

NEW AMERICANS, LASTING ART: A CALL TO BUILD

Divya Kumar



There is a traditional American spiritual that says,

"Every time I feel the spirit moving in my heart, I will pray..."

But let's try,

"Every time we feel the spirit moving in our heart, let's build a way!"

Here is a typical scene in the South Asian American arts subculture. We are in a suburban living room on a Saturday evening. An enthusiastic singer is wailing away; the audience is enthralled; the acoustics are superb. Although the audience includes many devoted artists and patrons of music, as the evening ends, so does the togetherness. Performers and audience members can stay connected only by a web of semi-private associations. The audience members return to their daily lives and the performers wander off.

At the dawn of the 21st century, only four decades after large numbers of South Asians immigrated to America, South Asian Americans have reason to be proud of their highly-developed presentation of traditional art forms. Through tireless efforts, they have established elaborate touring circuits for acclaimed international and native performing artists. Dedicated students have unimaginable opportunities to learn and perfect the traditional techniques through training with masters. To ensure the artistic vibrancy of their region, volunteers often spend as much time and enthusiasm as do arts professionals working for concert halls and theaters, presenting organizations and government arts agencies. Although South Asian performing arts are available to anyone who takes the time and interest, no substantial organization holds the community together. The touring circuit rests in the hands of the few avid organizers who must expend significant effort and private resources for every show.

If South Asian Americans value the preservation of their culturally-specific art forms or the development of new artistic genres rooted in South Asian traditions, they must find the best possible ways to institutionalize a community-based arts infrastructure and develop

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systems of philanthropy to support it. By looking at helpful clues in the strategies of other American cultural communities, the South Asian American community can develop institutions to support traditional arts, institutions which are both politically American and uniquely South Asian.

The Landscape of South Asian Community Building in America

South Asians started arriving to an America that just passed the Civil Rights Act, guaranteeing equality to all citizens regardless of race. Although some did face terrible xenophobia and racism, most found a comfortable home in idyllic suburbs.¹ They earned keep in America's efflorescent middle class as mortgage-paying, 2.5-kid-rearing, Betty Crocker families. Many arrived as engineers into an economy that was shifting rapidly from simple manufacturing into one in which businesses required research and development to stay competitive.² Others arrived as fresh doctors for America's neglected rural towns.³ Some came as graduate students. Others took on the age-

If South Asian Americans value their art forms, they must find ways to institutionalize them.

old American challenge as entrepreneurs, continuing a business sense developed in the homeland.⁴ Most found a place as professionals and taught their children to get an education and carry on. It was not an easy transition; no immigrant's tale is. Every family can describe the early struggles and the discipline that was necessary to pull through. But as a group, South Asians attained the highest per-capita income of any ethnic group in America.⁵

America's increasingly engineering-based economy and ongoing suburbanization had a profound effect on Asian culture-building. After quota restrictions on Asian immigration were loosened in 1965,⁶ South Asians sought better-paying jobs or access to high-level degrees in the sciences; they did not come in order to be with other South Asians. German-Jewish immigrants in the 1930s, on the other hand, came to American soil with the help and encouragement of several members of local Jewish communities. These communities had been settled in America for at least a generation and would eventually be hosts to the new immigrants. Incoming Jews clustered into Jewish neighborhoods in urban centers along the East Coast and in the Midwest.⁷ In contrast, immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka arriving in the 1970s scattered to wherever their sponsoring university or employer was located. Among South Asians, community building was an afterthought. In fact, South Asian organizations that were founded in the 1970s were most often organized around language-group identity, which is regional and not national.⁸

The primary community for these new South Asian Americans was the extended family, members of which were often dispersed across

several states and settled into suburbs. Family reunification was a priority of legislation in 1965, 1986, and 1990, so South Asian American pioneers were able to bring at least their immediate family together on American soil.⁹ Strong family is both an immigrant survival mechanism and a subcontinental tradition; South Asians in America function on the infrastructure of the family unit rather than the community unit. Journalist and author Marina Budhos points this out when comparing South Asian Americans to Jewish immigrants in America: “If, in an earlier era, immigrants ‘took care of one’s own,’ by providing for their families *and establishing support organizations*, South Asians are doing the same, simply by working very hard, getting graduate degrees, buying houses, paying their mortgages, and sending their children to school.”¹⁰ Not only is South Asian American community-building more passive and introverted, it focuses on the immediate family and relies upon networks created by the extended family.

