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Emerging of An Indian Community in Tokyo: A Case Study of Nishikasai

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Indian Diaspora has a long history and with the recent globalization, they are found settling down in many parts of the world including Japan. The present paper looks into how the Indian residents create the living space as 'own space', taking a case study of one of the well-known areas for dominant presence of Indians, Nishikasai, in Tokyo. Now about 17000 Indians reside in Japan, and in Tokyo alone about 6400 Indians live. With families joining the single engineers of 1990s, social network outside the work place started strengthening in 2000s, leading to formation of an Indian community. The global network of internet seems to shape ethnic identity and 'own place', more quickly and strongly. A number of social organizations and religious facilities got developed for Indians. Indian festivals like New Year, Holy, Diwali and Dusserah are organized. Indian schools with English medium have been set up. It appears that besides religion and mother tongue, idea of nationality seems to have provided more-needed threshold for getting together and feeling themselves as community.

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About 25 million people constitute Indian Diaspora now, as per the report from the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Government of India. With the current economic globalization and accelerated flow of capital across the world, human mobility and migration have been increasing quite rapidly, resulting in a marked progress of spatial reorganization of Indian Diaspora. Diaspora is the result of the interaction between the external managerial force such as global economic and political demands and the domestic pushes of the economics and politics of the countries from where emigration takes place. In the case of India, the economic

liberalization started to progress from the 1980's. However, if we exclude the Indians working in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, the sphere and scope available then for the Diaspora as compared to present were limited. On the eve of the collapse of cold war, Gulf War etc., the foreign investment reserve in India reached to an abyssal low, and the country faced a deep economic crisis; at this juncture, the Indian Government took an abrupt change in its economic policy and the new economic policy thereby slated had a tilt towards capital as a basic principle of economy. Thereafter, India has been witnessing a rapid economic growth based on

foreign investments from developed countries. With this flow of investments, highly-qualified computer and IT engineers and management graduates from Bangalore and other cities started to constitute the Indian Diaspora in the western countries and Japan. Such internal changes correspond with the waves of globalization of world economy, and in the midst of spatial reorganization based on economic globalization, India moved to a promising position among the developing countries, and this helped her to strengthen the trades and transactions with the developed world.

Globalization

Globalization is viewed by Sassen (14) as a global city, for instance New York, London and Tokyo, where capital thrives and multiplies; global city moves from a production function to specialize in a core of managerial function, and transforms itself from a national economic centre into a world economic centre. It is a place where multinational organizations establish their pivotal administrative offices and elite persons with high salaries are found directing these offices. Sassen further observed that there are still unemployed population who are not ready to work in factories or in construction for lower wages; immigrant workers are increasing in number; women immigrants working as nurses and house maids are also increasing; immigrant women are found to get engaged in male-dominated fields too. Thus, the global system is found incorporated into the working of the developed countries so much that even the local labour market of big cities of developed countries cannot be understood without a reference to global trends and interactions.

'Own Place'

The living space, 'own place', of the Diaspora may progress into a settlement. This paper investigates the Indian Diaspora focusing on how the immigrants (Indian residents in Japan) have created and maintained their 'own place' while recognized by the host community as its own ethnic identities, incompatibly different ones. The 'place' in this paper is not exactly expressed in numerical values, like population and population change, proportion of production structure etc. The concreteness and individuality are certainly emphasized on the 'place' because it is necessary for capital accumulation (3) and Topophilia, the emotional and sentimental links of individuals or groups (21). Further, 'the place', conceived by people in a physical and emotional sense, amounts to a social construction, and a locale for the human thoughts and activities, and as such it acts for enlarging the possibilities and regulations. This paper thus tries to indicate the spatial expansion of a location as their 'own place' where there is a provision for reorganizing the identity of the Diaspora, its attachment to it and desire to continue to live there.

This paper discusses the following two points resulting from a survey on the living of Indian Diaspora in the context of globalization, and looking into their 'own place'. The first question is: how the Diaspora crossing over the national border into the developed countries did create their 'own place'; and the second one: what sort of change did this crossing over the border bring on their social identity. Indian society in Tokyo belongs to the category of recent Diaspora, and it is interesting to see how the Internet plays a role in establishing their 'own place' in a new land.

Indian Diaspora: Past and the Present

There have been a number of studies on the history of Indian Diaspora, and Japanese scholars too have contributed significantly in this search (4,5,6,7,8,10,12,16,18,19,20). Indian migration has a very long history, about 2000 years old. Indians engaged themselves on maritime trade and the evidences of their activities are extensively recorded from the shores of South East Asia, Arabia, and East Africa. However, the scale of immigration in the historical past was obviously small, and it is only in the era after the colonization by European Countries that the scale became significant (5). Koga and Nakamura (5) have mentioned the following three waves of historical Indian Diaspora:

1. Thanks to the abolition of slavery in the European countries, the immigration as

indentured labourers and labourers of *Kangani* system was encouraged from India into the Atlantic and Pacific islands and other regions of the colonial rule in the middle of 19th century.

2. Post war (World War II) recovery accelerated immigration into developed countries during 1950's to early 1970's.
3. Labour immigration was welcome into the oil-producing countries of the Middle East after 1973 oil crisis.

As against 80 ~ 90% of the Chinese Diaspora concentrating in South East Asia, the Indian Diaspora is rather extensively distributed throughout the world. This is due to the 1st wave factor and closely related to the historical fact that India had been a British colony (5). Further, as shown in Table 1, the 2nd, 3rd and the 4th waves which are to be

Table 1

The Cause of Indian Diaspora and the Countries of Immigration

	Cause of Diaspora	Period	Place of Immigration
1.	Abolition of slavery and indentured labourers System and Introduction of <i>Kangani</i> System	From Middle of 19th Century to 1940's	Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Mauritius, S.Africa Surinam, Trinidad Tobago, Guyana, Fiji, Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon, (Sri Lanka), the Malay Peninsula (Malaysia), Singapore etc.
2.	Emmigration to developed countries owing to economic recovery of post-war (II World War)	From 1950's to 1970's	UK. USA, Canada etc.,
3.	Labour Emmigration to Middle East oil-producing countries	After oil shock (1973)	Saudi Arabia, UAE, Oman, Kuwait, Quatar, Baharain, Yemen etc.
4.	IT Engineers along with economic globalisation	1990's after	Global cities in developed countries i.e USA, Japan etc.,

Source : Prepared from the reference of Naito (1996). Koga and Nakamura (2000).

mentioned later, extensively expanded the distribution of the Indian Diaspora.

