SIKH DIASPORA IN JAPAN:

A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

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Masako Azuma

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

CHANDIGARH

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Masako Azuma

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Contents

Chapter I

Introduction

In the past decade or so the notion of diaspora has taken over the imagination of a variety of groups be they academics, social scientists, policy makers and even members of minority ethnic groups in different countries who see themselves as diaspora. As a result there has been an explosion of writings on the diaspora phenomenon with social scientists outlining countless features of diaspora. It is now a term being used to describe nearly any group which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational', or which has roots in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks traverse the borders of nations and span the globe (Vertovec, 1999). One such group is the Sikhs who have become the subject of many a diasporic analysis. This research too is an attempt to study the Sikh diaspora. However, unlike the previous works on the same subject, we shall focus on the Sikh diaspora in a setting which has not received enough attention thus far, namely, Japan.

For a long time the term diaspora was used in connection mainly with the Jews who are dispersed all over the world after being driven away from their place of ethnic origin. However, in its new avatar the term is used to denote any migrants who live in the place which is different from their birth place (Gilroy, 1993). The largest amount of diaspora studies have dealt with migrants in Europe and North America (e.g., Schiller and Fouron, 2001; Levitt, 2001; Shukla, 2003; Kearny 2004) probably because those area have various and large migrant communities and have tried to manage harmonious coexistence for both local people and migrants. On the other hand, diaspora studies on other regions like Asia, South America, and Oceania are

relative y less though these areas also have received a large number of migrants and have faced the necessity of making policies for accommodating different ethnic groups who have migrated to these lands and are trying to co-exist with the local population.

When we look at studies on Sikh migrants, we can find works which see Sikhs as diaspora (Cohen, 1997, 2008; Tatla, 1999; Shani, 2008). However, as has been the trend in diaspora studies, these also focus on Sikhs settled in UK, USA and Canada where the number of Sikh migrants is concentrated. The few studies of Sikh diaspora in Oceania and Asian countries do not go beyond short articles (Sandu and Mani, 2006, 2008; McLeod, 2007).

In Japan there has been increase in the number of migrants consisting of various ethnic origins for last three decades. It has been seen that diaspora groups are incorporated in Japanese society, though it's difficult to say that they are considered sufficiently as members of Japanese society. Sikhs in Japan on whom this research will focus are one of the migrant groups whose study will hopefully throw some light on the social and cultural practices of diaspora in general and the Sikh diaspora in particular.

Diaspora

The word diaspora is derived from the Greek preposition *dia* (across or over) and the verb *speiro* (to sow or scatter seeds). Originally, diaspora was used to describe the Jews living in exile from the homeland of Palestine. In other words, diaspora suggested a dislocation from the nation-state or geographical location of origin and relocation in one or more nation-states, territories, or countries. Not only for Jews but also for Africans, Palestinians and Armenians, being a diaspora had involved their

collective trauma and banishment, where they dreamt of home but lived in exile (Cohen, 1997; Braziel and Mannur, 2003). As Braziel and Mannur (2003) put it, diaspora can be seen as a naming of the 'other' which has historically referred to displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile. Since the 1990s, theorizations of diaspora have emerged in various fields like literature, Sociology, Anthropology, area studies, ethnic studies, etc. It is often used as a catch-all phrase to speak of and for all movements, and for all dislocations, even symbolic ones (Braziel and Mannur, 2003) and we can find plenty of discussion on the context of the recent usage of diaspora and the various perspectives on it.

For long the term diaspora has been associated with the concepts of suffering, victimization and isolation due to its biblical origins. However, in the past decade, the connotation of the word has changed to include the processes of empowerment, enrichment and expansion. As Ang (2007) explains it, now the flows of people, cultures, and politics are very much associated with the rising significance of transnational migration. This is the consequence of the heightened process of globalization in the closing decades of the twentieth century. In this context, the term of diaspora has increasingly lost its paradigmatic association with the notion of exile from home and the myth of return and has become much more widely used to describe the condition and experience of dispersion which may not necessarily involve trauma and marginalization.

The understanding of the term began from defining it as the scattering of the Jews to countries outside of Palestine after the Babylonian captivity. However, it went on to get new meanings subsequently. For instance, it is seen as a dispersion of something that was originally localized (as a people or language or culture), or as

spreading of people originally belonging to one nation or having a common culture to other places. This involves the movement, migration, or scattering of a people away from an established or ancestral homeland, implying people settled far from their ancestral homelands or simply put, any group migration or flight from a country or region. A common theme is the ambivalent relationship that many diasporic peoples have both to their host country and their homeland. The homeland is often remembered with fondness or longing, and the 'hostland' is often seen as intolerant or alienating; but also people may see opportunity in the new country and choose not to return to their homeland even when they are able to do so. The host country, after all, becomes home in a way, and exerts a lot of influence on people even as they retain allegiance to their older, ancestral home (Cohen, 1997).

Parrenas and Siu (2007) define diaspora as ongoing and contested process of subject formation embedded in a set of cultural and social relations that are sustained simultaneously with the "homeland" (real or imagined), place of residence, and compatriots or co-ethnics dispersed elsewhere. They explain that diaspora entails displacement from the homeland under the nexus of an unequal global political and economic system, the simultaneous experience of alienation and the maintenance of affiliation to both the country of residence and the homeland and the sense of collective consciousness and connectivity with other people displaced from the homeland across the diasporic terrain. These are simultaneous relations and seen in everyday practices of sociality, collective memory, economic exchange, and the work of cultural imagination and production.

Goh (2004) focuses on the features of diasporic space and time. Space and time intersect in multiple and complex ways in the logic of postcolonial cultures which cause identification of definitive moments of social influence and transformation. For

instance, the production of a specific spatial trope; the church, the public square or garden, the town hall, the ghetto, the red-light district; is not confined to the period of actual physical construction, but incorporates the entire span of cultural influence and cultural production. This is historical cultural influence of a broad variety which recent diasporas have. He adds that these diasporic space and time cannot be regarded as isolated phenomena, but must be seen as an interactive space where the speed, volume, diachronicity, and diversity of subjective transactions and interventions constantly relate and renegotiate the social sphere and its significance.

Bathia and Ram (2001) note that the age of transnational migrations, border crossing and diaspora should be examined in terms of how individuals living with hybridized and hyphenated identities in borderland cultures and diasporic communities coordinate their incompatible and often conflicting cultural and personal positions. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) write that "in a world of diaspora, transnational culture flows, and mass movements of populations, old-fashioned attempts to map the globe as a set of culture regions or homelands are bewildered by dazzling array of postcolonial simulacra, doublings and redoubling as India and Pakistan apparently reappear in postcolonial simulation in London..." (p.10). The writings stress the deterritorialized aspects of culture and boundaries and hold that fixed locales like society, community and nation cannot be the frame of culture. Further they explain that the concept and the boundary of "culture" itself have a possibility to give essential comprehension of "culture" and conclude that the end result of migrations is hybridity of culture. From their discussion we can consider deterritorialization and hybridity as the main features of diaspora.

In commonsense terms deterritorialization may mean taking the control and order away from a land or place (territory) that is already established. Another general

meaning describes it as any process that decontextualizes a set of relations, rendering them virtual and preparing them for more distant actualizations. Anthropologically, when referring to culture the term is used to refer to a weakening of ties between culture and place. This means the removal of cultural subjects and objects from a certain location in space and time. It implies that certain cultural aspects tend to transcend specific territorial boundaries in a world that consists of things fundamentally in motion. On the other hand, hybridity means a thing derived from heterogeneous sources. Owing to the apparent lack of an essentialized or fixed identity, the hybrid stands as the perfect means for the understanding of pluralism, ambivalence and nonfixity. Because of its neither-nor nature, its intrinsic opposition to fixed binaries lets it remain in a perpetual state of flux. In the context of diaspora it involves the notion of re-creation of new meanings, practices, symbols etc. Both the terms deterritorialization and hybridity are attractive for those interested in questions of identity and the constitution of subjectivity.

Mentioning that 'diaspora' is the term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational', and whose social, economic and political networks traverse the borders of nation-states, Vertovec (2000) reveals three meaning of 'diaspora': 1) diaspora as social form, 2) diaspora as type of consciousness and 3) diaspora as mode of cultural production.

Diaspora as social form are characterized by a relationship between (a) globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic group; (b) the territorial states and contexts where such groups reside; and (c) the homeland states and contexts whence they or their forebears came (Vertovec, 2000:144). Diaspora as type of consciousness is a particular kind of awareness, which is characterized by duality, paradox and multi-locality. It includes, on the one hand, a sense of discrimination and isolation and

on the other, also a positive sense of belonging to a particular identity. It is seen in current literature of diaspora among contemporary transnational communities that puts greater emphasis on features concomitant with a variety of experience, a state of mind and a sense of identity (Vertovec, 2000:146-147). Diaspora as mode of cultural production means the world-wide flow of cultural objects, images and meanings resulting in variegated processes of creolization, back-and-forth transferences, mutual influences, new contestations, negotiations and constant transformation (Vertovec, 2000:153). This is similar to the example given by Stuart Hall (1990) who talks about diaspora identities as those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. Further, Vertovec believes that to grasp the myriad changes among diasporic communities, we need to take account of (a) facets of historically conditioned structure or context and (b) the processes of conscious intervention of social actors through mediation, negotiation, and contestation within and between self-defined social groups (2000).

Typology of Diasporas

When considering the most prevalent concept of diaspora, the Jews have usually been selected to illustrate the argument. However, Cohen (1997, 2008) gives credible meanings of diaspora, and proposes a typology of diaspora. He sees a common element in all forms of diaspora; these are people who live outside their "natal (or imagined natal) territories" and recognize that their traditional homelands are reflected deeply in the languages they speak, religions they adopt, and the cultures they produce (1997). Cohen categorizes diasporas into 1) victim diasporas, 2) labor diasporas 3) imperial diasporas, 4) trade and business diasporas, and 5) cultural or deterritorialized diasporas (1997, 2008). A victim diaspora is meant in the sense of

dispersal following a traumatic event in the home land, to two or more foreign destinations. A labor diaspora indicates indentured workers employed in the colonial possessions and furthermore, people who shifted to other countries in order to get the opportunity for jobs including those that occur after colonial era. An imperial diaspora includes migrants from imperial countries to the colonies for furthering their imperialistic plans of expansion. A trade and business diaspora implies merchants who migrated to other countries to expand their trading business. A cultural or deterritorialized diaspora is characterized by four features: evidence of cultural retention of original culture; symbolic interest in retaining links to original countries; cultural artifacts and products showing shared concern between old and new countries; and behaving ways consistent with the idea of deterritorialized diaspora. Cohen uses one or two particular groups as exemplary cases for each type. Africans and Armenians are shown to be analogous victim diaspora while the Indians are shown as examples of a labor diaspora. The trade diaspora have been typified by the Chinese and Lebanese, the British have been represented as an imperial diaspora, and the peoples of the Caribbean abroad are characterized as a deterritorialized diaspora. However, it must be remembered that these are overlapping categories and some groups take dual or multiple forms while others change their character over time.

For Cohen, religions generally do not constitute diasporas in and of themselves, though Judaism and Sikhism are obvious exceptions. Because religions usually span more than one ethnic group and, in the case of faiths that have come to be widely spread around the globe, religions normally do not seek to return to, or to recreate, a homeland. Among Sikhs also there are some persons who converted to Sikhism under the new religious movement in the U.S., U.K. and Canada since 1960s (Coney, 2000) though they don't have ethnic origin in Punjab. However, in this thesis we will not

discuss the details of these '*gora*' Sikhs. With broad agreement with Cohen, Vertovec (2000) suggests that Hindus too represent a kind of special case akin to Judaism and Sikhism.

Lee (2004) discusses three types of diaspora communities based on three types of psychological states, or forms of consciousness, which are; 1) idealization of homeland (nostalgia), 2) multicultural manifestation, and 3) transitional/transformational identity politics. These three types are used not to limit the diasporic experience strictly, but rather, to better understand the diasporic condition. In the conceptualization of idealization of homeland, the diaspora is defined largely in terms of distance from its homeland, with all the attendant implications of removal or exclusion and geographical, cultural, and psychical dislocation. This homeland idealism posits the homeland myth as a powerful and effective motivator of diasporic experiences (Lee, 2004:54). In the diaspora in multicultural manifestation, with cultural pluralism fast becoming the norm for most societies, diasporic/ethnic minorities play up the fact of their difference, highlighting their visibility, to gain recognition and some kind of acceptance into the host society (Lee, 2004:54-55). The conceptualization in a transitional or transformational state represents diaspora as integrating in an informed way with their host societies. The implications for diasporas are that, firstly, they are still evolving rather than being fully fledged entities, and secondly, theorizations about their diasporic condition are works in progress that have to be constantly revised (Lee, 2004:55).

Riggs (2000) describes three types of diaspora on the basis of the status of their homelands. The first are the state-oriented diaspora where people usually retain their citizenship while living abroad and many may even have a formal status as employees of an organization located in their home state. State-oriented diasporans are normally

patriotic and, like the Israelis, support their homeland government and can be called patriate diaspora but as one can see in the Cuban case, they may also be activist diaspora when they oppose the regime in power while remaining attached to their home country. The second type are ethnonational diaspora who relate to non-state nations whose homeland is usually located in a region within one state, like the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, or crosses state boundaries, like the Kurds whose homeland is divided between four states. Ethnonational diasporas tend to settle within the state where their homeland is located – indigenous Americans in the U.S., Chechens in Russia, Scots in the UK, aboriginals in Australia, Maories in New Zealand, etc. and being in diaspora does not require crossing state boundaries for them. The third category is includes ideological movements, entrepreneurs whose members support each other in different countries but retain an ethnic identity, as do some Chinese, Indian, Lebanese and Armenian merchants and religious communities who retain contacts among members in different countries, like the Amish or the Baha'i, but lack a homeland that would justify references to them as a diaspora.

Alain Medam (1993) has proposed a typology based on the degree of cohesiveness (homogeneity) and the dynamism of the diasporic organization. Medam discusses two types of diaspora – crystallized diaspora and fluid diaspora – the former includes some dynamic diasporas characterized by the efficiency of their transnational networks. for example, the Chinese diaspora, while the latter include the very amorphous groups with weak networks. For Michel Bruneau (1995), the typology must be based on the diasporic organization. He defined three major types of diasporas. namely, the entrepreneurial diasporas like the Chinese or Libanese, the religious diasporas, e.g., the Jews and the political diasporas, such as the Palestinians, Tibetans etc.

These typologies especially that by Cohen, help to understand that diaspora should be examined from several aspects (social, cultural, economic, political and historical). Cohen (2008) also states that a typology as a heuristic device will help to delineate, analyze and compare many diasporic phenomena. However, he also adds that "in looking at any example, there is no need to force reality to conform in every respect to given ideal types. A creative imagination is always preferable to a dogged application of a formula." (p.161). In this thesis we will not focus on categorizing Sikhs in Japan as one type of diaspora but at grasping the features of Sikhs in Japan as diaspora from various viewpoints which are given by these typologies.

Thus, as discussed above, the concept of 'diaspora' is employed for explaining multiple and complex situation of people in the context of political, economic, social and cultural globalization. In the background of the world of diaspora, we see diversity, deterritorialization and hybridity of global society which are brought by transnational migrants. We can say that the Sikh diaspora in Japan on which this research focuses can be included in the category of transnational migrants. The following chapters will study the deterritorialized, multiple and complex situations in life of Sikhs in Japan, and the re-creation of their culture. This thesis, while examining Sikh migrants in Japan will use the word "migration" or "migrant" while focusing on the fact related to their shifting and moving. But when we will consider their cultural and social life from the aspect of cultural and social deterritorialization, we will term them "diaspora".

Diaspora and Migration Studies

When people move to somewhere as migrants from their place of origin, they experience cultural, economic and social differences like food, climate, language,

salary, status etc. Migrants struggle with them through their customary practices related to eating, wearing, sleeping, talking, resting and working in their life. At times they may allow certain alterations and modifications in these practices, and at the same time, preserve their customs. This process of losing old practices and accumulating new ones forms an integral part of the cultural life of these migrants and will thus also form significant part of our study.

Many sociological and anthropological studies about migrants have been conducted. Theories like assimilation and adaptation were discussed in immigrant society of the U.S. and "melting pot" and "salad bowl" were used as words that explain immigrant society, especially about the U.S. Yet, in recent societies that are more global, post-modern and post-colonial, these theories are not enough to explain migrants' society, culture and identity. As stated in studies by L Schiller and Fouron (2001), Levitt (2001) and Kearny (2004), those analyses are far from relevant.

Schiller and Fouron (2001) have described the continuous relationship and networks between Haitian migrants in the U.S. and their home society of Haiti. They describe in detail the relationships that individuals are surrounded by in networks of family and relatives. Levitt (2001) studied the Dominican migrants in the U.S. Explaining historical and political background of their migration, he showed that politics in home of the migrants cannot develop without connection with migrants in the U.S. Kearny (2004) examined the community of Mexican migrants in California in the U.S. and found that this community, which he calls the transnational community, continues to interact with their home community in Mexico, despite living in California. All these studies show how society of both migrants and their home, keep in touch with each other and may even affect each other economically, politically and culturally.

Studies on Diaspora in Japan

There have been a number of studies about migrants in Japan, although most of them originated after 1980. In the beginning of modern Japan, i.e., the end of nineteenth century, migrants from Western countries, China and Korea lived in Japan (for history of migrants in Japan, see Chapter II). However, they were not seen as migrants or migrant community because till the end of the Second World War, Chinese and Koreans were considered "Japanese" by colonial rulers and most of those who stayed on after the war in Japan went unnoticed due to the myth of Japanese society being ethnically homogeneous (Lee, 2001). Nevertheless, with a rise in the number of studies about migrants in Japan since 1980s, the situation now is that Chinese and Korean residents are re-recognized as immigrants in Japan (Lee, 2001; Douglass and Roberts, 2003) though many of the studies focus on return-migration of Japanese descendants from Latin America.

One of the important works on migrants in Japan is by Taguchi (1983) who showed Japanese society not as homogeneous but heterogeneous, and explained the statistical situation about immigrants in the first half of 1980s. This article was published before foreign workers were seen as an issue worth studying in the Japanese society in the late 1980s. We can find the gap between the perceptions existing at the beginning and end of 1980s by comparing this article with others mentioned below.

Yamanaka (1993) describes how the Immigration Policy and Immigration Act reformed the situation after 1989 and also how the labor shortage for unskilled work lead to the coming of foreigners who engage in the jobs under the revised law. He further explained that the foreign workers include not only Japanese descendants but also Asians. His paper summarized the situation of unskilled workers and the

background which attracted foreign workers to Japan. Yamanaka (2000) also examined Nepalese labor migration and the Gurkha network in Japan. It seems that the Gurkha network helped to convey the information in Nepal that Japan was a fit place for labor migration. This article made it clear that the continuing shortage of labor in the industrial sector in Japan caused continuous migration from Nepal despite recession in 1990s.

Maher (1997) looked at the later immigrants primarily as groups of linguistic minorities in Japan. He highlighted the fact that there has been some support by government that focused on the issue of the language difficulty faced by these migrants and how it affected their education in the cities where the immigrant population was concentrated. He concludes that these approaches to support them are not sufficient for solving their problems. Tsuda (1998, 1999a, 1999b) studied different aspects of the descendants of Japanese who had shifted to Brazil and had now returned to Japan. Prejudice and discrimination against them by Japanese were examined. Interaction between ethnic identity and national identity was analyzed and it appeared that ethnic identity as "Japanese" in Brazil could be nationalized by experiences in Japanese society that casts prejudice and discrimination against Japanese Brazilians (1999a). Position and life of Japanese Brazilians embedded in economic and social structure in Japan and Brazil were explained by describing their migration process and repeat migrations (1999b). These works were conducted with analyzing discourse from interviews not only of Japanese descendants but also of Japanese, and participant observation in firms where these Japanese Brazilians worked.

Lee (2000) examined the cultural practices of the resident Koreans in Japan. Symbolic meanings in consumption of Korean food and the use of Korean language were seen as the struggle to preserve their Korean identity. It was also seen that bodily

memory through the experience of migration during colonial era and diasporic consciousness related to cultural practices as immigrant subjectivity. Friman's study (2004) showed that there were patterns of immigrant participation in criminal activities like the illicit drug sector. However, although he mentions the cases of migrants in Germany and the U.S. indulging in such activities, he did not offer any details of the relationship between immigrants in Japan and the criminal economy. Nakamatsu (2005) wrote about immigrant women in Japan and examined the problems related to gender, race and class that "Asian brides" face in rural Japan. Prejudice and racism were seen in the context of marriage among Asian women and Japanese in rural areas. Gordon (2006) focused on the issue of the unavailability of teachers for minority and immigrant communities in Japan. Marginalized students including immigrants were not able to understand the local teachers which became a major problem in Japanese education system.

From the concise discussion of the above mentioned studies we can see that the revised Immigration Act in 1989 changed the demography of foreigners in Japan (Taguchi, 1983; Yamanaka 1993, 2003). At the same time, it is clear that social and economic context in host society affects migrants and their economic, social, cultural and political features (Tsuda, 1999; Yamanaka, 2000). Friman (2004), Nakamatsu (2005) and Gordon (2006) showed that migrant society has diverse problems in Japan. And Tsuda (1998, 1999a, 1999b), Nakamatsu (2005) and Gordon (2006) hold that there are prejudices and discrimination in Japanese society against migrants. Hence a large number of aspects pertaining to the life of the migrants in Japan have been covered by various studies. However, we see relatively fewer works focusing on the dynamics of the interrelations between the migrants' social backgrounds and their culture (language, religion, food, clothing, etc.), in Japan, which characterize their identities and thoughts.

Studies on Indian and Sikh Diaspora

Studies of Indian migrants in general and the Sikh migrants in particular have been accumulated over time. Mostly they are researches conducted in the communities in England and North America. Since 1950s many Indian migrants have tended to move to these areas and have built their community there.

Studies on Indian Diaspora

Seth (1999) described life of Indian migrants in the U.S. by explaining their food habits, attire, cultural events, religious practices, language, occupations, education, communication, etc. Her study shows that their ethnic media assisted them in their endeavor to recreate and keep in touch with their cultural roots. She concluded that ethnicity reinforces identity which was continuously recreated and perpetuated, along with the parallel process of adaptation into the social world of the host society. And those dialectics of persistence and adaptation, of continuity and acceptability lead to the emergence of two diverse socio-cultural systems. Shukla (2003) too, examined ethnicity as 'Indianness' from cultural situation of Indian migrants in the U.S. and England, and explains that in her case, 'Indianness' implied not integrated and stable nation but a process causing diverse and unessential identities.

Vertovec (2000) argued about 'Hinduism' from the aspect of 'in and outside of' India. He concludes that in the context of Hinduism in the global diaspora especially in Caribbean area and Britain we can see three trends, namely, influences of caste, sectarian and regional features, religious nationalism by Hindutva movement, and localization of Hinduism.

Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj and Sangha's (2008) edited volume contains articles that focus on the three themes of historical process of Indians' migration,

representation by Indian diasporas and problematics in identification of Indian diasporas. They hold that representation about identity of Indian migrants in their plays and novels caused diasporic subjectivity both of audience and performer. This book concludes that the diasporic subjectivity has possibility of seeing Indian diaspora not as integrated Indian diaspora but diverse Indian diaspora. Rai and Reeves (2009) also edited a book about transnational networks and identity of South Asian migrants. The articles in the book analyzed the roles of transnational networks which formulated economic and social features of diaspora communities.

Studies on Sikh Diaspora

A large volume of literature can be found focused on the Sikh diaspora. Barrier and Dusenbery's (1989) edited book on Sikh diaspora states that when we think about Sikh diaspora, it is necessary to view several forms of migration and some aspects like re-migration abroad or domestically, continuous chain migration from Punjab, converted white Sikhs in North America, networks and communication between Sikhs abroad and Sikhs in India, and so on. Ballard (1989) and Thandi (1996) also explained the different dimensions in the backgrounds that Sikhs in Britain had by showing their historical process of migration. Bhachu (1989) discussed Sikhs who shifted from East Africa to the U.K. and their migration process. It was pointed out that Sikhs who came directly from Punjab held a 'myth' of returning home, although Sikhs from East Africa did not have it. Similarly, experiences of migrants from East Africa helped them re-build their life in Britain, while the direct migrants from Punjab did not have those experiences.

Buchignani and Indra (1989) wrote about Sikhs in Canada. They noted that there was a discriminatory situation for Sikhs and they did not have any institutional

measures to counter it. The authors claimed that Sikhs were a minority group in Canada and it was difficult to find the features of Sikh diaspora as a global dynamic community. *Sikh Identity* an edited volume by Singh and Barrier (2001) includes discussions about Sikh migrants, mainly about Sikhs in Britain, East Africa and in the U.S. Sharma (2001) explained that Sikh migrants in East Africa had relations with Punjabi Hindus, Punjabi Muslims, Gujarati Muslims and Gujarati Hindus. The article made it clear that their cultural identity was not hindered by religious differences but they could establish community ties based on their common region of origin. Thus, these studies showed the complex context of Sikhs in East Africa. Kalsi (2001) focused on Ramgarhia caste and the institutions run by them in U.K. From his article we can learn that Ramgarhia identity of the migrants in U.K. is recognized and established on occasions of marriage and due to the activities of the institute. Nesbitt (2001) described the text book for religious education which was used in England. He found that students and teachers had common recognition that 'real Sikhs' or 'ideal Sikhs' called *keshdari* have the 5Ks (five articles of faith; *kesh, kangha, kara, kacchar, kirpan* - uncut hair, wooden comb, metal bracelet, special style of cotton underwear, strapped curbed sword). Leonard (2001) discussed the recent situation about Sikhs in the U.S. There exist different perspectives and thoughts about their faith not only between first and second generation but also between the same generation. And converted white Sikhs have their own faith and practice influenced by Yogi Bhajan. Ballantyne (2006) discussed the cultural situation of Sikhs migrants analyzing the Sikhs' representation and their identity in context of their diaspora in terms of *Bhangra* making.

McLeod (1986, 2007) studied Sikhs in New Zealand. He focused mainly from 1980 to 1940 and described the history of migrants from central Punjab (including

Hindus and Muslims). His book indicates that it is difficult to show the religious boundaries especially between Sikhs and Hindus (1986). In a later work (2007) he explained the recent situation that like the Chinese and Gujaratis, Sikhs were recognized *pakeha*, who were not *maoli*, and accepted as social member in New Zealand. In the book *Sociology of Diaspora* edited by Sahoo and Mahajan (2007), there are articles on the Sikh diaspora by Barrier, Takaki, Sangha and Dusenbery. Barrier (2007) explains institutional networks of Sikh with newspapers and organizations from the end of nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth century. It appears that those networks are still vigorous between Punjab and Canada. And there is also a mention of retaining relationships in the contemporary times through their networks in cyber space.

Takaki (2007) writes about Sikhs who moved to California in last part of nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth century. He describes their settlement process, marriage relations with females from Mexico and relations with migrants from Japan who had also worked in farms. From the description we can know about the relationships among migrants, and the hybrid culture produced by them. Sangha (2007) also explains about Sikhs in Canada in the beginning of twentieth century. The article shows the role that the *gurdwaras* (Sikh Temple) played in attracting Sikhs to Canada, in organizing protests against the government policy based on racism and how those activities led to human right movement and struggle for independence.

Dusenbery (2007) casts doubt on discourse or expression of 'Sikh migrants' or 'Sikh diaspora' as an integrated group. He critiqued Sikhs' ethno-territorialism by arguing about the diversity and hybridity of society in Punjab. In another article (Dusenbery, 2008), he examines Sikh Diaspora, comparing political situations among Sikhs in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Canada, the U.S. and Australia. It appears

that because of different policy in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, Sikh migrants faced different situations politically. A similar explanation was shown through a comparison between Sikhs in Canada, the US and Australia. He described how the Sikhs in Australia consist of people who had different backgrounds – farmers' community, 'new' immigrants living in urban city, skilled-labors and unskilled-labors – and discussed how among them only people who had cosmopolitan life style can express demands for Sikhs and responsibility as Sikh.

The issues of Sikh diaspora and the Khalistan movement have also been discussed by Singh and Barrier (1996). Singh claimed that 'Sikh diaspora' as territorial recognition was retrospective and the Khalistan movement had been seen as Sikhs' separatism and treated in political terms. Similarly, Tatla (1999) provides a summary of the history of Sikh migrants. Their identity politics in North America and Britain are described by explaining their struggle to gain their right to wear religious symbols in public space. He concludes that Sikh migrants are diaspora that requires territorial origin for their own nation. In his later book Tatla (1999) explained that Khalistan movement and Sikh territorialism were indicators of Sikh nationalism. Shani (2008) also focused on Sikh diaspora and in his book Sikh diaspora were examined as people who show possibility of new nation-state that is not based on the Westphalian territorial nation-state treaty.

