, American India Foundation (AIF) originated in the aftermath of Gujarat earthquake in 1998 and thereafter, it has generated resources from Indian expatriates to support activities of meaningful organizations in rural India mainly in education, health and women development sector. It has also formed base in India with a technical team which regularly engage with partner organizations on technical issues. AIF lays emphasis on partnerships and therefore monitors the progress of the projects and programs and provides technical support when required.

Association for India’ Development (AID) is another association which supports various types of projects in the field of education, women empowerment, water conservation in the form of financial aid and mentoring. In some areas, it has also worked directly in the education sector. At present, AID is supporting 273 projects in partnership with 178 NGOs in India. To make the program effective and sustainable, AID has also engaged with the Indian students and encouraged them to participate in AID sponsored development projects spread all over India. Such efforts have been able to create a pool of volunteers who have become ‘actors’ of AID and regularly provide assistance to partners. These associations have chapters in almost all the US universities that manage, supervise and give financial support to the projects. Each chapter becomes a mentor to the allocated project and provides support. For instance, since 1997, AID-Boston has been providing financial support to Vanvashi Ashram Trust (VAT) based in Kerala, which impart upper primary schooling to the marginalized children. The grant has supported the educational needs of the first batch of students from middle school since the government does not have any provision for such marginalized children. Therefore AID has been supporting such initiatives and provides support to the educational projects of these children. AID Boston has also helped the trust with a grant of US $4750, purchase of a second hand Jeep and a few hectares land.

To support various programs, development associations raise money through charity shows, musical concerts, donations and grants by Indians and Americans. These associations have a streamlined structure of governance unlike professional associations
as they have a full-time staff posted in India as well as in the USA for income generation, coordination and monitoring of the projects. The focus of these associations is to engage with marginalized Indians through local and community based associations in India mainly in education, health, women empowerment, income generation, environment areas. The intervention of AID and other associations indicates towards affiliation of Indian expatriates with the home country. It shows that networking among Indian expatriates has been important to channelize their efforts for the progress of the home country.

4.1.5 (e) General or Umbrella Associations

An Umbrella association, by nature, acts as parent organization to all other types of expatriate associations. It primarily focuses on 'policy issues' concerning Indian expatriates in the host and home countries. It is also referred as a 'General Association' due to its nature of activities. Umbrella and general associations are not two different types of associations though have some distinction. Umbrella associations have both individuals and organizations as its member like GOPIO while only organizations can become member of general associations like AIA. At a larger level, both types of associations address issues concerning Indian immigrants like violation of human rights, dual citizenship, discrimination, etc. Some of such associations are: Associations of Indians in America (AIA), the National Federation of Indian American Associations (NFIA), the National Association of Americans of Asian Indian Descent (NAAAID), and Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO).

In reference to the membership, umbrella/general association's members are in thousands as smaller associations have come under its fold. General association like GOPIO was formed in 1989 and has a large membership base. It has two kinds of memberships - individual and institutional, where nearly 150 Indian expatriate associations have become part of the organization. GOPIO is mainly involved in human rights protection, citizenship along with collection of financial and professional resources for mutual development. GOPIO has chapters in more than 17 countries. The association mainly raises the issue of discrimination and safeguards the interests of Indian expatriates in the USA.
Despite having several umbrella associations in the US, a weakness of the Indian community has however been its failure to unite. For example, Indian American National Foundation was formed in 2001, a conglomerate umbrella body of four major associations namely Asian American Hotel Owner Association (AAHOA), Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI), National Federation of Indian Americans (NFIA) and Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE). Many important associations choose not to come into its fold and this has also impacted its activities and programs. The conception of Indian American National Foundation was welcomed by the Indian community in the host country, however, unity in terms of action oriented policies and programs has not been established yet. Another umbrella body, Federation of Indian Association (FIA) was formed in 1983, with the support of cultural organizations which aimed to provide the Indian community an opportunity to interact with the local community and present the culture of India to the people of Columbus and Central Ohio. This association has conducted, coordinated and promoted activities of common interest to Asian Indians in Central Ohio as well as rest of the USA but restricted to cultural associations only. Hence, it has not grown much in its activities and other initiatives as reflected by the discontinuation of the activities in last few years.