Further, as shown in Fig. 1, the sprawl of the Indian Diaspora got extended with the 2nd, 3rd and the 4th waves of migration. Statistics on Indian Diaspora are available from the following two sources of the Indian Government ; i) Discussion Paper submitted to the Parliament in 1980 (hereafter referred to as the 1980 Report¹; and ii) the report submitted in January, 2002 by the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora (since the time of investigation of the data is December 2001, it is referred to as the 2001 Report). Between

1980 and 2001, Indian Diaspora increased from 10.9 million to 17 million, an increase of about 50 per cent². However, one has to be very cautious with these numbers for any conclusion, because of certain discrepancies; for instance, no data for South Africa and Reunion are available for 1980, and for Nepal and Sri Lanka for 2001. The 1980 Report gives the number of persons who have accepted the foreign citizenship as well. The 1980 Report designates the Indian emigrants as Indian Diaspora³, and conceptually it includes both PIO (Person of Indian Origin), NRI (Non-resident Indians), and the stateless persons. PIO refers to those who were Indian

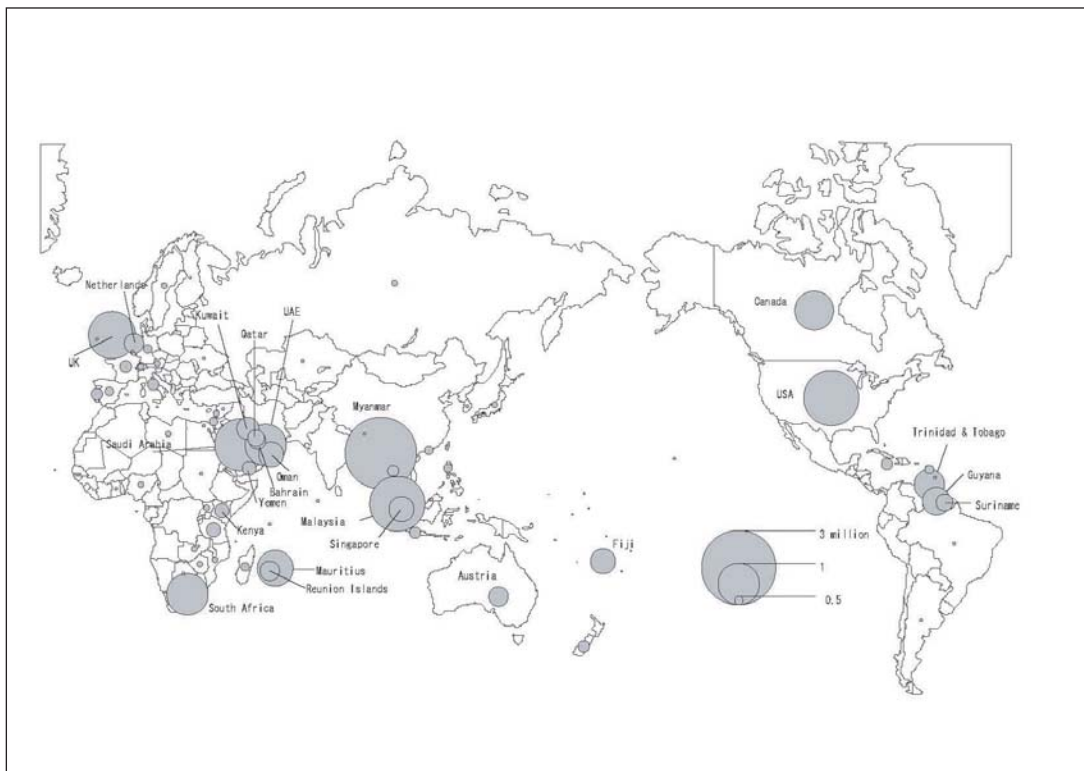


Fig. 1
Distribution of Indian Diaspora (2001)

Remarks: Indicating the countries which have above 100,000 India Diaspora (Excluded Sri Lanka and Nepal)

Source : The 2001 Report (Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora)

residents four generations ago, and have already acquired the foreign citizenship (persons from Pakistan, Bangladesh and certain other countries as specified by the Indian Government are not eligible for this status). NRI are those who are Indian nationals but reside abroad. This paper treats both the residents possessing foreign citizenship shown in the 1980 Report and those PIO shown in the 2001 Report as the same (hereafter stated as holders of foreign citizenship).

Table 2 describes the spread and growth of the Indian Diaspora as noted in the 1980 Report and the 2001 Report. Indian Diaspora increased by about 100000 persons in 13 countries, and declined by about 40000 persons in five countries.

Major countries that recorded the increase in Indian Diaspora are Saudi Arabia, UAE, Oman, Kuwait, and Qatar. The 3rd wave of the Indian Diaspora seems to continue even after 1980. The number of emigrants to the oil-producing countries of the Middle East decreased at the time of Gulf War, and however, Indian migration to these countries got revived as usual after the war. The Indian Diaspora in the Middle East consists of non-skilled or semi-skilled labourers, mainly engaged in the construction activities (1). Middle East countries enforce strict rules, restrictions and regulations on permanent residence or family visa, and therefore, the percentage of the Indian Diaspora not possessing foreign citizenship (in other words, Indian citizens) is rather high. All the other countries excluding the oil-producing countries of the Middle East have quite a large number of those persons possessing foreign citizenship during 1980. Because of that, there was natural increase in the population, and in

Canada and Australia besides the natural increase, there was a marked increase in the immigration of Indian Diaspora and its permanent settlement. The decline in some countries may be due to political instability of those countries.

It is the USA which accounts for the large increase in the Indian Diaspora from 1980 to 2001. Though the movement of Indian Diaspora to the USA started from the end of 19th century to the beginning of 20th century, there was a decrease when flow of Asian Diaspora was discouraged politically. As soon as the implementation of the Act on the Diaspora abolishing the Racial Discrimination Clause was passed in the year 1965, the number of Indian Diaspora started increasing (17). As Table 2 shows, the number was 300,000 in 1980 (inclusive of 35,000 possessing the citizenship of the USA); it increased to 820,000 in 1991; and in the next ten years, it got doubled, i.e. 1,680,000 in 2001(2001 Report). Thus in two decades, Indian Diaspora got increased by five times, numbering next to Chinese and Philippines among the Asians in the USA(2001 Report). Again, if we exclude Nepal, Sri Lanka and Myanmar which are located in the vicinity of Indian main land, the USA is the largest residential country of the Indian Diaspora. The Indian Diaspora in the USA comprises a wide range of specialists such as doctors, lawyers etc, in addition to taxi drivers, and motel or restaurant owners. As regards post -1990, the special feature is the increase in IT engineers. In 2001 there were more than 300,000 IT engineers employed in the Silicon Valley, and at present it is stated that the number has doubled (4).