New Immigrant Community Expressions in America

New immigrants to America often express their unified community voice for the first time through the establishment of a house of worship. In 1890, The Irish Catholic community in Washington D.C. came together to build a great church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The effort was led by the newly-formed Catholic University, which sought to serve the spiritual needs of non-seminary students. After a significant fundraising campaign by the community, they decided instead to build a large national shrine that would serve all American Catholics and act as a monument of faith for America as its only church that served the papacy.

Usually, the Irish built churches for parish communities. A parish is bound only by the geography of the people it serves, whether in a city, suburb, or rural area. But the new national shrine needed a location that was both accessible and affordable.

Catholic University had purchased the plot of land from the city for a pittance. The surrounding neighborhood called Brookland became affectionately known as the Catholic Ghetto as more Irish Catholics moved into the neighborhood from areas further downtown.¹¹ For the mostly working-class citizens, the cost of building was a primary concern. The church took almost a century to build, and many generations pitched in. A 1920s editorial in the newspaper Washington Evening Star shows how the project was a part of something larger for the city and the nation:

*The proposed memorial shrine...will be a striking addition to the monumental features of the capital. Washington's notable structures have during the last twenty years grown in number...The Catholic University memorial, as designed, will present a novel type that will be conspicuous and will add materially to the attractiveness of the capital...*¹²

Although Brookland was in the outer reaches of Northeast DC, eventually development in Washington grew around the Catholic Basilica, and officials heeded Irish community needs when planning bus and metro routes. The Basilica is now a landmark of the city and accessible to all.¹³

Subsequently, suburbanization has given us a choice that the Irish did not have: whether or not to build in the city where land is more expensive. The suburbs provide a fresh start for many issues that have complicated urban living. The difference in available space and resources is such that some county governments are now joining forces with nearby municipal authorities to share governance.¹⁴

Over time, a house of worship often becomes the background for broader statements by the particular community in favor of its culture and cultural expressions. In Baltimore, for example, the Jewish Museum was established on Lloyd Street in 1960 to restore and preserve an old nineteenth-century synagogue nearby. The structure, which most recently had been used by a Lithuanian church, reflected an earlier time when Maryland Jews lived, worked, and prayed around it. As the demographics of Baltimore changed, the Jewish Museum's role expanded to include a range of cultural activities that "cut across lines of gender, age, ethnicity, background, class, and learning style" for diverse Jewish faith communities. Jews from a wide spectrum of orthodoxies have always attended the museum. Now, the museum's exhibitions are "increasingly becoming venues for non-Jews to encounter Judaism."¹⁵

Hindu Indian temple-building seems to follow quite similar patterns of development. Instead of building for a limited community such as a parish, when Hindus build their temples, they attempt to bridge barriers of language, class, caste, even of devotion.¹⁶ But like all new immigrant communities, building houses of worship still is an important and often primary act of community building. In fact the ritual act of temple consecration (a kind of over-the-top ribbon-cutting ceremony) brings a spectrum of South Asians in the surrounding region together in a significant way and sometimes for the first time:

It is clear for these Hindus of New England building a temple meant building a community too. As the process came to fruition that May, everyone participated -- preparing lemon rice for thousands of visitors, stringing flower garlands, putting up twinkling lights, managing parking and shuttle buses, directing traffic, distributing lunch, sweeping and cleaning at the end of each day. By the time of the tower sprinkling at Sunday noon, the whole Hindu community had come together at New England's first temple.¹⁷

With highways connecting towns for work and leisure, these community-building facilities most often take root in suburban areas where the land is cheap. In fact, each temple is usually built outside

the area of residence of even its most avid supporters.

By choosing the suburbs for their community-building, Hindu Indians chose not to negotiate. Land in the city is scarce. There is not much to negotiate in the suburbs. Most elements of civilization have been established by the nearby metropolis, so a new suburban development does not need to build much.¹⁸ This seems to be the pattern with South Asian communities of every faith. South Asian mosques, churches, and temples tend to be out in semi-rural areas, without a nearby community who might drop in, join a class, or attend programming. These facilities, unless suburban sprawl catches up to them, will never have to negotiate with an established community. In America, South Asian houses of worship may at best find themselves discussing the implications of a new traffic light or chatting with a builder looking to develop nearby.

