

INTRODUCTION

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Globalization is one of the most important phenomena in the current international arena. It can be defined as the processes and activities that promote interdependence and interconnectedness between peoples and societies throughout the world, together with their acceleration and intensification. Globalization is variously seen as a challenge (Sassen, 1998; Bhagwati, 2004), a result of technological change (Castells, 1996, 1997, 1998), or a largely inevitable process that we have to live with and make work (Stiglitz, 2006). For as Friedman has pointed out (2005), thanks to the new technology and patterns of innovation, the world is now becoming increasingly flat.

Even though waves of globalization took place long before the 20th century as Alfonso Yuchengco reminds us in Chapter 2 of this book, the current phase of globalization is different from those that preceded it in terms of its extent and pervasiveness: it is unique in its scope. In the current globalized world, events taking place in one place can have an increasingly direct and profound influence on events in geographically distant locations, and in an increasingly short time. This pervasive globalization has been produced by a combination of factors: the falling cost of transport, thanks to the deregulation of air transport, the arrival of wide-bodied jets, and the container revolution in the shipping industry since the 1970s; the global acceptance of liberal capitalism, leading to free movement of people, goods, capital, and services, especially since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s; and the rapid evolution in information and communications technologies in the 1990s.

Globalization as a process therefore has a complex and multidimensional nature. Even though most attention has been devoted to the economic dimensions of globalization, with trade, investment and financial transactions regarded as both its major causes and consequences, the social, cultural, environmental and political dimensions are also very important. These may be linked directly to the economy, as is typically the case with the environmental problems resulting from the long-distance transport of materials either by sea or air. The social and cultural dimensions of globalization also have a long-term impact on both societies and individuals in them, through changing attitudes towards politics, social institutions, and people's sense of identity (Castells, 1997). The political dimension is reflected in the growth of intergovernmental organizations, and national governments seek to formulate new systems of governance and cooperation in the face of the forces that globalization has unleashed (Castells, 1998).

Globalization has had a significant influence on a wide range of state and non-state actors at the local, national, regional, and global levels. It presents a major challenge to the cohesion of both local communities and nation states. Communities are affected by migration and the spread of new technologies, goods and values, while national governments seek to respond to their increasing inability to control flows of information, capital and people through developing new forms of regionalism, as seen most dramatically in Europe (Castells, 1998: 330–354.). Meanwhile, transnational corporations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and local governments are increasingly forming their own cross-border linkages and networks that have a significant influence on the interests and behavior of the state.

The multidimensionality and complexity of globalization require politicians, technical specialists, administrators and researchers to examine its causes, processes, and consequences from plural, multi-disciplinary perspectives. We need to pay attention both to the logic underpinning globalization, and its implications for key issues involving state and society such as inequality, state sovereignty, and the prospects for liberal democracy.

Globalization and Global Movements

The growing pace, volume and complexity of international movements of people, goods, capital, services, and knowledge are both causes and

consequences of the latest round of globalization. In particular, the increasing movements of people, including migrants, tourists, students, and refugees, have an immense impact on society at many different levels (Castles and Miller, 1998). Intergovernmental organizations and national governments alike are forced to devise new institutions and administrative frameworks to manage the new forms of mobility. Inflows and outflows of people create new opportunities for people, but also result in new sorts of conflict in local communities. Moreover, the growing flows of trade, investment, technology, and knowledge have changed the world's industrial and economic maps. The diffusion of the latest technology and knowledge of production methods has shifted the location of value-added activities (Castells, 1996), away from the economically more developed nations to those like China and India currently experiencing their own waves of high-speed growth. Massive investment and the adoption of advanced technologies have enabled these countries to become major bases for manufacturing industries. Such a process of transformation has been accompanied by massive movements of skilled and unskilled laborers.

Whereas these movements often imply mobility of goods, people, capital, and knowledge on a global scale, they may also take place on the local or regional level, because of the lower transaction costs associated with geographic proximity. These regional movements are often effective responses to the challenges and opportunities brought about by global processes. This means that the extent, significance and consequences of global movements can be explored and understood by focusing on phenomena and processes taking place at the level of regions such as the Asia Pacific. Given that this region consists of nations with a range of cultures, political systems, and levels of development, investigation of the dynamics of movements within the region is all the more valuable for understanding the complex and multidimensional processes of globalization in relation to regional growth, stability and identity.

