

Spatial Reorganisation of the Indian Community Crossing Border: A Case Study of the Global City Tokyo

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Abstract

The Indian community abroad has undergone many changes that are intimately linked to globalisation. This study examines the process of reorganisation during de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation under globalisation in relation to the national, regional, and local scales of Indian community abroad. The globalised economy has brought the cross-border expansion of labour markets to developed nations (especially in global cities), while increasing the flow of emigrants from developing countries. This de-territorialisation of labour markets, created by the heightened mobility of labourers has increased the mobility of information between living in developed countries and their homelands. This situation is associated with the increased money transfers to India made by Indians from abroad, and the labourers who have invested in India to start businesses after having been successful abroad. Indians who have begun to settle in Tokyo require a local community as a living space. In response to the increased number of Indians living in Tokyo, the re-territorialisation of local spaces has advanced through to the formation of local community in which Indian culture is re-embedded. In these migrant spaces, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation advance simultaneously. Globalisation is a consequence of modernity. Time and space compression has rapidly progressed, and social actions within the context of national-, regional-, and local-scale spaces are positioned on a ranked spatial scale. As a result, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation continue endlessly in each spatial scale. Through the aforementioned processes, space at each scale is gradually incorporated into a higher space, and, furthermore, into the global space.

Key words: globalisation, Indian community abroad, global city, Tokyo, India

I Introduction

Indian immigrants, together with Chinese and Jewish immigrants, are one of the world's three major immigration populations, exceeding 25 million people worldwide (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs 2006). What kind of society and space have Indian immigrants created, while deepening their ties to both their host societies and their homeland? What is the relationship between Indian immigrants and economic globalisation? As economic deregulation advanced from the 1980s — specifically, after the transition to the New Economic Policy in 1991 — India has experienced rapid economic growth due to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from developed

nations. This can be attributed to India's incorporation into a globalised economy, capped by developed nations. Simultaneously, the Indian immigrant population, which has traditionally centred upon merchants and unskilled labourers, is currently undergoing a major reorganisation owing to a surge of IT engineers. Moreover, a portion of those individuals who have found success still maintain a close role in the current economic growth in India, as they invest in the IT industry and real estate or return home to start major IT firms. These phenomena cannot be separated from the spatial reorganisation caused by economic globalisation (Sawa 2010).

According to Sassen (2001), corporate activities, such as financial operations, are becoming multinational with the advancement of economic globalisation. As differing laws, accounting systems, business practices, and cultural regions become more dispersed, the corporate central-control functions must, in response to this diversification, create a multifaceted and integrated system. These corporate control centres (accounting, law, public relations, programming, etc.) outsource a portion of their expansive duties. In response, the producer service industry has amassed around large corporations. The result, as Sassen points out, is that as economic activities expand globally and result in progressive dispersion, integration and concentration occur around the centre. This is also known as the 'duality of dispersal and convergence.' In terms of this type of economic globalisation, Sassen identified global cities — such as New York, London, and Tokyo — as concrete locations into which capital has spread. These cities have transitioned from production centres to specialised central management functions, while simultaneously existing as urban centres that shift focus from domestic economics to global economics. The central management functions of transnational corporations are set in these global cities, the locations where the elite, who work for high wages in the financial sector, flourish. In contrast, Sassen continued, a redundant labour force deals with a large number of unemployed workers. At the same time, it has become clear that these cities are also places where migrant labourers work for low wages in jobs in which labourers from developed nations are reluctant to work, such as at construction sites and contract factories.

In this way, in a global economy people's mobility accelerates as capital mobility rises. Accordingly, with the number of immigrants crossing national borders rising on a global scale, local 'places' have appeared. These 'ethnic enclaves' are used by immigrants as living environments. Even in global cities such as Tokyo, the rapid expansion of the IT industry has led to a sharp rise in the number of Indian IT engineers, resulting in the formation of new, concentrated Indian enclaves. The Internet plays an extremely crucial role in the formation of these new Indian communities abroad. The Internet, as a new information channel that promotes 'time and space compression,' is an indispensable piece of infrastructure for the current globalised economy. In comparison to conventional means of communication, in which factors such as time and cost increased relative to distance, the Internet makes the relationship between time and cost irrelevant; since its use takes almost no time and incurs almost no cost, time and space are losing their meaning in communication altogether. 'Places' are necessary targets for the connection of sentimental emotions in individuals and groups (Topophilia: Tuan 1974) as well as the accumulation of capital. People perceive 'places' to reinforce concreteness and individuality. Moreover, 'places' are societal constructs in the sense that people fabricate them. Simultaneously, since 'places' are stages for people's actions and thoughts, the potential for these locations broadens, even while it is being restricted. Herein, 'own place' represents the provision of a mechanism specifically for the reproduction of affection towards the collective identity of immigrants, and for locations where immigrants continue to want to live.

The goal of this thesis is to clarify the relationship between the movement of ethnic communities from developing countries to developed nations, as well as economic globalisation, by analysing Indian communities that cross borders into advanced industrial nations and their process of spatial reorganisation. More specifically, the study analyses the process of reorganisation of the spaces created by Indian communities crossing borders into advanced industrial nations, as these spaces are incorporated into the globalised world. The analysis was performed after taking into consideration the growth of the IT industry in the recent years in India, the growth of the IT industry in Japan, and the rise in IT engineers of Indian origin in Tokyo. We then focus on the national, regional, and local hierarchies on a spatial scale, considering each of them in terms of the concepts of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation. This study does not conduct research from the perspective of the host society, a perspective that is already shared by many arguments regarding the pros and cons of accepting migrant workers into advanced industrial nations, and one that views immigrants as strangers different from the host society. Rather, this study focuses on, and considers, the ways in which immigrants construct one's 'own place' on a local scale, within a situation where they (Indians living in Japan) are aware of leading an incompatibly foreign existence in their host society.

This study reinterprets the concepts of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation and invokes the concepts set forth by Anthony Giddens. The question of how to treat modernity shares commonalities with the discussions of Giddens, the main advocate of the theory of structuration. Giddens does not base his position on a post-modern society that emphasises discontinuity with the contemporary society and the modern society. Rather, his position addresses a 'radicalised modernity' that embraces a late/high modern society that emphasising continuity. Giddens pointed out that in modern times, 'The very tissue of spatial experience alters, conjoining proximity and distance in ways that have few close parallels in prior ages' (Giddens 1990)¹. From this stance, Giddens defined globalisation as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens 1990). Moreover, Giddens treats globalisation as 'a consequence of modernity'. He emphasises that globalisation is the expansion of modernity on a global scale, and once globalisation is understood, the standpoint of modernity provides a vital framework.