The result of this trend is that unlike the Irish, South Asian Americans have not yet worried too much about community-members without automobile transport.¹⁹ People without cars who want access to the services that faith-based institutions can provide end up meeting in their own homes with friends who live nearby. Such groups grow until they can build their own remote temples, continuing the process of fragmentation that undermines South Asian American institution building. They are neither building an institution for a small region nor are they building a wholly diverse, accessible institution that serves everyone.

Negotiating for Cultural Institutions

In urban environments, a tradition of negotiation has prevailed for immigrants looking to establish cultural institutions. Longtime residents of a city would question not only the validity of new immigrant art forms, but also the groups' right to present them in a public venue. These negotiations have inevitably generated arts agencies, councils and programs that serve as mediators between the issues of the city or state and the issues of the new art form and audience. The tradition of negotiation continues even as America has moved into the suburbs: An arts presenter introducing a new town to her music will have local, county, and state organizations with whom to collaborate. These groups help the presenter find venues, patrons, and an audience. But there is a catch. The arts presenter must be organized as a nonprofit arts group. In other words, the presenter must have a strong political identity. She must organize enough people around her artistic interest to set up a mission-driven organization willing to present the genre on a regular basis at an acceptable level of artistic merit -- hard work, indeed.

The system regulates the arts by relying upon a new presenter's work ethic. It is unlikely that a presenter will fight for something that has little artistic value. Since the value of art is hard to define objective-

ly, the artistic merit of traditional art forms is determined in large part by its audience's commitment. A reliable spokesperson for a particular genre can ensure its artistic merit to members of the general community simply because she has continuously argued on behalf of the merits of the art form. In addition, since the presenter must accept the terms of decisions made by the diverse community collective, new art forms cannot become popular overnight. An audience must be as committed to the art form as the presenter is in order for the form to be widely accepted. Through this structure of negotiation, government arts agencies are better able to ease the complaints of any tax-paying citizen who may have no interest in the particular genre. Whether or not he believes the work is art, his tax dollars will not be going to waste.

Let's look closer at a few examples of traditional cultural infrastructure building in the state of Maryland. I have already mentioned the Jewish Museum in Baltimore. Over time, the building preservation project became symbolic of the cultural needs and interests of Baltimore's Jewish community. Eventually the Jewish Museum purchased a second historic synagogue and built a modern facility in which to curate exhibitions. The facility currently houses a library for genealogy research of Baltimore's Jews in addition to exhibition and program space. Administrative offices, meeting space, as well as an archive housing items significant to the study of Baltimore's Jewish material culture round out the facility. Now, they also have programs to educate Baltimore children and adults within the museum as well as in local schools and through public collaborations.²⁰

South Asians have tried to build similar cultural education programs through dance and music classes for its youth. However, communities rarely form institutions to help teachers along. Teachers work primarily out of their own homes. Even as their businesses grow to accommodate large numbers of students and they spend almost all of their time teaching, their facilities remain private. Since their homes are often on quiet cul-de-sacs, neighbors rarely think of such basement enterprises as institutions comparable to ballet schools and other arts education facilities.

Another example of an arts organization that worked to make a home within pre-existing communities is the Institute of Musical Traditions based in Takoma Park, Maryland. Any Monday night, both the familiar and the uninitiated congregate at Silver Spring Unitarian Church and expect to hear excellent American folk music performances by musicians from around the country. IMT started in the narrow storefront of the House of Musical Traditions. A few people took it upon themselves to develop the shows into a reliable concert series with comfortable venues. Production values are high, a dedicated staff takes tickets and sells CDs, and they maintain a reliable website to keep everyone informed. Now the Institute is as able-footed as the more known classical and chamber music venues

to present high-quality music to the public.²¹

In many ways, the individual concerts at IMT are comparable to some of our South Asian private house concerts today. However, in our case, no matter how excellent the performers are or how able the sound equipment is, the concerts are not accessible to people outside of the community. The concerts cannot easily be announced and understood in community newspapers or via public radio, television and other advertising media, because they are not regular enough to be reliable for an inquiring participant. Valiant efforts have been made by stalwarts in the music community through the development of a growing e-mail list²² and attempted partnerships with media outlets.²³ But attending an isolated house concert still requires planning ahead. Planning, that is, in place of the more pervasive method of concert attendance: “What’s going on this weekend? I don’t know; let’s see if there’s any good music playing.” Also, the fluctuating production values and volunteer staffing means that an artist playing at such a venue may not be able to sell CDs, promote events, or stay connected with the community that would otherwise form around his music.