The demand for IT engineers is not limited to

Table 2
Trend of Indian Diaspora (1980 and 2001) - Persons

	Country	1980			2001			Change		
		Possesing foreign Nationality +3 (1)	Others +4 (2)	Total (3)	Possesing foreign Nationality +5 (4)	Others +6 (5)	Total (6)	(4) - (1)	(5) - (2)	(6) - (3)
A +1	Myanmar	7,200	342,800	350,000	2,500,000	402,000	2,902,000	2,492,800	-340,800	2,552,000
	Saudi Arabia	2,000	118,000	120,000	0	1,500,000	1,500,000	-2000	1,382,000	1,380,000
	USA	35,000	265,000	300,000	+7 n.a	+7 n.a	1,678,765	n.a	n.a	1,375,765
	UAE	2,000	150,000	152,000	50,000	900,000	950,000	48,000	750,000	798,000
	UK	250,000	250,000	500,000	+7 n.a	+7 n.a	1,200,000	n.a	n.a	700,000
	Canada	95,000	80,000	175,000	700,000	151,000	851,000	605,000	70,000	676,000
	Malaysia	1,009,500	199,000	1,208,500	1,600,000	65,000	1,665,000	590,505	-184,000	456,000
	Oman	5	59,995	60,000	1,000	311,000	312,000	995	251,000	252,000
	Kuwait	100	64,900	65,000	1,000	294,000	295,000	900	229,100	230,000
	Australia	15,985	2,614	18,599	160,000	30,000	190,000	144,015	27,386	171,401
	Singapore	1,22,000	37,500	159,500	217,000	90,000	307,000	95,000	52,500	147,500
	The Netherlands	100,000	1,500	101,500	200,000	17,000	217,000	100,000	13,500	115,500
Quatar	125	29,875	30,000	1,000	130,000	131,000	875	100,125	101,000	
B +2	Japan	110	1,748	1,858	1,000	9,000	10,000	890	7,252	8,142
	Bhutan	20	39,980	40,000	0	1,500	1,500	-20	-38,480	-38,500
	Afghanistan	25,000	5,000	30,000	500	0	500	-24,500	-5000	-29,500
	Guyana	424,100	300	424,000	395,250	100	395,350	-28,850	-900	-29,050
	Iraq	10,000	10,250	20,250	50	60	110	-9950	-10,150	-20,140
	Iran	920	19,880	20,800	0	800	800	-920	-19,080	-20,000
Remarks : 1. Addition : Top 13 countries 2. Reduction : Top 5 countries 3. Number of those who have accepted foreign citizenship as given in The 1980 Report. 4. Number after deducting those who have accepted foreign citizenship from the total number of Indian diaspora as given in The 1980 Report 5. Number of PIO given in The 2001 Report 6. Number after deducting PIO from the total number 7. In The 2001 Report, the numerical values of PIO, NRI, the Stateless are not given separately for the United States of America, Britain, South Africa. Moreover, besides these countries, where the columns for PIO, Stateless are empty, it is taken as zero. Source : Prepared from The 1980 report and The 2001 report										

Table 3
Foreign Residents in Japan : Number, Gender and Residential Status 2005

Nationality	Total Persons	Gender Ratio	Residential Status			
			1	2	3	4
Korea	598,687	86.6	Special Permanent Resident (74.8%)	Permanent Resident (7.5%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (3.6%)	Dependent (2.8%)
China	519,561	70.1	Permanent Resident (20.5%)	Student (17.2%)	Designated Activities (11.6%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (10.5%)
Brazil	302,080	122.4	Long Trem Resident (50.7%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (26.1%)	Permanent Resident (21.1%)	Not eligible (0.8%)
Phillipines	187,261	25.7	Permanent Resident (28.5%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (24.1%)	Long Trem Resident (14.3%)	Entertainer (12.6%)
Peru	57,728	115.3	Permanent Resident (39.2%)	Long Trem Resident (37.1%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (12.0%)	Temporary Visitor (4.4%)
USA	49,390	183.9	Permanent Resident (19.6%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (17.9%)	Humaities International Services (15.9%)	Dependent (11.9%)
India	16,988	252.7	Dependent (24.2%)	Engineer (16.6%)	Permanent Resident (11.3%)	Skilled Labour (9.9%)
All foreigners	2,011,555	86.2	Special Permanent Resident (22.5%)	Permanent Resident (17.4%)	Long Term Resident (13.2%)	Spouse or child of Japanese National (12.9%)
<p>* Remarks : Gender Ratio means the number of women per 1000 men * Source : Prepared form the Annual Report of Heisei 18 (2006) of the Japan Immigration Association. ``Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan''.</p>						

the USA, but it is highly growing in the global city of all the developed countries which specialize in pivotal administrative function. The number of Indian Diaspora in Japan has increased from 1,858 (in 1980) to 10,000 (in 2001) (Table 2). In Japan, IT engineers of Indian Diaspora were found more concentrated in the global city, Tokyo. In the USA, Japan and many other such developed countries the Governments have taken steps to simplify the immigration procedure and relax the approval of visa etc., in order to admit the more Indian IT engineers more quickly.

Indian Society in Japan

The number of foreign residents in Japan is found increasing more rapidly in recent years, and it has reached 2,010,000, i.e.1.6% of Japanese population in 2005. And the 70% of foreign residents in Japan comes from three countries viz. Korea, China and Brazil (Table 3). The number of Indians is 16,988 which is just 0.8% of the total foreign residents (Table 3). The increase in Indian population in Japan was rapid between 1990 and 2005, and this may be because of the increased demand for IT professionals.