Three dominant sources of the dynamism of modernity, which are connected with each other, are distinguished: (1) the separation of time and space, (2) dis-embedding, and (3) institutional reflectivity, or the reflective appropriation of knowledge. In terms of (1), the separation of time and space, in pre-modern times the applied system of time and the calendar differed according to location; time was thought to have a constant link with space. However, following the popularisation of clock-time (accurate time according to a clock) in the modern age, time and space are no longer directly related but equalised (the separation of time and space). In addition, innovations in communication technology rapidly facilitate communication and interaction with distant lands. Thus, time and space expand indefinitely.

(2) Embedding is 'the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across the indefinite spans of time-space' (Giddens 1990) expressed in (1). This means that the time and space connected to local contexts are separated from each context, and reconfigured within indefinite spans through dis-embedding. There are two important mechanisms within dis-embedding: symbolic tokens as represented by currency and expert systems; an example would be trusting the knowledge of specialists, such as physicians

or scientists. An example of these mechanisms is the dismantling of traditional communal customs. However, this kind of dis-embedding occurs simultaneously with re-embedding (no matter how local or temporal a form, the social relations that have become dis-embedded, are re-appropriated and re-created within a temporally and spatially limited situation). For example, region-specific traditional cultures are commoditised, and as can be observed in the specialisation of specific industries and functions, local contexts take on new meanings, and are again bolstered by their associations with other regions. Giddens defined the de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of local space within the processes of dis-embedding and re-embedding.

In terms of (3), modernity is an institutional reflexivity, defined as the 'actual social activity in which that activity is uninterruptedly revised in the light of newly found knowledge'. Therefore, 'The production of systematic knowledge about social life becomes integral to system reproduction, rolling social life away from the fixities of tradition' (Giddens 1990). Knowledge of a social system is thought to constantly feed back into the social system, sequentially updating the concept of that social system's operation and mechanism for reproduction (Tomoeda 2007).

As such, Giddens explains the processes of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation by focusing on local contexts. However, Giddens' ideal spatial scale demonstrates his considerable interest in both the global and local, but does not sufficiently address hierarchies of spatial scales, such as the national and regional.² Therefore, this study focuses on spatial hierarchy to redefine de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation. That is, the time and space that link the specific context of each time scale — namely the national, regional, and local — are separated, or dis-embedded, from the specific contexts of spatial scales within a ranked spatial-scale relationship. Simultaneously, time and space are reconstructed, as the specific context of each time scale is re-embedded. Within this process, the time-scale spaces are de-territorialised and re-territorialised. In addition, although Giddens' definitions of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation are not stipulated, the dis-embedding and re-embedding processes, in terms of regions, are defined here as de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, respectively.

This study adheres to Giddens' definition of 'globalisation'. Invoking the aforementioned definition of globalisation, 'economic globalisation' is defined as follows: 'In as much as economic events occurring in a certain location are directed by economic events occurring in distantly removed locations, and conversely, economic events occurring in a certain location direct economic events occurring in distantly removed locations, distant regions are interconnected economically and reinforce global scale social relations'. In the case of India, 'globalisation' and 'economic globalisation' progressed rapidly, following partial economic deregulation in the 1980s, and increased after the full-scale opening of the economy in the 1990s due to the New Economic Policy.

The study considers the spatial reorganisation of the Indian community abroad, and its relationship to globalisation, while applying the concepts of both 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation' on the national scale in Chapter Two, on the regional scale in Chapter Three, and on the local scale in Chapter Four. The study examines the formation of Indian communities and the spatial reorganisation process of new Indian enclaves in the global city Tokyo, by applying the concepts of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation'.

II National Spatial Reorganisation of Indian Communities

The history of Indian communities abroad can be divided into five periods, the first four of

which are as follows: (1) the indenture system starting in the latter half of the 19th century in English colonies, following the abolishment of slave labour; (2) the Partition of India in 1947 and the economic revitalisation of Europe following World War II; (3) the independence of East African nations at the beginning of the 1960s; and (4) the movement of labourers to the Gulf nations starting in 1973 (Naito 2000). In the fifth, following from the latter half of the 1980s onward, with the end of the cold war, economic globalisation, and IT expansion, Indian immigrants noticeably moved to developed nations, as illustrated by the US. Indian immigrants who are primarily distributed in Great Britain and former British colonies. Additionally, a number of Indian immigrants have taken up residence in the Gulf Countries (Saudi Arabia, the U. A. E., Oman, Kuwait, and Qatar).

Although Indian immigration into the US began between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the number temporarily decreased following anti-Asian immigrant sentiments in the US. After this period, the number of Indian immigrants gradually increased, thanks in part to the implementation of immigration legislation in 1965 that repealed racially discriminatory regulations (Sekiguchi 2000). The number of Indians living in the US approached 300,000 in 1980, but by 2010 that number had rapidly climbed to approximately 2.71 million (US Census, American Community Survey), making the US one of the nations with the largest number of Indian residents. Indians residing in the US comprise a broad class that includes not only taxi drivers and hotel and restaurant owners, but also professionals such as physicians and attorneys. In addition, from the 1990s onwards, an increasing number of IT engineers and emerging venture capitalists characterise Indian immigrants.

A global expansion of the finance industry characterises the global economy. A global city experiences high growth in the finance industry (Sassen 2001), and, in order to support this growth, the expansion of the IT industry is indispensable. The migration of white-collar workers, such as IT engineers, from India to the US and Japan, which began in 1990, is of great significance in supporting this growth. As IT engineers move to workplaces with good employment conditions, international and internal migration increases, thereby improving mobility. The labour market for IT engineers has crossed national borders, and can be seen as de-territorialising on the national scale. The mobility of the kind of labour force that crosses national borders increases while, simultaneously, information exchange between immigrants becomes important for retaining new places of employment. Immigrants and members of the same immigrant group (i.e., relatives and friends) in the homeland closely share information about employment conditions, as well as about the living environment near the employment region. This type of information, exchanged between immigrants and their families and friends across national borders, has become instantaneously cheaper due to the Internet. As such, the increased mobility of information exchange advances de-territorialisation. In India, money wired from immigrants is a vital means through which to acquire foreign currency. Investments and money transfers by Indians abroad, as well as by those who return home (brain circulation) to start up IT businesses, also play a crucial role in the economy of India.