Where the Institute of Musical Traditions negotiated with the area’s arts infrastructure to provide a reliable alternative, the Jewish Museum negotiated with the city’s authorities to create a reliable cultural representative. It may seem like these examples do not address what some call mainstream artistic life. But “mainstream” artistic life is a myth. Every form of expression serves a specific community with boundaries. Furthermore, it is the notion that there is a mainstream to join which hinders the South Asian American community’s institutionalization efforts.

Opera, for example, is considered mainstream. It has a national service organization that lobbies on its behalf.²⁴ Several regional opera companies have emerged at varying levels of artistic proficiency, from the mediocre to the world class. Summer programs for children abound, ensuring enrollment in the multitude of college-level conservatory programs across America. But as entrenched as opera is in our country, it is not indigenous to America. It was introduced to New York City by a Spanish singer and his family with an 1825 performance of *The Barber of Seville* at the Park Theater.²⁵ From there, the noble art form struggled to take root on rowdy American soil. For example, French language preservationists in New Orleans fought to maintain cultural authority after Louisiana was ceded to the United States.

Interesting in its own right, New Orleans’s early operatic history illustrated the central importance of the audience in the evolution of the opera in America. Given the absence of state patronage, opera in America had to compete within the capitalist entertainment marketplace for its audience. An opera audience could not be assumed but it had to be continually created.²⁶

The most established art form in America had the same tough beginnings as South Asian contributions do now. When we look more closely at the structure and development of the Washington National Opera, for example, we find that all of the same community-level negotiations have taken place over time. Only through these negotiations has the region developed a sense of ownership of both the opera company and its artistic genre to accord it as hallowed a venue as the Kennedy Center's opera house.²⁷

South Asian Cultural Organizations and Survival

The tradition of negotiation in support of an art form somehow did not reach suburban South Asian Americans. Their spirit has been far too independent and entrepreneurial to accept the restrictions that come with support. A dance teacher makes a studio out of her basement rather than space in the local community center. An avid organizer of Hindustani vocal concerts decides that his living room is better than a local recital hall. South Asian immigrants presenting their culture have, for the most part, chosen private spaces over the restrictions of shared venues and have used personal funds rather than pooled community resources.

South Asian immigrants in the late twentieth century quickly settled into suburban life and provided amply for their families and traditions. Marina Budhos states, "Unlike earlier immigrant groups, the concerns of this burgeoning South Asian population were less that of survival, and more of forming a community."²⁸ While many South Asians did immigrate almost directly into middle-class suburban developments with eventual mortgages, cars, and kids in college, I would hesitate to call that in itself surviving. American values skydived in the 1950s to suggest that all a person needed was a Levitt home with a washer/dryer combo. Newer debates about the quality of life in American towns show how wrong that was. Human survival includes both material and psychical components.²⁹ Perhaps, it was when South Asian Americans could not hear their own music anywhere around them that they were faced with one of their greatest challenges.

American social entrepreneurs have tended to be upper-class women with strong social networks upon which to fall back. For example, at the turn of the twentieth century in Chicago a woman named Jane Addams ran a settlement house to help new immigrants assimilate into American society. "Independent, energetic, well-educated, and generally well-to-do," the new women who worked at Hull House formed a class of philanthropists with plenty of leisure time to engage in their volunteer efforts.³⁰ South Asian Americans, however, have been giving their time generously to their communities before attaining the wealth and security of these turn-of-the-century elites. Moreover, gifts of time are second to gifts of money in the realities of institution building.

Then how did it all happen? For the South Asian immigrants who organized on the culture's behalf, traditional expressions were necessary for survival in an American environment whose core values seemed opposed to their own. Putting on concerts was an act of cultural preservation. As a natural process, organizing for culture is something people from the Indian Subcontinent seem to do shortly after establishing a home. The history of music patronage in India attests to its intimate connection to upward mobility -- to be able to present music to guests is a priority for many, ranking somewhere after purchasing that first car but before getting the next, between finding a decent job and buying a vacation home.