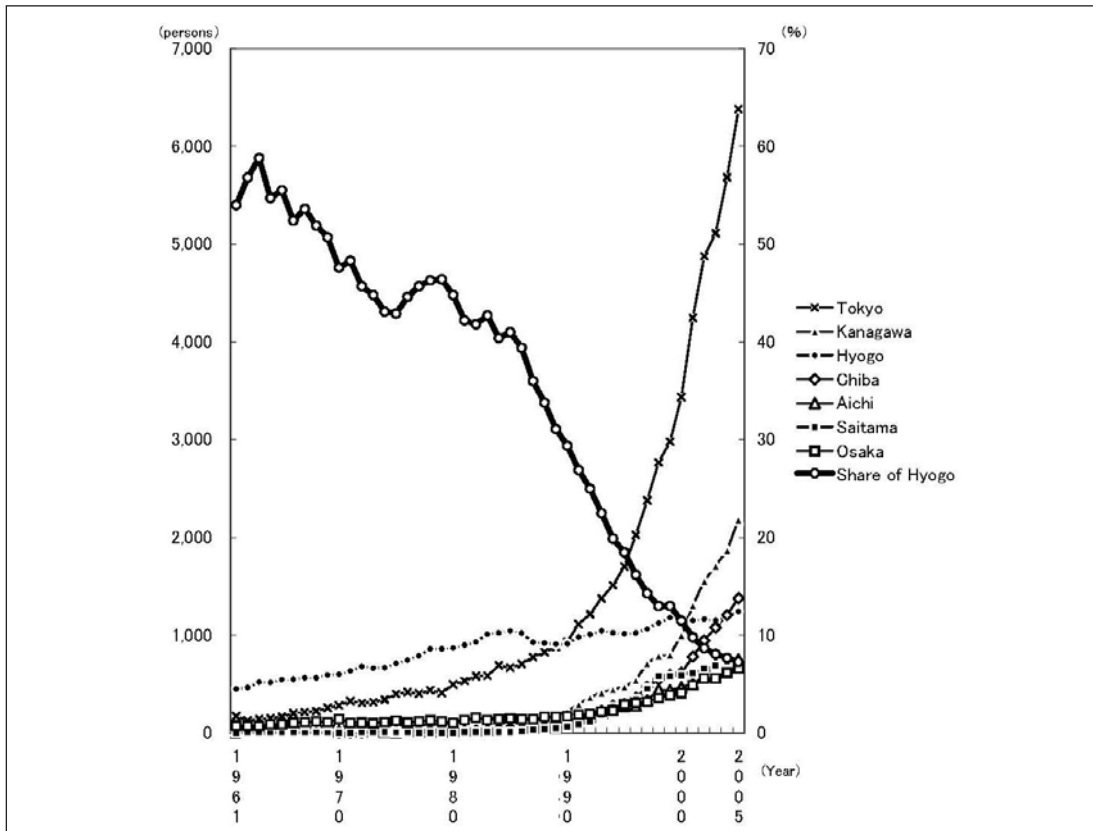


Fig. 2
A Trend of Indian Residents in 7 Prefectures in Japan

Source : Prepared from The annual report of the Japan Immigration Association, "Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan"

In 2005 Indian migrants were significantly present in seven prefectures, and in Hyogo prefecture alone, forty per cent of Indian migrants lived till 1980's (Fig.2). After the opening of Japan, the Indian traders started to reside in the port town of Kobe in Hyogo prefecture and Yokohama in Kanagawa prefecture. After the destruction of Yokohama in the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 the Indian traders moved to Kobe and since then continuously Kobe remained the settlement of the largest number of Indians (9,11,16). The Indian society residing in Kobe became deep-rooted as Indian traders in Kobe which was the largest port towards the direction of

Asia, and established religion-wise places of worship⁴; and they maintained compact local network through face to face contact among people of the same religion and caste and thus shaped their 'own place'. The ceremonies at the religious facilities and ethnic landscapes turned out to be the facilities for locating and reviving their identity; and their ethnic identity and interactions with fellow Indians, religious and caste groups help to revive their fond memories of their native places, thereby developing their 'own place' in a foreign soil. This togetherness also promotes the relation among Indians in Kobe. With the current global network of instantaneous information

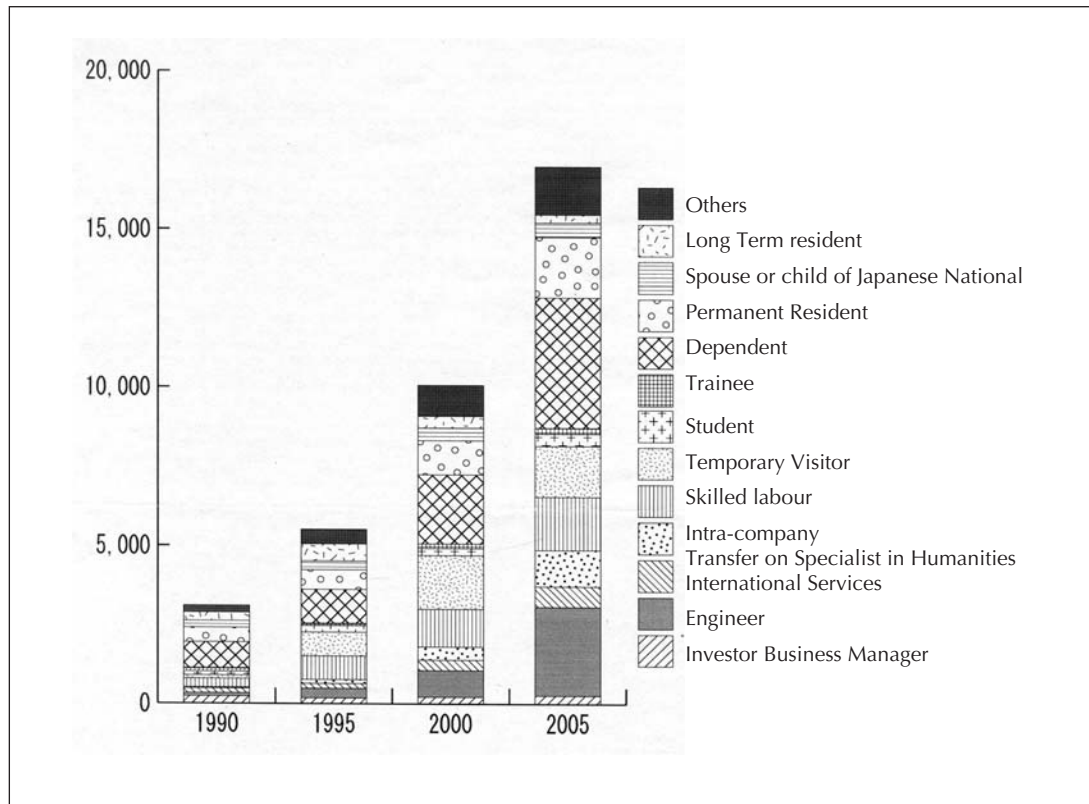


Fig. 3

Indian Residents by their Qualification in Japan

Source : Prepared from The Annual Report of the Japan Immigration Association
 ``Statistics on the Foreigners Registered in Japan''

exchange, the ethnic identity and development of 'own place' further get strengthened, connecting the global and local network at the same time (11,15).

From the middle of 1980 there was a sudden increase in the Indian population in Tokyo and in 1990 Tokyo took the Number One position in prefecture-wise which was so far held by Hyogo. Thereafter, even though there was small increase in Hyogo, when we keep 1990 as base, Tokyo has a remarkable increase of 3.7 times in 2000 and 6.9 times increase in 2005 (Fig.2). Moreover, the increase in Kanagawa and Chiba prefectures which are in the vicinity of Tokyo is also remarkable. If we consider the prefecture-wise resident Indians, the four locations in the descending order are Tokyo – 6,380, Kanagawa – 2,182, Chiba – 1,381, and Hyogo – 1,241. Indian population now consists obviously more of engineers, intra-company transferees, and dependent family members (Fig.3).