The increase in the number of Indian IT engineers in both the US and Japan is closely linked to the growth of the IT industry in India. According to Saxenian (2006), growth in India's IT industry is due to the following factors: (1) division of labour beyond national borders, (2) labour markets and immigrants beyond national borders, and (3) not by the national leadership via large corporations. But, a bottom-up formation, where Indian IT engineers who live in the US launch firms in India, characterises this growth. In contrast to the Indian automotive

industry, which has flourished under strong state support, the Indian IT industry is a so-called venture-type industry, started by Indian IT engineers who resided in the US, and then returned to India. These individuals form the foundation of a powerful network of Indians abroad — based in locations like their alma maters and home states — who, as they receive support from India venture capitalists, start companies in primary regions like Bangalore, Delhi, and Hyderabad. IT technological innovation requires the constant acquisition of the latest technology. In contrast to the insular automotive industry, where technology transfer remains within a group of companies, in the IT industry there are many cases in which industry peers are open, creating a platform for technological innovation. As a result, unlike the automotive industry's unidirectional technical transfer from developed nations to India, the IT industry experiences a bidirectional transfer of technology between both areas. The networks formed by the Indians support this bidirectional transfer, and exhibit extremely high cross-border and bidirectional mobility between IT engineers and technical experts (Sawa 2010).

Three examples of major Indian IT corporations in Japan include Tata Consulting Services, which began operations in Japan in 1987 with offices in Yokohama Minatomirai; Infosys, which started operations in Japan in 1997 in Minato ward, Tokyo; and Wipro, which started operations in Japan in 1998 in Yokohama Minatomirai, in addition to dozens of other small to mid-size corporations. These IT corporations are primarily involved in fields such as applications development and maintenance for financial institutions (banks, embedded type engineering for the manufacturing industry, and IT consulting). All these IT corporations have sourced clients in both foreign-owned and domestic corporations in Japan. They complete specifications while conducting direct negotiations with each client. Later, they undertake development in cooperation with on-site Japanese development centres and off-shore personnel in India. For example, Wipro conducts development by coordinating with the Yokohama Minatomirai development centre and with IT engineers in Hyderabad, India. Hyderabad hosts a Japanese education centre to foster IT engineers who can speak Japanese and are able to relocate to Japan as 'intra-company transferees'. In Japan, a business process outsourcing centre has been established in Naha to handle consulting duties.

Unlike unskilled foreign labour that is mediated by a number of brokers, Indian IT engineers are treated as intra-company transferees within Indian IT corporations and as temporary staff from Indian temporary employment agencies (Murata 2010). These IT engineers work as members of project teams at the financial institutions and manufacturing corporations to which they are dispatched. If Indian IT engineers (working as project team members) complete their assignments, they either briefly remain in Japan if they are awaiting new assignments (benching), or they immediately return to India when no assignments are available. Under this system, the necessary number of IT engineers is dispatched (delivered) in a timely manner. Drawing on the analogy of Toyota inventory control, this method — which eliminates queuing (stocking) — is referred to as 'Just-in-Time Labour Control' (Aneesh 2006, Murata 2010). This system, which is not unique to Japan, has also been widely accepted in the US, where it is known as 'global body shopping' (Xiang 2007). This further reveals that IT engineers have themselves become global products and that the labour market for their services is expanding globally.³ Nearly all Indian IT engineers have a good command of English; therefore, they have no issues with company transfers and career changes in English-speaking countries. However, although Indian IT engineers travel to Japan study Japanese prior to their arrival for work, they often have less than a year of study. Consequently, in many cases these engineers have acquired neither the language

skills required to work in a Japanese corporation nor a level of understanding of Japan's business customs, which differ from global standards. As such, there is little chance that these engineers will start new careers in Japan. On the other hand, as Murata (2010) noted, IT engineers will become more of a commodity if they can acquire the Japanese communication skills that are often so problematic for other Indian engineers. This will ease their transfer into Japanese corporations, which boast good employment conditions, while creating the possibility of long-term employment in Japan.

As mentioned above, economic globalisation, brought about by the increased mobility of cross-border capital, forms a reflective relationship in which the mobility of cross-border capital is again increased by both a cross-border labour force and heightened information mobility. Through this process, certain labour markets have expanded globally. Such labour includes engineering jobs in IT in advanced industrial nations whose IT demands cannot be met by domestic labour, as well as low-wage labourers who fill jobs that are shunned by native labourers of advanced nations. Consequently, closed domestic labour markets have shifted to de-territorialisation on the national scale. With the incorporation of the Indian IT industry into the global space, centred in the US, Indians in the US bear this burden. To ensure that those Indian engineers, entrepreneurs, and venture capitalists who have found success in countries such as the US flow back into and invest in their homeland (brain circulation), rather than into other countries, the Indian government has also established the Ministry of Non-Resident Indian's Affairs in 2004. This ministry provides tax breaks and offers relaxed regional industry development for Indians living abroad who invest in India, while simultaneously upgrading communications infrastructure, educational institutions, and the legal system. These government policies were essential in establishing the conditions for an Indian IT industry.

Moreover, governments in developed nations determine whether to admit foreign labour, as well as their period of residency, based on their nationality and abilities. The Japanese government has proactively admitted engineers and 'those of Japanese origin,' while denying entry to all other foreign workers (Sawa 2007). To remedy the shortage of IT engineers, in 2000 the Japanese government reached an agreement with the government of India to form the 'India-Japan Global Partnership in the 21st Century.' This agreement promotes the smooth issue of visas to Indian IT engineers, as well as their employment in Japan. Later, the Japanese government also adopted a posture that further accelerated the employment of Indian IT engineers in the 'Memorandum on simplifying visa procedures between the Government of Japan and the Government of India, October 25, 2010.' With a labour market that promotes global mobility for IT engineers, it has become essential for Japan to introduce Indian IT engineers through domestic immigration policies. Such measures accelerate the de-territorialisation of the labour market for IT engineers labour on the national scale, while simultaneously advancing the re-territorialisation (re-statisation) through domestic immigration policies on the same scale.