South Asian immigrants to America came from villages and towns in the Indian Subcontinent that had been settled for millennia. Relationships between community members were fairly static, either in the form of caste or class. But in the patronage of classical music, some elasticity created opportunities for upward mobility. According to Bonnie Wade, a reputed scholar of classical Hindustani music, "the patron...might be someone whose status is equal...or superior to the person patronized, or might even be of inferior status in some way..."³¹ For many towns in Mughal India, music was a matter of course. Opportunities existed for new patrons with cultivated musical knowledge to challenge existing social hierarchies through the sponsorship of an excellent emerging musician. There was, of course, also differential value placed on different types of music: classical, semi-classical, or folk. Each form existed at a distinct point on the scale of cultural status, with *dhru-pad*-style classical vocal music at the high end.³² Over the 20th century, the socio-cultural status of classical *dhru-pad*-style music has been replaced by Urdu *ghazal*-song and patrons have shifted their sponsorships accordingly.³³ Music presentation then seems embedded in the way South Asians Americans establish themselves. A traditional American middle-class existence for them is not survival. When liabilities like mortgage payments and homeowner's insurance weigh on us, they threaten our ability entertain guests, to survive.

South Asian American arts presenters in the Washington area have a history of presenting music concerts more than any other form. It started with informal weekly sessions by amateur musicians in each other's homes. As audiences grew, so did the infrastructure. In the 1980s, venues were still most often private homes. By the 1990s some had established relationships with newly built houses of worship or local community centers and high school auditoriums.³⁴ Those who really cared about the music sometimes cringed at the sound systems or the very unprofessional looking stage, particularly as they developed the capacity to bring and tour some of the greatest living traditional artists from back home. They wanted a professional sound system. They wanted the stage to be appropriately decorated. They wanted the audience to maintain the appropriate demeanor. When this seemed impossible, they returned to their

homes. With more personal wealth, they were able to invest in their own basements to create venues that could not be rivaled either by their own community infrastructure or even the broader Washington arts infrastructure for traditional music concerts. I have been privileged to attend these truly unrivaled facilities for profound experience. But is this entrenching of our survival infrastructure getting us where we want to go, as a community that values cultural expression?

Vision for New Structures

For the answer, we must consult the artists themselves. When musicians come over to play a house concert, they make those in attendance feel better about living in a strange place. But they do not get out of it the resources needed to further develop their craft. Look at trends in our community arts infrastructure more broadly. Generally we find that the South Asian American organizations capable of presenting themselves in American art spaces are those that have been formed by a parent-child relationship. This is especially true for dance. Several mother-daughter dance teams that have created arts organizations have a pretty strong public reach in California and the Midwest. In fact, one such mother received the National Heritage Award this year, the highest honor given by the United States for a practitioner of folk/traditional art.³⁵ However, if the institution is resting on the family relationship of parent to child, how agile will it be as it faces broader issues in the arts environment? Don't get me wrong; these organizations are smart. In fact, they may lead us into the 21st century with their institution-building wisdom. But we cannot rely on them to create a *gharana*³⁶ in America that will grow and flourish when no precedent for *gharana* exists.

The most poignant cries from artists when organizing their performances resound with a need to access the "mainstream." Whether that is for the ticket sales, broader marketing reach, or simple artistic need, the artists prophesy the problem from within. Although working traditional artists appreciate the infrastructure in which they exist, they still wonder what it takes to attain the popular success of Jhumpa Lahiri or Zakir Hussain. And sometimes in hopelessness, artists that might have been engaged with traditional South Asian art forms move into the less culturally specific realms of visual art, literature, film, and theater. Sadly, even in these genres, they are categorized and are often only accorded brief shining moments based on the fad of the day.

So let's work on this problem. Let's learn from the histories of our American neighbors to institutionalize when appropriate. As we merge into our new homeland our cultural identity must be fortified by a political identity. They are, in fact, one and the same. Within the endless storm of political change, Art is our vessel for cultural

memory. It has within it all of the aspirations and achievements of everyone who has ever had anything to do with it. Its level of refinement reflects this complexity. Whether we are interested in participating in garba or mastering tabla, when we engage, we imbibe this memory into ourselves not by way of our rational minds but by way of our senses. There are plenty of political, territorial, socio-economic, and nuclear issues to address out loud, but not in lieu of looking within our selves for answers. The myriad tabla repertoire when played by a master and listened to openly convey our truths: the triumph and the sorrow, the goodness and the guilt, the pleasure and the sacrifice, without the divisive edge of rhetoric. In spite of internecine issues that will always play themselves out, Art enables us to organize and wield influence.