New migrants are dominant in the Indian community in Tokyo. It is no wonder, Tokyo being a global city, attracts more of IT engineers. Under the present circumstances of rapid development of economic globalization, Tokyo plays the important pivotal role of decision making in the case of multinational businesses. The development of IT industry is indispensable for the acceleration of it. In this situation, under these circumstances, the Indian society around Tokyo gets sudden increase with IT engineers along with elite community of business men employed in multinational corporations, the managers of Indian restaurants, cooks, and unskilled labour in sub-contract factories. Thus, the Indian society in Tokyo is currently characterized by different classes. It may be pointed out till 2000

the relation among the different strata of people was weak and fragmented because differences between different social and religious groups of Indian migrants were large enough that they did not really feel the need for information exchange⁵.

Indian population is distributed unevenly in Tokyo. Tokyo Prefecture, alias Tokyo Metropolitan government, is constituted of 23 municipal wards and 39 local governments. According to the statistics of 2005 on Tokyo, 23 municipal wards accommodate 91 per cent of Indian population. Among the 23 wards, Indians mainly reside in the wards of Minato and Setagaya, in the western parts of the city in 1990. In Minato Ward, it is mostly the employees of the Indian Embassy, and those employed in the financial organizations of the Government. Setagaya ward attracts more Indian households because of the availability of international school where English is the medium of instruction. Indian traders (mostly of Gujaratis and Jains) especially involved in diamond business are found living since 1970s in Okachimachi (Taito Ward) that specializes in the whole-sale trade of jewelries. Indian population is found increasing in all the 23 wards since 1990s. Along with Minato ward in the northwest, Nerima and Nakano wards too (also in the northwest) attracted more Indians for living. The maximum increase is seen in Edogawa and Koto wards in the east. Transport accessibility and locations of IT companies may be the reasons for this sort of differences in increase.

The IT engineers so far were different from the Indian traders of Kobe in the sense that IT engineers did not form the settlement keeping the regional face to face contact as the

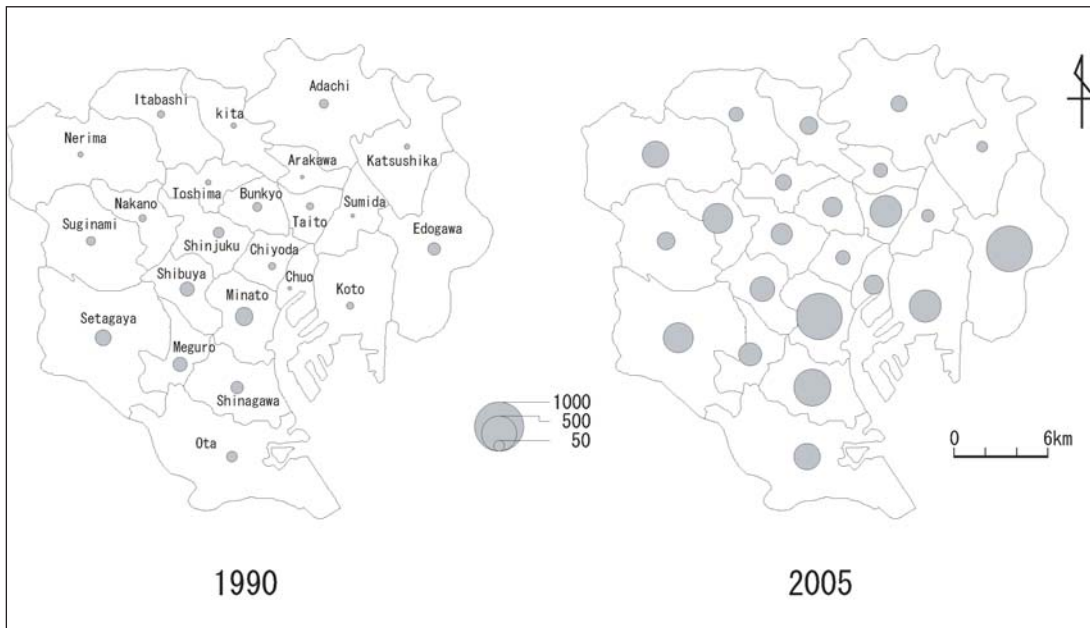


Fig. 4
Distribution of Indian Residents in 23 Wards of Tokyo

Source : Prepared from the data on Tokyo Metropolitan Government:
 ``Identity Cards of Foreigners registered - Country-wise``)

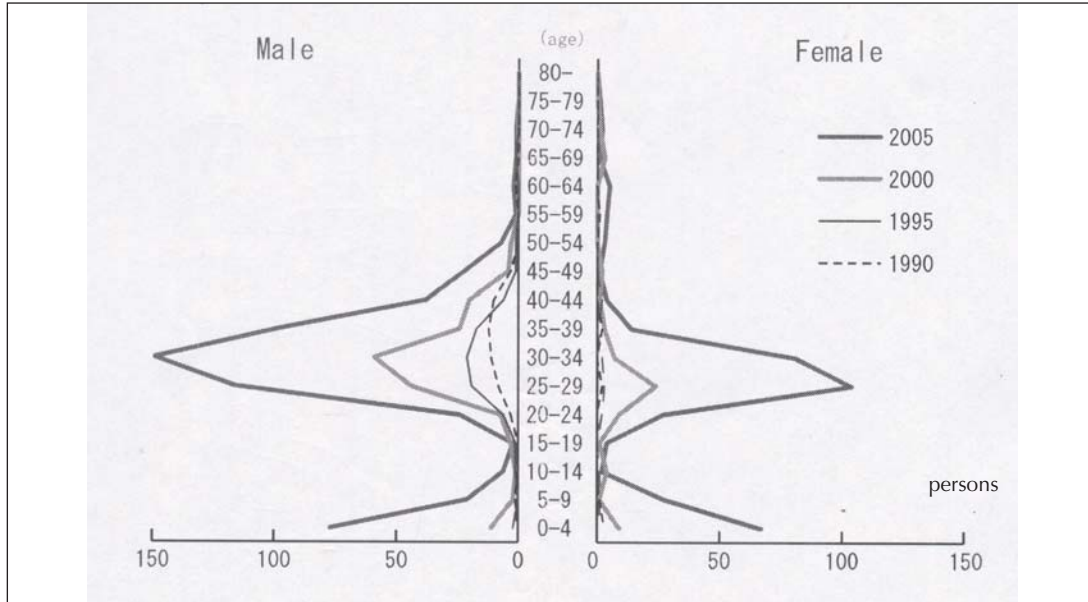


Fig. 5
Population Pyramid of Indian Residents at Edogawa Ward, Tokyo

Source : Prepared from the data of the Municipal Office of Edogawa Ward.

premise, and most of them accepted to reside temporarily in the accommodation provided by the employers. However, since 2000 the society of new immigrants has undergone great change, and now they seem to conceive and feel for 'own place'.