Coward, Hinnells and Williams (2000) edited a book which examined religions of South Asia including Sikhism in England and North America. In the book, there are articles about Sikhs in Britain by Ballard, Canada by O'Connell and the U.S. by Mann. Ballard (2000) concludes about Sikhs in Britain that there are no indications of losing their sense of distinctiveness, they form a less comprehensively united community than outsiders commonly suppose, and while popular and democratic aspects of the

Sikh heritage are having a far-reaching impact on trajectories of adaptation, these outcome should be regarded as a British phenomenon. O`Connell (2000) provides the study of Sikhs in Canada explaining their history, identity, institutions and education mentioning that there are possibilities for dramatic new development in the Canadian Sikh religio-ethnic experience if Sikh women educated in Canada direct their energies toward Sikh community affairs. Mann (2000) explains the history and religious life of Sikhs in the US, and categorizes issues that confront them as religious, political and ethnic relationship with Punjab, their relationship with mainstream American society and the internal dynamics of the Sikh community and its future aspirations. He concludes that children of immigrants reared in the U.S. will normally move into roles of leadership, and will make changes suited to their own needs.

Recently books about Indian migrants in Asia have been published which contain some material on the Sikh diaspora. Sandhu and Mani (2006) edited a book about Indians in Southeast Asia. It included chapters mentioning Sikhs in Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia. About Philippine, Rye (2006) mentioned that though Sikhs and Sindhis built the *gurdwara* together, yet in view of the difference in religious practices among the two, the Sindhis made their own temple later. He also discussed the issue of child education and found that Sikh children who were educated in Catholic schools knew more about the contents of Bible than the holy book of the Sikhs, namely, *Guru Granth* and they were accustomed to behaving according to each different situation, for example, when they were with their Filipino friends, they would behave in a certain manner and when they were with family or when they visited the *gurdwara*, their conduct would be very different.

In Mani's papers (2006a, 2006b, 2006c) we can find description about Sikhs in Indonesia and Thailand. In north Sumatra, Indonesia, depending on vision about child

education, the Sikh migrants were divided into two groups. One is the group which supports an Indonesian language medium school operated by the *gurdwara.* Another is the group which claims that English should be used as the medium of instruction. They always face the dilemma about becoming fully Indonesian as against remaining Indian (Mani, 2006a). Among Sikhs in Jakarta there were divisions among them based on the period of migration, place of origin and areas of settlement. It was rare to see their relation beyond those differences. On the other hand, there were relationships including marriage with Tamil Hindus who had similar position economically, and similar experience as migrants (Mani, 2006b). Sikhs living in Thailand provided a different picture. They had difference in their religious practice and faith. There were Sikhs not from Punjab but Sind and Peshawar. However, organizations for social services like education and health care were managed mainly by *gurdwara* beyond religious difference (Mani, 2006c). Sandhu (2006) also showed that Sikhs in Malaysia did not have integrated institutions and it was difficult to have a collective identity as Sikhs in Malaysia.

Kesavapany, Mani and Ramasamy (2008) edited a volume about Indians in East Asia that contains papers describing Sikhs settled in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Kobe and Tokyo in Japan. From the paper by Salazar (2008), we could know that the number of Punjabi Sikhs in Philippines had increased recently. Most of them worked in the financial sector. Usually when Filipinos start their small businesses, they often used Sikhs' financial services. Keezhangatte (2008) focuses on the *gurdwara* in Hong Kong. He found that it was visited not only by Sikhs but also Hindus and local Chinese. The *gurdwara* issued and distributed English and Chinese pamphlets about Sikhism to visitors including students who visit it.

Studies on Sikhs in Japan

Studies on Indians and Sikhs in Japan can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Sawa and Minamino (2003) described the history and society of Indian migrants in Japan. They discussed the old community in Kobe which consists of Gujarati Jain, Sindhi and Punjabi. Recent increase in the Indian population, including those of Sikhs, mainly in Tokyo was also mentioned. Ttsubakitani and Tanaka (2008) studied the Indian community including Sikhs in Kobe, Japan. They found that one could find diasporic features in their identity and networks. An earlier study done by the researcher herself (Azuma, 2008) also focused on Indian migrants including Sikhs in and around Tokyo. In her research she emphasized the role of the *gurdwara* as their gathering place and its activities were explained as devices for forming their networks.

Sikh Migrants as Diaspora

Many studies have described the history of Sikhs' migration, discussed the process of community building and delineated the problems that migrants are facing in their new adopted societies. Most have beginning of their diasporic history around the turn of twentieth century under the British colonial rule. Explanations of community and *gurdwara* building are mainly centered on U.K. and North America after 1960s when the population of Indian migrants was in flux in these regions.

In literature about Indian diaspora, it is apparent that seeing Indian migrant as an integrated group of 'Indian diaspora' is difficult because of their diverse backgrounds. From the existing studies we can find differences of Indian migrants in terms of their places of origin, ethnicity, religions, languages, period of migration, castes and occupations. Yet, despite these differences, Indian migrants are called

Indian "Diaspora" and treated like a homogenous group. Shukla (2003) argues mainly this point as problem of framework of nation-state and identity. A similar approach can be taken when discussing the Sikh migrants. Some scholars like Dusenbery (2007) and Singh (1996) discuss the contradiction of 'Sikh Diaspora' and they showed problems caused by recognition of Sikh migrants as integrated 'Sikh Diaspora'. Others like Tatla (1999) explain "Sikh Diaspora" as being based on territorial nationalism that hoped for building a nation-state for Sikhs in Punjab, a viewpoint not shared by Dusenbery and Singh. In all their studies, however, there was an overlap of description about identity politics of Sikh migrants as a problem that they faced in their respective host societies. Thus, although the position of the authors is not the same, a common theme of identity politics resulting in discussions about the global network of Sikhs as diaspora can be witnessed.

Identity politics of Sikh migrants is related to the problem of wearing religious symbols mainly their turban and *kirpan*. It showed us that their identities were practiced through "wearing" religious symbols individually and collectively, practices that clashed with the different cultural codes in host society resulting in a situation of conflict among the two groups – locals and the migrants. Struggle for gaining their right to put on religious symbols in public space was seen as part of the settlement process of Sikh migrants.

In the books discussing the South Asian migrants, various aspects of their social and cultural life have been covered. Some like Hinnells (2000) focus upon the signification of themes such as, distinctive histories of migration in the different countries; consequences of life in the new world for religious practice in sacred space, institutional, public, and private worship; the effects of public policy in the various countries on the minorities; strategies of adaptation; the place of women in the

religions in the West etc. From the description by Jacobsen (2008) we can know that problematics of religion and migration relate to generational differences and reinforcement of religious identities, religious rivalry, and religious boundaries.

Although the articles in the various books show transnational and diasporic features of migrants' culture including religion, very few examine how their cultural practices formed and characterized migrants' life. These topics have especially not been discussed in the previous studies on migrants in Japan, but this holds true for the Sikhs in Japan as well, particularly those living in Tokyo and its vicinity. Even the researcher's article (Azuma, 2008) which has mentioned Sikhs in and around Tokyo, shows the Sikhs as one example of Indians in Japan rather than being studied as a specific community and as a result their life and social background are not discussed sufficiently. This research is done in the belief that the study of Sikhs in Japan can give us some space to consider the important problematics related to migrants' culture that features their life.

Earlier works have indicated that for a study of diaspora it is necessary to describe not only the migrants' life in host society but also their life in home society. However, most such studies focus mostly on transnational networks and the diasporic feature in migrants' life (especially in social and cultural practices) in relation to their places of origin are not discussed sufficiently. It is our contention that when we discuss cultural aspect of migrants, it is necessary to examine not merely their life in host society but also their life in their home place because culture and cultural codes of migrants that affects their life have been acquired in their home place. Although, by passing the time in the host society, migrants know and gain the "ways" of the host society, however, at the same time, they have translocal connections with their home and the "ways" of home and host society interact in the life of migrants. That is why

in any study of the migrants' social and cultural life, it is important to describe both the culture in migrants' home and in host society. With this in mind, in order to examine the life of Sikh migrants in Japan, this thesis will focus upon the cultural and social background that they have been used to in their homes and which they might have brought from their home to Japan. At the same time, cultural and social aspects that they learn after migrating and problems that they face after migration are also issues that will be discussed by us.

Theoretical Bases of the Study

This study is conducted along the lines of the diaspora approach discussed by Steven Vertovec (1999, 2000). Through his various works he has indicated the importance of diaspora study by pointing put that populations of diaspora are growing in prevalence, number, and self-awareness and the diaspora can be emerging as (or have historically long been) significant players in the construction of national narratives, regional alliances or global political economies (Vertovec, 1999).

As we discussed earlier in this chapter, Vertovec defines diaspora as social form, as type of consciousness and as mode of cultural production. In the discussion of diaspora *as social form*, he explained that a general social category of diaspora can be compiled from a range of descriptive and theoretical works which include, 1) specific kinds of social relationships cemented by special ties to history and geography, 2) a tension of political orientations given that diasporic peoples are often confronted with divided loyalties to homelands and host countries, 3) the economic strategies of transnational groups represent an important new source and force in international finance and commerce. And it was explained by him in the contemporary period all these are characterized by relative ease of transportation and communication, namely

by (a) globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups, (b) the territorial states and contexts where such groups reside, and (c) the homeland states and contexts whence they or their forebears came. Diaspora *as type of consciousness* is shown as a particular kind of awareness said to be generated among contemporary transnational communities and is variously described as being marked by a dual or paradoxical nature which constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and positively by identification with an historical heritage (such as 'Indian civilization') or contemporary world cultural or political forces (such as 'Islam'). And this can include the awareness of multi-locality and links of the imagination to the place of origin. Diaspora *as mode of cultural production* is described as involving the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena and this has been equated with anthropology's now commonplace anti-essentialist, constructivist, and processual approach to ethnicity. The point being made is that cultural production of diaspora involves not only preservation of the old practices with the help of global media and communications but also re-creation of new ones.

He also notes that diaspora can be understood in terms of context and agency. *Context* implies the historical context of the diasporic process and corresponds with viewing diaspora as a social form. In the earlier studies on diaspora the focus has been only on structural conditions. It is stated in these accounts that social, cultural and religious transformations outside India occur due to 'external' structural conditions such as the demographic, political and economic circumstances. For scholars like Peel (1991) evaluating aspects of structure is a necessary step in 'comparing histories' of diasporic social formations. However, Vertovec feels that without additional levels of analysis, such structure-only analyses often result in portraying social groups as passive recipients of change fashioned by overpowering 'forces', rather than as active

agents participating in transformational processes of many kinds. In his view, while discussing diaspora, along with the structural matters, or as Mitchell (1987) puts it 'the constraints imposed upon these actors by the wider social order in which they are enmeshed', we must also focus on what Holy (1987) calls 'the social reality as constructed through actors' practical accomplishments' and 'the meaning of social phenomena as resulting from actors' construction and negotiation of their interpretations'.

Thus, diasporic phenomena need to be approached by way of both structure (historical conditions) and agency (the meanings held, and practices conducted, by social actors). Agency includes the issue of the actual lived experiences referred to as 'bodily experience' by Merleau-Ponty (2002). While explaining the notion of agency Roger Ballard (1994) refers to the concept of 'adaptive strategies' to describe how diverse South Asian groups in the U.K. follow their own distinctive dynamics. He believes that these groups can be best understood as going through the process of adaptation, and in doing so, delineating their own particular set of cultural, linguistic, religious and kinship resources to chart a better future for themselves. With the help of this process diasporas may try to become an integral part of the host society and, more importantly, do so on their own terms.

This notion disagrees with the long-standing 'deprivationist' view that sees diasporas as helpless and passive groups whose life courses are determined by the structural conditions of the host society. Rather, it emphasizes change in terms of the production and re-creation of the socio-cultural practices and habitus with adjustment to host society (Vertovec, 1999). This theoretical frame of diaspora by Vertovec shows that any analysis of diaspora should focus on the discussions of both the aspects of structure and agency and to cover all these different aspects required in the

study of diaspora, this approach provided by him (Vertovec, 1999; 2000) will be used in our study.

Research questions and objectives in this thesis correspond to the features of diaspora provided by Vertovec that have been discussed above where he defines diaspora as social form, type of consciousness and mode of cultural production. When we use the term 'diaspora as social form' we mean the historical, social and cultural circumstances of migrants and the changes and problems faced by them as a diasporic group. 'Diaspora as type of consciousness' implies the migrants' experiences, memories and practices. 'Diaspora as mode of cultural production' includes the features of a deterritorialized group and constant transformation of images and meanings in migrants' culture. Thus, we shall strive to examine the life and experiences of the Sikhs in Japan by making use of these concepts given by Vertovec which help us comprehend the migrants' culture and society in a more comprehensive manner.

Research Questions

Although there exist a plethora of diaspora studies, some important questions remain unanswered till today. For instance, dynamic, transnational and global flows in the migrants' life are focused upon in most studies. Previous researches show that people who have settled far away from their countries of origin continue to have networks with their home that support their continuous belief and faith. However, the following questions need for the examination:

1) What kind of diasporic features (diverse, multiple, complex, etc.) can we find in migrants' life?

2) How do the social and cultural practices of migrants change through the

experiences as diaspora?

3) How does re-creation of culture relate to consciousness of migrants in their everyday life through interaction of socio-cultural codes between the host society and their home?

In addition, the Sikh migrants in Japan have not been shown enough interest in any previous studies. Some articles (Sawa and Minamino, 2003; Tsubakitani and Tanaka, 2008; Azuma, 2008) mention their cultural practices and social relationship in Japan. One of the points that emerge in these descriptions is that the cultural and social activities of the migrants are influenced by those in their home villages in India, although some changes have taken place in these practices. However, one cannot know the exact nature and amount of those changes because the existing studies focus only on the migrants' cultural and social life in Japan without comparing it to the same aspects in their home villages. Although we can refer to many previous studies about Sikhs in U.K., U.S. and Canada, we will find differences of the feature between Sikhs in Japan and Sikhs in those regions because there are distinctions in their scale of the community, the historical processes of migration and the periods of community building. Sikh migrants in Japan have uniqueness in their feature comparing to the other Sikh migrants.

To examine this problematic, study of the Sikh migrants in Japan has been attempted in this thesis. We have tried to study the Sikh migrants in Japan by focusing on their social and cultural practices in the host and home societies. For examining these issues, this thesis set the following objectives.

Objectives

Based on the research questions above, the main objectives of this study were:

1) To study the social and cultural circumstances that prompted Sikhs to migrate to Japan;

2) To compare the economic, social and cultural aspects of the Sikh diaspora's life in Japan with those in their home villages in India. In other words, we strove to learn, firstly, whether their cultural and social practices have changed, and if changed, how and how much they have changed; and secondly, to what extent the cultural and social experiences in their home villages get transplanted to their life in Japan.

3) To study problems the Sikhs face as a diasporic group, as well as, the strategies adopted to cope with them; and

4) To examine the preservation, as well as, re-creation of the social and cultural practices by the Sikh migrants in Japan in view of their new situation.

Method of Study

To study the Sikh diaspora in Japan, it was necessary to apprehend how, when and for what they moved to Japan and what kind of experiences they have faced in their life as diaspora. Since comprehension of all these aspects is best obtained through participant observation which requires the researcher to go in for deep and intensive study of the group that is the subject of analysis, we made use of the above method as well.

The research for this thesis was conducted both in Japan and India. In Japan, the research was done in Kobe city and the Greater Tokyo region. Most of the Sikh population in Japan is found in the Kansai and Kanto regions. The Kansai region includes the city of Kobe where many of the Sikh families are located. There are two

organizations for the Indian families in Kobe, viz., the Indian Club and the Indian Social Society which serve as the meeting place for these migrants. The Indian Chamber of Commerce Japan also helps Indian migrants, who work as merchants. A look at the list of members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce Japan revealed that there were about 1000 Indians living in Kobe out of which approximately 10% are Sikhs. We were able to contact around 75 such persons for our study, the place of contact being the Kobe *gurdwara* (Sikh temple).

The Kanto region includes the area of Tokyo city and some outer areas surrounding it, commonly known as Greater Tokyo. There are a few organizations for Indian residents in Kanto region from where one can obtain the details about the Indians living in that area. A research by Tominaga (1994) shows that in 1990 around half of Indian residents in Tokyo and its vicinity were the members of one of those organizations, namely, Indian Community Activities, Tokyo. The members' list showed that about 17% were Punjabis mainly engaged in commerce, management of restaurants, and working in the Indian Embassy. Another organization is Indian Community of Edogawa established in the year 2000 for Indians who live in Edogawa ward in Tokyo. The members mostly consist of IT engineers and the families. From the members' list provided to us by these organizations we were able to estimate that roughly 2000 Sikhs were residing in this region. Despite our strong efforts, we were able to contact only around 40 Sikhs, again from the *gurdwara* located in Tokyo city because a large number of Sikh migrants in this area are staying there illegally and hence are difficult to contact. Thus, Kobe and Tokyo (including Greater Tokyo) are the places where this study was conducted. For study of the native areas of the Sikh migrants in Japan, in India the two villages that had sent Sikhs mainly to Greater Tokyo area were selected. One village is located in the Terai region of Uttarakhand

and the other is located near India-Pakistan border, west of Jammu city, in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. The population of each village is approximately two thousand. For the purpose of this study ten families were studied intensively in each village while we also had informal conversations with other members of both the villages in order to garner information related to the subject of this thesis.

The techniques used to gather information were semi-structured interviews, long informal conversations and participant observation, all being methods of ethnographic research to study the experiences, practices, memory, symbols and representations which characterize the culture of Sikh migrants in Japan and to realize their social and cultural situation in each place. Through participant observation which is the very source of ethnography, we were able to obtain detailed descriptions of the lives of the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo which helped us interpret the life of the Sikh diaspora in Japan. The participant observation in Kobe, Tokyo and the home villages in India was conducted firstly, in the gatherings at the *gurdwara* by doing *sewa* (free-voluntary service) and preparing *langar* (community meal) with the devotees and secondly, for studying cultural and social events at their homes by attending family functions, staying with some families for a steady period and doing housework together, visiting their work places and talking with their colleagues. Through having long informal conversations with the family members, neighbors and friends we examined how they created their culture in each different situations and what kind of life they have in the social and cultural context.

Thus, primarily, this study had an explanatory design and relied mainly on qualitative methods. We conducted diagnosis of data from semi-structured interview and long informal conversation and description of ethnography from participant observation. The data have been given the form of case studies from which the

conclusions have been drawn about various aspects in the following chapters.

Chapter Scheme

In accordance with objectives and research questions of this thesis stated in the present chapter, we have proceeded with the discussions in the following chapters. Chapter II discusses the historical background of the Sikh diaspora in Japan and the circumstances of their migration by looking at their case studies to understand the context of the Sikh diaspora in Japan. Chapter III focuses on the problems which the Sikhs in Japan have faced and the strategies used by them to cope with these, once again by discussing their case studies. In Chapter IV we have attempted to compare various aspects of the life of the Sikhs in Japan with those in their home villages in India by focusing on their social and cultural practices and type of consciousness of the Sikh diaspora in Japan. Chapter V summarizes the discussion offered in the previous chapters and offers conclusions of this study.

Chapter II

History of Migration in Japan and Case Studies of Sikh Migrants

This chapter starts with an explanation about the historical background of migrants in Japan to understand the context of Sikh diaspora in Japan. Following the description of the general history of migrants in Japan, Indian and Sikh migrants are focused on, which is then followed by some case studies of those Sikhs in Japan who formed part of our study.

Migrants in Japan

From 1850s to 1945

To locate and characterize Sikh migrants in Japan, it is necessary to see the historical process of migration in Japan. Migrants in modern Japan originated as a consequence of the commercial treaties of Japan with the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and France in 1858 by Tokugawa government (1603 to 1867). Because of the treaties, ports were opened in Kanagawa (Yokohama), Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859. Hyogo (Kobe) and Niigata were also opened as ports in 1867 and 1868, respectively. Foreign merchants settled and engaged in trade in designated areas of these ports (Yamawaki, 2003).

From 1859, when foreign settlements were established, to the end of the Second World War, there were three major groups of foreigners in Japan. The first were the Westerners, such as British and Americans, who stayed in Japan as traders and professionals. They were employed by the Japanese government. Second, there were Chinese, who remained the biggest foreign group until the annexation of Korea in 1910. Third, there were Koreans, who surpassed the Chinese to become the biggest group around 1917 (Yamawaki, 2003). Thus, the early foreigners in

Japan were Westerners, mainly British and Americans, and Chinese. Many of the Western merchants came from China as agents of firms already trading in the Chinese ports. Among those traders, there were Indians including Sikhs, who settled in Yokohama till the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and then shifted to Kobe. Most of the Chinese were brought to Japan by those Western merchants as compradors, cooks, servants, and longshoremen. Although the Chinese were not officially allowed to reside in the settlements, their existence was overlooked by the Japanese authorities because they were employed by the Westerners (Yamawaki, 2003). After conclusion of a treaty with China in 1871 (effective in 1873) by Meiji government, the Chinese were officially allowed to reside in the settlements. In 1876 a treaty was concluded between Korea and Japan. Koreans were also allowed to live and work in Japan. Before and during the Second World War, Chinese and Korean workers had entered Japan. The annexation of Taiwan in 1895 and Korea in 1910 gave a certain degree of occupational and residential mobility within Japan proper (Weiner, 2003).

In Taiwan and Korea economic deprivation and political marginalization on account of their being colonial peripheries prompted the decision of many Taiwanese and Koreans to migrate to Japan. Between 1915 and 1945, the demand for cheap industrial labor remained more or less constant, and migration from the colonial periphery was the self-perpetuating response to labor market conditions in Japan. Active recruitment of colonial labor was initially stimulated by the industrial boom which accompanied Japan's entry into the First World War. Migrants of Korean and Chinese origin were unrestricted at that time. Population flowed from southern Korea, in particular, to the major centers of capital and industrial accumulation in the Kanto and Kansai region and to the coalfields of north Kyushu and Hokkaido. They worked with low wages and in inhuman

conditions. In addition, it was regarded that their racial and cultural characteristics could be a potential threat to the integrity of the Japanese polity. Hence, restrictions on the entry of Korean laborers were introduced in 1925. However, they were poorly conceived and had little impact on population movement into Japan (Weiner, 2003).

Till 1945, the Korean population in Japan continued to increase. Their number in 1918 was 18,690 and became 881,347 in 1938 and 2,100,000 in 1945. Manchurian Chinese were also subject to labor conscription from 1942. As in Korea, recruitment quotas were only rarely filled on a voluntary basis and the authorities in Manchukuo regularly turned to conscripted labor from North China. Between 1943 and 1945, approximately 42,000 Chinese were transported to Japan, of whom only 31,000 survived the war (Weiner, 2003).

From 1945 to Late 1980s

After 1945 the vast majority of Chinese left Japan, leaving behind only an estimated 30,000 by 1949 (Lee, 2001). Two-third of Koreans in Japan also returned to the Korean peninsula after 1945. However, the repatriation effort faced difficulty in international politics and political confusion in Korea. The rest of Koreans decided to eke out a living in postwar Japan (Lee, 2001).

In the postwar decades international labor flows to Japan remained minimal, despite rapid growth in labor demand. During the mid to late 1960s, rapid growth in labor demand was largely satisfied through annual increases in the number of school graduates entering the job market and internal migration. In the 1960s, rural-urban migration totaled an estimated ten million persons and Japan was able to use rural migrants as its pool of low-wage labor. And the migration and subsequent settlement of Koreans, and to a lesser extent Chinese as foreign labor,

declined substantially during this period as compared to the pre-1945 period (Weiner, 2003).

However, the situation was changing. By mid 1970s villages in Japan had been decimated, and the share of national population residing in urban places had increased from a little over one-third in 1950 to more than three-quarters by this time. With incomes and wages rising, the stage was being set for foreign migration into urban Japan. These began to be acted out in the 1980s when labor scarcities combined with the rising value of the yen against the dollar.

Japanese employers, especially those in small to medium size manufacturing and construction industries, were confronted with severe problems of reducing costs to compete in foreign as well as domestic markets. Although from the 1970s Japanese women (especially married women past child-bearing age) in increasing numbers began to fill low wages jobs as so-called "part-time" workers in manufacturing and services, they were not sufficient to meet the demand. As a result, the use of foreign migrant labor became Japan's next source of low-cost workers in the 1980s (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

The beginning of foreign labor's influx in Japan was seen in the recruitment of Asian women, chiefly from the Philippines and Thailand for sex industry in the 1970s. By the 1990s, well over 50,000 women were coming to Japan annually as sex workers. While the vast majority of them came under short-term six-month visas, in 1992 alone 90,000 foreign women were classified as visa overstayers, with an estimated 90 percent of them coming from sex industry. Thus, Japan's labor migration initially consisted overwhelmingly of women (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

However, from the latter half of the 1980s, migration of foreign women working Japanese sex industry began to be matched by the migration of men into

low-wage jobs often described as "the three Ks" (*kitanai, kiken, kitshui* - in English "the three Ds", dirty, dangerous and difficult). This was caused by domestic labor shortages in Japan and yen revaluation (Douglass and Roberts 2003).

1990s onwards

In the late 1980s Japan had been in the period of the bubble economy. Huge amounts of capital were coming from the domestic land and stock markets and the function of Tokyo as a money-supplying world city was expanded. Due to capital accumulation by some industries, such as, automobile, electric and electronics manufacturing, this economic process was accelerated. Under these conditions, labor shortages become highly acute in both service and manufacturing industries. As a result a larger number of foreign workers were selectively brought into both growing and declining industrial sectors (Machimura, 2003). In addition to foreign male workers, many women were also coming to Japan as their spouses. The rising numbers of both men and women also brought about an increasing likelihood of family and community formation, and of children being born to immigrant households (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

In the early 1990s, two events made a profound impact on migration to Japan. The first was the revision of immigration laws which began in 1989 and was further refined in subsequent years with the intention simultaneously to open the doors to large-scale immigration of workers of Japanese descendants (called *Nikkei*), predominantly from Latin America. At the same time, the law revision aimed to close the doors on all other would-be migrants seeking low-wage work in Japan. The second event was the bursting of Japan's bubble economy, which sent Japan into a deep recession that was caught up in the finance and economic in Asia (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

This opening of immigration to persons of Japanese descent quickly resulted in more than 200,000 migrants from Latin America coming to Japan. Yet, closing of legal channels for immigration from other countries has been more complex. The number of migrants from some countries that had been in position for easy access previously, such as Bangladesh, Iran and Pakistan, showed drops as the Japanese government temporarily abolished bilateral visa waiver agreements in 1989, 1992 and 1989 respectively. On the other hand, the numbers of migrants from China and Korea, as well as women from the Philippines, have continued to increase. Thus, the effects of the recession had slowed down the growth of immigration from some groups, but overall migration still continued at a historically very high level. The principal impact of the restrictive policy of the government seemed to have been to make foreign workers more vulnerable in terms of job security and hours paid for work, rather than simply to curtail migration (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

However, apart from Japanese descendents, there were unskilled workers hired by Japanese companies with legal permission called trainee system, a practice that continues to exist even today. The trainee system was put into place in 1993, ostensibly as a system to offer technical transfer to people from developing countries. In practice the system is used principally as a mechanism to recruit foreign labor at below-market wages for firms in sectors officially categorized as suffering from severe labor shortage. Japanese government allowed and continues to allow increasing numbers of companies to hire them as "trainees" to keep the pretense of no migration of non-*Nikkei* workers into the country. The majority of the trainees are from China, followed by the Philippines and Indonesia. These workers are not protected by labor standards. And they receive "allowances" that are significantly lower than the wages for even indirectly hired authorized foreign

workers. Like the authorized workers, they too have found their waged cut back due to a series of deductions unilaterally imposed by employers (Douglass and Roberts, 2003).

In the recession of the 1990s labor demand leveled off. Nonetheless, migrant workers still have come from abroad. In addition to Japanese descendants, many of them came from other Asian countries to work. By the late 1990s, there were approximately 300,000 visa overstayers. More than three times of this number is the legal migrants with work permits estimated to be in Japan (Douglass and Roberts, 2003). And migrants in Japan have diversity in their nationalities, visa statuses, resident places, occupations, age, sex and periods of staying. Among these migrants are Sikh migrants in and around Tokyo that this study focuses on along with those in Kobe.