4.1.6 (f) Professional Associations

The professional or scientific associations are different from other kinds of associations. It is being argued that these associations are likely to grow in size and operate at two levels: to support and guide the members of the networks and the new entrants; and to return to the benefits of information, technical and material assistance to their home countries. These kinds of associations were formed mainly in early 1990s after the success of Indians in the United States, such as TiE originated in 1992 while NetIP was formed in 1990. The association of information technology professionals i.e. SIPA (Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association) came into existence in 1988 and PRINA is the new one formed recently in 2001. There are very few professional associations, which have a very large membership base in the US. Origin of these associations is largely based on occupation therefore exclusive association of doctors,
engineers, lawyers, software professionals and entrepreneurs have been formed in the last two decades. Moreover, there is another category within this, which looks at the professionals as a one group such as PRINA (Professional Indian Networking Association), NetIP (Network of Indian Professionals), WIN (Worldwide Indian Professional Network).

Association of professional Indians is important, one, because these associations have come together to help each other in meaningful ways such as acting as mentors, sorting out each other’s professional problems, or as a platform of networking. Besides, this also acts as an ambassador and has been found to arrange jobs for return immigrants. The American Associations of Physicians from Indian Origin (AAPI) is one of the oldest associations of health professionals in the United States and was established in 1982. This umbrella association of health professionals was established in response to the discrimination faced by Indian physicians. It was a result of concerted efforts of various persons who have had raised their voice against discrimination. They faced instances of overt as well as subtle discrimination in residency recruitment and license reciprocity. Realizing the discrimination being faced by Indian Physicians, they in many states organized to fight against this unfair treatment. In the state of Michigan, physicians from India took the lead to form an association called Michigan Association of Professional Indians (MAPI) in 1976. Various other organizations such as Indian Association of Illinois, IMA of Newland, etc., were formed around the same period. During 1988, a discussion took place among Indian physicians about the prevailing conditions for Foreign Medical Graduates (FMG) and various articles appeared in the newspapers about FMG’s and their lack of training. A few concerned physicians from various states met and decided to form a national umbrella organization, comprising all the local associations. A steering committee was formed to hold a national meeting in August 1982, and an umbrella organization of Indian physicians was formed. Around the same time, other kinds of associations were also established and one was by Indian hotel owners in 1989 namely Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) and the other was by professionals of Silicon Valley namely Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association.
(SIPA) in 1987. It implies that all three associations were formed before the wave of globalization and mainly focused on the growth of members who were facing problems like discrimination, racial differences, etc. Whereas, SIPA did not raise the issue of discrimination unlike other organizations of that time, it shared knowledge among members who were struggling to establish themselves in foreign land (mainly engineers, software professionals) and exploring the field of entrepreneurships.

Over the years, other associations like TiE (The Indus Entrepreneurs), Society of Indian Scientists Abroad (SISAB) were formed by high skilled expatriates which explicitly stated their intention to help the home country. Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association (SIPA) however started helping only those Indians, who wish to return by identifying suitable career opportunities. Over the years, it got involved in many technical projects in the home country too. TiE and SIPA are two very important networks in Silicon Valley (famous for software professionals) with high potential to grow quickly in future. Both have a large membership (30,000 members for TiE and 1000 member for SIPA). Unlike SIPA, TiE has chapters in different countries, while both networks aim to bring together successful entrepreneurs and senior professionals who could share their knowledge with Indian counterparts. SIPA is not directly engaged with professionals in India though it is playing a vital role in helping visiting professionals, businessmen and government officials to locate, evaluate and meet with the U.S business. It, further, helps those Indians who wish to return to India. SIPA also works with various other organizations in planning and executing the meetings, seminars and trade shows for visiting Indian delegates. On the other hand, TiE's main focus has been on helping and guiding the budding entrepreneur members in various parts of the world especially in India.
Table 4.3
Characteristics of Important Indian Professional Expatriate Associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Focus of Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Society of Engineers of Indian Origin (ASEI)</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Engineers involved in various fields as professionals and students and work for enhancement of technical, professional, educational, and economic benefits to its members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA)</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Professionals related to Hotel &amp; tourism industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of American Indian Physicians (AAIP)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Medical professionals and students for enhancement of professional, social and community development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Associations of Physicians from Indian Origin (AAPI)</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>41,235</td>
<td>Umbrella organization of medical professionals and students and working for the rights of the medical professionals in USA and doing charitable work in India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network of Indian Professionals (NetIP)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Pool of professionals to share knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Indian Network (PRINA)</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Professional networking organization dedicated to providing opportunities for professional and social networking, and community service for Indian professionals and students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIPA (Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association)</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Information Technology professionals and developing partnership between home and host country in hi-tech areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of Indian Scientists Abroad (SISAB)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cyber and Internet savvy and focuses on dissemination of information on medical issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indus Entrepreneurs (TIE)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Foster Entrepreneurships in Indus region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by self from various sources
4.2 A Survey of Four Expatriate Associations of Indians in the U.S.