Human Movement and Technology

Many of the early chapters in this book deal with the varieties of human movement to be found in the contemporary Asia-Pacific region. The first paper by Nobel Prize winner Yuan T. Lee (Chapter 1) begins with an account

of his own personal odyssey. In the early 1960s, he left Taiwan together with many other Chinese students to study in America, many of whom became successful in the companies and research institutes of the United States. However, instead of the conventional analysis of the “brain drain” and its impact on developing countries, Lee argues that the migrants’ countries of origins may eventually benefit from the out-migration, as the migrants return with the technical knowledge acquired elsewhere and use it to build up high-technology industries back home. It is worth asking the conditions under which this can take place, given that it seems to be a more common phenomenon in the Asia-Pacific region than elsewhere. Clearly the new technologies brought back by the migrants can only take root where there is reasonable political stability, an institutional framework which is friendly to entrepreneurs, and a “developmental state” interested in fostering high-technology development (Woo-Cumings, 1999). The results, as Yuchengco reminds us in Chapter 2, can be seen in the rise of companies from the “dragon economies” (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan), as well as mainland China and India, becoming major players in the world market. Regional trade is also booming, with an increasing web of agreements between the ten ASEAN countries, China, Japan and South Korea, giving these countries an increasingly significant share of world trade. The other ingredient, discussed by Uchida in Chapter 3, is a population of highly skilled workers, able to help develop a knowledge economy and an environment for innovation. This may involve collaboration with the state, as in the development of science parks and silicon valleys around the region (Castells and Hall, 1994), including the Hsinchu Science-Based Industrial Park in Taiwan.

Dynamics of Migration: Households, Gender and Ethnicity

The main outlines of the contemporary migration system which has emerged in the Asia-Pacific region under the influence of globalization is described by Osaki in Chapter 4. She argues that two distinctive labor migration systems have developed in Asia. The first, centered on the Middle East, dates back to the rise in oil prices in the 1970s, which led to a massive construction boom and inflow of foreign workers in the Gulf states. The workers came initially from the surrounding states, but then increasingly from South Asia — at a

time when the previous migration to Europe was slowing down. From the 1980s, the action moved to East and Southeast Asia with the rise of the dragon economies. Countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Singapore and Brunei have increasingly attracted labor from South Asia, the Philippines, and mainland China, as their economies expanded. Typically, these workers are short-term migrants, performing dirty, dangerous and demanding jobs which the local workers are no longer interested in taking up. Longer term settlement is difficult or impossible due to immigration regulations, making it possible for the governments of the region to lay off migrant labor first when economic recession strikes. Osaki also mentions the increasing “feminization” of migration, with an increasing number of women workers from the Philippines and elsewhere taking over domestic labor as local women become increasingly involved in the professional labor force. While the remittances from these workers provide welcome support for the local economy back home, there is increasing concern about the impact of their absence on their families, particularly their children as other relatives are forced to take over responsibility for them.

The relationship between households and migration is also a central theme of Chapter 5 by Mike Douglass, building on his earlier work on migration (Douglass and Roberts, 1999). He starts from the classic observation that the household is an essential component of the capitalist system because of its role in the reproduction of labor: raising children and supporting family members are functions which are difficult to carry out through the market. However, the family is starting to abandon many of its traditional functions, as seen most dramatically in the falling birth rate and rapidly aging populations of Japan (Traphagan and Knight, 2003) and the other highly-developed countries of the region. Global movements of people therefore play an important role in allowing the household to continue to play its role in social reproduction, despite the increasing strains and tensions to which it is subjected. Specific mechanisms include the recruitment of foreign spouses (usually wives) to offset the local shortage of partners; adoption and surrogate motherhood as new alternatives to traditional reproduction and child-rearing, sending children abroad for education rather than educating them locally; and the use of migrant domestic workers, usually women, to take over the chores of caring for children and the elderly. Meanwhile, the elderly are themselves on the move, taking their pensions and

savings to countries where the cost of living is lower (e.g. Miyazaki, 2008; Ono, 2008), and where domestic help is cheaper, given the increasing lack of children either available or willing to look after their parents in old age.

Yamagami in Chapter 6 and Fielding in Chapter 7 focus specifically on migration to Japan as a case study of the general trends discussed in the earlier chapters. Yamagami notes that the proportions of women and skilled workers in the migrant labor force are both steadily increasing. He also points to the growing numbers of illegal and undocumented migrants, and increasing attempts by states to control them through sanctions against the employers for whom they work. Efforts to control the flow lead naturally to greater efforts by organized crime to help the migrants to cross borders, and thus an increase in human smuggling and trafficking. Finally, political instability in particular countries and regions usually results in an outflow of refugees and asylum seekers hoping to settle elsewhere, so that states constantly have to revise their laws and institutional arrangements for dealing with them. At the same time, countries suffering from aging populations and a shortage of labor in particular sectors of the market are actively encouraging migrants, especially highly skilled migrants to settle to fill these niches. Even in Japan, the numbers of skilled foreign workers being allowed to enter and settle is steadily rising, and the encouragement by the Japanese government of large numbers of foreign students to come to Japan for education will probably mean that this trend will continue in future.