Emerging of an Indian Settlement in Tokyo

New Indian Settlement at Nishikasai, Edogawa Ward

In Edogawa Ward (Fig. 4) in which most of the Indians reside, male population in the age group of 20-39 was more among the Indian residents in 1990 (Fig.5). In 2005 in addition to the male population in the age group of 20-39, women in the age group of 20-34 and children of 0-9 also increased significantly. So it may be observed that the family structure that centered around single men IT engineers in 1990, got changed to the family structure consisting of couples of young IT engineers and their children in 2005. Indian households are more concentrated in Kasai area of this ward. Kasai area was developed in the second half of 1960s as residential area from agricultural land, and several condominiums were built for 6000 households on the reclaimed land. Most of the Indians in the Kasai area particularly reside in the neighbourhood of Nishikasai station on the Tokyo Metro Tozai Line. It is now one of the well-marked areas of Indian community in Tokyo, the Global City.

IT engineers come to Japan on project-based employment and most of their stay is restricted to a visa period of three years, which is extended upto five years very recently. The daily routine of an ordinary IT engineer, who is single, is as follows: He gets up between 7 ~

7.30 in the morning and takes shower; prepares lunch to be carried; takes up breakfast and leaves to the office at about 8.00 a.m., taking a train in a nearby station like Nishikasai station on Tokyo Metro Tozai Line, or Matsudo station on JR Joban Line, Nakano station on JR Chuo Line; reaches office before 9.00 a.m.; works till 8.00 p.m. with a lunch break; reaches home around 9.00 p.m.; takes dinner; watches TV for sometime or browsing the Internet for sometime; and goes to sleep around mid-night. Thus the working day for him goes like a machine, and leisure activities and shopping wait for holidays.

Thus a person who has such a routine daily pattern of commuting from the residence to working place chooses the residence, based on convenience for commutation and cheaper rent too. He may not look into other factors which any normal resident care for like shops dealing with ethnic food, restaurants, and presence of his community people. Therefore, most of the single IT engineers who visit Tokyo for the first time reside along the railway lines at a place from where the commutation time to the city centre will be within an hour. Since most of the work place of IT engineers is located at the centre of Tokyo, the condition of accessibility to the railway line is fulfilled by Tokyo Metro Tozai Line, JR Joban Line and JR Chuo Line. Further, Nishikasai Station and Kasai Station in Edogawa Ward are along the Tozai Line; two more distant stations, Gytoku and Myoden located on Ichikawa city, Chiba Prefecture are also convenient boarding points. In real estate market, it is noticed that Asians may find more difficulties to get houses for rent. In the case of Indian IT engineers, the employing companies enter into contract with the residential rental corporate administration, and thus problems of hesitation for ethnic

reasons get solved. Moreover, Nishikasai, being a new residential area, enjoys a cosmopolitan outlook and as such, foreign residents may get accepted with greater ease. Since 2000, it is seen that the single IT engineers soon get married or bring their wife and children, and thus Nishikasai now witnesses more Indian families settling down. When the single IT engineers settle down with family, the existence of a mutually helpful Indian family and community becomes very important for them.

Formation of the Community and Indian School

With the families joining the single engineers and others, social network outside the work places too get developed. Several Indian social organizations got established based on native States and/or language groups⁶. The religion-wise facilities for Indian immigrants are less in Tokyo as opposed to Kobe, and the State-wise religious ceremonies are organized a few times every year in community halls taken on rent. Those who reside with their families joyfully participate, and enjoy the native fun and food, thereby trying to revive and maintain identity of their region and culture. Sikhs (most of them from Punjab and working around Tokyo as unskilled labourers, sub- contract factory workers or construction workers) built Gurudwara Sahib Tokyo in 1999 in the basement of a building owned by Indians in Bunkyo Ward. Gujarati Jains have built a temple in 2000 in the Jewelry office town, Okachimachi in Taito Ward.

As mentioned earlier, the period of stay of most of the IT engineers in Japan is less than three years, and thus many of the immigrants leave Japan after a stay of three years or so; thus there

is a constant flow of new migrants; and as such, the existing social groups are at loss, and word of mouth is not easily feasible for social networking. So now internet provides an effective medium to Indians for information exchange in creating and strengthening their social network. Web pages and e-mails seem to be quite popular for exchanging information on festivals, functions and any other social activities. For instance, information on Indian restaurants, Indian schools and hospitals where interactions through English are possible is frequently exchanged via web pages and e-mails. Also orders for spices and foodstuff and their home delivery are being processed through internet, and Indian traders maintain their own web sites for this purpose(16).

Thus, the households which do not have root in the 'place' get evolved as a community through promoting interactions and managing a cultural continuity by using the Internet; and by these interests and interactions, those families who live in Edogawa Ward create a virtual base that plants and propagates their 'own place' of immigrants, thereby giving a shape for a new community in the global city of Tokyo. Edogawa Ward is conveniently located with transportation facilities to the centres of activities in the city, and is endowed with housing on cheaper rent, (monthly rent of about 120,000 Yen for 2 DK: double rooms with dining kitchen and bath room), super market and convenient stores operating during nights even, Indian restaurants and hospitals especially for children. Besides these physical infrastructural advantages, the important factor, that this Ward has, in facilitating the Indian migrants to be called as a community with their 'own place', is the existence of an

Indian society. An organization by name, Indian Community of Edogawa (ICE), was established in 2000. In ICE, the event planning, approval, cooperation, guidance etc. are carried out by e-mails. It helps the Indian residents by exchanging the information on education, schools and queries from the individuals on the issues of day-to-day life. Corresponding through e-mails, celebrations of the festivals like New Year, Holy, Dusserah and Diwali, which are Indian seasonal festivals, and dance parties watching Indian films, picnics etc., are arranged every year. Traders along with restaurant owners who live in this Ward for more than 20 years, take interest to organize these meetings and events. Before the formation of ICE, information exchange among Indians residing in Tokyo was facilitated by a News Letter; and the death of the organizer of this News Letter brought a change in the ownership and also weakened this method of communication. Further, it was not easy to circulate the printed materials and it requires more time and cost for printing and dispatch; the printed materials may not be reaching to the desired extent and to all who spread over to the length and breadth of the city. With these difficulties in continuing the print medium, increasing migration of IT engineers among Indians, and the Internet being the cheaper or free medium, Internet has been chosen for promoting a social network among the Indians. It is interesting to note that the ideology of mutual help based on the nationality forms the firm foundation of this social network, and the identity of religion or native State (and/or language group) that is the most important factor of identity in the native country, is not the promoting factor for this community formation. The Indians residing in Edogawa Ward for more than 10 years

belonged to different religions and different native States; and even before the establishment of ICE there existed a network based on nationality. Another factor may be mentioned here that for the restaurant owners it is not an advantageous policy to differentiate their clients on the basis of religion or native State, and thus this factor also must have played a role in helping the Indians to form as a community based on nationality. As the immigration of IT professionals has been rapidly increasing, the media like Internet becomes an indispensable tool for communication and network in the Indian society. ICE keeps a mailing list to keep the Indians informed; traders maintain their web pages for their business transactions with Indians. Blogs are circulated over Internet for exchanging events and promoting discussions. There are blogs for putting up the notices of events at Sikh Gurudwara. President of ICE and director of the Indian School very often appear in TV programmes of Japan and in the columns of English newspapers and journals; and this kind of media presentations effectively informs the presence of Indians as community to the new-comers, and also helps to enlist new and more members for the Indian society.