This section attempts to present the profile of a few important professional associations of expatriate Indians.

4.2.1 American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI)

Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI) was formed in 1984 when a group of concerned medical professionals met to discuss the increase in ethnic and cultural diversity and the radical changes in health care in the United States. In Initial years of formation, AAPI mainly focused on international medical graduates and issues concerning them. This led to their fight against discrimination faced by physicians of Indian origin. The discrimination practices created obstacles for immigration and licensing opportunities as well as cultural barriers. In this scenario, AAPI took a lead and played a pivotal role in influencing the policies and making the US medical labor market less discriminatory. Today, the organization acts as a dynamic advocacy body, spearheading legislative agendas on health care and influencing the advancement of ethnic medical organizations. AAPI primary goals are

- Maintain the highest standards of ethics and professionalism.
- Advocate for professional freedom.
- Remain knowledgeable in contemporary and anticipated legislative and regulatory changes impacting the practice of medicine.
- Assert equal protection in all their professional pursuits through collective advocacy.

AAPI headquarter is in Chicago and a charitable Trust office is located in Illinois. The association also serves as an umbrella organization for another 100 small medical associations. AAPI, on the basis of its membership base and diverse profile of members, is considered as the largest ethnic medical organization in the USA. Its membership has grown from few hundred to thousands representing the interests of 42,000 physicians and medical students of Indian origin in the United States.
Box 4.1
An Overview of AAPI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members</td>
<td>41,235 (including 12,000 medical students, residents and young physicians of Indian origin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Achievements    | • Formation of AAPI Charitable Trust in 1989  
                   • Formation of Patron Trust Fund in 1990  
                   • Publication of a Bi-monthly Magazine in 1996  
                   • Permanent Partnership between AAPI and Pharmaceutical Industry in 2000  
                   • Raised $700,000 for Gujarat earthquake Relief fund in 2000  
                   • Delegate Status in IMA  
                   • Won a anti-discrimination case of D. Ron Virmani |

4.2.1 (a) Activities of AAPI

• **Legislative Affiliation:** One of AAPI's most important goals has been to stay involved in shaping the healthcare policies in the United States. With this in view, a full-time Legislative Office was established in Washington, D.C. in 1996. The Legislative Office has created a database which identifies 23,000 AAPI physicians by their Congressional district. Developing a political infrastructure within the organization paved the way for increased political awareness and exposure on Capitol Hill. AAPI's policy statement on managed care was used as the basis of an important part of legislation that established a "Patient's Bill of Rights." Policies impacting graduate medical education and the physician workforce have been in major focus in the last few years.

• **Clerkship Program:** Since 10-12 percent of the freshman medical students in the United States are of Indian origin, AAPI is creating a Clerkship Program in alliance with the Ministry of Health, government of India and the medical colleges in India. This program is designed for Indian American medical students to work in Indian medical colleges for shorter durations so that they able to serve as well as learn from Indian health sector. This provides an opportunity to enjoy their cultural heritage. Several Indian medical students have already availed this and have enriched their experience.
4.2.1 (b) AAPI Activities in India:

- **Charitable Trust**: AAPI has a number of programs in India and one of the most important is the charitable clinics. There are eleven clinics and four hospitals in various parts of India which provide comprehensive health care to needy patients. AAPI’s support to these clinics comes in the form of equipments, technical expertise, financial support and facilities like Indian American medical students working in these clinics under clerkship program. AAPI has also built four hospitals with the help of local NGOs in Latur, Maharashtra and Gujarat. These hospitals are known as community hospitals in the area with a capacity of 30 beds per hospital, built under the rehabilitation program.