History of Indian Migrants in Japan

Indian Migrants in Kobe

As we mentioned briefly, there is difference between Indians in Kobe and Tokyo which has been caused by variation of historical background in each place. This section provides an overview of Indians in Kobe which began with the India-Japan trading relations which started Indian migration to Japan. We start the description of Indians in Kobe with an explanation about two cities, Yokohama and Kobe, because the starting point of the history of Indians in Kobe relates to India-Japan trading at the port of both Kobe and Yokohama.

Community building in Yokohama and Kobe (1854-1939)

Though Japan opened the ports for some foreign countries in 1854, we can find the

first mention of India-Japan trading in the statistics of around 1878. In 1893 Bombay route was opened by NYK (Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Japanese shipping company) and the route made the trading expand and increased the amount of trading. Following the route, Calcutta route (1910) and Madras route (1936) were launched.

The first Indian merchants were seen in Yokohama around 1894. In Yokohama silk export to India flourished through Indian trading companies which were operated by Parsis and Sindhis. In 1921 Indian Merchant Association of Yokohama was set up. There were 60 mercantile establishments in Yokohama. However, the great Kanto earthquake hit the Tokyo metropolitan area including Yokohama in 1923 and 23 Indians out of 170 became its victims. Indians shifted for residing temporarily from Yokohama to Kobe, where their kith and kin had lived. In the next year, 24 Indian merchants came back to Yokohama chartering a ship from NYK. Though Yokohama City enticed Indian merchants to the city for reconstruction of silk trading, many of them kept staying in Kobe. Since this movement from Yokohama to Kobe, Kobe had been the major center of Indian population till the middle of 1970s.

In Kobe first India-Japan trading was held around 1885. Although Yokohama was central port for silk trading, Kobe developed cotton trading. In 1900s import of cotton and Rangoon rice made great strides in India-Japan trading and by 1930s cotton trading between India and Japan became vigorous. Japan found Indian markets as destination for cotton textile export instead of Chinese markets for Japan which had shrunk due to the anti-Japan movement after the Manchurian Incident (1931), in which Japanese militarists staged an explosion in order to provide a pretext for war against China. In statistics firstly 30 Indians are shown in 1900. The number of Indians surpassed 100 in 1917. Indians in Kobe established the Orient Club to promote their amity in 1904 and the Club later

became The India Club built in 1913. The number of Indian trading companies owned by Indians was 120-130 in 1925, 163 in 1937 and more than 200 in 1939, when Indian population in Kobe became over 600. During this period, they founded the Silk Merchant Association (latter The Indian Social Society) in the early 1930s, and The Indian Chamber of Commerce Japan in 1937. At the south of central town in Kobe, more than 130 Indians consisting of merchants and their families had lived. That area was called "Bombay Town" because many of Indian residents in the area were from Western India

World War II Period (1939-1945)

With the launching of the Pacific War in 1941, regular ships/liners between Japan and India were stopped. Most Indians closed their trading companies in Japan, and left Japan for Bangkok, Singapore and Rangoon and the Indian population in Japan shrunk to around 40 within a few years. In 1942 Indian National Association was set up. Indians who had stayed in Japan in this period had related to Indian independence movement. Japanese government supported the movement leaded by R. B. Bose and S. C. Bose. In the history of Indians in Japan, it could be said that this time is unique because most Indians engaged in not commercial but political activity, though in the other periods mainly they consisted of merchants, who pursued their trading business. After the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, Indian merchants came to Japan again and started their work actively.

Post World War II (WW2) Period: Re-building of Indian Community (1945-1979)

In 1948, Japan-India trading was re-opened due to cotton purchase by Japan. As was found during the pre-war period, Japan imported mainly cotton from India and exported fabrics to India. However, this arrangement was changing according to the

demand of the market. Indian merchants in Japan targeted not only Japan-India trading but also global market accessible by their family network all over the world. After WW2 Jain pearl traders launched their business in Kobe, which was the important place for pearl trading as the center of processing and distribution, though Indian merchants in Japan had not gotten into the market before WW2. Beside pearls, the other categories of business from groceries to hardware were dealt by Indian merchants.

Because of Special procurements of Korean War in 1950, Indian trading companies penetrated Kobe. In 1950, 60 Indian trading companies were found in Kobe, 6 in Osaka, 1 in Yokohama, and 20 in Tokyo. However, the central place for commercial activity by Indians shifted from Kobe to Osaka. This occurred because the telecommunication system in Kobe did not give proper service and the offices of Indians in Kobe did not get direct phone lines to Japanese trading companies in Osaka which they needed for contacting. Because of this uncomfortable situation for Indian merchants, many of them changed the location of their offices from Kobe to Osaka. In 1953, the number of Indian trading companies in Osaka surpassed the number in Kobe. Although the city of Kobe planned to re-build "Bombay Town" in 1954, Indian trading companies which had begun to operate in Osaka did not come back to Kobe. The Indian Chamber of Commerce which re-opened in 1949 in Kobe shifted to Osaka in 1957. However, although Osaka became the center of Indian commerce, they maintained their residences in Kobe.

Yokohama prepared some buildings to invite Indian merchants to the city and the City of Yokohama sold the buildings with very cheap prices to Indians. Nevertheless, many Indians preferred to run their businesses from Osaka. In 1958 there were 150 Indian trading companies in Osaka, while there were only 20 in Yokohama.

Since 1953 Indian community has been seen in Okinawa too, which has been governed by the U.S. Forces. A Sindhi firm opened a clothing store as Post Exchange, which is operated inside U.S. base. Till the beginning of 1960s another three firms started their business. All these firms were based in Hong Kong and were run by Sindhis. The staffs of these firms came to Okinawa via Hong Kong. Some of them began to create their own business apart from those firms since 1960s. In 1961 Indian Social Association was established for the purpose of improving the lives of Indians in Okinawa. After reversion of Okinawa to Japan, 1972, there was almost no Indian newcomer because it became difficult to get resident visas. The Yamaguchi prefecture also attracted a certain number of Indian residents. The reason for this could be that Yamaguchi also had a U.S. base, and like Okinawa, there were Indians who run their business through Post Exchange contract.

Nationwide Spread of Indian Population: 1980-onwards

Since the 1980s, India has liberalized its economy gradually. A comprehensive economic liberalization took place in the 1990s. As a consequence, some Japanese enterprises built their factories in India. The automobile corporations like Suzuki not only constructed their plants, but also sent Indians to Japan for technical training. In addition to them, unskilled Indian workers have also come and lived around Tokyo. These new types of flow have been seen mainly since the end of 1980s.

Since 1980s the location of Indian residents has spread to other parts of country besides the cities mentioned above and Indian population has kept increasing. Though Indian community in Kobe sustained the scale, the number of Indians in Hyogo prefecture, which includes Kobe city was surpassed by Tokyo in 1990. Since 1990s Indians tend to stay mainly in Kanto area, which consists of Tokyo and its vicinity. There are varieties in their occupations – trading, travel agent, restaurant

management, factory labor, office worker, IT engineer, cook, construction section worker, grocery shop keeper etc. In Tokyo and its vicinity, there is no formal organization like Kobe's that the Indians can join, though we can find some groups and the gathering based on ethnicity, company, area of residence, and so on. Indians in Yokohama, Okinawa and Yamaguchi have kept their business, although their numbers remain inconstant.

Sikhs in Japan

It's difficult to identify the first Sikh who came to Japan, and the time when the person came. Additionally, one cannot specify how many Sikhs are included in Indian population in Japan because there are no statistics available based on religion. Further, one cannot find any historical record about Sikhs in Japan because the available historical records also show only the number of people and their nationality without mentioning their religion and name. However, this much is clear that most of the Sikh population in Japan is found clustered in Kobe and Greater Tokyo. Though Sikh merchants had stayed in Kobe before World War Two, it seems that their number was not large enough in the pre World War Two period to be included in any record books as was the case with Sindhi merchants. Also, while the Sindhi merchants established their community center before World War Two, the Sikh temple as a community center for Sikhs was built in 1952. Hence, we can say that the Sikh community came into its own after the establishment of the *gurdwara* in Kobe after World War Two.

Since 1980s the Indian population in Kobe has remained around one thousand. In a research held in 1989 (Tominaga, 1994) it was estimated that out of the 285 Indian families, there were around 25 Sikh families in Kobe. It means that of the total number of Indians living in Kobe, approximately 10% would be Sikhs,

which is the smallest ratio among the groups of Indian origin living in Japan consisting of Sindhis, Punjabi Hindus, Jains and Sikhs. Like other Indians, most Sikhs in Kobe are merchants dealing with electronic, automobile parts, textiles, sundries etc.

On the other hand, in Kanto region consisting of Tokyo and Greater Tokyo, since 1990s the number of Indians living there has surpassed Kansai region including Kobe. As mentioned earlier, Kobe and Tokyo are two central regions where Sikhs live. Sikhs of both places migrated to Japan for economic reasons. Sikh merchants have been seen since 1950s in Kobe. They came to run their own trading company or promote their business which already built by themselves depending upon networks of their family-based company and their clients. Meanwhile, Sikhs who have worked as unskilled labor began to be seen mainly since 1990s in Greater Tokyo. They came to Japan in search of jobs and good incomes relying on their friends and relatives who had already worked in Japan. Though Sikhs migrated to Japan with an economic motive, their activities could be divided into two types, namely, those operating their own companies and those employed as unskilled labor. The former type is found mainly in Kobe since 1950s and the latter type has been seen in Tokyo and its vicinity, mainly since 1990s. The different social and cultural circumstances that prompted Sikhs to migrate to Japan are shown clearly in the case studies discussed below.

Historical Causes and Motives of Migration: Case Studies of Sikh Migrants

Based on the general information about Sikhs in Japan mentioned above, we would like to examine the historical causes and motives of their migration to Japan. As different situations are seen between Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo, their reasons for

coming to and staying in Japan cannot be explained as simple ones. From the following case studies, we can determine the circumstances which prompted the Sikh families to migrate to Japan. Seven cases from Kobe are described below focusing on the conditions of the migration of these families. In four of the cases the information has been provided to us by the person who migrated to Japan himself, while in three cases we have obtained the information from some family members of the person who migrated to Japan, since he is now deceased.

Sikhs in Kobe

Case 1: (Mrs. and Mr. S)

Mr. S was originally staying in Quetta, Pakistan in the pre-partition period. Due to partition of the Indian sub-continent, he and his family moved to the Indian side Punjab. He finished his B.A. at a college in Ambala and started working for a company. A few years and a few jobs later he moved to Pune where his family lived and began to work at an automobile shop run by his brother's friend. The shop was dealing with imported auto parts from U.S. and Japan. While working there Mr. S got some experience and knowledge about auto parts and he opened his own office at Bombay.

He got an import license and had trade with customers who required the imported goods. However, there existed an uncertainty regarding the arrival of the imported auto parts in India. To avoid the risk of him and his customers not getting the goods, one customer suggested that Mr. S should go to Japan to work from there so as to ensure the effective operation of their trade.

It was big decision to come to Japan because if he could not do well, he would definitely lose the trust of his customers and would not be able to work in Bombay again. After thinking for a few days and spending sleepless nights, finally he decided

to come to Japan. Even after his decision he remained very anxious but he could do nothing except pray that his venture will be successful. Although he did not even have an idea of how to get a passport and visa, luckily he could find some persons who had connections with Japan and with their help he was able to prepare all the documents needed to go to Japan.

Mr. S arrived at Tokyo via Singapore in 1959. He stayed at a Japanese style hotel and for the first time was exposed to Japanese customs like sleeping on floor, food, services at the hotel and so on. He spent his time full of fear because he did not know anything about them. From Tokyo he went to Osaka to meet his contacts. Staying in one of the cheapest hotel and saving money, he finished his work and got the money sent from India by his customer. Slowly, building on the trust which he had developed since starting his business in Japan, he built his office in Kobe and called his wife and children from India after one year.

Mr. S's wife, Mrs. S was born near Peshawar, Pakistan and had stayed there till her elementary school. She learnt Punjabi and English there. Because of partition her family moved to Pune where her father was working in the military. She went to the University in Pune and studied Urdu and Hindi. While she was still studying, she got married to Mr. S when she was 19 years old. Mrs. and Mr. S had their wedding in Pune and went on to have two children while in India.

In 1960 when she was 24 years old, she moved to Japan with her son and daughter. In 1959, one year before her moving to Japan, her husband had started his business. When she went to Japan she didn't have any tension about staying in Japan "*because I was quite young. I was full of excitement, moving to new place, going abroad by air plane...*" Both Mr. and Mrs. S. have been living in Kobe for 52 years. They have a daughter settled in U.S. and two sons who help Mr. S. in his business.

Case 2: (Mrs. and Mr. T)

Mr. T was born and grew up in Thailand. He was a medical student at the University, but in the middle of his course he joined his father's firm and married Mrs. T "*I was studying at the medical school. But I had to help my father in his work and had to give up my dream of becoming a doctor.*" Then, his father decided to open a branch of their firm in Japan. It was decided that Mr. T would be the one who would shift to Japan to build and run the office.

Mrs. T was born and grew up in Gujranwala, Pakistan. Due to partition, her family migrated to Thailand when she was 14 years old. She remembers travelling first to Calcutta by train from Gujranwala taking several days and then from Calcutta taking a KLM flight to Thailand. In 1951 she got married to Mr. T at the age of 19. Mrs. and Mr. T had their wedding in Bangkok. They married with the premise that they would move to Japan and settle there. After their marriage first Mr. T went to Japan alone and after some time Mrs. T joined him. Mr. and Mrs. T have been in Kobe for 60 years. They are leading a retired life as their son has taken over Mr. T's trading business and is now expanding it to other countries like China.

Case 3: (Mr. and Mrs. H)

Mr. H was born and grew up in Malaysia. He went to India for his higher education in 1972 and stayed in Amritsar for two years. After that he shifted to Mysore to study dentistry at the university for four years. Finishing his study he went back to Malaysia. Though he worked as a dentist for a few years, he decided to join to the family business dealing with trading. His family firm had offices mainly in Southeast Asian countries. Besides them they planned to launch a new office in Japan and Mr. H was given the responsibility for the project. He came to Japan in 1980 and starting his business.

Mrs. H. was born and grew up in Singapore. After marriage with Mr. H she moved to Japan where her husband was going to manage his office. They started their life in the new place where they were total strangers. Mr. H launched his firm in Osaka and built a house in Kobe. He became very successful in his business and went on to become one of the chief members of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Japan. Mr. and Mrs. H have lived in Kobe more than 30 years and continue to be important members of the Indian community in Kobe.

Case 4: (Mr. P.)

Mr. P's case is different from the others. He was born in Sialkot, Pakistan. After graduating from high school he came to Japan in 1936 to work with his uncle who had managed his business in Japan since 1932. His uncle left Japan in 1937 due to World War Two and Mr. P also left Japan and shifted to Bangkok in 1940. However, he came back to Japan in 1951 but could not establish his business to his satisfaction and hence returned to Bangkok next year. After rebuilding his economic base in Bangkok, he moved to Kobe once again in 1953 to start his own business, where he has been staying since many decades.

Case 5 (Mr. and Mrs. R)

The story of Mr. R was narrated to us by Mrs. R who herself was born in Teheran, Iran where her father shifted his business from Rawalpindi, Pakistan. When she was 12 years old, her family went back to Rawalpindi for children's education. After two years of shifting to Rawalpindi, they migrated to New Delhi because of the partition. When she was 16 years old, she married to Mr. R whose family was running a transportation business in Uttar Pradesh in the city of Lucknow.

Mr. R was working in his family business but was however, not happy with being part of the transport business. He wanted to be independent and was searching for a chance to start a new business. With this in mind, he came to Japan with his friend in 1952 when Japan was seen as good place to earn money. He began his business of exporting automobile parts to India in Osaka. Though his friend returned to India after staying in Japan for a few months, Mr. R decided to stay on in Kobe for his business and called Mrs. R to Japan. She came to Japan alone without any idea about Japan in 1985. Mr. R suffered from kidney disease and despite the best treatment he expired in 1994. His ashes were flown to India to be immersed in a river in Punjab. Meanwhile, his business was taken over by his son. Mrs. R has lived in Kobe with her son's family for nearly 60 years.

Case 6: (Mr. and Mrs. E)

Mr. E's story was narrated to us by his son who was born in Kobe in 1960. Mr. and Mrs. E came to Kobe in the middle of 1950s to build their business base in Japan. Although Mr. E was helping his father's business in India before coming to Japan, the business was financially unstable and he had to think of other ways to get money. He decided to start his business in Japan because those days Japan was considered as a good place to make money. He came to Kobe and stayed there for a few months. During his staying he tried to find opportunity for business. He decided to set his office in Osaka for trading business and called his wife from India to Kobe. While his company has gone through the process of bankruptcy and recovery many a times, he has managed to survive and re-establish himself by selling his house and other property. He has sent all his four children to the international school in Kobe. Mr. E's sons studied at the international school till high school and after graduation from the high school he joined his father's firm, which he continues to run even today.

They have run the company successfully. Currently, he is living with his mother (Mrs. E) and his wife.

Case 7: (Mr. O and Mr. Q)

The information regarding Mr. Q was also given to us by his son. Although Mr. Q's father, Mr. O was teaching in a school in Indonesia after the World War Two, Mr. Q and his brothers and sisters were receiving their education in India. In 1946 one of their relatives who were in Japan called their father to join his business because he needed a person who could speak English for his trading business in Japan where it was quite difficult to find such persons those days. Mr. O decided to go to Japan and started the work dealing with textiles. By the year 1966 Mr. Q and his siblings finished their education in India and then left India for different countries. "*After finishing our school we were scattered across countries, namely, U.S., Indonesia and Malaysia*." Mr. Q, on the other hand, was the one who came to Japan in 1966 where he joined his father's business. He went on to marry a Japanese girl and has three children who are also working with him in his various businesses. Since no member from his family is settled in India, Mr. Q's family has had no connection with the land of his ancestors. On the contrary, upon his death Mr. Q was buried Japanese style because he felt closer to the Japanese culture than to the Indian.

Overview of the Migration Circumstances of Sikhs in Kobe

A look at the case studies of Sikhs in Kobe makes it clear that all narratives of their migration are given by the males signifying their experiences because the decision of shifting to Japan was taken by males who had the objective of running their own business in Japan. From the view point of females, their marriage made them migrate to Japan. Thus, almost all the female respondents came to Japan after their

marriage to take care of their husbands and children.

In the case of the male respondents' motivation of migrating to Japan, we find that there was a common reason that they hoped to start their own business in Japan although the actual situation of each case was different. For instance, Mr. S came to Osaka to make his already existing trading business effective. Mr. T had to build his office in Japan as a part of network of the family-based company for expanding the family-run enterprise. Although Mr. H also had connection with the market of Southeast Asian countries due to his family-based company, he started his trading business in Japan for development of Japanese market himself. Mr. P, Mr. O and Mr. Q came to Japan to join their families who were already managing their own businesses in Japan. Although Mr. P had to leave Japan during World War Two, he returned and started his own firm. Mr. O was also prompted by the situation in Indonesia and India where he could not find any hope for his future though he had worked as a principal of a school. Mr. R and E started their new businesses without any connections of a family-based company. Hence, various backgrounds of migration were seen in case studies. However, the common factor for all of them was that they came to Japan with their vision of starting and/or managing their own business. Another commonality is that in all cases their businesses have been taken over by their children.

The other point on which we can find similarity among Sikh migrants in Kobe is the period of coming to Japan. Most of them shifted to Japan before 1960 and have been living in Kobe for many decades. Even in the latest case of Mr. H who came to Japan in 1980, he and his family have lived in Japan for more than thirty years. From these case studies we can see that Sikhs in Kobe have come to Japan many decades ago although their conditions before shifting to Japan were different in each case. Some came from India including the area of present Pakistan while most others came

from Southeast Asian countries. Some of them had seen economic affluence in their life before migrating to Japan, while others came from more humble backgrounds. Furthermore, according to the time and place, their migrations had been affected by various political situations like World War Two, the partition of India and Pakistan, and the Independence Movement in Southeast Asian countries.

Besides the above seven case studies we talked to many other families in Kobe and from our interaction with them we can say that these seven cases represent the other Sikhs in Kobe. These case studies let us understand that Sikhs in Kobe came to Japan mainly for financial reasons though each case had a different narrative of migration and they have lived in Kobe for many decades. Their businesses have been taken over by their sons and their family-based businesses and other collaborative ventures also have been inherited by the following generations.

Sikhs in Tokyo

Next we look at some cases of the Sikh migrants living in the Greater Tokyo area. As mentioned earlier, we met most of them in the Tokyo *gurdwara*.

Case 8: (Mr. L)

In 1998 Mr. L came to Japan alone from Delhi where his wife and children lived. He had worked at a manufacturing plant in Delhi. His brother-in-law who lives in Uttarakhand had worked in Japan and built his new house in India with the money which he earned in Japan. Mr. L also wanted to construct a new house like his brother-in-law, which is why he hoped to go to Japan and planned to stay in Japan for three or four years. He has worked as a construction worker in Kanagawa prefecture for seven years and visited India in 2005 to see his son for the first time since the son was born after he left for Japan.

Case 9: (Mr. G)

Mr. G came to Japan in 1999 from a village in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. He was a truck driver who delivered apples and other fruits from Kashmir to all over India. However, the work became less because of the troubled situation in Kashmir. As he told us, "*There are many apple orchards in Kashmir. I have driven to Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta, everywhere to transport the apples. But now Kashmir became dangerous and the work has reduced under these conditions.*" That was the background from which he came to Japan to find job and earn money staying for a while. When he reached Japan, his brother was already in Kanagawa, greater Tokyo. Mr. G joined a company for which his brother had worked. Though his brother went back to India, he kept working for the company.

Case 10: (Mr. X)

Mr. X was born and grew up in Delhi. In 1980 he visited Japan as a trainee and studied electricity for one year. After that he went back to India and worked as a tourist guide for the Japanese tourists for five years. He continued to have interest in Japan because his brother began his business in Japan and the Japanese economy was good condition at that time. In 1986 he came to Japan again, but found it difficult to settle in Japan because of his visa status. It took him three years to get a visa for long-term stay. During these three years he kept shunting between India and Japan with his wife. Today he runs a travel agency in Tokyo.

Case 11: (Mr. and Mrs. B)

Both Mr. B and his wife, Mrs. B are *amritdhari* Sikhs from Hoshiarpur, India. Mr. B got the degree of *gyani* (Sikh priest) and was very dedicated to the Sikh faith. During the era of militancy in Punjab he became a supporter of the *Khalistan* movement due

to which he faced harassment from the security forces and found it difficult to stay in India. Finally, in 1999 Mr. and Mrs. B left India as political refugees and came to Japan via Hong Kong. The Japanese immigration law allows people to enter Japan as political refugees but does not permit them to work there or provide any social aid to refugee visa holders. As a result, Mrs. and Mr. B have been living in Kanto for 12 years with their three children who were born in Japan, earning their living in an illegal manner.

Case 12: (Mr. I)

Mr. I was born and raised in Kapurthala, Punjab. He studied at the Industrial Training Institute and attended a two-year training program. After passing his exam, he got a job selling agro-chemicals. At the same time, he kept taking care of his family`s agricultural fields where he grew wheat, rice, spinach, radish and coriander. In 2000 his eldest brother let him work as an electrician at a company which has offices in Malaysia and Singapore. He worked there for one and half months and then got visa through the company for visiting Japan to participate in an electrical event held in Saitama prefecture. Although his visa was for a temporary stay, he overstayed in Japan instead of going back to his job in Malaysia and Singapore. In order to get a Japanese citizenship he married a Japanese lady and has since been living in Tokyo.

Case 13: (Mr. U)

Mr. U was born and raised in Jalandhar. He had heard how attractive overseas are from Mr. Z, his younger brother who left India at the age of 14 to work in Hong Kong in a bar and restaurant which their maternal aunt`s family was running. After working there Mr. Z, the younger brother shifted to Japan to find other opportunities

for a job. Mr. U too, wanted to go abroad like his younger brother. So he decided to leave India although he was in the middle of his college course. He too came to Japan in 1998 via Hong Kong. He married a Japanese lady and had two children and brought them to India to live with his parents. Interestingly, he has been staying in Japan for 13 years and visits India at least once a year to meet his Japanese wife and children who continue to live in Jalandhar and go to Japan during the summer vacation of children's school.

Case 14: (Mr. V)

Mr. V was born and grew up in a village of Terai region, Uttarakhand. Although he had studied agriculture at the university, he was not happy with his studies and started a business venture with his maternal uncle. They opened a petrol pump and employed two workers. However, they had to close it down because they could not manage the employees well. As a result, he just wanted to go to some overseas destination to work. He did not care where he went and had no preferences. All that mattered to him was that he should work abroad, be it Europe, America, Australia, or any other place. He got the opportunity to come to Japan to work when one of his relatives who had worked in Japan was planning to come back to India, and Mr. V got the chance to get his job. He reached Japan in 2001 with a tourist visa for three months. In the beginning of his stay in Japan he fell sick and could not work for around six months. While his family worried about him and suggested he should come back to India, he kept living in Japan because he did not want to lose the chance of settling abroad. He has been in Japan for many years now and has worked in industrial units as a welder.

Case 15: (Mr. C)

Mr. C was born and grew up in a village near Hoshiarpur in the Punjab state. He finished plus two classes in school and had spent time without doing any job. He thought that except for going abroad, there was no way to get a job and make money. He had heard about Japan from his elder sister whose husband had worked there. His elder brother also had been staying in Japan. In 1995 when he was twenty years old, he came to Japan and joined the company in which his brother had worked, though they did not have proper visa to stay for long time and work in Japan. In 2002 Mr. C got visa for permanent stay after his marriage to a Japanese lady. Although he divorced her a few years later, he kept on living in Japan since his visa was still valid. He married a second time in India in 2007 and since then Mr. and Mrs. C have been lived in Chiba prefecture with their son who was born in Japan.

Case 16: (Mr. and Mrs. K)

Mr. K came to Japan in 1988. He was born and grew up in a village near Nawashahar in Punjab. After the Blue Star Operation and assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984, the area around his village became insecure. Because of the insecurity, he shifted to Delhi where his relatives had lived. However, in Delhi also he could not feel any safety and just spent time without work. So he started thinking about going abroad. He decided to come to Japan because the travel agency provided him with a tourist visa to Japan. He felt that although he did not have any clear vision for his future, going to Japan to work could not be worse than staying in India. "*There was nothing in India. It was dangerous, no job. What to do in India? It can't be helped. So there was no way except for going to Japan at the time.*" He came to Japan and started working at the factory in Tokyo which was introduced by an acquaintance who had stayed in Japan. Currently he has been lived his wife in Tokyo.

Besides above cases we also met a few people during our research conducted from 2004 to 2006 in Japan, who had to return to India due to various reasons in the later years. Following cases are the narratives of such people.

Case 17: (Mr. M)

Mr. M was born and raised in a village of Uttarakhand. After going to the college for one year, he started working as an electrical mechanic. He had heard from people in his village how many persons went to Japan had made money, became rich and bought motor bikes, cars, etc. This tempted him to be like them and made him decide to go to Japan. He got his visa and ticket through the migration agency and arrived at Narita airport, Tokyo in 2001. He came to Kanagawa prefecture, south of Tokyo and worked at a construction site. However, he could not continue to work at the same company for long and changed his work place several times. He was sent back to India by Immigration bureau in 2005.

Case 18: (Mr. Y)

Mr. Y came to Japan in 2003 when he was 19 years old. He was from the village Simbal Camp in Jammu district where we can find many Sikhs who have worked in Japan, made some money and returned to India. In Jammu, he was working as a driver of the police vehicles. His family had economic problems because of debts incurred by them and his elder brother was already in Australia trying to earn some money to pay the debts off. Mr. Y came to Japan for the similar reason where some of his cousins from Jammu district had already stayed. Even after resolving the financial crisis in his family he hoped to live in Japan permanently because he felt that it was very difficult to make money in India. However, in 2009 he was caught by the Immigration bureau and had to go back to India.