III Regional Spatial Reorganisation of Indian Communities Abroad

The number of Indians in Japan accounts for less than approximately 1% of the total number of foreign nationals (the number of registered Indian residents in Japan was approximately 22,000 in 2010). However, the Indian population in Japan has seen a drastic increase, approximately 620%, from the 3,000 Indians residing in Japan in 1990. The Indian community in Japan is comprised of

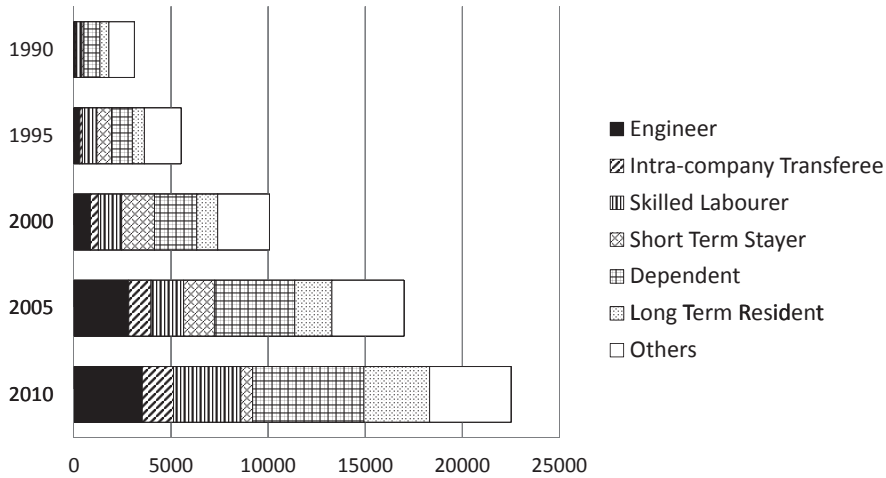


Figure 1. Changes in the residence status of Indians in Japan

Source: Zairyu Gaikokujin Tokei

two contrasting, enclaves: 'old-comers' live in Kobe, while newcomers are concentrated around Tokyo's periphery. Until the mid-1980s, over 40% of Indians resided in Hyogo prefecture (primarily in Kobe). Following the mid-1980s, the number of Indians in Tokyo prefecture rose dramatically, and by 1990 Tokyo had overtaken Hyogo prefecture as the number one place of residence for Indians. Using the 934-person for Tokyo in 1990 as a standard, Tokyo saw a ten-fold increase in its population (up to 9,276 individuals)⁴. This is in contrast with the slight increase of population in Hyogo prefecture. Figure 1, which illustrates changes in Indians' residence status, shows that the 'engineer', 'intra-company transferee', and 'dependent' categories of residence status increased between 1990 and 2010. This increase can be attributed to an increase in the number of IT engineers and their families. As previously stated, the Japanese government has promoted both the smooth issue of visas to Indian IT engineers and the employment of said engineers in Japan. In addition, the increase in 'skilled labour' has led, in part, to a rise in the number of Indian restaurants and the like.

Economic globalisation accelerated the fluidity of capital across borders, which led to financial institutions and corporations back by foreign capital venturing into Japan, mergers and acquisitions of domestic and overseas financial institutions, corporate mergers and acquisitions, the creation of multinational corporations, and overseas ventures. These activities required the construction of a new system to address issues such as different languages, laws, culture, and customs overseas, as well as an integrated information processing systems that could be reconstructed in multiple nations. The development of an IT industry in the global city of Tokyo is an essential part of the construction and maintenance of these information infrastructures. Under these circumstances, the rapid increase in the number of Indians living near Tokyo in recent years includes the business elite working at multinational corporations and IT engineers and their families, in addition to restaurant owners, cooks, and unskilled labour at contract factories (Sawa and Minamino 2008).

The IT industry requires the Internet. However, large-scale equipment and vast amounts of land are unnecessary. Therefore, the location of an office is influenced by the location's rental rate and convenience, creating more fluidity. IT corporations require detailed negotiations with their customers, primarily financial institutions and the manufacturing industry. Since the IT

engineers who are dispatched to these corporations must be managed according to the just-in-time method, these engineers have to be located in close proximity to customers (Aneesh 2006, Murata 2010). The trend thus far has been for IT corporations to concentrate their offices in locations on the outskirts of Tokyo.

Two of the three major Indian IT firms in Japan established affiliates in the inner-city area of Tokyo after making inroads into Japan (Tata Consulting Services ventured into Japan in 1987, Wipro in 1998). However, both companies relocated their offices to Yokohama Minatomirai between 2002 and 2004. After this, the trend shifted to Indian IT corporations establishing themselves in Yokohama. This movement is tied Yokohama's strategy to attract Indian IT corporations, part of the interurban competition between Yokohama and Tokyo to acquire foreign capital. For IT corporations, there is very little difference between Tokyo and the surrounding areas in terms of the spatial accessibility of customers and the maintenance of information infrastructure. IT corporate offices are therefore highly mobile. Regarding the conditions of these site locations, it can be said that de-territorialisation occurs at the regional scale in the urban areas of the Greater Tokyo Region.

The city of Yokohama promoted the accumulation of its IT industry, based on the 2004 'IT industrial strategy' in the hopes that the Indian IT industry would fulfil an extremely vital role. To attract Indian IT corporations in such a situation, it was necessary for Yokohama to develop a competitive edge over Tokyo. In order to gain this advantage, the city of Yokohama examined Indian schools. In 2006, there were two Indian schools in the Koto and Edogawa wards in the eastern part of Tokyo prefecture. Both schools were established as care-taking facilities in order to care for the increasing number children from who came to the country with Indian IT engineers. They were established with the support of Indians living in Tokyo and Yokohama. In response, the city of Yokohama attracted an Indian school to the old location of an elementary school in Midori ward, in order to accept more children from the families of Indian IT engineers in Tokyo and its outlying areas. The city of Yokohama aggressively pursued the Indian school, going so far as to have Mayor Nakada (in office at that time) host a signing ceremony at the Indian school's corporate headquarters in Singapore. The school opened in 2009, despite a change in the Indian school's parent organisation. For IT engineers living with their wives and children, access to an Indian school with a high-level curriculum is a critical factor in deciding where to live. In comparison to small and mid-size Indian corporations, which are characterised by the repeated cycling of IT engineers who are dispatched for a short time before returning home, in major IT corporations retain employees for greater periods of time for long-term projects and maintenance. In many cases, these IT engineers will reside in Japan with their families for up to three years. Therefore, the ability to offer competitive employee benefit packages and the freedom to select suitable locations for their offices are critical considerations for IT corporations. As a result, the city of Yokohama has successfully attracted Indian IT corporations to settle in the area. In 2009, the city of Yokohama established a Yokohama-Mumbai office in its sister city of Mumbai, in order to further promote investment from India. That same year, the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as Yokohama city and Kanagawa prefecture, acted as primary agents in establishing the Yokohama India Centre. The Yokohama India Centre joined forces with the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Delhi and the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Mumbai to create a system that promotes reciprocal investment between Yokohama and India.