- **Scholarships for Faculty/Student Exchange**: Every year, AAPI sponsors three medical scholars from academic and non-profit institutions in India for advanced training in the United States, after which they return to serve in India. It is also a part of the Charitable Foundation’s activities. Medical students from the United States are also sponsored to come to India to pursue research.

- **Relief Efforts**: There are some evidences which indicate that AAPI has also raised relief funds to help cyclone victims in Andhra Pradesh, earthquake victims in Maharashtra, and plague victims in Gujarat.

- **Continuing Medical Education (CME)**: AAPI organizes 25-30 CME programs in India each year in collaboration with the Medical Council of India. 100-150 faculty members travel to India at their cost to teach and share their expertise and experience with their Indian counterparts. This provides an enhanced learning experience for all participants.

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10 Trust’s goal is to establish basic medical care clinics for the poor and needy in remote areas of India. It also facilitates donations of medical equipment and supplies mainly to government/municipal run or privately-run charity hospitals in India. It also raises funds and establishes scholarship funds for Indian American Medical Students.

11 The AAPI clinics in India are located in Kartarpur, Punjab; People's Mobile Hospital-Worli, Mumbai; Ammanpetai, Tamil Nadu; Visnagar and Chikodara, Gujarat; Hospet and Jigani, Karnataka; Ellyapalli, Andhra Pradesh; Mandi, Himachal Pradesh; Latur, Maharashtra; Rishikesh, Uttaranchal; Indore, Madhya Pradesh; Pipulmunda, Orissa; Jaipur, Rajasthan and Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh
4.2.2 The Network of Indian Professionals (NetIP)

The Network of Indian Professionals (NetIP) is a ‘not for profit’ organization dedicated to the professional and cultural development, community service, philanthropy and the overall advancement of South Asia. NetIP was originally formed with the idea of meeting each other rather than ‘sharing’ the knowledge. Since its inception in 1990 in Chicago city, it has a membership of almost 5,000 members from most major metropolitan areas across North America. Currently, NetIP has chapters in Chicago, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco and others. The growth of the organization has been amazing as over the last 15 years, NetIP has hosted annual conventions in cities like Las Vegas, Seattle, Atlanta, New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, and last in Philadelphia in 2003. NetIP is creating and fostering the growth of highly talented, socially responsible and dynamic South Asian professionals through an organization, striving to foster a stimulating and interactive environment for the members to establish and grow their professional relationships. NetIP also targets at the cultural and social needs of the community in the country of abode. It further assists the disadvantaged in the home country through philanthropic and fund raising activities and has organized number of programs to raise resources for the benefits of the victim of Gujarat earthquake. NetIP has a number of chapters all over the USA and it has evolved a well-structured strategy for opening new chapters. As all chapters now host large charity functions, manage their own sports teams, host 10-15 events per month for their members, and manage large membership databases, it is believed that NetIP has clearly grown into one of the largest volunteer organizations in the United States. It assumes that chapters may be organized only in a community that has a sufficient diversity of businesses, professions and vocations which will ensure the standards of membership and classification principles prescribed by NetIP-North America for chartered chapters, and has the potential of additional membership resources to ensure the future stability of the chapter (www.netip.org). It is believed that NetIP is more than just an organization, laying the foundation and creating a group of individuals and a community that will work together for a lifetime. The young professionals who are the backbone of NetIP today will be the leaders of tomorrow in business, politics and civic life. And they will continue to work
closely with many of the people they have met through their experiences with NetIP. To that end, NetIP's mission is to focus on the needs of young professionals in the areas of economic growth and security, cultural awareness and preservation, family needs and promoting education and learning.

4.2.2 (a) Membership

NetIP has two kinds of memberships - active membership (general members) and honorary membership. NetIP believes that an active member should be either a student or engaged in an occupation in a recognized line of business, profession or vocation. However, the board of governance reserves the right to reject or accept the application of any one. Honorary memberships can be given to those who have performed distinguished public service, for a period of one year and thereafter may be re-elected annually. The members are entitled to certain kinds of benefits like discounted admission to NetIP events, discounted and free subscriptions to community newspapers and magazines. Other than this, NetIP provides opportunities to meet young professionals in other cities and access an online network of resources in medicine, law, finance, technology, government and other fields. The associations indicate that almost 50% of their members are born in North America and have spent their formative years here while another 25% are born in India, but have not spent their formative years in North America.