Overview of the Migration Circumstances of Sikhs in Tokyo

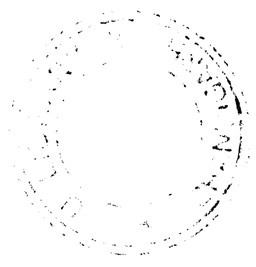
The case studies of Sikhs in Kanto area make it clear that most of them were males who came to Japan alone to work and stayed for a long time without a proper visa. Based on the successful stories which they had heard before coming to Japan, they believed that they could get well paying jobs and would be able to make a lot of money in a short period. Many of them have worked as manual labor without proper visa and unlike the Sikhs in Kobe most did not have any plans to run their own business. Although we saw the case of Mr. X who has operated his travel agent in Tokyo, he also had come to Japan without any vision of his own business in Japan when he visited Japan for the first time. Most of the Sikhs in Tokyo and the Greater Tokyo had planned to return to India after their purpose of making money was achieved. That is why Mr. L and Mr. G had left their families in India. However, despite these commonalities among them their experiences in Japan have been varied. Mr. U, Mr. I, Mr. C and Mr. K married Japanese women and got visas for permanent stay in Japan. Although they divorced their wives after some years, except for Mr. U and Mr. I, they have continued to work in Japan and even got married to Indian women whom they have called to join them in Japan. Additionally, some of them have left Japan after working for a while willingly like Mr. L or forcibly like Mr. M and Mr. Y, while quite a few have been living illegally in Tokyo and the Greater Tokyo till today.

Sikhs in and around Tokyo are different from those in Kobe also in the sense that most of them have come to Japan from India and also they have come fairly recently. None of them was born before partition in 1947. They have come from various parts of India like Punjab, Uttarakhand, Jammu & Kashmir and Delhi. Besides the case studies presented above, we heard many other stories of migrants from the village in Jammu area which we visited. Furthermore, another village in

Terai region, Uttarakhand visited by us where Mr. V and Mr. M came from also had sent many migrants to Japan. Additionally, although Mr. L was from New Delhi, his brother-in-law who had stayed in Japan was also from the same village in Uttarakhand. We also found that some families have relatives in the both villages in Jammu & Kashmir and Uttarakhand. Such family networks spread the success stories of Japan to both areas around the villages.

Another notable point regarding Sikhs in Tokyo is the timing of their coming to Japan. Most of Sikhs who have/had stayed as unskilled labor came to Japan in 1990s or the beginning of 2000s. Although Mr. X had come to Japan earlier than others and had tried to run his own business, he could start living in Tokyo finally in the end of 1980s because it took him a very long time to get proper visa for a long term stay. From the cases in Tokyo we know that Sikhs in Tokyo had come to Japan mainly from 1990s to the beginning of 2000. Even in the cases of Mr. X and Mr. K who has been staying in Kanto region for the longest period, the duration of their stay in Japan is less than 25 years.

Yet, in spite of the similar condition in their jobs at a construction site or a factory and in their period of coming to Japan, we find different reasons in the narrative of their migration. Mr. B was part of the *Khalistan* movement and thus had to leave India. He first went to Hong Kong, from where he finally decided to come to Japan as a refugee. Mr. K left his village in Punjab where was felt insecure during the Khalistan movement and came to Japan eventually after staying in Delhi for a while. Mr. G could not retain his job as a truck driver to take care of his family because of the unstable situation in Kashmir where he used to deliver his loads. He quit his job and came to Japan where he could expect to find more opportunities to make money than getting a new job in India.



The case studies of Sikhs in Tokyo and Greater Tokyo show that many of them had come to Japan without visa for long term stay in Japan for financial reasons and found jobs in construction sites and factories. Although they didn't have a clear vision about how long they would stay in Japan and what they would do after coming back to India, they had believed that going to Japan would provide them a chance to make money in a short time, a perception based on the success stories of their relatives and fellow villagers who had obtained a lot of property in the village with the money they earned in Japan. In spite of such common situations, the various circumstances of their life in Japan caused different outcomes as is clear from the narratives of their migration. Some returned to India reluctantly or willingly and others have been staying in Kanto till today.

The Comparison of Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo

A comparative look at the stories of Sikhs living in Kobe and Tokyo who have migrated to Japan threw up some common points and many differences. The first similarity was that most of them came to Japan for financial reasons. They believed that they would be able to achieve better economic conditions than they were already living in and hence they decided to migrate to Japan. Another similarity was that many of them had the networks of family and friends in Japan who supported their migration to this country. They were provided relevant information about Japan before coming to Japan through the network and other type of support once they arrived here.

However, we also found many differences in the narratives of Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo. Firstly, when we looked at their places of origin, it was clear that Sikhs in Tokyo and the Greater Tokyo came only from north India like Punjab, Uttarakhand, and Jammu & Kashmir, while a few Sikhs in Kobe came from India

including present Pakistan most came from other Southeast Asian countries like Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia.

Secondly, most Sikhs in Kobe run their own trading business in Japan while in Kanto area most Sikhs we met were manual laborers or worked at construction sites or in small factories. In fact, this difference in their occupations is the major determinant of their financial conditions. The Sikhs in Kobe who manage their own business successfully are much more affluent than the Sikhs in Tokyo area. Due to their better economic condition, most of the Sikhs in Kobe have their own houses (in some cases, even a number of buildings in expensive areas), drive the best of cars and have sent their children to expensive international schools. Although a few had to face some economic troubles due to problems in the management of their firms, these problems did not affect their daily life in a major way. Meanwhile, most of Sikhs in Tokyo area do not have their own accommodation and mostly live in rented places. Interestingly, the difference of the financial conditions has resulted in a difference in another aspect in the case of the Sikh women in Japan. Most of Sikh women we came across in Kobe are and have always been housewives. On the other hand, in Kanto area many of the Sikh women have had to work outside the home to supplement the family earnings.

Thirdly, as we mentioned above, the family or friends' networks helped the migration of both the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo. However, the support which they could gain from the network was not equal. The Sikhs in Kobe have relatives' networks not only in India but also mainly Southeast Asian countries and the networks have helped to develop their business globally. Their family networks and family-based business have prompted their migration to Japan and supported their life economically and socially in Kobe. In contrast, the Sikhs in Tokyo and its vicinity did not have international networks which could motivate them to manage

their own business like the Kobe Sikhs. Although they had relatives and friends who already had stayed in Japan, the support they could get from such networks was limited because the relatives and friends did not have enough money to support others and could only help in terms of providing information.

Fourthly, we also found a difference regarding the period of their arrival in Japan. Most of the Sikhs in Kobe had come to Japan many decades ago and their community includes people from first generation who migrated to Japan to fourth generation who were born and grew up in Kobe. On the other hand, most Sikhs in Tokyo region had come to Japan after 1990s. Although some have children who were born in Japan, the children are under the age of 20 and we did not meet anyone in the Greater Tokyo area who could be called third generation migrant.

A comparison of case studies in both Kobe and Tokyo made it clear that economic situation of Sikhs in Kobe is much better and more stable than that of the Sikhs in Tokyo. Besides the economic status, we also learnt that the citizenship status of Sikhs in Kobe has been more stable, while that of the Sikhs in Tokyo has been unstable because of their visa problems. This has further affected their financial and employment opportunities in both places as also their social standing.

Thus, from the case studies which are described in this chapter, we can say that the differences between the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo are caused by their social capital on which they can depend in Japan. The Sikhs in Kobe have improved their economic and social condition depending on the social capital of their family networks not only in India but also other countries while the family networks of the Sikhs in Tokyo have not been helpful enough for their life in Japan.

In conclusion, in this chapter, the circumstances of Sikh migrants in Japan were examined through discussing case studies. When the narratives of their migration are considered along with typology of diaspora given by Cohen (2008)

which was studied for refashioning the old idea of diaspora discussed mainly in the context of the exiled Jews, the Sikhs in Kobe can be categorized as the trade and business diaspora while the Sikhs in Tokyo fall in the labor diaspora category. However, as Cohen himself explained, several features from different types of diasporas can be contained in one such group. We also found this diversity in the diaspora group from the study of Sikhs in Japan. When we studied both the general historical background of their migration and the narratives of their case studies, it was clear that the Sikhs in Kobe display the attributes of the trade diaspora as they engaged in trading and business in the context of a global economy. Similarly, we found some cases of the trade and business diaspora also among Sikhs in Tokyo. Furthermore, all cases of Sikhs in Japan can be discussed as the deterritorialized or cultural diaspora, the different facets of which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter III

Problems and Coping Mechanisms of Sikh Diaspora in Japan

In this chapter we focus on the issue of the kind of problems Sikhs in Japan have faced since their arrival and continue to face till now as also on how they cope with the problems. From the previous chapter describing the migration circumstances of Sikhs in Japan it became clear that there is a difference in the economic and social statuses of the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo. From this insight from the previous chapter we might assume that these dissimilarities might affect the type of difficulties they have faced and the solutions they take in various situations. How and in which situations their differences in economic and social status relate to their problems and copings? This question will be clear through the examination of the same case studies both in Kobe and the Tokyo area which we have already referred to in the previous chapter.

Problems and Coping Mechanisms of Sikhs in Kobe: Some Case Studies

Case 1: (Mr. and Mrs. S)

In his first year of coming to Japan Mr. S faced many difficulties and took a long time to get accustomed to the Japanese life. He says: *Especially when I came to Japan alone at first, I didn't have much money. So to save the expense I had stayed in cheap accommodation which provided very simple facilities and meals of Japanese style. But it was not comfortable for me because I didn't have any experiences of such Japanese style*. Also, after shifting to the house with his wife once she joined him in Japan, he had faced some difficulties, the most important being availability of food

and clothing items or other household articles which were familiar to them. "*There was nothing in Japan those days, though now everything is available. Even finding bread was difficult. Furthermore, we couldn't understand Japanese and had problem in communication. Fortunately in Kobe there were Indians who had lived before us and they helped newcomers like us.*" Life in Japan was hard for Mrs. S, too because of same reasons which Mr. S told us. However, she didn't seem to mind it much: "*I agree life in Japan was hard. But I liked to experience a different culture. So I didn't feel that the life was that difficult.*"

Mrs. and Mr. S hired a maid who was from Nagasaki. They communicated with gestures because she could not understand English at all. The maid called her sister from her home town when Mr. and Mrs. S needed another maid. They found their maids very gentle and helpful and they got some idea about the thinking process of Japanese and their customs from them. In fact, Mrs. S learned Japanese through communication with them. Another thing that helped them get integrated in the Japanese society was the fact that when Mr. and Mrs. S's children were young, they used to play in the neighborhood with Japanese children and slowly their friends' mothers became Mrs. S's friends too.

There were also other Indian families in the area where the S. family had lived at the time. They attended functions held at the Indian Club near their house. When their children started going to school, Mrs. S got some friends who were mothers of American students who were coming to the same school and could speak English. Mrs. S enjoyed her association with the American friends because she could see their different life based on American culture. "*It was very interesting that I could know the other culture through foreign friends. We could share and exchange information because we could communicate in English.*"

Case 2: (Mr. and Mrs. T)

When Mr. and Mrs. T first arrived in Japan they had to stay in a hotel. It was uncomfortable for them because they had to do everything like eating, sleeping, working, hanging washed clothes, etc. in the very small room. They stayed in these hard conditions for a few months but survived with the support of other Indians in Kobe till they bought a house and moved there.

At the beginning both had some problem with the language because almost no one could speak English around them in Japan. In 1950s when they started staying in Kobe, the only people who spoke English were the U.S. military personnel staying in Japan. Although they hired a Japanese lady as their maid, both had a tough time conversing and communicated with the maid by using a dictionary for every conversation.

When Mrs. T gave the birth to her children, her elder sister came from Thailand to Kobe to take care of her. That is why she did not have much tension about giving birth in Japan though even her doctor could not speak English. After Mrs. T delivered her children, she got another maid for taking care of children. By that time she had also picked up sufficient Japanese to manage her day to day life. So she did not have much difficulty while raising her children.

Since a few years ago, Mrs. T has had back problem and consulted a doctor. However, her condition did not improve and Mrs. T and her family felt that Japanese doctors are not capable of providing effective treatment. So they decided to go to Singapore where 'reliable' doctors are available. While the flight itself was tough for Mrs. T, yet after her treatment in Singapore, she has come back to Kobe and has begun rehabilitation process.

Case 3: (Mr. and Mrs. H and Mr. and Mrs. A)

When Mr. H came to Japan in 1980, he could not speak Japanese at all. However, he learnt Japanese through his work within a few years and now he speaks Japanese fluently and has hired Japanese staff in his company. Mrs. H also acquired knowledge about the Japanese language and lifestyle through her everyday contacts with the Japanese in Kobe. She got a driver's license in Japan years ago and now goes to super market, friends' houses, gym etc. on her own. Although both Mr. and Mrs. H have not learnt Japanese formally, they have not had any problem for communicating in Japanese in their daily life.

They have had a Japanese maid to help Mrs. H's house work (mainly cleaning) only few days a week because hiring maids in Japan is expensive compared to Southeast Asian countries from where Mr. and Mrs. H have come. That is why Mrs. H tried to do household work herself as much as possible, though it was not easy for her. *"Living in Japan is so hard because Japanese maids are expensive and I have to manage household work without them."* Mrs. H spent tough and busy days raising three children and doing household work without full time help.

One of Mr. and Mrs. H's son Mr. A told us the story of when he was going to the school. "*As you know, we don't cut our hair or shave our beard. Whenever we go out, we wear turban. When we were younger, we would wear the scarf called* patka *instead of turban. These are our way of life but we were numerically in minority. In my school I was always teased by other students and sometimes even by teachers. But I settled for it because I had no doubt that keeping my hair long is one of our ways. But although I understood that, yet the bulling was very uncomfortable.*"

Mr. and Mrs. H had to work very hard to build an economic base in Japan because they were first generation migrants. While discussing another Sikh family

settled in Kobe Mrs. H said: *"We were first generation starting own business in Japan. So we were not rich. But the other family was very rich and living in quite a big house because now they were third generation here."*

Although Mrs. H had managed the house work for their family since she came to Kobe without full time servant coming every day, the same was too difficult for her daughter-in-law Mrs. A, who came to Kobe from Thailand after her marriage to Mr. A, Mr. and Mrs. H's son. She was not used to doing household work and she decided to call her servant from Bangkok, who was not allowed to stay in Japan for more than three months. Mrs. A did not have experience of living in a town like Kobe. Compared to Bangkok where she had lived, she felt Kobe was very small and did not offer enough entertainment. However, she had to get used to living in Kobe. Her husband and her parents-in-law supported her adjustment to life in Kobe. After some time she got the opportunity to work as an English teacher at a private language school. She had tried to make her time in Kobe fruitful by taking the job. She has since had a baby girl for whose birth she went to Bangkok.

Once Mrs. H felt sick and went to a hospital in Kobe. She had suffered a stroke and needed treatment. However, as was the case with Mrs. T, Mr. H too decided to go to Singapore for her treatment because Mrs. H's father who lives in Singapore recommended that. Currently, she is under treatment in the hospital. Mr. H is taking care of her in Singapore. He sometimes comes back to Japan for his work in the office. He told us *"Just praying for everything to be fine. I believe God will help us. However, I prefer to get her treated in Singapore.*

Case 4: (Mr. P)

Mr. P, who is in his mid 80s, has been living in Kobe since 1953. Before settling in

Kobe as a permanent citizen of Japan, he had lived in India and then Thailand and came to Japan on account of his business. He along with his wife Mrs. P raised five children all of whom were born in Japan and have completed their studies. Four of them have shifted to other countries and only one son has stayed on in Kobe. He is now managing Mr. P's business while another son is managing the Bangkok branch. Their business is successful and the family network spanning a number of countries has contributed to its success. He and his family enjoy a good social standing in Kobe.

However, at the present stage of his life, he sometimes feels lonely. The son who manages the business in Kobe lives separately, although, of course, he and his family sometimes visit Mr. and Mrs. P. Mr. P was happy because his sons succeeded his business and daughters had successful marriages. And he is very proud of the prestige his family has garnered in the Kobe society. Yet, at the same time, feeling of loneliness exists in Mr. P's mind. "*Four out of five of my children are living abroad. A son is in Thailand, another is in Singapore, a daughter is in London, and another is in Singapore. I am happy that they are all successful and well settled. But now I am spending much more time at home with my wife, waiting for the time when I can meet the children and grandchildren.*"

In order to deal with his loneliness he tries to meet his friends at the *sat sang* at the *gurdwara* and the functions held in the Indian Club. He says that these opportunities make him feel that he is the member of Indian community and Sikh community in Kobe.

Case 5: (Mr. and Mrs. R)

Mr. R's trading business of automobile parts has not been as stable as has been the case with many other Sikh migrants. He did not have the background of family-based

company like other Sikhs in Kobe and had to manage by himself without any support from the family business network. He has survived several economic crises in his business by handling their property and selling their house.

On the other hand, Mrs. R and the children did not experience any strain despite the difficult situation in Mr. R's business. Mr. R let his wife hire two maids to help her in the house work so that Mrs. R could spend enough time to take care of their four children. All the four children were sent to the expensive international schools. Mrs. R told us remembering those days that "*at one time we had to sell our house. But our life itself was no problem. Though actually my husband had faced trouble in the management of the firm, it did not lead to any difficulty in our daily life. It took a long time to make the business stable. But now we don't have any problems. My sons are also doing very well.*"

Mr. R sometimes thought that the difficulties which he faced in his business might have been because of lack of his understanding about Japan. Thus, he says that he has tried to give his children the opportunity to get knowledge about Japan and experience the Japanese way of life through interaction with the Japanese maids and neighbors. "*I believed that understanding Japanese and Japanese society would be helpful in securing my children's future.*"

Case 6: (Mr. and Mrs. E and Mr. and Mrs. D)

Mr. D grew up in Kobe and took over his father, Mr. E's business. He felt that the problems his father and mother Mr. and Mrs. E had faced were due to their lack of effort to adjust to the Japanese society. Especially for maintaining the business successfully, Mr. E had to comprehend the Japanese way in the business affairs like negotiation, contract, employment, etc. Because of the ignorance about these Japanese

ways, Mr. E had to repeatedly face failure and troubles. Through his father's experience witnessed by him, Mr. D learnt how important building relationship with the Japanese people and the Japanese society is. That is why he has tried to have contacts with Japanese society actively. "*We, second generation in Kobe, know how much difficulty the first generation had faced. On the other hand, we could have more opportunity than first generation to get accustomed to Japanese way in many ways since our childhood. In our house Japanese maids had worked when we were children and we had played with Japanese neighbors around our house. But we still needed to keep having good relationship with Japanese society. Whenever we have an opportunity to associate with Japanese society like local festival, function, meeting, etc, we try to attend.*"

Mr. D's wife Mrs. D, who is originally from New Delhi, runs cooking classes at her house. Following her husband's footsteps, through her classes, she has tried to establish contact with Japanese people and Japanese society. Her classes are attended by people from different nationalities including Japanese, European etc. Yet Mrs. D feels that she has not been able to build a close relationship with the Japanese beyond a formal level. "*I can't find the reason why we (Mrs. D and Japanese participants) can't open up to each other. I have thought it may be because of difference of culture, or because of barrier of difference of languages.... I don't know.*" Although Mrs. D feels difficulty in establishing relationship with Japanese, she is comfortable about her stay among the Sikh community in Kobe. "*In our Sikh community in Kobe, the* gurdwara *has supported our maintenance of good behavior, relationship each other, values and ways of thinking and living, etc. This is very helpful especially for raising children. I am getting comfortable with our community.*"

Case 7: (Mr. O and Mr. Q)

Mr. Q came to Japan in 1966 where his father, Mr. O had worked as a teacher at the school besides his trading business. Mr. O had dealt with textile in his trading business. Mr. Q joined Mr. O's firm and started learning the know-how of textile trading. However, Mr. Q could learn only how to import and nothing about export business because Mr. O who had trained Mr. Q expired a year after Mr. Q's coming to Kobe. After passing away of Mr. O, Mr. Q had to manage his father's firm without the know-how of export, although in those days the textile business was thriving not in import but export. He thus had to find out the means to keep running the firm himself. Finally, he got interested in the market of textiles made in Japan and started dealing with textile goods made in Japan and now has a fairly successful business.

Mr. Q married a Japanese woman who was the student in his father's school. Mr. Q and his wife, Mrs. Q discussed how and where they would live when they married. Mr. Q didn't have any place to stay in India because all his sisters and brothers were staying not in India but abroad. They decided to live in Kobe and follow both Japanese and Indian customs. Interestingly, in their life there was no clash between the Indian and Japanese ways of life. He never removed his turban and continued to conduct Sikh prayers every morning. At the same time, he made his own Japanese style grave before his passing away. Mr. Q had thought that was the perfect way to be a Sikh who married a Japanese woman in Kobe.

When Mr. Q came to Japan first time, his flight arrived at Itami airport in Osaka, which is the center of commerce in the west Japan. The port city Kobe and the commercial city Osaka had already been modernized when Mr. Q shifted to Kobe in 1966. However, other places and transportation was modernized and became convenient only after Osaka Expo held in 1970. Even after 1970 Mr. Q's business was

concentrated in Kobe, although Mr. Q's son who took over his father's business opened the branch in Tokyo. That is why Mr. Q is only familiar with Osaka and Kobe and knows very little about other places in Japan. Mr. Q often talked to his son *"Kobe is comfortable place to live. Here are both hill and sea. I don't know anything at all except for Kobe and Osaka. I lost my way soon easily when I went to Tokyo. I am a total stranger when I go out here, though I have been living in Japan so many years. So I have kept staying in Kobe."*

Apart from the above cases of Sikhs in Kobe, there were other cases of Sikh migrants in the Greater Tokyo area, which are discussed below.

Problems and Coping Mechanisms of Sikhs in Tokyo Area: Some Case Studies

Case 8: (Mr. L)

After some years of his coming to Tokyo, Mr. L achieved his purpose of building his own new house in Delhi. However, besides building a new house, he wanted to send his children to a good school of English medium for their successful future and understood that such school charges quite expensive fees. That is why he continued to staying in Japan to earn the money as much as possible to cover the expense for children's education.

Since he came to Japan, he has not worn the turban, although he was wearing one in India. The turban would make him noticeable in Japan and he wanted to avoid making himself visible because he had become an 'overstayer'. "*If the police sees me, and feels suspicious about me, definitely I will be asked to show my alien card issued as ID for foreigners who stay for a certain period in Japan, mentioning not only name,*

address, birthday and nationality, but also type of visa and the date of expiry, therefore, clearly showing whether or not the holder is an overstayer. Then everything would be over. So it is better not to wear the turban here." However, he chose not to cut his hair or shave his beard. He kept his beard and hair uncut and wore a cap instead of the turban.

Although Mr. L had lived with a few other Sikhs, he had stayed in Japan without seeing his family for more than seven years. When he left India his daughter was only two years old and his son was born after his arrival at Japan. Mr. L had missed his family and called them once a week with a pre-paid international calling card which provided cheap talking time for South Asian countries. Such a card was available in the grocery store called Pakistani Shop managed by a Pakistani who knew cheap and convenient ways to contact South Asian countries like India and Bangladesh besides Pakistan. Whenever Mr. L called his family, they asked him to come back to India, "*Please come back to India soon. We are waiting for you. The money is enough.*" They told Mr. L that it would be better to stay together in India than living separately. But he was very clear that he had to earn the money especially for children's education and, at the same time, he did not have any idea about how he would earn the money after coming back to India. Thus, he continued to stay in Japan and his return to India was delayed from the time which Mr. L and his family had expected.

To deal with the loneliness of missing his family, Mr. L sometimes visits his friends who live in Kanagawa. They often talk on the mobile and share the information about their jobs, problems of visa, accommodation, and all that. Mr. L also sometimes took care of his friends who lost their jobs and faced difficulty of maintaining their place to live because he was elder to them and was staying in Japan for longer time than them.

Case 9: (Mr. G)

Mr. G initially did not have a good experience in Japan. He had worked at a construction site in Tokyo and faced trouble related to his salary. He had not been able to get entire amount of his salary for several months. *"I told the president of the company that please give me full amount, and asked when I can get the unpaid salary. He always said he will definitely pay it next month because this month the company is facing economic hardship. I asked him every month but his answer was always same."* Mr. G could not find an effective way to solve this problem and finally he decided to quit the company.

Mr. G then shifted to another company to which was introduced by his friends and since then he has not faced any trouble in the new company. The job was again at a construction site and a few Japanese were working together. *"I don't want to remember the former company. My heart was always full of anxiety about the unpaid salary and next month's salary. But now I'm happy after shifting to this company. All bosses and colleagues are very kind."* Although he still has not been able to receive the unpaid salary from the former company, he decided to forget it and work hard in present company. *"I have given up. I can't do anything. Instead of that, I could meet good Japanese in this company. Till I make the enough amount money for my children in Jammu. I will work hard here."*

Mr. G does not enjoy the taste of Japanese food which does not use much *masala*. Whenever he has to go out for lunch with Japanese colleagues, he finds it difficult to select an item to eat from the menu in a restaurant. However, he has learnt of a Japanese dish called *curry* which originated from India and although it is quite Japanized, he always orders it because the dish is the only one which he does not dislike.

Case 10: (Mr. X)

Mr. X has been running a travel company in Tokyo and has established his office both in Tokyo and Delhi. He has obtained the visa as a permanent resident and bought his house near his company office. He has lived in Japan with his wife and two children for more than twenty years.

Mr. X has Japanese business partners, as well as, Japanese clients. His fluency in the Japanese language has helped him build good relations with the Japanese. However, the association between Mr. X and the Japanese is limited only to their business. Even the Japanese staff working at Mr. X's firm does not have any social relationship beyond their job. They do not have any Japanese close friend, although they have lived in Japan for more than two decades. Almost all friends of his and his wife are Indian.

Being in travel business makes it easy for him to visit India five or six times a year, just to remain in touch. *"Whenever I go to India and stay there, I become cheerful by meeting family, relatives and friends. My mother lives in Delhi even now. So my home is there, though I'm living and running my own business in Japan. When I am in Tokyo, I am doing only my work. The life in Tokyo is too busy to do any other things."*

Mr. X sent his son to an international school where his son faced bullying by other students because of his long hair and *patka*. Mr. X went to the school to discuss this issue and explained to the class teacher how important it is for Sikhs to keep their hair unshorn. Although even after that, his son was sometimes teased, however, he learned to accept and ignore it because he himself understood his Sikh traditions.

Case 11: (Mr. and Mrs. B)

Mr. and Mrs. B came to Japan on the refugee visa which does not allow the holder to work in Japan. However, before coming to Japan they were not aware that they were not permitted to work there. So, since they did not have any money to manage their life, they worked illegally. Interestingly, not only them but also the people around including Mr. B's employees did not have any knowledge about the rules for refugee visa holders and came to know about the illegal status of his work after many years had passed.

During his earlier years Mr. B changed his job several times, yet he remains a staunch Sikh and still keeps his beard and hair. Each time he switches jobs he has to explain his customs to the new employers. "*I talked about turban,* kirpan *and beard to the presidents of each company. I have to explain to them that I can't lose my hair and beard because these are the way of life for a Sikh. The* kirpan *and turban are symbols of our faith and I can't remove them. They said if these practices did not cause any trouble in the job, there was no problem, and I could keep them.*" Not only for himself but also when his friends had some difficulty regarding keeping their hair and beard in their working place, he went there to explain how important their hair and beard are. "*When they start working in Japan, they can't speak Japanese well and no one can guide them to keep Sikh way of life in Japan. So I explained to their bosses on their behalf because my spoken Japanese was better than theirs and I had the confidence to persuade their bosses.*"

Although Mr. B was happy that his various bosses allowed him to wear turban and *kirpan* in the factory, he was not satisfied about the management of the labor force in his companies. His regular holidays were every Sunday, and second and fourth Saturday. However, his boss often asked him to work even on holidays due to

shortage of hands in the factory. Although he complained to his bosses that the staff who had to work on holidays were always him and the oldest Japanese, while other Japanese were taking a rest and enjoying the holiday, his complaint was not taken seriously.

Mr. and Mrs. B have faced a lot of difficulty when they get letters, bills and documents written in Japanese because they do not have literacy of Japanese. They often received letters especially from their children's school and had to find Japanese who could explain the contents of the letters to them. The class teachers of their children did not have the skill of English and Mrs. B could converse with them neither in English nor Japanese. Even if Mr. and Mrs. B could read the letters from the teachers with the help of translation by their Japanese friends, they could not understand the contents because they were not familiar with the functions, exams, parents meeting, etc. which are held in the Japanese schools. This situation made feel Mr. and Mrs. B uneasy about sending their son to a Japanese school. However, they did not have any option about the education of their children. Another problem in children's school was food which is provided in the schools. Mr. and Mrs. B and their children are vegetarians and their children could not eat the same dishes as other students because many of dishes include non-vegetarian ingredients and thus had to carry their own tiffin.