Globalisation is considered a phenomenon brought about by 'time and space compression'

(Harvey 1989). Advances in rapid transportation and communication technology due to IT have further accelerated this 'time and space compression,' which is a driving force in the assimilation and standardisation of each region. However, the act of assimilation is simultaneously accompanied by the act of differentiation. For example, the movement of capital through space is simplified by 'time and space compression,' but this does not necessarily produce a homogeneous space. Specifically, with regard to 'place' variation, the high mobility of foreign capital becomes more sensitive, creating spatial competition between cities and nations over the production of attractive 'places' with special qualities that attract foreign capital (Harvey 1989). When Indian IT corporations chose to establish sites in Japan, the global city Tokyo was selected for its customer accessibility. However, there is little difference between Tokyo and the surrounding cities in terms of convenience, and therefore these sites undergo de-territorialisation on the regional scale. For Yokohama, the city's strategy to attract Indian capital was based on interurban competition with Tokyo prefecture over highly mobile foreign capital. The goal was to create a more attractive 'place' for Indian capital. The city succeeded in creating an attractive 'place' for Indian capital by establishing an Indian school. Success in attracting Indian IT corporations, and in getting them to settle in the area, has advanced re-territorialisation at the regional scale (Sawa and Minamino 2008).

In accordance with an increase in the number of Indians residing in Tokyo, living areas that were initially dispersed have progressively developed into a local enclave in the Edogawa ward. In the next chapter, the formation process of this new Indian community in Tokyo is analysed.

IV Local Spatial Reorganisation of Indian Communities Abroad

Indian New Community in Tokyo

In 1990, a large number of Indians primarily resided in the western part of Tokyo, in areas such as Minato and Setagaya wards. The elite-class, who worked for the Indian government or in Indian financial institutions, resided in Minato ward, while Setagaya ward was selected primarily for the international school that the resident's children could attend. In addition, from the 1970s onward, many Indian gem merchants (most of whom came from the Jains community in Gujarat), working with diamonds and the like, resided in Okachi-machi, an area representing Japan in the gem wholesale industry. As the number of Indians in Tokyo increased, the originally dispersed living areas around Koto and Edogawa wards increased such that Edogawa now has the highest number of Indian residents (Figure 2).

From 1990 to 1995 in Edogawa ward, unaccompanied males between the ages of 20 and 39 dominated the Indian population. Later in 2005, in addition to males aged 25 to 39 years, the number of women between the ages of 25 to 34 years, as well as the number of children between the ages of 0 and 9 years, dramatically increased. The household structure shifted from a larger number of unaccompanied male households from 1990 to 1995, to a larger number of households with young couples and children, headed by IT engineers, in 2005.

Even in Edogawa ward, many Indians live in privately rented flats and mass rental housing from the Urban Renaissance Agency, near Nishi-kasai station on the Tokyo Metro Tozai line. This has formed a new Indian enclave. In addition to the business/elite class, Indian restaurant owners and cooks, and unskilled labourers working at contract factories, the Indian community living around Tokyo's periphery has seen a sharp rise in the number of IT engineers. The Tokyo Indian community is comprised of a variety of classes with very weak social relations, with

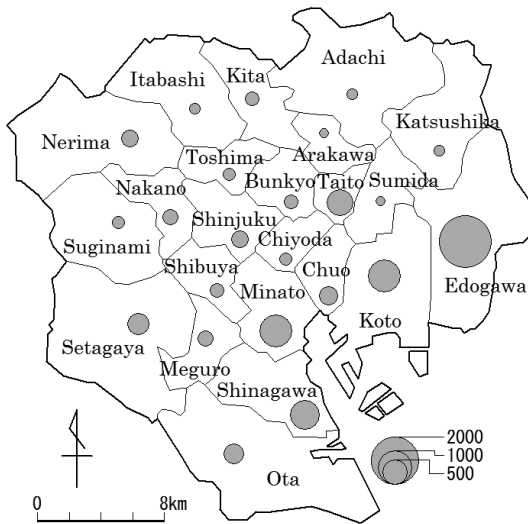


Figure 2. Indian Population in Tokyo (2010)

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government

fragmented classes approximately until the year 2000. This fragmentation was due to differences in religions and the large gap between castes within Indian society. This eliminated the need for religious rites between different faiths and castes, as well as the exchange of information concerning work and marriage (Sawa and Minamino 2008).

Taking this into account, although the number of Indian IT engineers in Tokyo increased until 2000, many households were comprised of unaccompanied males, who lived an isolated existence because their human interactions was limited to the workplace. In response to the sense of impending crisis that was developing from these circumstances, engineers began to form Indian social organisations (hometown

organisations) based on their home states (language group) in order to establish information networks that extended beyond the workplace.⁵ Since there were few places of worship at that time in Tokyo, in contrast to Kobe, many of the religious ceremonies specific to the engineers' home states in India were conducted in community centres. Participants interacted over religious festivals, food, and birthplaces, socialising with one another in an attempt to reaffirm their identities together as people who shared a birthplace. From amongst these religions, the Sikhs (primarily from the Punjab state, working in contract factories around Tokyo's periphery as unskilled labourers or construction workers) established a Gurdwara (Sikh temple)⁶ in Bunkyo ward in 1999. In addition, both the Jains, from Gujarat, and the Hindus established temples: with the former in Okachimachi in Taito ward in 2000, and the latter in Edogawa ward in 2011.

Since many IT engineers spend less than three years in Japan, group members' movement is rapid, and caretakers belonging to groups from the same hometown cannot succeed to understand newcomers individually. As a result, these engineers have no choice but to rely on local, workplace communication for information concerning those from the same hometown living in Tokyo. Consequently, Indian social organisations have begun to use the Internet as a new information channel intermediary. When event announcements (ceremonies, picnics, parties, etc.) and information about cultural life (Indian restaurants, food stores that carry south Asian spices, Indian schools, a list of hospitals providing consultations in English, furniture for sale when returning to India, etc.) are posted on the web and on mailing lists, member registration and information are also simultaneously exchanged. In addition, specialty shops, carrying spices and the like, also sell their products over the Internet.