4.2.2 (b) Activities: engagement with members

NetIP organises networking meets, leadership conclaves, round tables and various other programs considering the issues and interests of members such as marketing, legal system, etc. Activities indicate that there are very few initiatives which have tried to establish any link with the home country. Main engagement with the home country has been at the time of calamities. NetIP has responded at the time of emergencies like Gujarat earthquake in 2001. Moreover, there are very few activities targeting the professional development of members unlike other associations like SIPA or AAPI. Some of the main activities of NetIP are: Annual Entrepreneurship Workshops, Annual Deepawali Gala, Networking Business Card Exchanges, Financial Planning and Insurance Seminars, Charity Benefit Events, Monthly Networking Events, Monthly and
Quarterly Professional Speakers and Networking Events, Tax Planning/Financial Planning Seminars, Social Issues Discussion Group, Professional Networking Mixers, Annual Scholarship Dinner, Annual Excalibur Awards, Book Clubs and Readings, etc.

4.2.2 (c) Governance

It has a governing system in which an Executive Committee and Board of Directors govern NetIP and oversee the daily operations of all the chapters in the organization. The board comprises the elected chapter liaisons from each chapter. The President acts as a chief executive officer - and under the supervision of the Board of Directors, develops and implements long-term goals, vision, and plans for NetIP-North America and is accountable for all actions taken by the Executive Committee. Three Vice Presidents (external, Internal, Finance and administration), under the supervision and direction of the President and the Board of Directors manage affairs outside the organization, including developing and implementing goals for corporate relations and community/public relations. They are also engaged in others functions such as assisting the President and the Board of Directors in conducting the business of NetIP-North America.

4.2.3 Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association (SIPA)

SIPA was founded in 1987 by a small group of Indian professionals. The intent was to promote cooperation between US and India in hi-tech areas. SIPA documents reveal that its mission is to provide a forum for individuals interested in meeting, visiting Indian businessmen, professionals and bureaucrats and to facilitate information dissemination and networking within the professional Indian community. SIPA has number of volunteers which contribute in various ways towards these goals. SIPA, unlike other association does not have any chapter though represents the interest of the entire US region.

4.2.3 (a) Membership

In the last one decade SIPA's membership has grown to over 1000 members. The last couple of years have seen tremendous growth in membership. To ensure large participation, SIPA has consistently maintained a "low cost, high quality" formula for the organization.
4.2.3 (b) Activities

SIPA is engaged in various types of activities apart from professional development of its members. For example, it has formed a ‘Volunteer Team’ which helps professional Indians in settling down in new country as well as improving their "soft skills". Many members said that it is an excellent forum for professionals to gain valuable experience, the kind that one would not normally acquire at work. The general activities of SIPA are interest based which had helped many to form good professional partners. Along with it SIPA has periodic meetings to discuss current Indian issues regarding high-technology and business environments in India. Entrepreneurs from Indian Companies, Indian Government officials and representatives from US companies with operations in India are regularly featured as speakers in these meetings. SIPA encourages its members to form focus groups\(^{12}\) such as the Manufacturing Focus Group, Software Focus Group, etc. for better interaction and engagement. SIPA also acts as a networking platform for visiting businessmen and government officials to locate, evaluate, and meet with U.S businesses and or individuals with common interest. SIPA holds meetings for the members so that they can interact with Indian businessmen and government officials. SIPA has formed good liaison with other organizations and plans and executes meetings, seminars and trade shows for visiting Indian delegations. SIPA publishes a Newsletter for its members, covering current issues which also cover information provided by Indian companies and government, on a regular basis.

4.2.3 (c) Governance

SIPA has an unique functioning system, being an active professional association, but has not had a single employee in over 9 years of its existence. All activities and programs are executed with the help of volunteers (members) who play key roles in various events. This reflects on the commitment of members to work for the association and achieve goals. SIPA has a strong two tier organizational structure, the executive group governed by the President, the Vice President and the Executive Secretary; and an organizational group supervising various activities of SIPA like event management,

\(^{12}\) Special Interest Groups of SIPA are Venture Capital, Consultancy, Web Technology, Networking, MASSCOMM, E-Commerce, IT India,
membership, internet, etc. The main role of the president is to define and set the direction for SIPA and ensure the effective implementation while the vice president works to ensure the growth of the organization by raising funds and spreading the word about SIPA at higher levels (press, US-India businessmen). The secretary of the SIPA co-ordinates and executes all behind-the-scene SIPA activities (such as SIPA Bank Account, Postal Database, Tax returns, Meeting Insurance, Payments for Domain, Reimbursements for expenses incurred by volunteers, etc). This actually exhibits the professionalism and commitment of the members for the cause they stand for. Operating officers of SIPA normally meet once a month along with one or more representatives from each of the SIPA organizational groups to discuss upcoming events, finances, status of different group activities, new directions, etc.