Whenever Mr. and Mrs. B have some program at home like children's birthday party, they invite their Japanese neighbors, besides their friends. It did not matter whether they attended the function or not. The important thing was to inform them in advance about the function. Mrs. B explained *"We call many of our friends including the children and play Punjabi music. When so many Indians came to our house and we played our music, many times our neighbors would be surprised and even*

suspicious of so many foreigners gathering and listening to the strange music. But if we informed them about our function in advance, they could understand what we are doing."

The salary of Mr. B was not enough to take care of all the family and Mrs. B tried to find a job to supplement the family budget. However, she could not find a suitable job. Because of their economic difficulty Mr. B's family did not have any health insurance and had to pay a lot of money whenever they went to a hospital. That is why they tried to treat themselves with the medicines sent by their family in India instead of consulting a doctor at a hospital in Japan.

Case 12: (Mr. I)

Mr. I came to Japan to attend an event related to his job in Malaysia. Although his visa was prepared by the company only for attending the event, he ran away from the event and went to his friend who had worked in Ibaraki prefecture to continue to stay in Japan without going back to Malaysia. Hence, Mr. I started working at a factory and did not go back to India till he got the visa for permanent stay due to his marriage to a Japanese woman.

Initially Mr. I experienced a lot of difficulties while dealing with the official documents in the local authority and the bank. *"I can read some Japanese. So it's my advantage. But the contents of the documents are very difficult. I can't understand the technical terms used in such official documents."* This situation motivated him to learn Japanese. *"Of course, my wife can understand and handle those documents. So I can ask her. But it's better if I can do it myself. I feel like a small child in such a situation despite the fact that I can understand what they are speaking."*

Most of Mr. I's close friends are Indians whom he met in the *gurdwara* or in his work place. Besides the Indian friends, Mr. I has contacted the people from South Asian countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan and they exchange the information about their jobs, accommodation, visas, etc. Since his marriage and getting the permanent visa, he has studied not only the Japanese language but also Japanese law especially about labor because he sometimes had the opportunity to attend the meetings of the labor union in his work place. And he has become a person who is contacted by the immigrants, mainly from South Asia who have some trouble with their jobs.

Case 13: (Mr. U)

Mr. U began to work at Ibaraki prefecture with his brother Mr. Z, although they did not have proper visa to stay and work in Japan. Since the beginning of 2000, many of the overstayers including Mr. U and Z's friends, tended to be caught by the police and sent back to their own country by the Immigration bureau. Mr. Z decided to go back to India himself before he encountered the police. On the other hand, Mr. U fell in love with a Japanese lady and married her in 2004 and hence continued to stay in Japan. Subsequently, Mr. U got the visa for permanent stay in Japan.

Mr. and Mrs. U opened an Indian restaurant in Tokyo in 2008. However, because of recession in 2008 it became very difficult to keep the restaurant running and they had to close it. They did not have any idea regarding how to manage their life after the closing of the restaurant, although they had to raise two children. Mr. and Mrs. U discussed about their future again and again for around six months and decided to leave Japan because they thought life in India would be easier and better for their children's education than staying in Japan.

In 2009 Mr. and Mrs. U and their children shifted to Jalandhar and started living with Mr. U's parents and brother, Mr. Z's family. Although Mr. U tried to start his own business, he could not find any opportunity for the same and realized that there is almost no chance to make money in Jalandhar. After around six months, Mr. U went back to Japan alone to work. Interestingly Mrs. U, a Japanese lady, and the children continued to stay in India for the children's education. Till today they are living in India while the husband is in Tokyo.

Case 14: (Mr. V)

In the first year of his stay in Japan Mr. V could not work as he wanted to because he had been ill. He went to a hospital and realized he was suffering from jaundice. He could not eat proper meals and became very weak. When he called his family in India, his parents told he should not wait for his recovery in Japan but he could come back to India. However, he thought he should keep staying in Japan otherwise it would be impossible to get another chance to go abroad again. This period was extremely tough for him. After spending around half of the year in this condition, his health improved and he began to work as welding operator in a Japanese company.

Through his job Mr. V got the skills of welding and learned Japanese and slowly his bosses and colleagues came to rely upon him. They also started to spend time with him socially and would even plan their vacations together. One of the colleagues in her fifties became his "mother" in Japan. She sometimes invited him for supper to her home so that he could spend time with her family, sons and husband.

Along with him about twenty other people were employed by his company including two other foreigners. They spent time with him after their work and on holidays. All the three foreigners including with Mr. V and a Japanese colleague were

staying in rooms inside the company. The other two were also Punjabi Sikhs and shared a room. Mr. V shared a room with the Japanese colleague who was the son of the president of the company. They cooked their meals themselves and sometimes went out for their meals. Mr. V and his Japanese roommate often went for shopping and watching movies on holidays. As he said, "*We enjoyed together and became really close friends*."

Other foreigners including Mr. V in the company were overstayers, but they were sure that they would not be caught by the Immigration because all of them were living at the company's site. However, one of them was arrested by the police one day when he went out drinking with his friends. After his arrest the officers from Immigration bureau visited the company and accused the president of hiring overstayers in his company. Although Mr. V escaped being caught by the police, after this incident he and the other Indians had to leave their jobs and move to some other place. Mr. V shifted with a friend who came to Japan from the same village. The friend, Mr. D, had lived in Saitama prefecture working at construction site. Mr. V explained the situation at that time "Shachoh (president of the company) *was saying sorry to us because we had to leave. He told us that he can't risk keeping us in his employ anymore. We could understand his predicament, you know. So I went to D's place and D took care of me for a while.*" Mr. D's room was also inside the company in which he worked and was thus safe from the police. Mr. D got a job at the construction site for Mr. V. However, after three months Mr. V got a call from the president of his former company asking him to come back to the company because the company had faced problems due to labor shortage. "Shachoh *called me and said that if I'm still in Japan and don't have a job, he wants me to come back and work again. And he explained that the company couldn't meet their targets because of lack of*

manpower." Mr. V decided to work again at the company because he thought the job of welding was better than that of construction. Nevertheless, there was always the uncertainty of being caught by the police. In 2008 Mr. V came to India to attend his sister's wedding and stayed on because he did not have a proper work visa to Japan and living as an overstayer was turning out to be very stressful.

Case 15: (Mr. and Mrs. C)

Mr. C's brother had worked in Japan at a company which deals with water pipes and Mr. C also joined the same company. The company was in Chiba prefecture and they had lived near the company. Although Mr. C could not understand Japanese at all in the beginning, his brother helped Mr. C till he went back to India and Mr. C got the skill of Japanese speaking. He married a Japanese lady in 2002 and got visa as a permanent resident. Till that time, for 7 years since he had come to Japan, he had been staying in Japan without proper visa and without a visit to India. After getting permanent visa by his marriage, he could finally visit India. Although his wife had run her own company, she could not manage it well and faced some financial problems. As a result, they often quarreled about money and ultimately decided to divorce.

After his divorce, on his mother's insistence, in 2007 he married a Punjabi Sikh girl who hailed from a village near Mr. C's home village. He called Mrs. C to Japan and they have lived in Chiba since. Mrs. C gave birth to a child in 2008 in Japan. Before her delivery she became nervous because she could not communicate with Japanese doctor and nurses. However, Mr. and Mrs. C got help from Mr. and Mrs. B (case 13) living in the same city. Mr. C told us *"I had known Mr. B for many years but we had not contacted each other often. But my wife came and situation changed. She had to stay alone during my work hours and she knew nothing about Japan. So she*

needed help from someone like Mrs. B. About some other things I know more than Mr. and Mrs. B. But about giving a birth and raising child, we didn't know."

Case 16: (Mr. and Mrs. K)

Mr. K started working at a small factory when he came to Japan in 1988. Although he changed his work several times, all work places were small or middle sized factories. After a few years, Mr. K married a Japanese woman and got visa for permanent stay. Although they have a daughter, they divorced a few years later. Since their divorce, his ex-wife has been taking care of their daughter and did not allow him to visit his daughter. Mr. K tried to contact her many times, however, his ex-wife avoided his request and changed her number and shifted to some other place. Mr. K told us *"I really want to meet my daughter. I tried so many times to contact her but I can't. Tell me what I can do? I don't have any connections to find my daughter. Give me some idea...but don't tell this to my wife* (Mrs. K, an Indian woman whom he married after his divorce)."

Mr. K married a second time. Mrs. K who is also Punjabi Sikh from near Mr. K's village in India came to Japan and they have lived in Tokyo since then. Mrs. K gave birth to a girl in 2005. In 2008 she began to work at one of the small factories near their house because her daughter was old enough to go to a nursery school. Although Mrs. K did not know Japanese, she has improved her Japanese through her job and her daughter who began to speak Japanese at home since she joined the nursery school.

Case 17: (Mr. M)

Mr. M engaged in a construction job in Japan, although he changed his company

several times. He did not want to work with his boss who said a lot of offensive things against him and other Indians. Mr. M explained about one of the Japanese bosses *"He is no problem when we are working together. But after finishing work and drinking alcohol, he uses discriminatory and offensive words like stupid Indian, idiot, foolish, etc."* Mr. M was uncomfortable with his boss and decided to quit his job in the company. Although the Japanese boss asked Mr. M to return to the company and offered higher salary than before, he did not work with the boss again and rejected the offer. Mr. M had the similar experiences in other companies too and repeatedly quit his jobs.

Although he could not establish a good relationship with his Japanese colleagues and employers, he had some Indian friends who lived near his house. He often went to a Pakistani food shop which was around 15 minutes by walk from his house and met Mr. N who was working in an Indian restaurant in the same building of the shop. They became friends and Mr. N often visited Mr. M's house when he was free. Mr. N helped Mr. M who could not understand Japanese well. However, they could not help each other in terms of their jobs because both worked in different settings. Mr. N was a chef and wanted to work only as a cook and Mr. M was without a job for five months after he quit the earlier job and had difficulty in even making payments for room rent, mobile, utility costs, etc. He had to leave his house and depend on his friends. Finally, he could find a job with the help of his friend. However, till that time Mr. M had borrowed a lot of money from his friends and had to work hard to earn enough to return the money and also survive in Japan. After a few months he was caught by the police and since he still did not have a proper work visa, he was deported back to India in 2005.

Case 18: (Mr. Y)

When Mr. Y reached Japan, he was only nineteen years old and a very skinny boy. He came to Japan depending on his cousins who were staying in Japan before him. One day he and one of his cousins were approached by the police in a train station and were asked to show their alien cards. His cousin distracted the police and helped Mr. Y escape although he himself was caught by the police and sent back to India. Mr. Y kept feeling sorry about his cousin's sacrifice and after the incident he thought that he must not waste his time in Japan and decided to work very hard as a construction laborer.

Another cousin, Mr. W, had married a Japanese lady and got the visa for permanent stay in Japan. Mr. Y thought that he also should marry a Japanese citizen so that he could stay in Japan without any trouble caused by his overstayer status. As he puts it, "*I will marry here (*Japan*) and stay here all my life. Nothing is there (*India*), you know. If I go back to India, my life would be over. So I won't go back before getting the proper visa (to stay in Japan permanently).*" However, it was not easy to find a partner who could help him get the permanent visa by marriage.

One day he was introduced to a Filipino girl by his friend. They fell in love with each other and decided to marry. The girl had the visa for permanent stay because she had a child whose father was Japanese, whom she had divorced. The procedure for their marriage was very complicated, taking much time because both were foreigners and it was a second marriage for her. However, he felt that if he completed the process for their marriage, he would be released of the tension pertaining to the unstable situation as an overstayer. So he tried very hard to complete the difficult process. They scrambled for collecting documents from embassies and the authorities of their home towns in India and Philippines, and applying forms to the

city office and the Immigration office in Japan. Yet, in the middle of the process, agents from the Immigration bureau caught Mr. Y and despite the efforts of his wife who was by then expecting their first child they sent Mr. Y back to India, where he is still planning to shift either to Japan or Philippines with his wife.

Sikh Diaspora in Japan and its Problems and Coping Mechanisms

From the above case studies we can identify a variety of difficulties in the life of Sikhs living in Japan. We can classify the difficulties they encounter into five types – economic, social, psychological, medical and cultural.

Economic Problems and Solutions

The economic problems of Sikhs in Japan are based on their work profile which are mainly of three types – there are those who came to Japan to join the family firms, others came and started their own businesses and the third category includes those who are employed by Japanese organizations. Those falling in the first category faced relatively less financial difficulties. For instance, there are cases like that of Mr. Q who joined the family company which was already settled in Japan, where we learnt that he did not face any serious economic problems while working in the firm of his relatives. However, when it comes to those who had to start their own business in Japan, we came across many cases where the migrant Sikhs faced many difficult situations economically. For example, When Mr. S and Mr. T came to Japan to launch their businesses they had to spend uncomfortable time in cheap accommodations in order to save money since they did not have much money in the beginning. In the case of Mr. H, we learnt that because he started his business in Japan in 1980 when the commodity prices had increased greatly, he could not afford to hire a full time

domestic help due to the expenses involved. These cases were seen mostly among the Kobe Sikhs and their financial problems were mostly related to the management of their business.

The third type of group includes those Sikhs who are working as employees of various Japanese companies in different capacities. These cases were found mostly in Tokyo area. Their financial problems were more serious than those faced by the two former types. The reasons for their problems were that firstly, they were all employed in small sized organizations which in many cases did not pay them well and secondly, they had nowhere to complain about their economic exploitation since many of them were without a proper work visa. There is the case of Mr. B who could not earn enough income to take care of his family because of his job in a small factory. Similarly, the company in which Mr. G had worked did not pay him the full amount of his salary and Mr. G had to leave the company without getting the unpaid salary amount. Mr. M too, had to borrow money from his friends because he quit his job due to the uncomfortable relationship with the company. These people faced difficulties in their daily life due to their weak economic positions.

When it came to coping with the various financial problems faced by them, we found that in the cases of Sikhs who started own business, some used networks of their family-based firms established in other countries to settle their trading company in Japan as was the case with Mr. T and Mr. H. They were able to establish their businesses due to the help provided by their relatives in similar business. This help took the form of information, guidance and financial assistance. Although some like Mr. S did not have such support by family-based business, he also did not take much time to set up his business because he came to Japan to ensure the effective operation of his trade which he had already launched in India and his experience and knowledge

about trading was helpful in Japan. On the other hand, some others took a longer time to establish their business like Mr. R who had to manage his property and sell his house to run his firm when he faced economic crisis in the operation of his company.

Sikhs who worked in Japanese companies also have various solutions to their economic problems. Although most such persons located in the Tokyo area are employed in small firms, they take advantage of the fact that Japanese companies face a great amount of manpower shortage. It thus becomes easy for a skilled worker to change jobs in case he is not satisfied with a particular company. Mr. G whose company was not able to pay him well chose to leave the job and pick up a job in a better company. Others use the ploy of establishing good relationships with the Japanese bosses and colleagues. Mr. V could earn and save lot of money because the Japanese staff including the president of his company supported his accommodation, daily meal, recreation, etc. due to their close and reliable relationship. Others like Mr. Y work extra hard to earn more. They do overtime and even work on holidays to ease their financial problems. Then there are also others like Mr. M who borrowed a lot of money from his Indian friends to manage his life in Japan because he was not successful in establishing good relationship with Japanese bosses and colleagues.

Social Problems and Solutions

Apart from the economic problems, as the case studies indicate, Sikhs in Japan have faced many social problems as well. These pertain mainly to the difficulty in their adjustment to Japanese society. As the narratives of Mr. R and Mr. and Mrs. E show, they sometimes could not comprehend the thinking and the ways of the Japanese although they tried to establish close relationship with them. In fact, the Japanese sometimes did not accept them only because they are foreigners as Mrs. B learnt

when she had tried to find a job. Through experiences of staying in Japan, they knew that Japanese are suspicious of foreigners who have different appearance and customs. Additionally, such uncomfortable situations also happened sometimes due to lack of communication skill in Japanese.

It was also mentioned to us that the Sikhs in Japan felt that they were accorded a lower social status in the Japanese society, because of their inferior financial position or may be due to the very fact of them being outsiders. In the case of Sikhs in Tokyo there was the additional point of most of them being overstayers. They are afraid of going out and could visit only some limited places which were considered to be safe from the police. It was not easy even to go to the *gurdwara* although sitting and praying at the *gurdwara* was important in their life. Most Sikhs in Tokyo had no social life as they were staying away from their families and had only some other fellow Indians for company, as we saw in the cases of Mr. L and Mr. C. However, in the cases of the Sikhs in Kobe who have visas as permanent residents, we did not find such a situation in terms of their social life although they too were seen as outsiders because of their different appearance from Japanese.

Another social problem was related to education in Japan. As the case of Mr. and Mrs. B showed, Sikh parents have faced difficulty in understanding Japanese public schools because of lack of knowledge about Japanese education system, programs, functions, exams, etc. and difficulty of communication with teachers. This problem was seen in the Sikhs in Tokyo because most of the Kobe Sikhs have sent their children to the international schools which are operated by the 'international common program' in English.

When dealing with the social problems was examined, we found that Sikhs in Japan have attempted to integrate themselves into Japanese society in various ways.

The most basic way of doing so is by learning the Japanese language to avoid any kind of miscommunication. Others make an effort to learn more about the Japanese culture and lifestyle. For instance, Mr. S tries to participate in the various Japanese social events. Even in the case of Mr. E who was born and grew up in Kobe and is a second generation Sikh in Japan, he tried to gain knowledge about the Japanese and the Japanese society by mixing with the Japanese neighbors. Similarly, Mrs. B too tried her best to form social relations with the Japanese by inviting them to the various functions in her house, where they would meet and interact with the other Indian guests. To avoid any friction with Japanese, the Sikhs in Japan try to let the Japanese know that they themselves are peace loving.

In the cases of Tokyo, Sikhs who suffered due to the label of 'overstayers' attached to them, realized that they could find social support if they cultivated close and reliable relationships with their Japanese bosses and colleagues. The case of Mr. V is the most successful example. Another means used to improve the social condition of overstayers was the networks of South Asians. When they visit Pakistani food shops, they could meet other South Asians and exchange helpful information with each other, as we saw in the narrative of Mr. L People like Mr. I who can support others are known through such networks.

However, although Sikhs used these coping mechanisms, the fact of their being overstayers in Japan could not be changed. For the overstayers the only way to get a proper visa to continue to live in Japan as permanent residents has been marriage to Japanese or permanent visa holders and many have become permanent residents in this way. However, their marriages sometimes do not survive and end in divorce as was the case with Mr. K and Mr. Y. The problems related to the unfamiliarity with the education system of Japan have also been solved by taking the support of Japanese

colleagues and friends who can translate the letters from school written in Japanese to the other languages that they can understand. Whenever they meet their Japanese friend, they asked the friends to translate and explain the letters.

Although Sikhs in Kobe have had the status of 'outsiders' in Japanese society, they have nevertheless contributed to the "exotic" atmosphere of Kobe as a historical port city which gathered many foreigners and this image of Kobe helps tourism in Kobe. Sikhs in Kobe have established their own position as the local residents on the basis of their success in business and trading and their long history as migrants.

Psychological and Medical Problems and Solutions

Sikhs living in Japan are also confronted by some psychological and physical problems. One of the psychological problems for Sikhs in Japan was isolation. As the cases of Mrs. R, Mr. Q and Mr. X show, they felt isolated from Japanese society. In the case of Mr. P we got to know about his loneliness in his old age now that his children are grown up and he has retired handing over his business to the next generation. Another problem we found from the cases of Sikhs in Tokyo was that many of them suffer from anxiety in their daily life because of the status as overstayers. The cases of the overstayers show they always feel fearful and apprehensive when they go out. Further, many times due to their illegal status and its resulting isolation, they feel so stressed that they want to return to the land of their ancestors. Hence they are always faced with the dilemma of wanting to return to their dear ones and their desire for wanting to stay in Japan as long as possible to earn more money, showing clear signs of what Vertovec termed as 'a type of consciousness' while discussing diaspora.

Besides the psychological problems, there are cases of physical problems as well. Some of Sikhs who work as manual labor got serious injuries like bone fractures and finger amputation because of their jobs using machines in factories and construction sites. Although in those cases the medical fees were covered by industrial injury insurance, they had to pay expensive cost for other diseases and injuries which are covered by other type of insurance which is not available to the overstayers. In fact, as we saw in the case of Mr. B, even if they have the qualification, sometimes it became difficult to get the insurance because of the maintaining cost. On the other hand, Sikhs in Kobe are the insurance holders and do not have any problem regarding the medical costs. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in many cases they were not satisfied with the treatment provided by the Japanese doctors because of communication problems although the facilities in a hospital were adequate and comfortable.

The Sikhs in Japan have tried to solve their psychological problems like the isolation from Japanese society and the loneliness in their life by indulging in activities that show their commitment for local Sikh community as the cases of Mr. P and Mrs. D in Kobe exhibit. One of the major ways to do so is to get attached with the *gurdwara* which works as the community center for the local Sikhs. For Sikhs going to the *gurdwara* often and sitting and praying there gives them a sense of peace and comfort.

On the other hand, many of the Tokyo Sikhs who suffer psychological problems of anxiety have coped by forming a network of Indian friends. Many of them spend time with friends and relatives in Japan and help each other as we saw in many cases in Tokyo. Another method of gaining support is by establishing close relationship with Japanese around them like Mr. V has done.

As for the medical problems of Sikhs in Japan, we found that many of them use Indian medicines which they have brought from India or were sent by their family instead of going to a hospital to save money. This solution was seen in the cases of the Tokyo Sikhs who did not have the national health insurance. On the other hand, the Sikhs who are not comfortable with Japanese doctors and nurses go to the other countries for diagnosis and treatment by 'reliable' doctors as the case of Mrs. T and Mrs. H showed. This practice is followed by the Kobe Sikhs who are well-off and have family networks in other countries.

Cultural Problems and Solutions

Sikhs in Japan also face difficulties in relation to language, food, costume, religion and recreation. Most of the Sikhs living in Japan had the difficulty of communicating with the local population especially in the initial years of their stay in Japan because it was difficult to find Japanese persons who understood even English. In terms of food, once again many could not accept the taste of Japanese food like Mr. G who could not enjoy Japanese food and who says that its taste is only sweet for him. In the cases of vegetarians like Mr. B's family, the problem is even more severe as Japan is primarily a non-vegetarian society and the availability of vegetarian items is limited. Also, the migrants have faced the difficulty in purchasing food items because in Japan there is no display showing whether it is vegetarian or non-vegetarian food and food stuff. That is why people like Mr. B try to avoid buying readymade food stuffs and prefer to prepare fresh food themselves. Although their son's school provides lunch to the students every day, he cannot eat many dishes which contain non-vegetarian ingredients. Additionally, many of the Sikhs in Tokyo have to prepare the meals by themselves because they have come to Japan alone and find it very difficult as mostly they have never cooked in India.

Then there is the issue of clothes. Many Sikhs we spoke to said that their turbans caused a lot of difficulty in various situations. Mr. A and Mr. X's son were teased at their schools because of their long hair although they were attending international schools and even their teachers did not give enough support to stop the bullying. As the narrative of Mr. and Mrs. S tells us, Indian food stuff and clothes with which they are familiar were not available in Japan in 1950s and sometimes they suffered uncomfortable situations. After 1980s however, it became easier to get Indian food material, as well as, clothes. Yet, even if Indian costumes are available, some faced the difficulty of wearing them in the Japanese society because of the unfamiliarity and visibility in Japan.

Sikhs in Japan also found it difficult to explain to their Japanese friends and colleagues that they were different from Hindus in certain ways. Most Japanese tended to think that an Indian is equal to Hindu and although Sikhs explained about their religion, the practices and ways of thinking based on Sikhism it was difficult for Japanese to understand about the life of Sikhs related to their religion.

Another point that was interesting was that as far as recreation is concerned, although the Japanese television offers a large variety of programs, yet Sikhs in Japan preferred to watch Indian TV programs and preferred Indian movies and music. However, for many of them in Tokyo it was not easy to subscribe to these satellite channels as they cost a lot of money. Although some DVDs were available at Pakistani food shops, the variety was not enough to satisfy them. On the other hand, most of Sikhs in Kobe could enjoy Indian TV program through satellite broadcasts and felt connected to their roots.

Most Sikhs in Japan learn the Japanese language to cope with the problem of communication. However, as the cases above show different methods of learning the native language are used, especially among Sikh women. Mrs. S and Mrs. T learnt

Japanese mainly through interaction with their maids. Mrs. H picked up Japanese by trying to communicate with the Japanese she met outside in her daily life. Mrs. K learnt from both her work experiences with Japanese colleagues and her child who started going to the nursery school. Mrs. C picked up the language from Japanese friends who visited Mr. and Mrs. C. The second generation Sikhs, who were born and grew up in Japan, acquired Japanese language by interaction with neighbors and domestic help since they were children. Most Sikh males in Japan developed their skill of Japanese through their work. Interestingly, among the Sikhs in Kobe, we could not come across anyone who had learnt Japanese formally in an institution as most of the first generation Sikhs had studied outside Japan and those falling in the second and third generations were studying in the International Schools where Japanese language was not being taught. Most had just picked it up informally. However, in Tokyo the children were studying in Japanese public schools where they were learning Japanese.

The problems related to food were solved in several ways. In the cases of Sikhs who were not familiar with the taste of Japanese food, most prepared Indian dishes at home themselves. Many of the Sikh females in Kobe taught Indian cooking to their maids. Many of Sikh men in Tokyo who came alone learned to make Indian dishes themselves. However, many of Sikhs living in Japan told us the longer they stayed in Japan, the more they became familiar with the taste of Japanese food. In fact, some living in Kanto (Tokyo) area told us that they have begun to enjoy Japanese food and eat it every day. Although we know that vegetarians have problems in a society like Japan as we mentioned above, in the cases of the more affluent Kobe Sikhs, they also often have meals at the restaurants without any tension about the food because they have some favorite restaurants in Kobe and where they ask the chefs to cook

vegetarian dishes. On the other hand, in Tokyo, vegetarian Sikhs have different ways of coping with the problems related to food. Some never eat out and make every meal themselves. Others go out to eat only in Indian restaurants where they can find familiar vegetarian dishes. Some eat rice, vegetables, salads, fruits and yogurt only.

For the Sikhs in Kobe their 'different' turbaned and bearded appearance was less of a problem because of the nature of their jobs. Since most of them were in the field of business and trading, they had relatively less interaction with the average Japanese on the street and inside their place of work they were the bosses. But for 'overstayer' Sikhs in Tokyo, their wearing turban was risky due to the possibility of being caught by the police because of their visibility. Therefore, most of them stopped wearing turbans. Some even cut their hair and beard. However, those like Mr. L who did not want to cut their hair and beard wore a cap instead of the turban. Mr. G kept his hair long while he shaved his beard. Thus, although Sikhs in Japan faced similar cultural problems, they chose different ways of dealing with them in different circumstances.

Comparing the Problems and Coping Mechanisms of Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo

When we compare the difficulties faced by the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo, as well as, the coping mechanisms used by them, it is clear that although they share some similar types of problems and solutions, at the same time there exist many differences, too. For instance, we found that although in both Kobe and Tokyo the Sikhs faced economic difficulties, their coping mechanisms varied. In Kobe the economic problems were limited to their business and were countered with the support of the family network. On the other hand, in Tokyo area the economic difficulties of Sikhs were seen in their daily life. Although they relied mainly on their relatives or Indian

friends living in Japan, it was difficult to get adequate support economically, chiefly due to the difference in the nature and types of their jobs. As we know, the Sikhs in Kobe engaged in trading business and managed their own firms while many of the Tokyo Sikhs are manual laborers. Also, the Kobe Sikhs are more affluent than the Sikhs in Tokyo.

Another problem that all Sikhs in Japan faced was difficulty in adjusting to Japanese society. Here again they chose different coping mechanisms for the same in Kobe and Tokyo. Sikhs in Kobe have relatively less interaction with the Japanese even after having lived in the city for many decades and tend to mix with their own kind. However, In Tokyo, in terms of the process of their adjustment to life in Japan, the Sikh migrants have been exposed to the Japanese way of life and, at the same time, they have found the Japanese whom they can depend on. The reason of this difference lies in the fact that Sikhs in Kobe have made their own community due to their stay in Kobe for many decades while in Tokyo and its vicinity there is no particular area like Kobe where the Sikhs have lived for a long time, and most of them are relative newcomers. That is why the Sikhs in Tokyo have had to establish closer relationship with Japanese in their daily life.