In contrast to the formation of a virtual community that is not rooted in a 'place' but instead uses the Internet as a medium, Indians who reside with their wives and children create their 'own place', based in Edogawa ward, which is a new form of community. From 2000, a new trend emerged: when IT engineers married or brought their wives and children, they gradually moved to Nishi-kasai in Edogawa ward to live with their families. The high value placed on mutual assistance that exists in India communities led to the movement of these families; this

type of assistance was not available to unaccompanied males who travel between the company and their homes. Reasons for selecting residential areas in Edogawa ward include the convenient commute to the centre of the city, relatively reasonable rent (approximately 120,000 yen for a 2DK: two bed room, dinning and kitchen), grocery stores with evening hours, Indian restaurants, hospitals that make English services available (especially those with paediatric departments), parks, and, of course the most important, the existence of an Indian community. The central organisation in Edowaga is the Indian Community of Edogawa (ICE), established in 2000.

The ICE uses a bi-directional media, in the form of an Internet mailing list/E-group⁷, for event planning, approval, cooperation, and announcements. Moreover, the ICE serves as a mutual aid role in activities, such as offering a forum for personal issues concerning Indian school announcements and daily life. Using the ICE as a medium, seasonal events in India, such as New Year's parties, Holi, Dasara, and Diwali, can be celebrated and Indian films can be viewed. Moreover, annual events, such as dance parties and outings, are also organised. The manager of the ICE, who is also an Indian restaurant owner, has lived in Edogawa ward for over 20 years. Prior to the foundation of the ICE, a newsletter for Indians in Tokyo was published but, after the death of the newsletter's sponsor, the Indian community sought alternatives. Printed materials require time, effort, and money to both distribute and acquire. At that point, there was a desire to establish a medium for information exchange on the Internet, which IT engineers considered the most convenient. In contrast to the situation in India — where the religion, home state, and jati are the most significant in forming the basis for the concept of mutual aid — the basis for mutual aid in ICE is national identity. Though their religions and home states may differ, Indian merchants living in Edogawa had already established a small-scale network at least ten years before the establishment of the ICE. An additional factor is that, when running an Indian restaurant, it is not in the best interests of the owner to separate important Indian customers according to religion or home state. Thus, nationality is the basis of the community.

Representatives and chairpersons for the ICE, as well as the previously mentioned Indian school, have made numerous appearances on Japanese television shows, in English-language newspapers, in magazines, and so on. They formulated a mass media strategy to increase their popularity amongst newcomers. This has proven successful in increasing the number of members and students. As a result, the media has painted the portrait that an 'Indian town = Nishi-kaisai'. This has not only prompted those Indian IT engineers who live with their families to move to Nishi-kaisai, but has also spurred the formation of an Indian enclave. A recursive relationship (reflectivity) was observed, in which this enclave further strengthened the image of an Indian town, thereby creating more opportunities for its coverage in the mass media, thus advancing the enclave even further (Sawa and Minamino, 2007, 2008).

Disparity according to gender was observed in network formation. For men, the attributes of the organisation and its members are determined prior to the formation of the network. The administrator then recruits members, and denies participation to those who do not match the desired attributes; this reveals a tendency towards systematisation. These duties seem to establish a member's identity by clarifying the boundaries between him and other members. In contrast, women tend to form networks that expand among friends. They form acquaintances through the interactions of children at the Indian schools, or by sharing the same management company for rented accommodations. There do not seem to be strict conditions for member attributes when the network is formed. Rather, they face more significant issues in everyday life,

such as children and their education, methods to obtain cooking ingredients, and shared passions and hobbies. In many cases on weekday afternoons, while their IT engineer husbands are working, the wives gather in the room of a nearby friend's flat to talk about their concerns, in both English and their mother tongues, and share recipes from their respective localities. Since these women do not speak any Japanese, they do not interact with the local Japanese population. Therefore, these gatherings are a time of relaxation and escape from their lives in Japan. These women view those Japanese who cannot speak English as strangers, and have a strong awareness of their identity as Indian nationals.

The establishment of an Indian school was a serious concern for the community. Tokyo's population of Indian IT engineers, many of whom possess an excellent education, place a high priority on obtaining an English-medium education. Therefore, Japanese public schools are not an option for them. Although an international school exists in Koto ward, the tuition fee is around one million yen per year, which constitutes a considerable financial burden. Many of the Indians residing in Tokyo dealt with the situation by placing their children in their parents' care back in India, or in the care of a domestic, private Indian boarding school. In response to this situation, Indian merchants in Tokyo and Yokohama, who formed the core of the permanent resident population, opened the first Indian school in Tokyo (IISJ Tokyo: Indian International School in Japan) in Koto ward in 2004. In 2006, a second Indian school was opened in Edogawa ward to keep up with the ever-increasing number of Indian children. This Indian school was established by the Global Indian International School (GIIS) foundation, which was founded by an Indian national living in Singapore. In addition to running schools in India (Noida, Indore, Pune, and Hyderabad), GIIS administers numerous Indian schools in locales such as Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and the U. A. E. Furthermore, the Yokohama city government opened a third Indian school (IISJ Yokohama) in Midori ward in 2008. These schools target the increasing number of children (Kindergarten and Grades 1-12) belonging to highly educated IT engineers living in Tokyo and its surrounding areas, and strive to provide a high-level curriculum focusing on science and mathematics. These schools conform to and satisfy the Central Government's education standards (The Central Board of Secondary Education), so that the children of IT engineers can gain admissions to private schools in India or Indian schools in other nations such as the US. In addition to English, students can opt to study in French, Hindi, or Tamil; this constitutes an important condition for maintaining the global mobility of these IT engineers. Much like Indian private schools, education is provided in English (English-medium education) while education in each mother tongue (for example Hindi-medium education) is avoided. The Tokyo ICE shares a lack of bias toward a specific Indian language or religion with these schools. The schools also function as a machine for forming a national identity among Indian people living in locations far removed from their homeland.

In India, the Indian identity is formed on the foundation of religion, jati, and mother tongue. Indians live in an environment where the elements of their identity — such as their names (that often express religious association and jati) and food (restrictions on food) — can always be reaffirmed. As such, these actions establish an individual's identity in everyday life by recognising people associated with other religions or jati as outsiders. In both India and Kobe, the foundation for identity formation is not nationality, but instead religion, jati, and mother tongue.