As already mentioned, when the Indian IT engineers came to Japan as single men they resided in the rental houses allotted to them by the employers who entered into contract with the corporate housing, and so the pattern was the dispersion of their dwellings around Tokyo along the surface and subway rail lines. Then with the increase in the married people settling down, child birth, kindergarten admission, primary school admission, and other family needs, the mutual help from the Indian community and Indian School has become

indispensable for the wives and children. Tokyo Metro Tozai Line including Edogawa Ward (especially Nishikasai) satisfies utmost the needs of the Indian community. Earlier, this residential area was introduced to the new-comers by their co-workers or through Internet. Now, the mass media like TV and newspapers propagates the sketch of Nishikasai as an Indian town, and this influences the Indian new-comers to choose this area for their living. More and more Indians move over here, thereby increasing the concentration of Indians in this locality of Tokyo; and as a result, there comes the formation of Indian community.

In the network formation, the gender difference may be noticed. Men take up the initiative to form a network, and they organize the set-up of the association. The association then advertises for the Indians to join; those who are not members may not be encouraged to participate fully and the border of the association from others is thus clearly defined; and at this stage, it becomes more an official agency for Indians to interact, and with this, Indian identity and 'place' get established. In the case of women (13), network gets enlarged in the form of a friend of a friend. Mostly, the acquaintance is realized through the children of Indian School or the same administrative office of the rental housing. In such cases, the conditions pertaining to the affiliation of the members are not strictly followed, and what is more important is mutual concerns and help in the activities like child-care education and method of obtaining food materials, which are day-to-day issues, and hobby and leisure-time activities etc. During noon of the working days while the IT engineers are at their work, the wives mostly gather in a room of the rental

condominium of a nearby friend and spend their time by discussing the issues of needs and interests, either through their mother tongue or English, or teaching the cuisine of their native place. Since they do not understand Japanese at all there is no communication or interaction with the local Japanese at all. Thus, the Japanese who do not understand English as well as Indian languages become different and they consciously feel the identity of Indian nationality.

The most important issue put forth by this community is the establishment of Indian School. They require an English-medium school. The Government Schools of Japan do not provide this facility; though there exists an International School in Koto Ward, the annual school fee of about 1,000,000 Yen is quite prohibitive. Therefore, most of the Indians residing in Japan either left their children with their grandparents in their native place or send their children to the Boarding Schools in India. Under these circumstances, mainly the Indian traders in Tokyo and Yokohama city who were the old time settlers established an Indian School for the first time in Koto Ward in 2004. After that in 2006 with a view to cater to the requirements of increasing Indian children the second Indian School was established in Edogawa Ward and the third Indian School is planned to come up in Yokohama city in 2008. The latter two schools were established by Singapore Indian Corporate which is already running Indian Schools in Malaysia and New Zealand in addition to Singapore. Keeping in mind the children of highly qualified IT engineers in Tokyo, the aim is to provide an education with relevant curriculum, with a focus on Science and Mathematics. These schools follow the regulations and the

standard of the Secondary School Education of the Central Government of India (CBSE-Central Board of Secondary Education). This standard guarantees the global flow of Indian IT engineers. All of these schools are similar to Indian Private Schools in providing education through the medium of English and they do not teach through other mother tongues, although some Hindi classes are available. Thus, the ICE and Indian Schools have the commonality of not leaning on religion or specific mother tongues, and this promotes the formation of national identity as Indian citizens away from their nation.

Formation of Identity

In India the basic factors for the formation of identity of Indians are religion, caste and mother tongue. Names and food habits too may be the factors for identity formation. The daily activities and contacts with others who may belong to different religion, caste, region and the like may allow one to recognize as others, and in this process too, identity gets formed. For instance, Kobe is the place of living for many Indians since long, and here it is not their Indian nationality but the compact local network wherein face to face contacts taking place in their 'own place' within the same religion and caste, has formed the basis for identity formation.

On an overview, it may be said that there are three factors constructing the identity in Tokyo. First of all it is the religion. The Sikhs (Punjabi) and the Jains (Gujarati) who have built their own place of worship in Tokyo come under this category. By building their place of worship in Tokyo, the followers of these two religions reached the position of

making the religion as the basis for formation of their identity. Secondly it is the mother tongue (native State). In Tokyo these people while prepared the mailing list of native language speakers (native States) attempt to reconfirm their identity based on same mother tongue or the nativity of the same State by holding a few parties (religious festivals, lunch and dinner, games pertaining to their native States) annually in rental community halls and other places. The third one is the nationality. Immigrant Indians in Tokyo gathered around in a cluster to form a community and found their 'own place' afresh in Nishikasai. Later, in the vicinity of this area, an Indian School was established. All this development in Nishikasai has made 'others' to say that this 'place' is of Indians. This kind of 'togetherness' of Indians in this 'place' has resulted neither from the basis of mother tongue nor of religion, but based on nationality; the idea of nationality provides a needed threshold to gather Indians overcoming their differences.

Conclusion

Indian Diaspora is now found in so many countries of the world. There has been a long history of Indian migration. Producing of oil and the consequent economic development in the Middle East saw a migration of Indian population on a historical proposition. The next accelerated wave of migration happened on the advent of economic globalization after 1990s, and during this wave, USA and other developed countries including Japan recorded a greater flow of Indian immigrants. The IT industry supplies the basic infrastructure for the economic globalization, and the Indians with their engineering education and English emerged as the skilled force for this industry,

thereby initiated a new flow of Indian Diaspora. In the case of Japan, Indian Diaspora belonged to the 4th Wave of Indian Migration.