The psychological and health problems also tend to be different in the two places. In Kobe we came across the psychological issue of loneliness faced by the aged people whose children had separated from them or were too busy to give them much time. However, they made it clear that this had nothing to do with their living in Japan but due to their feeling of being neglected by their children. Among the Sikhs in Tokyo, although we did find them feeling lonely due to their separation from their families in India, it was the issue of physical health that was more troublesome for them. As mentioned earlier, due to the nature of their employment, many suffered

from health problems which were compounded by the fact that they did not have any national health insurance. Although they lived away from their families in India due to their status as overstayers, they did ask their families to send medicines to escape paying the expensive medical cost in Japan. In Kobe, the only issue related to health was the problem of discomfort that the Sikhs felt in Japanese hospitals and hence preferred to visit 'reliable' doctors in other countries mainly in Southeast Asia where they originally came from and still have family networks. An interesting finding that emerges while looking at the health problems is that many Sikhs in Kobe have their roots not in India but Southeast Asian countries while the Sikhs in Tokyo have strong connection with India where their families live and where they intend to go back to.

In the cultural context, once again both the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo have faced common problems related to many categories like language, food, clothes, religion and recreation. Through the examination of the above cases and the stories of many others we met through our research in Kobe and Tokyo, interestingly we found that for the Sikhs in Kobe coping with cultural problems involved preservation of their Punjabi way of life while for the Sikhs in Tokyo it involved making an effort to adjust to the prevailing Japanese culture.

In conclusion, a comparison of the problems and coping methods of Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo makes it clear that the differences in the economic (class and job factors), social (country of origin) and citizenship (visa status) situation of the Sikhs in Japan determine their problems and coping mechanisms. In the next chapter we will focus on the social and cultural practices of Sikhs in Japan and also examine the socio-cultural practices observed by them in their native villages in order to identify the patterns of continuity and change in their life.

Chapter IV

Social and Cultural Practices: Continuity and Change

In the previous chapter, we discussed the difficulties in the life of the Sikhs in Japan along with the methods used by them to cope with these. Many of the problems faced by them were related to the social and cultural practices. In this chapter we will take up those social and cultural practices of Sikh diaspora in Japan with the purpose of examining the continuity and change in them. In order to do so, we will put them against the backdrop of the practices that are prevalent in their places of origin, namely, their native villages. For this however, we had to limit our focus mainly to the Sikhs living in Tokyo area since due to financial and time related constraints, we were unable to examine the Sikhs in Kobe in terms of their places of origin because they originally came from various places like Pakistan, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, etc. However, we will dwell briefly upon Kobe Sikhs also to provide a comparison between the Sikhs living in Kobe and Tokyo.

The examination of their social and cultural practices will be in terms of the notion of *habitus* given by Mauss (2006) and expanded by Bourdieu (1977). Habitus is the set of acquired physical and mental property and the inclination created through activities and experiences related to thought. behavior and taste of everyday life. In other words, it implies a set of socially learnt temperaments, skills and ways of acting, often taken for granted, which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. The concept of habitus admits a significance of cultural aspect of human habits and routines in considering social structure. Therefore, the concept of habitus permits us to focus on cultural experiences and practices as the elements of society. Mauss describes 'techniques of the body' as highly developed body actions

that embody aspects of a given culture. Bourdieu developed this idea further in habitus, the non-discursive aspects of culture which includes unspoken habits and patterns of behavior as well as styles and skill in body techniques that bind people into groups.

In fact, Bourdieu (1977) discussed the relation between habitus and practice. He noted that practice is governed by habitus, which generates all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions. Further, Bourdieu (1977) explained about the relation of structure, habitus and practices by saying that practices can be accounted for only by relating the objective structure defining the social conditions of the production of the habitus, which brought about the conditions in which this habitus is operating. In other word, practices signify cultural and social contexts by mediation of habitus which is reflected in the features of particular conditions in society. It means that diversity of practices is caused by difference in social and cultural contexts which gives rise to practices and the diversity depends upon the distinction of belonging to groups whose member have common habitus.

Then, to study social and cultural practices, it can be important to consider how habitus promotes practices for people in each different aspects of their life. In addition, Bourdieu describes habitus as something historically patterned (element of structure) yet open to adjustment (adaptive in nature) in relation to the changing conditions of the social field. It is a concept useful for both discussing the structure and for approaching the subject of agency in diasporic cultural practice and reproduction (Vertovec, 1999). We will see habitus of Sikh diaspora in Japan when we look at their practices.

To discuss the practices of Sikh diaspora in Japan, we examined their life from the social and cultural angles discussing their habitus and community. Difference of

practices which we will see in this chapter between Sikhs in Tokyo and those in their native villages in India and also between Sikhs in Tokyo and Kobe is caused by distinction of community to which they belong because if their community is not the same, their habitus which produces practices is also not same. The following description depicts the cultural and social life of Sikhs in the villages in India, Tokyo and Kobe. The description will help us analyze practices of the Sikh diaspora in Japan in the light of the practices in the native villages, which affect their social and cultural context in terms of community and habitus.

The following description of the social and cultural practices of Sikhs is written based on our research in India and Japan. In India we gathered our data from the two villages which had sent a large number of Sikh migrants to Tokyo region. In Japan, we relied on the information collected from the Sikhs living in Tokyo and Kobe. The researcher paid multiple visits to the two selected villages in India and spent more than a year living there, observing and participating in the everyday life of the inhabitants. One village is in Uttarakhand state and is called Pratappur. The journey to the village from Chandigarh where the researcher was based, takes around 14 hours by bus bound for a city on the Nepal-India border called Tanakpur. This bus passes Ambala and Haridwar in order to reach the Terai region where the village is located. Punjabi Sikhs migrated to the Terai region from Pakistan after partition and established this village. They cultivated the jungles and transformed them into flourishing fields with their hard work. Almost all Sikh villagers have their own farms.

The other village called Simbal Camp is in Jammu district in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Many families in this village have relatives living in Pratappur. To visit the village one has to take the bus which goes to Jammu city. After around 8 hours

from Chandigarh, the bus reaches a junction before Jammu city. From the junction one road goes towards Jammu city while another leads to India-Pakistan border close to Sialkot and this is the road one has to take in order to reach Simbal Camp village. Partition brought many refugees to this area also and some refugee camps were built. This was one such camp which was later converted into a village.

Our research in these Indian villages made us realize that although they are geographically far from each other, they have many common social and cultural practices. Hence findings from both are discussed together.

Social and Cultural Practices of Sikhs Diaspora

Food

Food is one of the most important elements which reflect people's taste, which Bourdieu noted as part of habitus. Through our research we tried to see what the food related practices of Sikhs were and how these have been affected by their migration to Japan.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

Eating food was a simple affair in both the villages. All meals were made by females of the family three times a day. Breakfast mostly consisted of *prantha* (pan fried Indian bread) and *dahi* (yogurt), bread with jam or *chapatti* (Indian flatbread) and *sabji* (cooked vegetable). Menu for lunch and dinner could be rice, *chapatti*, *sabji*, *dal* (lentils), *raita* (Indian side dish of yogurt), etc. When they cook *sabji* and *dal*, they blended *masala* (spices) according to each family's tastes. Food was served by the females to the male members of the family.

Although eggs were cooked often, even in the non-vegetarian families, meat dishes were prepared only when they had special guests. Non-vegetarian food like chicken and mutton were seldom cooked at home. The opportunity to eat meat dishes was when they attended special functions like marriage and celebration of children's birthday. One day in Pratappur, the researcher was invited by one villager who had stayed in Japan around seven years and his wife cooked fried fish and served it. When asked "*Fish?! Is it available here? I've never seen any around here! Did you arrange specially for me?*" the host answered "*There are many varieties of fish from the rivers near here, as you know. However, in this village they don't eat fish normally. But I love fish since I stayed in Japan and am missing Japanese food, especially* sashimi (Japanese raw fish dish)."

In Pratappur rice and *atta* (wheat or corn flour) were their own products from the fields and they didn't need to buy these. They ate rice more often than the Sikhs living in the villages in Punjab. Each house has at least one cow to obtain milk for daily use and some milk products like butter, cream and yogurt were made by them. Their cows provided enough milk to make almost all milk products for every meal of a family and a certain amount of milk was sold almost every day outside the village. Seasonal vegetables were also available from their own cultivation at their backyard or fields. Apart from the food, tea and milk were the main drinks taken by them. They had *chai* (Indian style mixed tea) at least three times a day, morning, afternoon and evening with biscuits or *namkin* (salted snacks).

They enjoyed snacks like *tikki*, *golegappe*, *pakora*, etc. only when they attended weddings or visited Punjab because these items are not available around the village. When one family came to Amritsar to organize an *akhand path* (non-stop recitation from the holy book from beginning to end) in *Harimandir Sahib*, the famous Golden

Temple, the researcher also stayed there with them. Besides attending the path, they were keen to eat *jalebee*, *golegappe*, *kulcha*, etc. and went to the stalls selling these items near the temple. However, they made it clear that eating out and taking readymade food from outside are not frequent practices in their life. As one person said "*Usually we prefer to eat* ghar ka khana (home cooked food) *as it is hygienic and good for health and of course tasty*". Even if they have opportunity to eat out, which is a rare occasion, mostly they chose fast food restaurants and ordered *pao bhaji*, *momos*, burgers, etc. instead of proper Punjabi meals.

Alcohol was served only in the marriages and was consumed by a few males only. The researcher was amused to see that the special area arranged for the "drinkers" in the village weddings was much smaller than similar places arranged in the weddings which the researcher attended in Punjab villages. In fact, even for the same number of persons, the bottles of whiskey opened were much less in number as compared to the weddings in Punjab and no villager got drunk. The only persons who appeared drunk were always visitors from Chandigarh or Punjab. The researcher who herself was from Chandigarh was often warned by the villagers "*They came from Chandigarh. But don't go to the drinking area. They are drinking a lot as always. So be careful and don't go or talk to them.*"

Thus, overall it appeared that the villagers ate very simple food and were mostly vegetarians and non drinkers.

Tokyo

Many of the Sikhs living in Tokyo without their families cook Indian food themselves. They usually take a cup of *chai* only in the morning because they stay at the work site in the afternoon and evening. Sometimes even morning tea was missed because of

shortage of time. Inside their refrigerators, the bottled Japanese black tea which is a popular substitute for water in Japan was stocked besides coke, milk for making *chai* and yogurt for *raita*.

Their love for chapattis is so great that although the kitchen utensils like *tava* (griddle) are not available, they have made those items themselves because they could get the necessary things to make them like iron boards, wood, welding equipment, etc at their work sites. It was easy to find ingredients for Indian dishes like *atta*, *dal*, *masala*, *ghee*, etc. in Pakistani shops. They prefer to cook chicken because packed fresh chicken is cheap and easy to prepare. Many of them brought tiffins prepared by themselves to their place of work to save money at lunch. Otherwise, they bought *bento* (Japanese style tiffin) at convenience stores as other Japanese colleagues did. In the case of persons who had Japanese wives they ate mainly Japanese dishes and many of them brought *bento* prepared by their wives.

Interestingly, they preferred the sticky type Japanese rice although Indian basmati was available in Pakistani shops. "*Japanese rice is best. This rice has taste of rice. We can enjoy rice only without any other dish.*" This surprised the researcher because this was a phrase typically used by the Japanese to exhibit their preference for their own cuisine and one could not imagine that foreigners, especially Indians who are familiar with different type of rice loved Japanese rice.

When they didn't have time to cook, they enjoyed eating out mainly in fast food restaurants like McDonalds and KFC. They also liked the Japanese soup as well as pork dishes served at the noodle stalls which they often visited with Japanese colleagues. Many Sikhs in Tokyo said "*One of the best Japanese foods is* ramen (Japanese soup noodle). *We often go for lunch or after work at night.*" When asked "*Do you like the meat on the top of the bowl? That meat is...*", they all said "*We know,*

it's buta (meaning pork in Japanese). *We don't eat pork in India, as you know. But here, buta is delicious. We love any type of pork dish here.*" However, they clarified that they did not eat beef at all but were consuming pork because it was one item that could not be avoided while eating out in Japan.

Most of them had hardly taken alcohol when they were in India. However, in Japan most of them indulged in moderate drinking and when the researcher asked them why they had not taken alcohol in India, their answer was always the same: "*In India when people drink, they misbehave because of too much drinking. So drinking is just bad there. But here everyone controls oneself without misbehaving. Drinking like this is ok, so we do it too.*"

Some Japanese employers of the Sikhs in Tokyo had home parties on holidays and invited the Sikh employees. They enjoyed Japanese popular snacks like *gyoza* (Japanese dumpling), *winner* (pork sausage), *edamame* (green soybean), etc. with beer. The Sikhs in Tokyo learned what kind of snacks and alcohols Japanese prefer and when they were invited the next time, they brought these items as gifts. The Sikhs in Tokyo enjoyed typical Japanese food like *sashimi* and *unagi* (broiled eel) although at first they were not comfortable with their taste. On the other hand, they sometimes offered Indian food like *biryani* and *chicken curry* cooked by them with less *masala* and oil to their Japanese colleagues and friends.

Kobe

In Kobe the practices related to food seemed different from Tokyo because of the affluent economic status of the Sikhs living there. We could find various kinds of dishes on the dining tables at the houses of Sikhs in Kobe. However, Indian dishes in these homes meant not only Punjabi but also Gujarati and Sindhi food. Not only this,

but they also prepared Japanese, Thai, and European dishes at home. It is safe to say that this variety in their cuisine is due to their background of migration from different areas and the circumstances of their life in Kobe where Gujarati and Sindhi have lived as neighbors.

The second-generation Sikhs who grew up in Kobe prefer to eat Japanese dishes. This applies especially to the women who have shifted to other countries after their marriage and love eating Japanese food when they visit their homes in Kobe. Since their childhood they have been used to the taste of food prepared with Japanese seasoning like *shoyu* (soy sauce), *mirin* (sweet cooking rice wine), *miso* (bean paste), *dashi* (Japanese soup stock), etc. For them it is difficult to get these tastes in the places where they live now. Mr. J (Case 2) lives in Kobe while his sisters live in other countries and he said "*They (his sisters) are very keen to eat Japanese food in almost every meal because they can't eat it in their husband's homes.*"

Some Sikhs in Kobe go to supermarket which is crowded with Japanese local people to buy daily groceries. They are interested in Japanese vegetables, seasonings and ingredients used to cook Japanese dishes. They want to add Japanese dishes and the Japanese way of cooking to the repertoire of their every day menus because Japanese dishes are healthy and, of course, it was easy to find those ingredients in local shops.

They also enjoy eating out a lot at the restaurants recommended by their Indian friends. The Kobe Sikhs along with other Indian migrants share the information about cooking, ingredients, restaurants, etc. related with foods which are available in Kobe and they like discussing these topics whenever they meet. They also enjoy various types of alcohol depending on the situation although some families did not consume alcohol. When they eat Italian dishes, they preferred wine. In Japanese restaurants

they ordered beer and Japanese *shochu* (distilled spirit). Thus, the Sikhs in Kobe dine in typical cosmopolitan style and love to eat out in expensive restaurants a lot.

When we take into consideration the eating practices of Sikhs in Japan as also in the villages in India, some interesting points emerge. In Pratappur and Simbal Camp Sikhs preferred to eat food at home and they ate out only on special occasions. The daily food was cooked by the females and consisted of simple vegetarian dishes. Necessary everyday items like *atta*, rice, milk and yogurt were provided from their own field and cows. And they rarely drink alcohol. That was why they did not need to spend much money on food. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Tokyo area had mostly to cook for themselves. They also preferred to eat at home because not only they could enjoy Indian food but also save money. They bought the important ingredients for Indian food like *atta*, *dal*, and *masala*, etc. from Pakistani shops. However, when they did not have time to prepare the food and were with Japanese colleagues and friends, they ate out mainly in the cheap restaurants and enjoyed Japanese food. And most of them followed Japanese habit of drinking. Thus, although the Tokyo Sikhs still stuck to many of the practices which they had followed in the villages in India, yet, and at the same time, they did change their eating habits to some extent in order to fit into the Japanese society. For instance, they enjoyed more frequent occasion of eating out and Japanese food with alcohol and they also became primarily non-vegetarian. The Sikhs in Kobe had different practices because of their economic affluence. They ate out often in their preferred multi-cuisine restaurants. The other difference was in the variety of food that they consumed. The Kobe Sikhs enjoyed dishes from various countries and regions in India because of their networking with other ethnic Indians in Kobe and relatives living in many other countries.

Clothes and General Appearance

Clothing is another element of culture that forms part of habitus. For Bourdieu clothing is an indicator of class distinctions as well as a mode of self presentation. Our research thus, also took into account the aspects of clothing and general appearance of the Sikhs.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

As was the case with food, the clothing choices of the Sikhs living in the two selected villages were also quite simple and traditional. Unlike the villages in Punjab where many of Sikhs had cut their hair and shaved their beards, in the villages of Uttarakhand and Jammu, there was no clean shaven Sikh male. Boys wore *patkas* (small piece of cloth wrapped around the head) and adults dressed in turbans when they went out. Females including young girls never have their hair cut. A girl told us, "*I really like short hair like you. I want to have it, but we can't as you know.*" Many of males often wear the Indian dress *kurta pajama* and when they go out they chose western shirts and trousers although the females always wear *salwar kamiz* stitched by tailors from the village itself. Adult women do not ever dress in western clothes and say that they wore western trousers and shirts only when they went for their honeymoon decades ago. In both villages the women villagers often asked the researcher who had always worn trousers "*Are you wearing this type of jeans every day in Chandigarh?*" and found my reply "*Yes, because for me handling* dupatta (scarf) *is difficult.*" quite funny. However, they enjoyed talking about women's clothes in other areas as well as their own style. "*How about other girls in your university, Chandigarh? Here even young girls in college don't wear western clothes. Always salwar kamiz. May be some girls in Jammu city, they do. But around here no*

one." Just as was the case with food, even where clothes were concerned, we found that in both the villages the Sikh population dressed simply and conservatively.

Tokyo

Although many Sikhs in Tokyo and Greater Tokyo had worn turbans and kept uncut hair and beard in India before coming to Japan, they did not wear the turban in Japan so as to avoid the visible appearance of being a foreigner. Some retained their hair and beard and wore a cap instead of a turban. Some shaved their beards only and kept uncut hair. Other had their hair cut and shaved their beards too although losing their hair and beard was very uncomfortable for them. Mr. Y told us; "*When I had my hair cut, I cried terribly. I was so sad.*" Mr. V said; "*When I looked at my face in a mirror after cutting my hair, I felt the face was someone else's and I was so depressed.*" Some, mainly IT engineers, continued to wear turbans as they had done in India. They did not need to worry about their visibility because they have been staying in Japan with proper visa as residents. The overstayers told us "*People who came for IT job, they have visa. So it is no problem for them to be visible and so they stay in the town with turban and beard. If we do like that, we would be caught and sent back to India.*" However, once they decided to return to India, they stopped shaving their beards and grew their hair. That was the important preparation to go back to the village, along with buying souvenir gifts for family. "*I can't return to my village in this appearance. I don't want to meet my parents without beard and hair. It's so shameful.*" Understandably, the Sikh migrants from Pratappur and Simbal Camp were more sensitive about their beard and hair than the Sikhs from Punjab who had been clean shaven when they were in India as well.

When the Sikhs women in Tokyo go to functions where mostly there was a gathering of Indians like *sat sang* (gathering for spiritual discourse) in the *gurdwara*, birthday parties, *paths* (prayers) held in someone's house, etc., they wear the *salwar kamiz* brought from India although their daily clothes are trousers and western style blouses. The males wear mainly trousers and western shirts both as daily wear and also in religious, social or cultural functions. Except for a couple of persons, most of the males did not wear Indian clothes like *kurta pajama* even for attending *sat sang*. The few people who wear the *kurta pajama* sometimes at *sat sang* were IT engineers and they also wore turbans.

Thus in terms of clothes and appearance, the Sikhs in Tokyo have undergone a great amount of change. This is so because their ethnic clothes like Punjabi suits and ethnic appearance with turban and beard would make them very conspicuous in Japan because the local people wear western clothes and the men are usually clean shaven.

Kobe

The Kobe Sikhs unlike their Tokyo counterparts maintained their ethnic persona by keeping long beards and wearing turbans. They did not face the difficulty related to visibility because of their beards and turbans in the Japanese society. Rather they, especially their women, were very particular about the opinion of other Indians on their clothes. We met women who were attired in Punjabi suits in the *gurdwara*. Although they wear western clothes in daily life, all chose Punjabi suits when they attended the *sat sang* held every Sunday. This selection of clothes depending on the occasion was quite similar to the women in Tokyo. However, the difference was in the quality and styling of the clothing and other things. We saw the women in Kobe wearing luxurious jewellery and accessories when they visited the *gurdwara* while

such a trend was not seen in Tokyo. In Kobe the women dressed to make a good impression on others. As one of them said, "*It is difficult to select what to wear to the* gurdwara. *Some things seem too simple, others too decorative* (pointing to spangles and beads). *Going to* sat sang *over-dressed does not look good.*" Most of the males wore western shirts and trousers to the office and also to the *gurdwara* or the club. They did not visit the *gurdwara* in *kurta pajamas* but wore casual clothing for *sat sang* like T-shirts and jeans.

All Sikh males we came across in Kobe have uncut beards and hair and wear turbans. Females also do not cut their hair. Just as it is easy to place who is a Sikh in Kobe on the basis of whether the males wear turban or not, in case of females also one can recognize a Sikh lady on the basis of whether she keeps her hair long or not. "*We can know from our appearance who is a Sikh. Whether wearing turban or not, having uncut long hair or not is one way to distinguish the Sikhs from the others.*" One day the young daughter-in-law of Mr. H who grew up in Thailand and came to Kobe after her marriage surprised the researcher with the question "*Tell me one thing. Why we Sikhs cannot cut our hair? You may know the answer because you are studying about Sikhism...*" At that time the researcher could not understand the reason for her outburst. However, later on we came to know that she was denied entry into the in-laws' house in Kobe after she came back from Thailand because she had gone to a hair salon and cut her hair there. Apparently Sikh women in Thailand do not face any restrictions regarding visiting hair salons for cutting and styling their hair. But she had to learn the habitus of Kobe Sikhs through these experiences. Thus, it is obvious that for the Sikh migrants in Kobe, the choice of appearance is an issue related to their identification as Sikhs. Our research made it clear that many of the Sikhs in Kobe attach a high value to their habit of keeping their hair uncut.

In terms of clothing and appearance the male Sikhs in Pratappur and Simbal Camp were traditional Punjabi Sikhs who did not shave their beards and wore turbans while the women too did not cut their hair and wore only *salwar kameez*. In other words, from the small children to the eldest generation, no one had their hair cut. However, many Sikhs in Tokyo region cut their hair and shaved their beards in order to avoid being visible in the Japanese society. Although the changing of their appearance was uncomfortable for them, they took the practical decision, sometimes with a great deal of mental agony, to give up their physical identity as Sikhs which they had acquired in India. The Sikh females in Tokyo wore western clothes daily both for the sake of comfort and in order to blend in with the local Japanese society. They enjoyed wearing Indian clothes only when they visited the *gurdwara* and the homes of their Asian friends. Hence, we found different clothes and appearance between the Sikhs in the villages and Tokyo area, although both chose simple clothes to wear. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Kobe wore luxurious clothes and accessories and the women wore *salwar kameez* while visiting the *gurdwara*, as was the case in Tokyo as well. Another thing that stood out was that the Sikhs in Kobe were very strict about not cutting their hair as per the Sikh tenets. They felt that long unshorn hair, beards and turbans were a necessary part of their appearance because these practices were integral to their identity as the Sikhs in Kobe.

Hence, the Sikh men both in Tokyo and Kobe wore western clothes quite similar to those being worn by men in India, while the women shifted to wearing western dresses which is not a practice found in the villages of India. But the major difference lay in the Kobe Sikhs sticking to their Sikh identity through their appearance and the Tokyo Sikhs changing it to a large extent to escape detection.

Marriage

Practices related to marriage are given importance in the life of Sikh migrants. But we will find there are different purposes and meanings of marriage for the Sikhs living in the Indian villages and for those in Japan according to the different situation of their life.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

The villagers by and large follow traditional rules of marriage as they are prevalent in India. They follow the custom of caste endogamy and tend to marry within their caste group. Also, all decisions pertaining to marriage including selection of mate, marriage date, location and ceremonies etc. are taken by the family. However, it was interesting to see that they did not believe in the concept of village exogamy and we found many cases of marriages where both partners belonged to the same village. As one villager justified the preference of choosing marriage partner from the same village by saying, "*In the case of couples from within the village, they can keep in touch with both the families. And when some problem happens, the relatives living near can come and help*".

A few cases of love marriage were also seen although these have happened only recently. The decision of selecting a partner was a big issue for family and it was difficult to have individual initiative for the decision. Not only the partner's character but also his or her family background was considered to be very important. In the case of love marriage, even if marriage was within the same caste, the family background was discussed very carefully and it was this issue that ultimately determined the decision regarding whether the marriage would be allowed or not. Sometimes it was not easy to get the approval of all relatives and when such a marriage took place, it affected the relationships among family and relatives adversely.

Usually the wedding ceremonies in the villages are carried on for three days. Several days before marriage, neighborhood women gather at the bride's house in the evening for musical evenings with *dholki* and *sangeet*. In the evening of the first day, *mehndi* (henna) is applied on the hands and feet of the bride. Neighbors and relatives gather together and snacks and dinner are served. After that photo session starts and the relatives and friends get photographed with the bride or groom by turns. In the early morning of the next day *vatna* (chickpea flour paste) is applied to both the bride and groom. In the girl's case the *ghardoli* ceremony involving collection of water either from the *gurdwara* or a neighbor's home is done. The bride wears *choora* (special bangles indicating newly married status) soaked in milk and the groom wears the turban, the *sehra*, climbs on to a mare and has *surma* (kohl) put in his eyes by his brother's wife as part of the *varna* ceremony. Weddings do not take place in the household of the girl as used to be the practice earlier but in other places usually known as the "marriage palaces". On the morning of the wedding the bride's family shifts to these marriage palaces and makes preparations to receive the groom's marriage party or the *baraat*. After welcoming the groom's relatives with the *milni* ceremony, breakfast is served and bride and groom shift to the *gurdwara* with close relatives and friends for *anand karaj*, the actual religious wedding ceremony. After the ceremony is over, they move to the marriage palace again and the new couple again gets photographed with visitors. After that the marriage parties from both sides have lunch together and finally the bride leaves with the groom and his family in the *doli*. On the third day the groom's side organizes a reception party in the afternoon and again photo session with visitors is arranged and lunch is served.

One thing that the researcher noticed was that unlike the Sikhs living in Punjab, those in Pratappur and Simbal Camp did not favor dowry system although some gifts were given to the couple at the time of the wedding.

Tokyo

The Sikhs in Tokyo have not been staying in Japan for long and their average duration is about 6-10 years. Most of them are the first generation migrants and the second generations are still studying in schools. Some who were married before coming to Japan, have either left their family in India and stay in Japan alone or have brought their wives and children to Japan. Some, who were single when they came to Japan, and have a valid visa, went to India to get married in typical Indian style. Also, there were some cases where the overstayers staying illegally in Japan got engaged to Indian girls without meeting them. The engagements were arranged by their families who were in India and often the function or ceremony for engagement was held without the groom himself. In Japan the researcher watched the DVDs containing the engagement ceremony sent from India by the relatives to the respondents. One prospective groom in Japan showed the DVD to his friends and asked them "*Isn't she beautiful? Does she look ok?*" and was very happy when they replied "*Yes, Punjabi women are so beautiful. Japanese are not like us. Their eyes are very small and thin. But how did you decide your marriage? You have been living in Japan only last few years.*" "*She is also in Pratappur and my parents and her parents decided. I have known her since childhood while I hardly talked to her.*"

Finally, there were those Sikhs in Tokyo who decided to marry Japanese women or the other foreigners so that they could stay on in Japan. Usually these marriages take place in the Immigration Office. However, the marriages between the Sikhs and Japanese women are full of difficulties due to cultural differences. We heard the story from one Japanese wife "*If I am born again, I will never marry an Indian. He is a domineering husband and never cooks. Of course, some of Japanese also do that, but not like him. He rarely helps in domestic work. He doesn't even bring his plate to the*

kitchen after eating. He seldom takes us (her and their children) to eat out. Even when we come back late and tired, I have to prepare the dinner. At least in that situation, I want to eat out. But he doesn't. So on and so forth. I can talk about this topic endlessly." The point is that Japanese women usually regret marrying Indians and recommend others not to marry them. We also came across some cases where divorce took place, but the man was able to retain the visa after divorce. In these cases the Sikh respondents even married a second time, this time Sikh women in India and then called their wives to Japan.