On the other hand, four factors act as the formative foundation for identity formation in Tokyo. The first is religion. Gurdwara and the Jain temple were constructed in 1999 and 2000, respectively, followed by a newly erected Hindu temple in 2011. Through the establishment of

these religious institutions, the Indian population has acquired a formative foundation for identity that is rooted in religion. The second factor is mother tongue (home state). In addition to creating separate mailing lists for each state, Indians living in Tokyo hold gatherings (religious ceremonies, games based on their home region and food) several times a year in an effort to reaffirm their identities as a group of individuals who share the same mother tongue and home state. The third factor is the professional networks of the Indian IT engineers, which are based on the individual global networks of alumni associations from their colleges. Finally, in contrast to India and Kobe, the fourth factor is nationality. The formation of an Indian enclave in Edogawa ward has shaped a community of mutual assistance that strives to create anew its 'own place'. Moreover, this community has become a foundation for the 'own place' on which Indian schools have been established. None of the aforementioned factors are biased towards a specific language or religion, home state or location, or jati, as is the case in India. Rather, there exists a mechanism for IT engineers and their families to form a national identity, as Indian citizens living in a location distant from their homeland. Indians residing in Tokyo form their identities while clinging to stratification in their religion, mother tongue (home state), alma mater, and nationality (Sawa and Minamino 2008).

Local Scale De-Territorialisation and Re-Territorialisation in Indian Communities Abroad

In accordance with the rise of migrant workers in developed nations, the formation of ethnic communities as immigrant living spaces has progressed. These communities are the spaces for habitation, employment, and ritual. Educational institutions, healthcare facilities, and food and sundry shops handling newspapers, and films and music in the inhabitants' mother tongues are all located within these areas. Moreover, by erecting places of worship for each religion they duplicate the scenery of the homeland, thereby creating a place in which the population can reproduce their identity. In India and Kobe, religion, jati, and mother tongue — rather than nationality — form the foundation for identity formation (Minamino and Sawa 2005). The actions that reproduce identity occur daily in face-to-face interactions. Specifically for the Hindu community, which constitutes the majority in India, caste and jati act as the compositional elements of a society with a severely vertical hierarchy. It has been said that, in Kobe, the re-territorialisation of the local space occurs through the backdrop created by this new Indian homeland. Additionally, individuals maintain a close relationship, focused on birthplace, with those of the same religion and jati worldwide. The possession of both global and local networks is a characteristic of a diaspora.

Incidentally, many Indians in Tokyo are Hindu adherents, but they have formed networks with different communities by using the Internet as an intermediary. The Internet enables a direct link with unidentified individuals, including people never before met and those living in far-flung areas. Consequently, it is now possible to convey common information about everyday life immediately, without any cost, to the Indian population dispersed around Tokyo's periphery. The mutually assistive community formed on the Internet is a virtual community that is not rooted in a specific location. Simultaneously, the virtual community has a weak horizontal hierarchy; in a manner of speaking, it is a community with no centre. With an increase in the exchange of ICE-centred information about everyday life in the area around Nishi-kasai in Edogawa, there was an increase in the number of Indians who moved to Nishi-kasai. The Internet connects Indians dispersed around Tokyo's periphery, and it is the prime mover in the progressive formation of Indian enclaves. Accordingly, the virtual Indian community on the

Internet, which lacks roots in a 'place', has transformed into a real community, rooted in the 'place' known as Nishi-kasai.

The IT industry requires the Internet. However, the industry does not require large-scale equipment and vast amounts of land. Therefore, the location of an office is influenced by rental rates and the supplier's convenience, thus creating more mobility. In addition, personnel are often dispatched as on-site staff to offices, such as those for financial work in foreign-owned corporations or in large-scale factories. The workload, rather than being of a prescribed quantity, constantly fluctuates. As a result, the industry's location, work period, and quantity of orders are also mobile; the work of IT engineers is flexible by nature. To address this, Indian IT engineers living in Tokyo have become mobile in terms of the location they are dispatched to, the period they are dispatched for, and the number of IT engineers dispatched. As such, it can be said the Indian community in Tokyo is also extremely mobile. This means that the foundation of the Indian community in Tokyo is a just-in-time type of human resource management that results from the flexible IT industry; this is precisely the characteristic of the current globalised economy (Sawa and Minamino 2008).

The globalised economy, which is a result of increased capital mobility, has brought about the expansion of cross-border labour markets in developed nations, and has increased immigration from developing countries. This type of labour market de-territorialisation due to an increase in the mobility of labourers, has heightened the mobility of information between immigrants, as well as between immigrants and their homelands. Moreover, capital mobility further increases the number of immigrants who send money to, and invest in, their homelands and birthplaces. Immigrants who move across national borders require ethnic communities as living spaces. In response, facilities — such as places of worship, education institutions, and food/sundry shops — spring up, thereby advancing the re-territorialisation of local space through the formation of enclaves that become re-embedded within the culture of the inhabitants.

V Conclusion: De-Territorialisation and Re-Territorialisation in Indian Communities Crossing Border

This thesis views the spatial changes in India following economic deregulation, specifically following the New Economic Policy in 1991, as a part of spatial reorganisation. The Indian community living abroad has undergone many changes while being intimately linked to globalisation. This study examined the process of reorganisation during the de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation that occurred under globalisation, in relation to the national, regional, and local scales of the Indian community living abroad. These concepts are summarised in Table 1.

Following the implementation of the New Economic Policy, the amount of FDI to India increased, aggressive investment in industrialisation took place, the automotive and IT industries experienced extreme growth, and India was incorporated into a globalised economy centred around Europe, the US, and Japan. In terms of national-scale de-territorialisation, there was a rise in the mobility of cross-border labourer (immigrants) and information, revealing a trend in which national frameworks loosened (de-territorialisation on the national scale). In response to these conditions, and to attract foreign currency into India while promoting the recirculation of capital from Indians abroad, the Indian government found it essential to develop conditions for infrastructure, financial markets, labour markets, and so on. As such, to attract highly mobile

Table 1. De-territorialisation and Re-territorialisation in Relation to Indian Migrants (IT Engineers)