In Tokyo, the recent immigrants are mainly of IT professionals and there exists now a few clusters of Indian residents. They assemble and hold festivals, fairs, and functions periodically, and these meetings provide fresh opportunities to reconfirm their identity. Earlier contacts among the Indians were made through the word of mouth. With the current larger flow of IT professionals who come for different companies and from different regions and religious and caste groups in India, Internet has become the main line of communication among Indians and their social organizations. In the course of time, the single men dwellings got graded into the family dwellings together with their wives and children, and with this up-gradation, the Indian Diaspora is able to conceive its 'own place'. The identity of Indians in Tokyo is formed not only on the basis of religion and mother tongue (native State), which were the factors in India or in Kobe, but also on the basis of nationality which is emphasized upon here.

The location of the offices of IT software industry is controlled by the acceptable rent and accessibility to the clients. Very often employees are sent to client sites for the job. Client sites for an IT company may not be the same all the time, and as such IT professionals may be asked to go to different locations during their work period. Normally working hours are long in the case of IT professionals and may not be for fixed duration like what is available in offices. Both working hours and duration may not be the same all through the year or all through a project on which they are

employed. IT companies accept the work orders on the consideration of location, period and volume. Thus flexibility seems to be one of the basic characters of IT industry. Indian software engineers working in Japan are also experiencing this flexibility. In brief, the Indian residential distribution in Tokyo and the special features of Indian society, which are investigated in this paper, are based on this flexibility of IT industry and the globalized economy. Internet is the current medium for social communication too that helps connecting the far and wide and known and unknown almost instantaneously and at insignificant cost. E-mail, chat, video chat, TV, telephone, Internet telephony and Internet camera help the Indian engineers to keep in contact with their homeland, other parts of the world and fellow Indians around in Tokyo and Japan. Thus Internet has become an indispensable medium for the new Diaspora for communication. Internet is the backbone for the business in these days of global world and economy and at the same time, it is certainly a medium for social network developing a community and 'own place'.

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Notes

1. The 1980 report is recorded in Lok Sabha Debates Seventh Series, Vol. vii, No. 35. pp. 125-136. This is from the materials presented for the answer by P.V. Narasimha Rao, Minister of External Affairs to the question by Mr. Mohd. Asrar Ahmad, on the proceedings of 24th July, 1980. The title of the material is given as [State of Indian residing in various Countries, (as available upto 15.7.1980)]. The five columns in the material are: No., Name of country, No. of persons of Indian origin residing abroad, No. of those who have accepted foreign citizenship, and Remark.
2. In the 1980 report there are countries showing not the number of persons but the number of house-holds. In such cases a house-hold is calculated as a unit having 5 members. Besides, there are countries such as Burma (present day Myanmar) shown in the range of 300,000-400,000 persons. In such cases the intermediate value is applied. In the 1980 Report and the 2001 Report there are certain columns showing the number of persons having foreign citizenship as empty. Those values are treated as zero. Though the data in the 1980 Report and the 2001 Report are of Government of India statistics, almost all are in round figures. Therefore, the data analysis in this paper is just to present the trend.
3. Diaspora had the meaning, particularly with reference to the Jews, of collective sentimental external wounds of those spending their life abroad dreaming about their homeland. In recent years that meaning has expanded to indicate the concept of foreign migrants, foreign exiles, foreign residents, ethnic racial minorities (2).
4. In Kobe there are Hindu temple, Bhagwan Mahavir Swami Jain Temple, and Sikh Gurudwara, Guru Nanak Darbar. All these temples are concentrated on Chuo Ward in Kobe City.
5. Among Indian societies it is customary to marry within the same religion, caste.
6. There are Tokyo Bengali community activities of Bengali language group (natives of West Bengal State), Tokyo Marathi Mandal of Marathi language group (natives of Maharashtra State) Kannada Balaga of Kannada language group (natives of Karnataka State) etc.

Appendix I

Distribution of Indian Residents (1961 - 2005)

Prefecture	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Tokyo	176	128	145	152	167	205	216	226	259	285	329	308
Saitama	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	1	7	7	8
Chiba	0	1	1	2	3	1	3	3	3	4	0	1
Kanagawa	52	50	51	56	61	59	67	63	81	69	69	85
Aichi	2	5	1	6	9	5	7	9	12	23	16	12
Osaka	77	77	75	91	89	108	115	121	114	145	106	108
Hyogo	452	467	523	519	549	552	566	566	596	602	637	683
% of Hyogo	54	56.8	58.8	54.7	55.5	52.4	53.6	51.9	50.7	47.6	48.3	45.7
Japan	837	822	890	949	990	1054	1056	1091	1176	1266	1319	1496

Source : Prepared from The Annual Report of the Japan Immigration Association
 ``Statistics on the Foreigners registered in Japan''

Appendix I (Contd.)

Prefecture	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Tokyo	318	344	402	421	405	440	413	497	534	585	586	692
Saitama	9	11	8	9	6	4	7	6	11	10	12	15
Chiba	15	17	15	22	27	26	36	26	21	28	28	42
Kanagawa	60	66	73	73	82	93	92	120	138	146	149	160
Aichi	17	18	9	16	19	15	15	23	27	27	40	41
Osaka	101	113	128	109	121	131	122	107	134	160	136	142
Hyogo	665	670	715	747	791	861	862	871	901	933	1011	1026
% of Hyogo	44.8	43.1	42.9	44.6	45.7	46.3	46.4	44.8	42.2	41.8	42.7	40.4
Japan	1483	1554	1668	1676	1730	1860	1858	1944	2137	2232	2368	2540
Prefecture	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Tokyo	670	707	778	828	880	934	1117	1217	1379	1511	1703	2025
Saitama	10	21	34	42	53	63	92	123	189	265	297	348
Chiba	47	46	55	64	100	108	140	191	228	283	297	363
Kanagawa	159	153	142	147	176	224	296	369	417	449	473	544
Aichi	37	59	66	66	95	118	151	168	205	270	278	285
Osaka	152	145	143	169	165	175	191	199	222	231	294	309
Hyogo	1044	1024	931	922	910	914	984	1009	1046	1027	1017	1025
% of Hyogo	41.0	39.4	36.0	33.8	31.1	29.4	26.9	25.0	22.5	19.9	18.5	16.2
Japan	2546	2601	2585	2730	2926	3107	3653	4035	4642	5169	5508	6343
Prefecture	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005			
Tokyo	2382	2768	2980	3436	4247	4875	5112	5682	6380			
Saitama	455	583	581	591	612	657	691	734	703			
Chiba	474	552	594	617	782	948	1080	1208	1381			
Kanagawa	714	792	801	1003	1308	1557	1712	1870	2182			
Aichi	338	445	438	471	503	581	705	741	755			
Osaka	319	361	387	410	491	560	561	617	662			
Hyogo	1066	1127	1180	1156	1153	1166	1154	1195	1244			
% of Hyogo	14.3	13.0	13.0	11.5	9.8	8.7	8.1	7.7	7.3			
Japan	7478	8657	9067	10064	11719	13340	14234	15480	16988			

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