As we organize, our culture becomes a contribution to the polyphonic civic space of which we are a part. For there is no artistic mainstream; there is only an artistic community. Mainstream is the fiction of the person who feels outside of it. Mainstream notions only serve to create vast markets of bland products for vague needs. In an era when American communities are shifting and eroding, enough people feel outside as to have made a myth of the mainstream. They seek political representation, and they wonder why their concerns are not on the public agenda. South Asian Americans have swallowed that myth as easily as we have gobbled up everything from a good education to McDonald's apple pie. The only viable process for us is real community-building, not community-building as an afterthought. If we truly want to make our culture both accessible and robust in America, we have got to organize; in other words, let's put some *chutzpah* into our *chutney*.



1. S. Mitra Kalita, *Suburban Sahibs*, Rutgers Univeristy Press, 2003.
2. Ibid., 10-11; Audrey Singer, *The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways*, The Living Census Series (Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy: Brookings Institution, February 2004), 3.
3. Steve Raymer, "Indian Doctors Help Fill U.S. Health Care Needs" in *Yale Global*, February 16, 2004: "In the 1960s and '70s IMGs [international medical graduates] were heavily recruited to fulfill the Medicare program's promise of free medical care for every American over the age of 65. Today, Indian doctors must return to India after completing their advanced training unless they agree to set up practice in rural or low-income areas."
4. Dominique Daniel, "Increase in Immigrants from the Developing World" in *Encyclopedia of American Immigration*, ed. James Ciment, 1:207: "In the 1980's, Indian immigrants turned to entrepreneurship too...They began to acquire franchise and import-export businesses which required more capital than the Koreans' greengroceries..."
5. A recent Merrill Lynch annual survey of wealth found that on average Indian-Americans make \$60,000, significantly more than the national average of \$38,885. Cited from Nancy Liu, "A Political Wakeup Call for Indian-Americans" April 19, 2004 (www.msnbc.msn.com); Also, the Indian American Center for Political

Awareness has published on its website several important sets of data derived from the most recent census results: www.iacfp.org. Since the U.S. Census is not very specific in its categorization of “Asian Indians,” we can safely assume that these figures apply to South Asians from various countries of the Indian Subcontinent, not just India.

6. The Immigration and Nationality Amendments of 1965 actually went into effect in 1968. “This policy change, together with the mobility fostered by economic growth in many developing nations, combined to produce an immigration boom during the 1980s and 1990s. The immigrant population of the U.S. more than doubled during those twenty years - growing from 14.1 million to 31.1 million...During the last two decades, an equally large percentage [85%] of the two decades’ 14.9 million immigrants hailed from the countries of Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa.” Cited from Singer, *New Immigrant Communities*, 2.
7. Anita Kassof, Avi Decter, and Deborah Weiner, ed. “Lives Lost, Lives Found: Baltimore’s German Jewish Refugees, 1933-1945.” *Baltimore: The Jewish Museum of Maryland*, 2004.
8. The idea of a “South Asian” organization is very recent, perhaps only decade old. It often stems from impulses within the second generation trying to assimilate with both their American and other South Asian peers.
9. This chain migration is an often-cited characteristic of 30-year mass migration from Russia and Eastern Europe at the turn of the 19th century. Ewa Morawska makes an interesting point about such chain immigration in her chapter “Causes of Immigration” in *Encyclopedia of American Immigration*, 1:105. “Particularly important were networks of information about prospective jobs and wages; once the decision to travel was made, assistance in organizing passage, and, upon arrival, help in finding lodging and employment. According to a study by the U.S. Immigration Commission conducted in 1908-9, nearly two-thirds of the newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe declared that their passage was arranged by immigrants already in this country. An even greater number were headed for destinations, primarily large States, where relatives or acquaintances from their hometown or village waited for them.”
10. My italics. Marina Budhos, “From Exile to Citizenship,” *The Subcontinental*, 1:1 (2003), 82.
11. Gregory Tucker, *America’s Church: The Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception*. (Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 2000), 15.
12. *Ibid.*, 36 (from a December 1920 newspaper)
13. Martin Doblmeier, prod., *American Byzantine* (Alexandria, VA: Educational Broadcasting Corporation and Journey Films, 2000).
14. Researcher and former Albuquerque mayor David Rusk has advised many such areas in forming a “unigov” or unified government. His claims are summed up by www.iowacounties.org: “There is a high degree of interdependence between a core city like Des Moines, Iowa and the surrounding suburbs and unincorporated areas. Neither can exist economically if the other dies.”
15. Avi Decter, “Jewish Muses at Home in Jewish Museums,” in *Sb’ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility* (June 2001)
16. A few temples have been built and consecrated to both gods Siva and Vishnu which is an impossibility in traditional Hindu temple-building doctrine.
17. Diana Eck, *A New Religious America: How a “Christian Country” Has Become the World’s Most Religiously Diverse Nation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2001), 93.