Scale	De-territorialisation	Re-territorialisation
National	<p>Disembedding from National Context</p> <p>Expansion of cross-border labour markets Increased cross-border migration flow Increased flow of cross-border information over the Internet (employment, living environment, marriage) Heightened immigrant mobility</p> <p>Brain drain from India into developed nations (IT engineers, doctors, students, etc.)</p>	<p>Re-embedding into the National Context</p> <p>Immigrants concentrated in specific developed nations</p> <p>Concentration of information on specific countries due to the Internet (employment, living environment, marriage) Heightened immigrant anchoring Immigration policy of host country Immigrant selection (nationality, conditions of employment) Japanese government attracting Indian IT engineers Brain circulation into India (IT engineers, etc.)</p> <p>Capital circulation into India (Government policy to attract investments from Indians abroad)</p>
Regional	<p>Disembedding from regional context</p> <p>Increased mobility of IT-related capital in India and developed nations</p>	<p>Re-embedding into regional context</p> <p>Inte-rurban/Inter-state Competition to attract the IT industry IT industry cluster formation (Bangalore, Gurgaon, Hyderabad) Increase in IT engineers in Tokyo Yokohama's strategy in competition with Tokyo over Indian IT industry: Attract Indian schools</p>
Local	<p>Disembedding from local context</p> <p>Heightened immigrant mobility Increase/decrease in transients Unaccompanied male immigrant type Reside separately for short periods near workplace (location dispatched) Exchange of information on daily life over the Internet between dispersed Indians</p>	<p>Re-embedding into local context</p> <p>Increase in permanent residents Dependent family type Formation/expansion of Indian enclave</p> <p>Exchange of information on daily life over the Internet (Good points about living conditions in area of residence are easily transmitted) Nishi-kasai, Edogawa, Tokyo Establishment of Indian schools Hospitals that understand English Indian restaurants, foodstuffs, sundries, DVD rental shops Establishment of religious institutions Formation of a mutually assistive community</p>

Source: Based on Sawa (2011)

capital into India, national-scale re-territorialisation (re-statisation) occurs simultaneously, due to the inevitable move to nationalism.

Given a labour market for IT engineers that promotes global mobility, attracting Indian IT engineers through domestic immigration policy has become essential for Japan. Such measures accelerate the de-territorialisation of the labour market for IT engineers at the national scale, while simultaneously advancing re-territorialisation at the national scale through domestic immigration policy. Moreover, in terms of immigration policy in countries that are open to immigrants, choosing immigrants to grant entry based on nationality and labour conditions is also a process of re-territorialisation on the national scale.

As India's value as an investment destination for developed nations rose, the tendency increased for capital to flow into metropolitan areas that maintained markets, taxation systems, labour, and the like. As the significance of spatial barriers decreased — due to acceleration of transportation, the growth of IT, and the political relaxation of location regulations — the de-

territorialisation progressed on the regional scale in terms of location conditions. In response, state governments actively engaged in measures for infrastructure maintenance and industrial promotion in order to attract capital, specifically highly mobile FDI. The IT industry is a significant force for pulling economic growth in India, and there is a strong tendency for new site-locations to gather in cities such as Bangalore, with well-maintained infrastructure. As a result, as regional re-territorialisation progressed, regional divides within India widened.

Amidst increasingly mobile foreign capital in Japan, Indian IT corporations establish sites in the global city of Tokyo because of its accessibility to customers. However, there is little difference between Tokyo and the surrounding cities in terms of convenience; therefore, these sites are also undergoing de-territorialisation on the regional scale. In light of this, Yokohama based its strategy for drawing in Indian capital on its interurban competition with Tokyo prefecture over highly mobile foreign capital. The city of Yokohama succeeded in creating an attractive 'place' for Indian capital by establishing an Indian school. Moreover, success in attracting Indian IT corporations and in convincing them to settle in the area has progressed re-territorialisation at the regional scale.

Regarding economic globalisation, in order for capital to spread, it requires a concrete location. In developed nations, that location is the global city in which corporations gather their central management functions⁸. The globalised economy has brought the cross-border expansion of labour markets in developed nations (especially in global cities), while increasing immigration from developing countries. This de-territorialisation of labour markets, created by the heightened mobility of labour, has increased the mobility of information distributed both among immigrants and between immigrants and their homelands. This situation is connected with increased money transfers into India from Indians living abroad, and with those who have found success in developed nations and gone on to invest in India in order to start businesses in their homeland. Immigrants who have started to settle in developed nations require local ethnic communities for their living spaces. In response to the increased number of immigrants, the re-territorialisation of local spaces has advanced through the formation of ethnic enclaves in which immigrant culture is re-embedded. In these types of immigrant spaces, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation advance.

Globalisation is a consequence of modernity. Time and space compression has rapidly progressed, and social actions within the context of national-, regional-, and local-scale spaces are positioned within a ranked spatial scale. As a result, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation continue endlessly in each spatial scale. Through the aforementioned processes, space at each scale is gradually incorporated into a higher space, and finally into the global space.

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Notes

1. Giddens uses an image of a long-distance, heavy-duty truck that derives its name from a word that means 'Lord of the World' in Hindi as an image of modernity: 'Juggernaut, a runaway engine of enormous power, which collectively as human beings, we can drive to some extent, but which also threatens to rush out of our control and which could rend itself asunder' (Giddens 1990).
2. Morikawa (2004) offered a critique of the spatial hierarchy, saying that Giddens' spatial concept is polarised be-

- tween the micro-scale and the macro-scale, and lacks an intermediate meso-scale.
3. For details on human resource management in the Indian IT industry, refer to Ishigami (2010, 2011).
 4. In September 2009, the so-called 'Lehman Shock', stemming from defaults on financial derivatives in the form of sub-prime loans made by the US investment banking firm known as the Lehman Brothers, plunged not only the US but the whole world into an economic crisis. Corporations that expanded worldwide in the global city of Tokyo were directly affected by the economic crisis. Moreover, the IT industry that supported the economic activity of these corporations also experienced an economic downturn. Although the Indian IT engineers who were dispatched to these corporations, and their dependent families, were granted permission to temporarily return to India, this did not have a large influence on the population of Indians residing in Tokyo (Sato and Inokuchi 2011).
 5. The Tokyo Bengali Community Activities exist for the Bengal language group (from West Bengal), Tokyo Marathi Mandal for the Marathi language group (from Maharashtra), and Kannada Balaga for the Kannada language group (from Karnataka).
 6. For details on Gurdwara in Tokyo, refer to Azuma (2009).
 7. There were approximately 20 messages per month on the mailing list in 2002. However, by 2011 that number had risen to approximately 220 per month. There were approximately 1,300 registered members in 2012.
 8. In developed nations, this corresponds to points of production and consumption in large cities and their suburbs.

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