4.2.4 Society of Indian Scientists Abroad (SISAB)

SISAB or the Society of Indian Scientists Abroad is the first cyberspace community of Indian Scientists who have got together for the dissemination and exchange of medical knowledge through the medium of Internet. It is a very new organization which aims to work for medical specialists like Obstetricians, Gynecologists, Specialists in Reproductive Medicine and Paramedical Staff affiliated to Obstetrics, Gynecology. Indian physicians settled around the globe are also eligible to become members and can avail all the services offered by SISAB. Other medical professionals can also become members but under the other Specialties Section. SISAB was initiated in 2000 when pre-congress workshop for Embryologists held at Goa, India, in October 2000 decided to form an association which addresses the need of medical professionals.

The SISAB also plans to act as a networking platform for medical professionals. Therefore an ‘Online Membership Directory’ has been put in place which will give complete contact details and affiliations of the SISAB members. This database of SISAB will be fully searchable online for members. Another important activity of SISAB is to act as a Conference-Matcher. The idea is to utilize the expertise of medico Indian expatriates while visiting India (it is generally observed that expatriates often travel back home once every 2-3 years). For this purpose, an Indian expatriate doctor is required to give her/his vacation dates onto SISAB’s Conference-Matcher area and upcoming
conferences opportunities are matched with his/her dates and interest. It also informs various Indian medical faculties/colleges about their availability. The conference match maker activity helps in knowledge sharing between Indian medical colleges/hospitals and Indian expatriate specialists. To fulfill this purpose, SISAB requests all members to send a list of all future meetings and congresses, planned in a coming year. SISAB has launched bulletins in eight different areas like ART, Endoscopy, Endocrinology, Gynecology, Obstetrics, Ultrasound Embryology and miscellaneous topics for dissemination of knowledge amongst members. Other than this, SISAB has planned many activities like free medical service providers, online chat boards and chats at fixed times on different topics. These discussions will be lead by specialists around the globe.

4.3 Inter-linkages between Various Types of Indian Expatriate Associations

The survey of four professional association indicate that these professional association are different from other types of associations like cultural/sub-national, support and development in terms of membership and activities as well as in their primary objectives and mission. It can be said that cultural associations focus on the need of rebuilding or safeguarding the Indian culture in a foreign land while support organizations try and tend to look into matters of socio-psychological problems of the expatriates in the host country. On the other hand, professional associations have been engaged in professional and community development of its members. These kinds of associations provide a platform to knowledge workers towards their professional pursuits. Apart from this, some of the associations also have a tendency to build partnerships with the home country. This kind of partnership takes place at various levels such as sharing of expertise, advice and ideas to better equip Indian companies; creating opportunities for overseas Indian companies; taking Indian products into new markets and attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and venture capital in respect to the home country (Hugo, 2003).

Analysis of associations’ membership indicates that expatriates have more than one membership as shown by Figure 4.3. It presents the inter-linkages of associations on the basis of membership where, the size of each circle indicates the membership of each type of association. The interaction of one circle to another explains that associations
share their members with each other. The size of these associations varies on the basis of their membership as shown by the size of each circle in the figure. In terms of membership, out of all, cultural associations have largest number of membership base. This can be attributed to the fact that most of Indian expatriates affiliate with cultural or sub-national associations to uphold their ethnic or cultural identity. The members are individual who take part in the cultural/sub-national associations since cultural associations fulfill their psychological needs and provide a platform to network for more meaningful interaction.