18. In fact, a new development often does not pay for its use of the city. There is a burgeoning debate on the imbalance of resources shared between city and county municipalities. "Under typical financing arrangements, the infrastructure-related tax burden on new homeowners is typically less than the actual infrastructure costs they generate." Cited from Jan K. Brueckner, "Urban Sprawl: Lessons from Urban Economics" in *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, ed. William G. Gale and Janet Rothenberg Pack, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), 78.
19. I would infer that, given a choice, the Irish would still have maintained community access to the place of worship over the price of land because of their priorities in creating settlements: By the middle of the 19th century, every Irish settlement in America included in its vicinity a parish church, parochial school, and hospital.
20. For more information about the Jewish Museum, visit www.jhsm.org
21. Pamela Murray Winters, "The Institute of Musical Traditions: Monday Night Music Club" in *Dirty Linen* 69 (April/May 1997), p. 12. The Institute's website is www.imtfolk.org
22. Anil Sharma and Brian Silver have developed e-mail databases that service the community's Hindustani music audiences. Brian's list is open to anyone who writes him an e-mail and wishes to join: panorient@aol.com
23. Steve Mukherjee of Northern Virginia, interview by author, 30 June 2004.
24. Opera America calls itself the service organization "supporting the creation, presentation, and enjoyment of opera." For more information visit, www.operaam.org
25. John Dizikes. *Opera in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale, 1993), 8.
26. Dizikes, 32.
27. For more Information about the Washington Opera, which has recently been designated by an act of Congress the Washington National Opera, visit www.dc-opera.org
28. Budhos, 80.
29. Quality of Life background literature begins with the seminal work by Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). The civil society debate has many contours described aptly by international and national NGOs and think tanks. The most relevant scholarship to this paper is research by David Callahan and Stephen Heintz published in a briefing book called *Quality of Life: The New Politics of Work, Family and Community* by Demos: A Network for Ideas and Action (New York, NY) and research by Maria Rosario Jackson (Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project) out of The Urban Institute (Washington, DC)
30. Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 25.
31. Bonnie Wade, "Patronage in India's Musical Culture" in *Arts Patronage in India: Methods, Motives, Markets* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992), 182.
32. Wade, 183.
33. Peter Manuel, "The Popularization and Transformation of the Light-Classical Urdu Ghazal-Song" in *Appadurai*, Arjun, Frank J. Korom, and Margaret A. Mills, eds. *Gender, Genre, and Power in South Asian Expressive Tradition*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991)
34. Steve Mukherjee of Northern Virginia, interview by author, 30 June 2004.
35. National Heritage Award, 2004: Anjani Ambegaonkar; Other mother-daughter

pairs: Aparna and Raneer Ramaswamy, Ragamala Dance Company; Hema and Kritika Rajagopalan, Natya Dance Theatre; Ramaa and Swetha Bharadwaj, Angahara Ensemble; Viji and Mythili Prakash, Shakti Dance Company; etc.

36. Daniel Neuman defines gharana as follows: “Although gharanas connote many things to many people, the concept may be said to include, minimally, a lineage of hereditary musicians, their disciples, and the particular musical style they represent...One has constantly to keep in mind that gharanas are essentially abstract categories...The closest analogues I can think of in the West are loosely structured European intellectual circles...They differ from gharanas in that at their structural cores are non-familial institutions, whereas the structural core of a gharana is a lineage of hereditary musicians. What binds all such groups is style - formulated, shared, and represented by the membership.” Daniel Neuman, “The Politics of Pedigree” in *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), p. 146. Bonnie Wade refines his definition in *Khyal: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition*. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997)