Kobe

The Sikhs in Kobe prefer arranged marriages and love marriages are rare among them. The marriage partner is found not from among Sikhs in Kobe but from Sikhs in other countries, usually those where the respondent originally came from or has some relatives, mostly from Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia etc. The groom who lives in Kobe brings the bride to Japan after marriage as we saw in many cases in previous chapters. It was interesting to note that Sikh families in Kobe prefer not to bring the girls from U.S. or U.K. or even India for their sons because they find them too forward and opt instead for girls from the south-eastern countries where the girls have received a traditional upbringing as per Sikh tenets. On the other hand, the brides who grew up in Kobe move to other countries like U.K., U.S., Indonesia, Singapore, U.A.E., etc. where their husbands live. We could find only three or four cases of love marriages between the Sikh males and Japanese females although the Sikhs have been living in Kobe for many decades. And in the case, too, the Japanese women were required to follow the Sikh way of life in Kobe.

As far as the actual wedding is concerned, it is usually a lavish event befitting the economic status of the Sikh families in Kobe. The location for the wedding ceremony is decided on the basis of the cost of the wedding and the convenience of the guests coming from different parts of the world to attend the wedding. Many times they have the wedding in Southeast Asian countries where most of the relatives of the Sikhs in Kobe live. Although sometimes a function like the reception is held in Japan, Japan is rarely selected as the place for marriage ceremony because of the high expense of the venue, food, accommodation, etc. Some even go to India to purchase necessary things for the wedding at a low cost. When a marriage of the Sikh family in Kobe is held, many people including the Japanese friends and business associates from Kobe are invited for the reception party. They have *anand karaj* in the *gurdwara* and then luxurious parties in five star hotels. Mr. T told us about his grandson's marriage attended by around 800 people "*Contents of wedding are same, religious things. Decoration and those kinds of things are different. First the family had a ceremony and* langar *in the* gurdwara *and then the younger generation went to a hotel and had a big party which cost a lot of money.*"

Mrs. H was very nervous when her eldest son married. "*His is the first wedding for us. So all Sikhs in Kobe are looking at us – how we arrange the marriage, how we organize the ceremony and party, etc. It is a terrible headache and so much tension for me. If we were in Thailand or Singapore, we would not have been nervous like this because the Sikh community there is big and no one looks at such details of others' marriages. But here the community is so small and everyone is looking at us. I couldn't visit the* gurdwara *last week because of this tension.* " In fact the researcher noticed that a lot of the conversation in the *gurdwara* was about marriage issues especially before and after the weddings between grooms from Kobe and the brides from abroad. We often heard, "*From where will she (the bride) come?*" "*She is from*

Singapore and can play harmonium and is good at playing and singing for kirtan *(religious hymns).*" "*How old is she?*" "*She is twenty. But she is very mature, reliable, and has a solid family background. We have known her since she was around fifteen.*" "*Where will you have ceremony and party? In which hotel?*" "*When will she come to Kobe and where will they live in Kobe?*" Such questions were asked from concerned persons every Sunday while attending the *sat sang* in the *gurdwara*. Thus, although the main ceremony and party were held in the other countries, the procedure of the marriage including choosing the partner, preparation of marriage etc. were conducted very carefully because it was one of the biggest issues related to the reputation of the family among Sikhs in Kobe.

While observing the institution of marriage among the Sikhs both in India and Japan, we found that in Pratappur and Simbal Camp traditions rule the ceremonies of Punjabi marriage. The partner and the family background were considered very carefully by the family while selecting a spouse for the individual because the marriage was an important occasion to expand family networks and strengthen the family. Dowry system was not favored. The same system was followed by the Sikhs in Tokyo, since most of them got married in their native villages only. However, those Sikhs in Tokyo who married Japanese women or foreigners in order to obtain permanent stay visa got married in the Immigration Office and observed no traditional ceremonies, either Indian or Japanese. In this case, Sikhs took practical decision to continue to stay in Japan and they gave more priority to making money in Japan than to the family *izzat* (honor). For the Sikhs in Kobe, not only did they follow the traditional methods of mate selection, marriage arrangements and marriage ceremonies, for them marriage was one of the occasions to flaunt and enhance their family status and reputation.

Language

Practices in terms of language are inevitable hurdles for migrants and important for their smooth adjustment to new society. For Bourdieu language is not just a method of communication, but also a symbol of power. According to him the language one uses is designated by one's relational position in a field or social space and the linguistic communication is a demonstration of a person's position in the social space. In Japan they had to pick up Japanese because it was difficult to communicate in even broken English.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

As one is aware, in the villages in Punjab state, Punjabi is spoken everywhere and almost all road signs are written in *gurmukhi* (Punjabi script). People who grew up this area are comfortable writing and reading *gurmukhi*. For them Punjabi is the language for daily use in almost all situations. On our way to Pratappur, we did not hear Punjabi and see *gurmukhi* script till our arrival at the village. Similarly, when we travelled to Simbal Camp, after passing Pathankot the letters of sign boards changed from *gurmukhi* to *devanagari* (Hindi script) and again we did not hear the Punjabi language till we reached the village. Although in both villages people spoke Punjabi, once they went out from the villages they entered the world of Hindi.

For the villagers Punjabi was their spoken language. People who shifted to the village as the first generation migrants from Pakistan or POK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) because of partition and Indo-Pakistan war had a complex background because they got education before migration and got accustomed to reading and writing in Urdu. On the other hand, the generations of people who were raised in the villages and went to public schools in and around the villages were not taught Punjabi

in schools. So, while some of them learnt *gurmukhi* at home from a family member, others learned it at the *gurdwara* which arranged the class for the children. Hence although all Sikhs in both the villages speak Punjabi most of them have gotten used to writing and reading *devanagari*. In fact, some belonging to the younger generation were more comfortable speaking Hindi than Punjabi. Jestingly one lady told us "*This girl* (her daughter in her early twenties) *doesn't know Punjabi. She talks in Hindi. You can teach her Punjabi. Even you, a foreigner, have learnt Punjabi. But this girl....*" To which her daughter said, "*Mummy, how can I master Punjabi here? There is no school to learn Punjabi in UP*" (They were still calling their state UP although the name was changed to Uttarakhand in the year 2000).

This also explained why many Sikhs in Tokyo are using *devanagari* instead of *gurmukhi*, a fact which the researcher found baffling before her visit to the two villages in India. And English was hardly heard in both the villages. Only in the beginning of the research, some villagers tried to use broken English to talk to the researcher. However, since the researcher did have knowledge of Hindi and Punjabi, these were the languages used to communicate with them and English was not used in any conversation.

Tokyo

For the Sikhs in Tokyo Punjabi was the language of communication among them. Even in the Tokyo *gurdwara* we could see posters written in *gurmukhi* by people who have engaged in *sewa* for every *sat sang* while many of them who came from outside Punjab state could not read the *gurmukhi*. Sikh children in Tokyo learned Punjabi as their mother tongue because most of their Sikh parents talked them in Punjabi. But when these children start going to the nursery schools, they begin to learn Japanese

and pick up the language quickly. Some parents told us happily "*Our children have started talking in Japanese at home because now they are going to the nursery.* One even said, "*My wife sometimes can't understand our daughter's Japanese. But she can be a Japanese teacher for her mother.*" However, in the cases of marriages between Sikhs and Japanese, the Japanese language was used in their home which helped them improve their Japanese.

Additionally, the Sikhs in Tokyo work with Japanese colleagues and employers who usually do not understand even English. So, knowledge of Japanese is compulsory for these Sikh migrants. However, whether they pick up Japanese well or only a few limited words, depended on the situation of their job and life. The Sikhs working at construction sites with Japanese colleagues picked up Japanese through conversation with Japanese in their work and could understand and speak Japanese better than those who worked at the factories where mainly foreign laborers work with them on the conveyor belt. One of our interviewees explained this situation by telling us about one of his friends – "*S is working in the factory mainly in the night shift. So his colleagues are mostly foreigners and there is almost no conversation during the job hours. They are just dealing with plastic parts moving on the belt automatically. Then, how can he pick up Japanese, right? Most of us working in construction sites or factories with Japanese can speak Japanese well, as you know. Otherwise we can't work.*"

The Tokyo Sikhs also used Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi for communication with South Asians from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Even if they came across some unfamiliar words in these languages, they could still understand it better than while communicating in Japanese or English. They felt cultural closeness by using those languages and formed networks to get necessary information to stay and

work in Japan. The similarity in these languages and the widespread popularity of Hindi movies in South Asian countries became helpful to making this network among South Asians in Tokyo area.

Kobe

The first generation Sikh migrants to Japan had a background which made them proficient in various languages. They could speak not only their mother tongue Punjabi, and English, but also languages which are spoken in the areas where they had lived like Thai, Malay, Indonesian, Urdu, Persian, etc. For the second generation Sikhs, although English is still the required language for their education and business, Punjabi became optional and whether they mastered Punjabi or not depended on their parents and family. The son of Mr. and Mrs. J is a third generation Sikh and learned Punjabi staying with his grandparents who always spoke to him in Punjabi. He does not have any problem speaking or understanding Punjabi. For this family, Punjabi is considered as their mother tongue which is necessary for their Sikh identity. On the other hand, while the second generation Mr. A can understand the language, he is not comfortable speaking Punjabi. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. H realize that Punjabi should be taught to children while they are still young because they do not learn it after a certain age. Because of the experience with their sons, they have realized the importance of talking to children in Punjabi and they have tried to communicate with their grandchildren in Punjabi. "*That was our mistake. We raised our sons without any conscious efforts to make them learn Punjabi. Regarding our sons, it's too late. But for grandchildren, we will make every effort to teach them Punjabi.*"

Children who study in the international schools do not have the opportunity to learn Japanese in a formal manner. If they need to master Japanese for their job, they

have to learn themselves. It is a notable thing that even the second generation and third generation Sikhs born and bred in Kobe have acquired Japanese with their own efforts. Mr. A learnt Japanese seriously and had worked in a Japanese company before he joined his father's business and his language skill of Japanese has been helpful for his work. While working in the Japanese firm his Japanese colleague complimented him on his knowledge of the Japanese language to which he replied, "*You say my Japanese is perfect and may think it's because I was born and grew up in Japan. Of course, it is. But without any efforts it was impossible to master this language. I tried to study Japanese myself by reading Japanese comics. So you also should study English consciously to learn it.*"

We found that the Sikhs in Pratappur and Simbal Camp spoke Punjabi in the villages. However, they could not learn *gurmukhi* script officially because Hindi was main language outside of the villages and the schools did not provide the teaching of Punjabi language. This linguistic situation made it clear that the Sikhs were in a culturally marginal position in the regions they lived. In Tokyo area, the Sikhs had to pick up Japanese language and even among the Sikh couples, the longer they spent time in Japan the more conversations in Japanese they had in their house. Although they had opportunity to speak Punjabi and Hindi when they visited the *gurdwara* and Pakistani shops, these were not daily routine and they mostly spoke Japanese in their everyday life in Tokyo region. Their daily usage of Japanese language helped them build close relationships with Japanese and made the Sikhs in Tokyo get involved in Japanese society as we have discussed in the previous chapter. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Kobe speak English in most situations. Mastering English was more important for them than learning Japanese while they made efforts to pick up Japanese and could communicate in Japanese whenever required. This situation in

Kobe meant that the Sikhs kept their own linguistic space of English which was shared with other Indians. The social distance between the Kobe Sikhs and Japanese which we discussed in the previous chapter was caused largely by this separation of linguistic space in their daily life. One thing, nevertheless, is undeniable that both in Tokyo and Kobe, the practice of speaking Punjabi has declined due to the requirements of the circumstances. But it is notable that the Sikhs in Tokyo continue to retain their knowledge of Punjabi since they need it as they have all their relatives in India. However, the Sikhs in Kobe, despite the fact that they need not have any knowledge of Punjabi since they do not need to use it at all, tend to preserve it as part of their cultural identity as Sikhs.

Recreation and Festivals

Recreation is one of the important practices related to the cultural preference of any group which can be part of their habitus as is celebration of festivals which is an occasion for recreation and at the same time, provides the opportunities for people to have cultural practices collectively in society.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

Every house of the Sikhs in Pratappur and Simbal Camp has television sets with satellite connections. The females especially enjoy television drama series in the evening. Children were fond of watching cartoon programs. Bollywood films were favored and often watched on television while they sometimes went to theaters also. On the special occasions like wedding and celebration of a birth, they had a lot of fun by playing *bhangra* music and dancing with sound systems of CD players and big speakers. When some children turned on the music at a loud volume and started

dancing, the adults around me explained "*Punjabi music and dance always make us have so much fun. This is Punjabi culture, as you already know. This is one of the ways to enjoy our life.*" and took the researcher's hand and entered the circle of the dance.

The other recreation was travelling by train or car, both for pilgrimage and for visiting their relatives who lived in far off places. The researcher sometimes got phone calls in the middle of this type of trip. "*Hello, we are on our way from Pratappur to Jammu. Now we have arrived at* Ponta Sahib gurdwara *and will stay here tonight. Tomorrow morning we will leave here and stop at Chandigarh to meet you.*" They traveled for pilgrimage also and visited not only Sikh holy places but also large Hindu temples like *Vaishnu Devi* in Katra, Jammu. They also preferred going to hill stations like Nainital in Uttarakhand. However, they did not stay in hotels overnight and came back the same day.

Apart from Sikh religious festivals, they celebrate *Diwali*, *Lohri*, and *Holi*. On the day of *Diwali*, the villagers of Pratappur favored to visit the *Nanak Mata gurdwara* which organized special light decoration on the *gurdwara*. They went there for worship and enjoyed the amusement ground and many stalls specially set up in front of the *gurdwara* for the cerebration. Children enjoyed the fireworks and lighting of candles. *Lohri* and *Holi* are celebrated by mainly families which have children. In the *Lohri* festival, they make a bonfire and eat special snacks like peanuts, popcorn, and *gachak*. For *Holi* celebrations, children have a lot of fun with color powder. Although they enjoy these festivals, they did not purchase many goods for the festivals as the people living in the city. Thus, they did not spend much money for their recreation and they enjoyed the leisure time simply.

Tokyo

The Sikhs in Tokyo also enjoyed watching television programs and Bollywood films as the villagers did. However, these contents were provided by DVDs rented from Pakistani shops. Nevertheless, they seemed to miss the practice of playing loud Punjabi music and dancing to it. As one person told us, "*Although there are some DVD containing Punjabi songs, it is difficult to dance to the songs being played at a loud volume because of consideration for our Japanese neighbors. We often danced with Punjabi songs in the village. It was really fun gathering many friends, relatives and neighbors. But here there is no dance at all. The Japanese do not dance or sing like us while we do it all the time. We really miss those days.*"

The occasions to eat out were another way of having fun for the Sikhs in Tokyo. They enjoyed different types of food which they had never eaten in India, especially the Japanese style bar and fast food restaurants were favored because of the economical price. The Tokyo Sikhs could not take trips to other places due to their status as overstayers and also because of the high cost of such trips. Many of them said, "*We wish we could visit places such as Okinawa, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and some other famous places for tourism.*"

The Sikhs who live with their families in Tokyo area celebrate *Diwali*. However, many Sikhs in Tokyo did not celebrate any Indian festivals. Mr. V told us, "*Here we are not using Indian calendar any more. So I do not know the dates of Indian festivals. I called my parents a few days ago and learned last week they had* Diwali *festival.*" Instead of Indian festivals they enjoyed celebration of Christmas and New Year as the Japanese do.

Kobe

The economic affluence of the Sikhs in Kobe defined their leisure activities as well,

which included travelling, eating out, shopping, etc. When their relatives visited Kobe, they took them for sightseeing trips to various tourist places in Japan by car. Even their everyday life involves shopping, eating out, etc. They bought accessories and bags in expensive department stores. The weekends were a good time for eating out at restaurants along with drinking. When the researcher visited Mr. T's house, many relatives were gathered and they explained their schedule "*Today we went to* Ama no Hashidate (tourist place near Kobe). *Look, we bought these key holders, so cute, aren't they? This night we are planning to go to a Japanese restaurant. About tomorrow it is not decided yet, but we will definitely go somewhere. Now we are going to a near crepe shop for coffee and snacks.*"

The other leisure activity of the Kobe Sikhs was socializing with other Indians settled in Kobe. They visited close friends including Sindhis and Gujaratis and played card games with tea, coffee, snacks and sweets. The females sometimes attended culture classes like cooking and craft with their Indian friends. The young males played *futsal* (a variation of football) with Indian friends during the weekends.

The Sikhs in Kobe also enjoyed many satellite TV programs like American television dramas, Indian television programs, Bollywood and Hollywood movies, etc. In addition they sometimes went to a theater to watch Hollywood movies with friends and also enjoyed a cup of coffee in a coffee shop. Hence, they could have various forms of recreation in Kobe while most their companions were Indians living in Kobe.

The Sikhs in Kobe also celebrate *Diwali* with other Indians and organized special programs in the Indian Club and the *gurdwara*. They decorated their homes with candles. For *Baisakhi* celebration they had *akhand path* in the *gurdwara* where they gathered and enjoyed *langar*. Christmas and New Year were also celebrated by them.

Thus, the common recreation for both the Sikhs in the villages in India and Tokyo was watching Indian TV programs and films and socializing with friends. Besides these, the Sikhs in Pratappur and Simbal Camp sometimes travelled to visit relatives or for pilgrimage. Although the Sikhs in Tokyo also wanted to travel and enjoy dance and music, they could not do so because of their visa status and economic situation. Instead, they enjoyed eating out which was rare in the villages. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Kobe had enough money to indulge in a variety of activities for their recreation, such as, travelling, shopping, fine dining, etc. Socializing with other Indians in Kobe was also important not only for strengthening the network among them but also as their leisure activity. Like other Sikhs in the Indian villages and Tokyo, they also enjoyed watching TV and films; however, they had more variety of the programs available to them due to the satellite connections provided to their houses. Thus, the Sikhs in the villages and Tokyo had simple practices for their recreation and those in Kobe enjoyed wealthy consumer culture. Where festivals were concerned, the Sikhs in Japan did not seem to celebrate them as frequently and as ardently as their Indian counterparts did.

Worship

Practices related to worship are also one of the significant cultural practices which relate to the process of the migrants' identification. Smart (1999) offers the important points in studying religious aspects of diaspora. He says that the study of diasporas and their modes of adaptation can give us insights into general patterns of religious transformation. In other words, due to changed location and circumstances, religious practices may take on a new shape. It was this aspect that we also looked into.

Pratappur and Simbal Camp

We saw many devotees at the *gurdwara* in the morning and evening in both our research villages. The villagers could get to the nearest *gurdwara* from their house within five minutes by foot. Children enjoyed visiting the gurdwara almost every day and often called the researcher "Didi, *let's go to the gurdwara today, too.*" They would spend just a few minutes in the *gurdwara* and leave. The villagers especially the women often read the *gutka* (small sized religious texts) in the morning or evening at home. However, some villagers could not read the *gutka* since they did not know *gurmukhi*. They simply sat in the *gurdwara* and listened to the *gurbani* (compositions of Sikh gurus) read out by *gyani* instead of reading the *gutka* themselves. Every morning and evening many elder persons also sat in front of the television to watch live program brought directly via satellite from *Harimandir Sahib*, the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Functions like the *akhand path* and *bhog* (observances related to the reading of the concluding part of the holy book), were held both at the *gurdwara* and their homes. When these were organized at their homes, they carried the *guru granth* from the nearest *gurdwara* to the house where the program was held. Sometimes they had the *kirtan* (devotional chanting) at the *gurdwara* after the *bhog* at home. The *langar* was prepared in huge pans in the yard of the house and served to all visitors. Mostly these functions were organized on special occasions like *gurpurabs* (celebrations based on the lives of the Sikh gurus) and occasions of birth, death, weddings or even at the time of job promotion. Many times they invited the researcher too, "*We will have* path *for death anniversary of our grandmother in* Nanak Mata (one of the Sikh pilgrimage places nearby Pratappur). *Our relatives also will come from Jammu. You too should come.*"

One major religious event celebrated by the villagers was the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth *guru*, for which a *Nagar Kirtan* (religious procession) was taken out which was watched by the researcher along with many Sikhs gathered on the main road of the city. After coming back to the village, they discussed it with great excitement, "*Did you watch the* Nagar kirtan?" "*Yes, this year's was better than last year. There were many performances by children and those were very lovely.*" "*Yes, we were looking at them from a balcony of a building and we could see them clearly.*" Thus, the practices of the Sikh worship in the villages were part of their everyday routine, socializing and leisure in their life, as well as, part of special occasions.

Tokyo

Most of Sikhs in Tokyo did not have the *guru granth* in their homes. However, some of them carried the *gutka* which they read sometimes in their homes. Sikh *gurus*' pictures about the size of a postcard were seen in their rooms and incense was burnt in front of the picture whenever they prayed. Mr. L had made a small space in his room to put the picture of Sikh gurus. He burnt incense in the morning. When he came back from his work, he prayed in front of the picture and put the coins which were inside pocket of his trousers there, which he later donated to the *gurdwara* in Tokyo. Mr. Y often read the *gutka* burning incense when he finished taking shower after his job. Many Sikhs also prayed before the Hindu goddess *Vaishnu Mata* whose shrine is located in the Jammu region, which has been visited by many Sikhs living in that area.

Although the *gurdwara* in Tokyo is the important place for the worship of Sikhs in Kanto area, some could not visit the *sat sang* because of their visa status. Also, there were signs of temple politics. Some Sikhs had been visiting the *gurdwara*, but

after some time they quit attending the *sat sang* because they were not comfortable with atmosphere of the *gurdwara*. "*In the* gurdwara *I see too many Sikhs from Punjab. Of course, everyone can come to the* gurdwara. *But I felt the* gurdwara *was managed mainly by them.* "

Mr. B is the rare one who has the *guru granth* in his house. Although the rented house is Japanese style and there is no special prayer room, he uses one room only for laying the *guru granth*. Mr. B opens the *guru granth* every morning before going to his job and closes it in the evening after coming back from his work. Mr. B and his family chant the *gurbani* and *ardas* (Sikh prayer) every day.

Kobe

Sikhs in Kobe who live in palatial homes have prayer rooms in their houses. The prayer room is used for their individual religious practice. Inside the rooms they lay the *guru granth* on a special rack under a canopy hung from the ceiling and pictures of Sikh *gurus* are hung on the walls, just as one may find in the home of a Sikh in India. Interestingly, these rooms are used mostly by the female members of the households. Mrs. H prays every morning and evening in the room. Mrs. S also often uses the room to pray and meditate. Many Sikhs in Kobe also watch the live satellite program from *Harimandir Sahib*. Mr. T told us "*Watching this program every morning and evening is one of our routine activities. We cannot visit the Golden Temple easily but at least through this we get* darshan *(beholding it)* and *also get peace of mind*" Of course, in the *sat sang* every Sunday in the *gurdwara* they gather to pray and sing religious hymns. However, the purpose of their joining the *sat sang* was not only for worship but also to an extent to socialize with other Sikhs in Kobe.

We looked at the religious practices of Sikhs in India and Japan through the description of their worship and activities in the *gurdwara*. In the Indian villages the Sikhs lived near the *gurdwara* and visited there as a daily routine although they did not spend much time there to sit and pray. Besides visiting the *gurdwara*, reading the *gutka* was an integral part of their daily religious practices. Managing and attending the *akhand paths* and *bhogs* were practiced both as worship and socializing and these practices were important events in their life and created the occasion to gather their relatives, friends and neighbors.

Most of Sikhs in Tokyo lived far from the *gurdwara* and found it difficult to visit it because of the distance as well as their status as overstayers. Instead of going to the *gurdwara*, they prayed in their homes although most of them were not very regular about it. The *sat sang* in the *gurdwara* was held once a month. Except for the day of *sat sang*, the *gurdwara* was closed and no one visited there. They did not have any occasion of *akhand path* and *bhog* in Tokyo area even in the *gurdwara*. Their religious practices were mainly individual activities. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Kobe lived near the *gurdwara* and easily attended the *sat sang* every Sunday. They had separate prayer rooms in their houses and used the room for their daily worship. The satellite TV broadcasting live program from Amritsar gave them a sense of worship and sometimes they visited *Harimandir Sahib* as pilgrimage. Thus, the Sikhs in Kobe had the occasion of collective worship at the *sat sang*, and, at the same time individual space of worship at home. The satellite program from Amritsar made their imaginary connection to Punjab and their actual pilgrimage to the Golden Temple gave them physical experiences of Sikh worship in their place of ethnic origin, both of which were not available to the Sikhs in Tokyo. Thus, the Sikhs in Tokyo area have been unable to continue their religious activities due to their circumstances while the

Kobe Sikhs are still very close to their religion, despite their not having any connection with India for a very long time. One common thing in both places is that the *gurdwara* is seen as a space not only for religious activities but also for making or continuing social contacts.

However, as was discussed by Smart (1999) we do see the religious transformation of Sikh diaspora through the changes in the religious practices of the Sikhs in Tokyo and Kobe. The Sikhs in Tokyo are not regular in the observance of the religious practices as they were in India to the extent that they do not even celebrate the *gurpurabs* which are considered the holiest days among the Sikhs. In fact, they may even be working on those days. Even where Kobe Sikhs are concerned who have by and large continued to observe the Sikh religion, we do see some changes. For instance at the Kobe *gurdwara* we found that although *langar* was served every Sunday, it was not prepared by the devotees or the *gurdwara* priest but by Japanese women hired for that purpose. Also, the *langar* was served on tables and chairs, and the *langar* menu included Thai dishes.

In the above description we have discussed the social and cultural practices of the Sikhs in India and Japan and found evidence of both continuity and change, in fact, in most cases they went side by side. For instance, where the food habits of the Sikhs in Japan are concerned, we found that they still cook Punjabi food at home, however, at the same time they have begun to eat out quite often in Japan, a practice that was missing when they were living in their native places. In addition, the Sikhs in Japan have learnt to enjoy other kind of dishes which are not available in India. Again, dressing habits of the women have undergone a drastic change although those of the men remain the same. Also, although the Sikhs in Kobe continue to be very rigid about not cutting their hair and beards, many Sikhs in Tokyo region have had their

hair and beards cut in order to avoid standing out among the local population. However, as they clarified to us, this is a purely pragmatic step and in the cultural sense they still remain very close to their roots. In fact, they made it clear that this act of cutting their hair and shaving their beards caused them immense mental trauma, so much so that they would grow back their hair and beards whenever they decide to return to their villages. This shows that they may have changed their appearance for practical reasons but have not change their habitus related to the clothes and appearance.

A similar scenario was found regarding the practices related to marriage. Although we found some cases of interethnic marriages among the Sikhs in Tokyo, once again these were entered into for practical reasons and the traditional aspects of the institution of marriage remained almost untouched among the Sikhs in Kobe. One thing that did show substantial change was the language aspect. From their native tongue, the Sikhs in Kobe had switched over to English while those in Tokyo became more and more accustomed to speaking Japanese. However, once again both the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo skill consider knowledge of Punjabi essential even if they do not use it very often. This was so in the case of the Sikhs in Kobe because it is directly related to their identity as Sikhs, which they were desperate to cling to. But for the Sikhs in Tokyo it was valued as the only way to communicate with their relatives in India.

The recreation pattern was similar both in India and Japan while in the case of celebration of festivals, we found a distinct change among the Japanese Sikhs as they celebrated fewer occasions as compared to Sikhs in India. One reason for this could be the different work pattern in both the countries. The religious practices had also changed based on the different everyday activities although they did manage to keep the habitus related to worship.

An overview of the different aspects of the lives of the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo makes it difficult to clearly demarcate the areas where there is cultural continuity and those where there is change in the social and cultural practices of the Sikhs in Japan. However, our discussion on the social and cultural practices prepared the space to consider the diaspora as a type of consciousness pointed by Vertovec (2000) which is seen in a variety of experience, a state of mind and a sense of identity. As we know from the life of Sikhs in Japan, they have maintained their cultural and social ties to Punjab in some form or another. Although the Sikhs in Kobe have been staying in Japan for many decades, we found their cultural practices were based on their identity as Sikhs which was constructed through their everyday life. In their life in Kobe, their connection with India was sustained by devices like satellite television programs, internet and magazines which provided information regarding their place of origin and also helped them keep in touch with their roots. The information supported their imagination of connecting with Punjab and the imagination strengthened and reinforced their Sikh identity.