Figure 4.1
Suggestive Relationships of Various Types of Indian Expatriate Associations on the basis of Membership

Source: Prepared by Self
Student associations are second highest in terms of number because Indian students, both first and second generations, have formed associations in various universities. In some cases, there are more than 2-3 associations of Indian students in a particular university. Flow of Indian students also indicate that number of students have migrated to the U.S. This is the reason student associations also have a large membership base. Though, membership of professional associations is not large in number, their membership base holds an important place followed by development, umbrella and support associations. It can be said that there are very few support and development associations formed by Indians as well as have limited membership. Therefore, circle of these types of associations are shown in small in size. Interestingly, Umbrella association’s membership is confined to institutions and associations only which limits its membership in terms of however, if the all members of member institutions are taken into account then Umbrella associations would be the biggest associations of Indians in the U.S.

Furthermore, as shown by figure, associations also share their membership with one another hence have few exclusive members. But there are some exceptions as there seems to no overlapping between umbrella and students associations on the account of membership as shown in the figure 3.4. This can be understood from nature of umbrella associations whose membership is primarily institutions whereas students associations have not subscribed to umbrella associations. Though associations do form partnership but based on activities, for example, Professional associations share a good liaison with development associations. There are no evidences suggesting that professional associations have affiliations with cultural associations. Similarly, engagement of cultural associations with development associations is also not observed.

It can be said that student associations generally do not affiliate with cultural associations because of their own unique world or living in university areas, though there are few students who have become part of development associations like Association of India Development (AID), formed in the University of Pittsburgh. Hence, there are a few student members who take active part in the activities related to development of India like fund generations. Development associations are very different from others since they
share membership with almost all types of associations and have very few exclusive members. Some of the Americans also fall in the category of exclusive memberships who tend to engage with association which has been formed for development purpose i.e., American India Foundation (AIF). This association has a very wide membership base ranging from exclusive institutional members to individual members consisting PIOs, NRIs and many Americans.

The main entry point to the association for members is through their website, as every potential member needs to register with respective organizations. All the associations have databases that serve as an information tool where members can look for potential partners and network members in similar fields and geographical locations. Though, the nature of all associations is similar in terms of organizational development and administration, it varies at the level of activities and networking amongst members that derives the associations’ mandate. The members of professional and development associations are primarily high skilled and engage with the home country more productively.

4.4.1 Relevance of the Associations: Potential partners or beyond

If one looks at the importance of these associations, it could be said that till 1980s, majority of the Indian expatriate associations were acting as social networks or ‘safety valves for the adjustment problems of the immigrants’ (Boyd, 1989; Saxenian, 2002). This could be seen in terms of a period which had a number of cultural associations while other kinds of associations were very few. The cultural associations brought people from similar cultural and social backgrounds together to celebrate festivals, organize musicals and cultural concerts, and national conventions in the host country. However, there are visible differences in the types of Indian associations in the United States, active before India’s independence and those that came up afterwards. Late 1980s witnessed emergence of various other types of associations, different from cultural associations and mainly governed by Indian skilled labor\textsuperscript{13}.

\textsuperscript{13} As per OECD- Canberra Manual (1995) skilled or professional labor means, those professionals who have tertiary degree or extensive specialized work experience- which include architects, accountants and financial experts, engineers, technicians, researchers, scientists, teachers, health professionals, and specialist in Information Technology (including computer professionals, computer engineers, managers, sales representatives.
The professional associations have played a crucial role in the lives of the high skilled Indians in the United States as people who have the same professional background came together to help each other. Indeed, Meyer and Brown (1999) have identified at least forty-one formal knowledge networks around the world linking at least thirty home countries to their skilled nationals abroad. The associations have been categorized into four types: student/scholarly networks, local associations of skilled expatriate, expert pool assistance and intellectual/scientific diaspora networks. However, the classification of associations made by Meyer and Brown fails to identify exclusiveness and clear-cut affiliation of programs with the home countries. For instance, TOKTEN, a program of UNESCO, was identified as an expatriate knowledge network though it is a program to facilitate interaction of immigrants with the home country. Even networks of Assamese expatriates have been considered as different associations considering Assam as a nation.

In relation to the USA, Silicon Valley is one of the highly researched areas where numbers of associations by various communities have been formed. In Silicon Valley, Chinese and Indian immigrants form the largest groups and are best organized, hence have good organizations. Though more recently, organizations of Korean, Japanese, Filipino and Singaporean have also evolved. The initial role of such organizations is to provide migrants with labor market information, professional contacts and act as a safety net. Many of these associations have become important forums for cross-generational investment and mentoring as well. Individuals within these networks often invest individually or jointly, acting as ‘angel’ investors who are more accessible to immigrants than the mainstream venture capital community (Saxenian, 2000; and Kuznetsov, 2006). However, as the networks evolve their international roles and activities expand too. One key role of expatriate networks is in the transmission of information to the home country. For instance, the Chinese Institute of Engineers (Taiwan) in the US organizes an annual seminar in collaboration with their counterpart organization in Taiwan and provides consultative services to the Government of Taiwan and the same is done by GlobeScot network. In addition, Kapur (2001) emphasizes that networks also play a key role in enhancing the credibility of information thereby reducing reputation barriers. As a result, the international networks impact capital flows and trade, as well as the transfer of technology to the home nation.
The rise in the number of professional associations of Indians in the US can be attributed to their professional success and entrepreneur skills (Saxenain and Edulbehram, 1998). In the last two decades, many successful professionals have succeeded in becoming entrepreneurs in the US. It is believed that to become a successful entrepreneur, it is a requirement to have networking with colleagues, contemporaries, policy makers and others. This is supposed to be one of the reasons behind formation of professional associations apart from brain circulation. Literature related to associations reveal that professional expatriates needed to share their thoughts, ideas and perspectives with their Indian counterparts in the host country. As already existing few hundred cultural associations were fulfilling the cultural and emotional needs of the Indians, emergence of platforms in the form of these associations should be perceived as a natural corollary to meet professional requirements of swelling Indian immigrants. After the success in the Silicon Valley and in other industries like medicine and hospitality, expatriates were willing to share their ideas and knowledge with their counterparts in India and these associations provided the right platform. Associations like TiE, SIPA, AAPI, apart from development associations, have scope for much stronger partnerships for development of home economies. Migrants seem to have forged these associations keeping this vision in mind. Therefore, next chapter set out to explore and examines one of the important Indian expatriate association, TiE, formed by high skilled expatriates.

**Summing Up:**

It can be said that expatriates have been networking with each other for years mainly through friends, family and kinship networks. In the wake of globalization, new kinds of associations have originated mainly in the post-1965 era. The expatriate associations are of various types and can be divided broadly into six categories: Cultural, Students, Women /Support, Professionals and Development Associations. The size of these associations varies. In total, there are over 400 associations of Indian expatriates in the USA.
These associations are not homogenous and have different identities. Cultural associations of Indian expatriates are the largest in number having membership in thousands compared to other types of associations. Growth of all kinds of cultural associations has been phenomenal in terms of membership and activities as each state in the US has many associations or chapter of associations. Though the linkages of these associations with the home country are non-existent, a few development associations, as a mandate, are working towards development of marginalized communities of India. Some of the important associations in this category are; The India Development Service (IDS), Association for India Development (AID), and American India Foundation (AIF). Umbrella Associations generally act as a parent organization to all associations due to their mandate for policy formulation. Some of the prominent umbrella associations are Indian American National Foundation, a conglomerate umbrella body of four major associations [Asian American Hotel Owner Association (AAHOA), Association of American Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI), National Federation of Indian Americans (NFIA) and Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE)]. Membership of such umbrella association runs in thousands as they act as a parent organization for such associations, which have come under the fold of a larger association like GOPIO. The professional or scientific associations are different from other kinds of associations. There are very few professional associations that have a very large membership base due to limited number of skilled migrants in respective professions. Associations like American Association of Physicians from Indian Origin (AAPI) is one of the oldest associations of health professionals in the United States and was established in 1982 while Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA) was born in 1989 and Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association (SIPA) originated in 1987.

The associations of professional expatriates are different and unique from cultural, support or development associations on the level of membership and activities as well as in objective and mission. Though, professional associations are few their membership base holds an important place followed by development, umbrella and support associations. These types of associations have formed strategic partnerships with other associations, purely based on activity. However, professional associations share a good
liaison with development associations, e.g. TiE, a professional association supports the causes of a development association, e.g. AIF. Professional associations do not affiliate with cultural associations because of their different objectives. The interests and capacities of expatriates’ professional associations vary enormously but associations like TiE, SIPA and AAPI, apart from development associations, have large scope for stronger partnerships for development of home economies and hence immigrants seem to have formed these associations.