On the other hand, the Sikhs in Tokyo have direct connection with India where their families live and their own bodily experiences and habitus learnt in India were based on their identity as Sikhs. However, because of unstable social status as overstayers, they faced the difficulties in their life in Tokyo area including those related to conducting same practices as those in India. In addition, they had to suffer the feeling of isolation from their familiar practices based on the habitus which created their cultural and social sense although, ironically, this situation helped their adjustment to Japanese society. On the other hand, the practical decision to bring changes in their appearance and socio-cultural practices resulted in great emotional distress putting them in a situation where they oscillated between continuity and

change. Thus, whether it was the Sikhs in Kobe whose identity was supported by an imaginary connection with India or those in Tokyo who suffered the process of changing many of their familiar practices and habitus, in both cases the core dilemma was the same as faced by any dispersed or transplanted people or diaspora: how to survive as a group.

The biggest *gurdwara* in Pratappur

Entrance of the *gurdwara* in Tokyo

The *gurdwara* in Kobe

Free tuition for learning *gurmkhi* in Simbal Camp

sat sang in the Tokyo gurdwara

Sat sang in Kobe *gurdwara*

Screens show Sikh prayer in English and Punjabi (*gurmukhi*)

Chapter V

Summary and Conclusion

The Background of the Study

The researcher, who is Japanese, first got interested in studying the life of Sikh community in Japan in 2004 when she was still a student in the Masters program in Japan. Her preliminary work (Azuma, 2008a; 2008b) in this area was limited to studying the activities of the *gurdwara* located in Tokyo. When she decided to continue working on this subject for her doctoral program as well, the focus shifted to analyzing the difference between the social and cultural practices among the Sikhs living in Kobe and Tokyo areas, as also to view it in the backdrop of the life of the Sikhs living in the native (Indian) villages of the respondents in Japan. The rationale was that one could not fully understand the life of the Sikhs living in Japan without considering the society and culture of their place of origin. Hence an effort was made to compare their life in Japan to that in their place of origin in order to ascertain how their migration to Japan had affected their everyday life.

In 2008 the researcher came to Chandigarh and began her research in India by visiting two villages inhabited predominantly by Sikhs, located in Uttarakhand state and Jammu and Kashmir state, respectively, which had sent many villagers to the Tokyo area. Through her experiences in not only the villages selected for research, but also Chandigarh and some other villages in Punjab, it became clear that the research villages have some features that are different from the villages in Punjab. But as the researcher became familiar with the life of the Sikhs living outside Punjab she also realized that despite the differences found among the Sikhs living in Punjab, Jammu area and the Terai area in Uttarakhand, there existed something called the Punjabi

culture. Although Punjab is a named territory and an area which has created a particular local culture called Punjabi culture, since the end of 19th century, due to migration of the people who have roots in Punjab, Punjab has been deterritorialized and the Punjabi culture has spread to other places as well. Even inside India, we can find the spread of 'Punjab' outside the Punjab state although there may appear some diversity among the Punjabi community caused by different historical and social background in each location. And as we are well aware, there are Punjabi communities outside India in places as far and as different as U.K., U.S., Canada, Germany, Italy, France, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Kenya etc. However, usually when we speak of the many 'Punjabs' outside India, more often than not, we tend to refer to the Sikh diaspora. For this study too, we have focused on researching the social and cultural aspects of the life of the Sikhs in Japan.

The main objectives of this research were: 1) to study the social and cultural circumstances that prompted Sikhs to migrate to Japan, 2) to examine the problems these Sikhs have faced as a diasporic group, as well as, the strategies used to cope with them, 3) to compare the social and cultural aspects of the Sikh migrants' life in Japan with those in their home villages in India and 4) to examine re-creation of culture by Sikh migrants. We used the ethnographic study method for this purpose which involves mainly the process of participant observation since this is the ideal technique to attain our objectives and entails a detailed study of the everyday life in order to gain knowledge about society and culture of the group under study.

Conceptual and Theoretical Basis

The term of diaspora first began with its use to describe the scattering of the Jews from Palestine. However, the meaning of the term has extended from being biblically

defined to a new definition as dispersion of localized people and the culture to other places. Diasporas are now understood in terms of global cultural flows and the transnational migrations and the term is often used in the areas of Cultural Studies and Cultural Anthropology while discussing globalization, migrants and their culture.

Different typologies of diaspora have been offered by various scholars. For instance, Cohen (1997) speaks of victim diaspora implying the exiled groups who are sent away from their homelands; labor diaspora which include the indentured as well as voluntary labor force; imperial diaspora including colonial powers that migrate with the aim of colonial expansion; trade diaspora which implies migrants who shift for the sake of business and trade ventures; and cultural or deterritorialized diaspora which include persons or groups retaining their original culture, retaining symbolic links with their places of origin and sharing concern both for their country of origin and that of migration. Looking at the meanings of each, one can categorize the Sikhs in Japan into labor, trade and deterritorialized diaspora. However, when we consider the difference among the Sikhs in different parts of Japan, it can be said that the Sikhs in Kobe fall in the category of trade and deterritorialized diaspora while the Sikhs in Tokyo are more akin to the labor and deterritorialized diaspora.

Additionally, Vertovec (1999, 2000) has outlined three meanings of 'diaspora': 1) diaspora as social form, 2) diaspora as type of consciousness and 3) diaspora as mode of cultural production. Diaspora as social form is characterized by a 'triadic relationship' between (a) globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups, (b) the territorial states and contexts where such groups reside, and (c) the homeland states and contexts from where they or their forebears came. Diaspora as type of consciousness is shown by describing the variety of experience, a state of mind and a sense of identity. It further involves two paradoxical emotions – one

negative and the other positive. The first is based on the group's feeling of loss and alienation in the new set-up and the second is boosted by the feeling of people of the same identity being together. Diaspora as mode of cultural production is related to the globalization process and as a result, described as involving the re-creation of new transnational and social phenomena.

A Recap of the Findings of the Study

Through our ethnographic descriptions in previous chapters we have attempted to discuss the Sikh groups in Kobe and Tokyo in the sense of being a social form and having a certain dual consciousness as mentioned by Vertovec. In the second chapter we discussed historical circumstances of the Sikh migrants in Japan and the discussion made it clear that the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo have different historical processes of migration. In Kobe, the Sikhs have been living for generations because their migration has been continuing from the time even before World War Two and Indian organizations have worked for local Indians for decades. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Tokyo and its vicinity have appeared since 1990s and while the Sikhs in Kobe are concentrated in a particular geographical area close to the *gurdwara*, those in Tokyo are scattered in and around Tokyo. Besides the historical situation of their migration to Japan, we found some other differences between the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo like the places of origin, types of job, citizenship status and economic situation. The Sikhs in Kobe came from not only India but also Southeast Asian countries where their family networks existed and continue to exist. These networks supported their trading business in Kobe and they could achieve economic affluence in their life. And their successful business made it easy for them to get permanent visas for Japan. Meanwhile, the Sikhs in Tokyo came from India only and they did not have sufficient

networks to help them start their own business and get financial support. They work as manual labor at construction sites or small factories without proper visa. Thus, in the second chapter we found differences in the migration circumstance of the Sikhs in Japan and it was clear that the Sikhs in Kobe built their stable economic and social standing through their long settlement history in Kobe and their family networks, both of which were not available to the Sikhs in Tokyo.

The third chapter discussed the problems which the Sikhs in Japan have faced and the coping mechanisms they have used to overcome these difficulties. We found they have financial, social, psychological, medical and cultural problems. However, as we saw in the case of migration patterns in the second chapter, here also there were differences between the Sikhs in Kobe and Tokyo. Although economic difficulty and problem of adjustment to Japanese society were common among the Sikhs in both places, the coping methods were different. The Kobe Sikhs could get support from family networks and their economic problems did not affect their life seriously. But the financial problems of the Sikhs in Tokyo made their life difficult. Also, unlike the Sikhs in Kobe, sometimes the Sikhs in Tokyo could get support from Japanese instead of help from their family networks. In terms of the adjustment problems, the Sikhs in Kobe still have to make efforts to interact with the Japanese even after many decades since settling in Japan because they have lived an almost ghettoized existence, mixing mostly with the Indians and the opportunity for interaction with Japanese has been limited. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Tokyo have become close to Japanese in a relatively short time because of their work conditions in which they have to be exposed to the Japanese way. The psychological problem of loneliness was mainly faced by the Sikhs in Kobe while the medical problems were more serious in Tokyo. Although the cultural problems which are related to their identity as Punjabi Sikhs

were shared, again the coping was different between Kobe and Tokyo. The Sikhs in Kobe preserved their Punjabi way of life while the Sikhs in Tokyo area struggled to adjust tc the Japanese way.

In the second and third chapters we focused on the Sikh diaspora as a social form (Vertovec,2000) which is represented by historical, social and cultural backgrounds of migration and problems faced by them as a diasporic group. This discussion about diaspora as social form made it clear that there exists a displacement from the homeland under the nexus of an unequal global economic system as a background of diaspora as Parrenas and Siu (2007) explained. Similarly, another point mentioned by them as a feature of diaspora, namely, that there is the sense of collective consciousness and connectivity with other people displaced from the homeland across the diasporic terrain (Parrenas and Siu, 2007) was also proven to be correct. This sort of collective consciousness and connectivity were seen among the South Asians including Sikhs gathered in Pakistani shops in Tokyo as we saw in Chapter Three.

In the fourth chapter we examined the social and cultural practices of the Sikhs in Japan both in Kobe and Tokyo and different aspects of their lives were analyzed in the backdrop of the social and cultural practices in the Indian villages. We compared the practices of Sikhs in Tokyo with those of Indian villages and it became clear that the Sikhs in Tokyo have changed and adjusted their practices to the context of their life in Japan. The process of changing their practices involved the simultaneous experience of alienation and the maintenance of affiliation to both the country of residence and homeland, matching one of the features of diaspora noted by Parrenas and Siu (2007). How much they changed and how they adjusted was decided based on the social and cultural situation in which they found themselves.

It was easy to generalize our findings in the cases of Kobe since the Sikhs living there were a somewhat homogenous group while in Tokyo despite some common features, there also were many differences among the Sikh population. For instance, very few of the Sikhs hailed from Punjab villages and towns while most came from the Jammu and Uttarakhand areas. It seems that while for the Sikh villagers in Punjab, U.K., North America and Europe seemed to be the favored destinations, Japan seemed to attract more Sikhs from the above regions. Similarly, although a large number of the Sikhs are part of the manual labor force, the actual nature of their jobs tends to vary. Apart from some who were IT engineers, restaurant owners and entrepreneurs there are those who are employed by factories as laborers, welders, electricians etc. Others work for construction companies. And then there were those who worked as cooks in different type of eateries. Each of these jobs entails different pay grades, different working hours and different work conditions. Other differences that have already been discussed in the preceding chapter are related to their marriage choices and their appearance. Thus, we found diversity in the practices among the Sikhs in Tokyo because the social and cultural context they live is different from each other.

We concluded the fourth chapter by discussing the continuity and change in the social and cultural practices of the Sikhs in Japan. We found some changes of their practices due to the difference of life style between India and Japan, like the practices related to food, language, recreation, and worship. And some practices related to clothes, appearance and marriage were changed by the Sikhs in Tokyo area who had the problem of visa status because of the practical reasons. However, in terms of the habitus, the Sikhs in Japan shared the habitus related to marriage and worship with the Sikhs in India. In other words, we found continuity in the habitus of marriage and worship between the Sikhs in Japan and India.

Our discussion on the experiences and practices of the Sikhs in Japan makes it clear that in Kobe their identity as Punjabi Sikhs is sustained mainly by imaginary ties to Punjab while in Tokyo they have direct physical experiences and real authentic memories from Punjab which construct their Sikh identity. Or one can say that the Sikh identity in Kobe has been created by the cultural memories about Punjab as their place of origin which enhanced their collective consciousness as Sikhs by imaginary connection with Punjab. On the other hand, the cultural and social practices of the Tokyo Sikhs are related to their individual memory and experiences in India including their habitus. Their change of practices brought the feeling of isolation from their familiar habitus which is the basis of thought and value in their life. Through this discussion we examined the Sikh diaspora in Japan as type of consciousness which implies the migrants' experiences, memory and practices.

The remaining question then is that as a diaspora, how the Sikh migrants produce and re-create their own culture and what kind of new global culture the Sikh migrants produce.

Cultural Production and Re-creation of Cultural Practices

Vertovec (1999), in his well known article in the journal *Diaspora* mentioned that diaspora can be described as involving the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena. By this he means that in the times of globalization, diasporas do not reproduce old culture but actually re-create new cultural practices. He also holds that the cultural production of diaspora includes features in the life of migrants that are seen in processes of deterritorialization, hybridity, creolization, back-and-forth, transferences, mutual influences, negotiations and constant transformations (2000). Similar thoughts have been presented by many

other studies about the cultural production in these diasporic contexts, for instance by Appadurai (1997), Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001), Shukla (2003) and Hall (1990). Hall has probably explained it best by writing, "the diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (p.235)." Through this approach the emphasis is now on the fluidity of constructed styles and identities among the diasporas. And this new trend is seen especially among diasporic youth who have been socialized in an era marked by the global trends of difference and diversity. These young people are inclined to select and represent facets of culture and identity taken from more than one heritage.

In our study, we found the process of cultural re-creation among the Sikhs in Japan in their everyday life. Regarding food, they enjoyed mixing of Indian and Japanese taste. They preferred Japanese cooking style which uses less oil and salt even when they made Indian *sabzi*. The Indian dishes cooked by Japanese style were served with sticky Japanese rice and Japanese pickles. Indian *chai* was taken less sweet or even without sugar with Japanese snacks cooked in soya sauce. Conversely, they also enjoyed Japanese tea with Indian *namkin*. Japanese or Thai curry was served with *chappati*. They made pizza toast and enjoyed it with coke, thus exhibiting their preference for western food as well. Similarly, in their choice of clothes, the women also showed their mixed styles. They wore the Indian style *kurta* with jeans or various types of western and Japanese tops with *salwar*. But then one cannot forget that both the males and females also bought clothes and accessories from global brand shops like Gap, Benetton, Nike, etc. besides Japanese brands and, at the same time went to

India to purchase Indian clothes. For their entertainment the men, especially in Kobe, enjoyed watching baseball and football games more than cricket and hockey and they were dedicated fans of the local baseball team. However, they preferred Indian and Hollywood films and English and Hindi/Punjabi music more than Japanese ones. Thus, we found that their cultural practices are affected by Indian, Japanese, and global culture. In the life of Sikhs in Japan they mixed these different pieces and created their own mosaic of cultural practices.

Media and Cultural Re-creation

One important point mentioned by Vertovec and others while discussing cultural production is the role played by media. As Vertovec (1999) mentions, an increasingly key avenue for the flow of cultural phenomena and the transformation of diasporic identity is global media and communications. Appadurai (1997) too explained the significance of the media in the context of cultural production with the term of *mediascape*. He wrote, "*mediascapes* refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television station, and film-production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media. These images involve many complicated inflections, depending on their mode (documentary or entertainment), their hardware (electronic or pre-electronic), their audiences (local, national, or transnational), and the interests of those who own and control them (Appadurai, 1997: 35).

In the life of the Sikhs in Kobe, satellite television programs from India were the significant media which makes an imagined connection to India and Punjab. They were familiar with *Harimandir Sahib* in Amritsar and were almost transported to it

while watching the *kirtan* telecast from there every day. Communication through the internet facilities like Skype and YouTube videos made them feel close to their families living in different countries. In Tokyo the international phone call was used more often to keep in touch and exchange news with those in India. Although the Sikhs in Tokyo could not attend the family functions held in India, they watched the functions on the DVDs sent by their families and felt as much a part of those functions as those who had attended them. Other print media like pictures of *gurus*, stickers of the Sikh religious symbols of *khanda*, *waheguru* written in *gurmkhi*, etc. were seen in the houses and the cars of the Sikhs in Japan. Some subscribed to Sikh magazines published in India. Thus, the media which are available globally help in reinforcing the cultural identity of the Sikh community even when they are deterritorialized from Punjab, their place of origin.

Structure and Agency in Cultural Re-creation

Additionally, Vertovec (1999) noted that diasporic phenomena need to be approached through the concepts of *structure* (historical condition) and *agency* (the meanings held and practices conducted by social actors). Agency is the subject conducting cultural practices with its bodily experiences and creates the perception and meaning of the world including culture as we see in the discussion by the phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty (2002).

For Merleau-Ponty, the body is more than the vessel or location where thought arises. He writes that the body cannot be treated as merely an object in the world like other objects, but it is the condition of possibility for understanding any object. Without the body providing the center from which one observes or conceptualizes objects, one would never be able to take a position in relationship to any object and

either perceive or conceptualize it. As such, the body is never an object of perception in the way a physical object is since it precedes and upholds all particular experiences. He thus distinguished between the body as an object (*Körper*), i.e., body as an assemblage of physical parts and one's lived body (*Leib*) implying the embodied experience. Merleau-Ponty considers the bodily experiences important as they impose a meaning to all contents and all actions and thoughts and stands in a relationship to psychological and historical structure. This would denote that the body is in a certain psychological and historical context and the bodily experiences in that context compose the perception and meaning. Thus, the body is not just container to conduct practices but conveys meaning from certain contexts. Applied to the meaning of diaspora as cultural production, it would imply that the meanings of the social and cultural practices are given by the bodily experiences reflecting certain historical and psychological structures.

This would correspond to the concept of habitus that has also been considered useful for approaching the subject of diasporic cultural practices. In connection with our discussion on the habitus in the preceding chapter, we can say that the social and cultural practices based on habitus which consist of meaning and thought about socio-cultural phenomena are conducted by the bodily experiences related to the historical and psychological contexts.

To round up the discussion we can even hold that historical and psychological context can be thought as social form and type of consciousness in the discussion of diaspora. That is to say, in the context of diaspora, the bodily experiences which relate to social form as diaspora and the consciousness as diaspora create the habitus which prompts the cultural practices with the cultural re-creation.

Gurdwara as the locus of Cultural Reinforcement and Re-creation

It is clear that in order to survive and adapt to new situations, the diasporas not only use the mechanism of reinforcement of their culture through cultural reproduction but also that of re-creating new cultural practices. In the case of the Sikhs in Japan, as is found among Sikhs in other countries, we could see that the *gurdwaras* became the places where both their religious and ethnic identity were strengthened along with their social community linkages. Both in Kobe and Tokyo the Sikhs indulged in the religious practices, rituals and customs such as listening to *gurbani*, singing *kirtan*, chanting *ardas*, having *parshad* and *langar*, etc., each of these signaling their identity as Sikhs. Side by side, in Kobe the visits to the *gurdwara* formed part of their social activities since another purpose of their visit was also to socialize with their fellow Sikhs. Here they establish social relationships with others, and learn how to join and contribute to the community. These regular meetings helped bolster the sense of Sikh identity as a social community as well. In the case of Tokyo, although the *gurdwara* did become a site for reinforcing their religious identity but the Sikhs in Tokyo do not have a sense of community like Kobe because the *gurdwara* in Tokyo is relatively new and no social activities take place there. Thus, we found that the *gurdwara* can provide the space to reproduce the religious and socio-cultural practices of the Sikhs in Japan.

However, along with the reinforcement of culture and social identities of the Sikhs, in the *gurdwaras* we could also witness the *re-creation* of new practices. As already described in the previous chapter, in Kobe for decades Japanese ladies have been working to take care of domestic work in the *gurdwara* including preparation of the *langar*, which is served in a hall furnished with dining tables and chairs. The menu of *langar* includes not only Indian dishes but also Japanese and Thai cuisine. In

Tokyo too, the Sikhs have re-created new practices according to the need of the situation. For instance, the *gurdwara* is in a basement room which is part of an apartment building and the Sikhs cannot put any sign board and *nishan sahib* which is a symbol indicating the existence of the *gurdwara* because the space except for the basement room is shared public space. So instead of *nishan sahib*, the Sikhs have put up posters written in *gurmukhi*, pictures of Sikh *gurus* and Golden Temple on the walls of the basement room to give it an appearance of a *gurdwara* while only a few those pictures are seen in *gurdwaras* in India. Additionally, the *gurdwara* in Tokyo is a gathering place for not only the Sikhs but also other migrants belonging to other groups such as Hindus and Muslims from South Asian countries, Chinese and Filipino migrants and also some Japanese because the *gurdwara* in Tokyo provides the opportunity to exchange information about jobs, accommodation, visas, etc. and to meet friends whom it was difficult to meet due to the distance between living places. In this sense the *gurdwara* in Tokyo serves almost as a community center for all migrants. In fact, we found that for some people who do not know that the *gurdwara* is a religious place involving some customs like covering of heads with scarves, sitting calmly without making noise, where smoking is prohibited, etc., the Sikhs have prepared posters with these instructions in English and Japanese. Serving *chai* in winter and *rooh afza* (a rose-based cooling drink) in summer with *pakoras* is the way to welcome visitors because the most of them come from far off places involving commuting of around two hours. Hence, the Sikhs in Japan have re-created their own new practices in the *gurdwaras* in terms of their unique contexts that may be somewhat different not only from *gurdwaras* in India, but also those in U.K., U.S., Canada etc.

Thus, as Vertovec (1999) noted, it is clear that diaspora can be understood by the approach involving a) context – which implies the historical context as social form; b) agency – which involves practices conducted entailing a bodily experience; and c) change – which includes the re-creation of the socio-cultural practices and habitus along with adjustment to host society.

Major Findings

Through our study we found certain features of the Sikh diaspora in Japan which are similar to the Sikhs settled in other parts of the world. They came to Japan for financial reasons and new opportunities for jobs. They faced the problems related to cultural practices which were not familiar to the host society and employed coping mechanisms which made them adjust to their place of migration. And they re-created their own culture which is different from both their place of origin and the host society.

However, our research on the Sikh diaspora in Japan threw up some new findings as well. In the first place, unlike the Sikhs in other countries, most of those in Japan have not come from Punjab. When we think Sikh diaspora, it comes to our mind that they are from Punjab, India. However, this did not apply to the Sikhs in Japan. The Sikhs in Kobe have come from Southeast Asian countries while the Sikhs in Tokyo have come mainly from states in India such as Jammu and Kashmir and Uttarakhand. The Sikhs in Kobe have lived in Japan for decades and for them India was not homeland but only the place of origin. When the researcher asked about possibility of living in India, the answer usually given was "*We can go to India for a short term. But we can't live there because we were born and raised abroad and are not familiar with the life there, for example, water, food, people, town, etc are different*

from those in our life." On the other hand, in Tokyo their relation to India is based on their physical experiences and they think India as both their home and place of origin because they were relatively recent migrants. But here too, their connection was with their villages in areas other than Punjab and although they were steeped in the so-called Punjabi culture, yet the term Punjab did not evoke any feeling of nostalgia in them. Clearly, the Sikhs in Punjab state prefer U.K., U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other European countries as places of migration, while the Sikhs from Jammu and Uttarakhand tend to choose Japan because of success stories told to them by earlier migrants to Japan from their villages.

Another thing we found was that the Sikhs in Japan faced different situation from those in other countries where many Sikh diaspora live because there are no 'ethnic towns' for South Asians in Japan. The Sikhs in Tokyo area are scattered in far away locations and thus, have very little geographical and physical proximity with each other. And although the Sikhs in Kobe lived near the *gurdwara* and their community is located there, it is not like 'Indian Town' of Bradford in U.K. and Vancouver in Canada. In any case, their numbers are very small as compared to Sikhs in other countries.

A third thing that emerged was that the Sikhs in Kobe are still deeply rooted in their Sikh identity. They do not cut their hair or shave their beards and still wear turbans. They also strictly observed the practice of marrying within the Sikh community. On the other hand, the Sikhs in Tokyo seemed to attach less importance to the external symbols of Sikhism and had come to terms with the acts of cutting their hair for practical reasons. Not only that, among them we came across a number of cases where they had married Japanese women.

Bhachu (1989) had mentioned in his study of the Sikhs in UK who had shifted there from East Africa that they did not believe in the myth of returning to the homeland unlike those who had migrated to U.K. directly from Punjab. Our study also showed a similar trend among the Sikhs in Kobe who had shifted to Japan from countries other than India and those in Tokyo, who had migrated from India. Yet, it was interesting to note that in Kobe, although the Sikhs did not consider India as their homeland, yet they maintained a steady connection with Punjab mediated by imagination mainly through media, while the Sikhs in Tokyo were understandably able to maintain their connection with India, their homeland, in a more direct manner. Thus, while the Sikhs in Kobe have created more of an 'imagined world' of Sikhism as described by Appadurai (1989), the Sikhs in Tokyo live in a more 'real' Sikh community.

Concluding Thoughts

Sikh diaspora has been the subject of innumerable studies and Sikhs dispersed over a large number of countries have been studied by different scholars. However, there was one lacuna among these studies. Probably because most Sikhs migrated to North America, U.K., Europe and a few other south-east Asian countries, most of the works tended to focus on these areas only. We would like to believe that the findings of our study have significance in the context of Sikh Diaspora Studies because this is one of the few works on the Sikh diaspora in Japan.

Secondly, when we began this research, we started with viewing the Sikh diaspora all over the world as a homogenous category with similar backgrounds, motivations and experiences. However, as our work progressed and we studied the Sikhs living in Kobe and Tokyo, it gradually became obvious to us that not only were

the Sikhs in Japan different from those in other parts of the world, but there existed clear differences among the Sikhs living in the two different locations within Japan itself. These dissimilarities emanating not only from the differences in their 'routes' but also in their 'roots' have been discussed in the earlier chapters. Our study shows that even in one country there exist different diasporas which cannot be categorized as one group. Hence, it would be pertinent to emphasize that diaspora should not be seen as a homogenous category and there exist not just Sikh diaspora but 'diasporas', each with their own singularities. This corresponds with the idea given by Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj and Sangha's (2008) who distinguish between 'integrated' diaspora and 'diverse' diaspora.

The third thing that this study has made abundantly clear is that in the analysis of diaspora both the concepts of structure (or context as Vertovec calls it) and agency are relevant. As our study showed, the different features among the Sikhs in Japan were affected by the different social and cultural contexts among them. This implies that their features as diaspora were formed by their structural surroundings. However, recent migration studies focus on diaspora as agency, we also studied dynamics of culture which is re-created by practices of diaspora as agency. And here the definition of diaspora as a mode of cultural production becomes applicable. Diaspora are to be seen as not only deterritorialized groups who are placed in an alien setting and suffer from the 'dual homeness' syndrome (Ben-Rafael, 2010), i.e., having a feeling of attachment to its local environment, and also wanting to 'return' to the homeland, but they are also active, thriving, entrepreneurial groups who learn to survive and succeed in the 'hostland'. As J. D. Cohen Shaye and Ernst S. Frerichs (1993) put it, the central question for diaspora peoples is *adaptation*: how to adapt to the environment without surrendering group identity. It is in this context that we speak

of the re-creation of new cultural practices by the diaspora through which they achieve the dual purpose of preserving their cultural traditions and also adapting to the new conditions.

Finally, in conclusion we would like to point out that in the era of globalization the understanding of diaspora needs to undergo some change. Cohen (2008) explains four aspects of globalization which relate to mobilization of diaspora, namely, 1) globalized economy and expansion of enterprises, etc. that permits greater connectivity that changes but also creates new opportunities for the diaspora, 2) new forms of international migration that have transformed the very nature of migration by encouraging limited contractual relationship, family visits, intermittent stays abroad and sojourning, as opposed to permanent settlement, 3) the development of cosmopolitan sensibilities in many global cities, both among the native population of the hostland as also among the diaspora, and 4) the revival of religion as a focus for social cohesion through dispersal and translocation resulting in the development of multi-faced world religions connected in various and complex ways to the diasporic phenomenon. This clearly shows that even the diaspora who can be categorized as trade, labor, imperial and deterritorialized diaspora, are living under the influence of globalization.

Our study also indicates that the diasporas today exist in the social and cultural context of globalization. We have found that the life of the Sikhs in Kobe is based on globalized business and family networks and cosmopolitan sensibility and their religious practices contribute to make Sikhism as one of the multi-faced world religions. The Sikhs in Tokyo also migrated to Japan under the context of globalized economy and they are the new breed of international migrants who may or may not aim for permanent settlement in the host country.

As Cohen (2008) has mentioned, each of the above four aspects of globalization has opened up new opportunities for diasporas to emerge, re-emerge, survive and thrive, we have studied and found the Sikh diaspora in Japan who survive and thrive successfully in the host society and manage to sustain their own culture by re-creation. Thus, we have studied the dynamism of culture through the process of the social and cultural practices which re-create the culture of diaspora in the era of globalization. The diasporas both offer a multicultural landscape in the host society as an agency and also themselves become multicultural entities under the influence of the host cultures on their dispersed communities.

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