Fielding's chapter deals in detail with the different waves of migrants coming to Japan and their locations within the country. Large-scale Korean and Chinese immigration to Japan dates back to Japan's colonial empire, which lasted from 1895 to 1945 (Weiner, 1994). Though many of these "oldcomer" migrants returned to China, Taiwan and Korea after the Second World War, some remained and became the nuclei of new waves of Chinese and Korean immigrants in the post-war period, as the Japanese economy revived (Ryang, 1997, 2000). They were also joined by an increasing number of "newcomers," including migrants from Thailand and the Philippines (often young women working as hostesses or entertainers), and South Americans claiming Japanese ancestry, most of them from Brazil and Peru (Tsuda, 2003). There are also differences in the location of different migrant groups, with the Chinese and Koreans largely concentrated in Kansai, and the more

recent migrants more heavily concentrated in the Kanto and Chubu regions, around Tokyo and Nagoya. Finally, there are groups of assorted westerners, many of them working as professionals and teachers in Tokyo and the other major cities.

In Chapter 8, Liu-Farrer focuses on the Chinese community in contemporary Japan, particularly the skilled workers involved in information technology and related industries. A fascinating pattern emerges from her data: because they have Chinese workers fluent in Japanese working for them, some Japanese companies have found themselves able to expand their business to China. The bi-cultural immigrant workers thus become managers and specialists, occupying strategic positions in the companies that employ them. Clearly, many of the overseas workers trained in Japan are staying on in Japan to work for Japanese companies, many of which have been aggressively recruiting foreign talent. Unlike Japanese workers, however, they tend to change jobs regularly, moving generally between small- and medium-sized companies, partly because they find their progress into management positions blocked because they are still considered outsiders. In fact some workers do manage to get promoted, sometimes by demonstrating their ultimate commitment to Japan — by naturalizing and taking Japanese citizenship, in addition to permanent residence.

In contrast, Nagy (Chapter 9) focuses on the Japanese bureaucracy and its attempts to make life in modern Japan more bearable for foreigners. He presents case studies of multicultural policies in three areas of Tokyo: Shinjuku and Adachi Wards in central Tokyo, and Tachikawa City to the west. Shinjuku, in the commercial heart of the city, has the most diverse population, 10 percent of which are foreigners. While stopping at granting actual voting rights, Shinjuku tries hard to include the foreign population in its activities, by providing Japanese language programs, and information on topics such as disaster relief (given the danger of earthquakes) in foreign languages. Similar initiatives and problems are found in Adachi. However, rates of participation in these activities by foreigners remain low, partly because they have their own sources of information and support in the existing ethnic communities and church groups. The reasons for the lack of success are perhaps best summed up by Nagy's analysis of the problematic nature of the programs in Tachikawa. The events intended to include foreigners in fact emphasize the differences between foreign and Japanese

residents and cultures. And in attempting to teach foreigners about Japanese culture, they focus on traditional elements such as tea ceremony and flower arrangement, which have little practical relevance to life in modern Japan.

Labor Markets and Remittances

A theme from Douglass' chapter, that of the regional demand for carers in aging societies, is the starting point of Cortez (Chapter 10). This chapter discusses recent developments in migration patterns between the Philippines and Japan. Until the beginning of the 21st century, the majority of male migrants from the Philippines to Japan were trainees, working in the automotive and electrical industries. Women migrants were divided between younger "entertainers," many of them actually working as hostesses in bars (Dizon, 2006), and domestic helpers, for which demand has been rising thanks to the rapidly aging Japanese population. The regional demand for nursing and care services throughout the region has led to a proliferation of training institutions in the Philippines, which the Philippine government has increasingly tried to bring under scrutiny and control. Under the terms of a free trade agreement between the two countries, Japan agreed to accept a quota of both nurses and caregivers from the Philippines from 2007, as a response to the increasing demand for care. These workers would be given a period of three years (for nurses) and four years (for caregivers) to pass Japanese licensing examinations, after which they could stay in Japan indefinitely. Even though the tough examination hurdle probably means that few Philippine workers will stay permanently under this agreement, the agreement does point to the possibility of freer legal movement of these categories of skilled workers in future, as the flows of labor increasingly reflect the demographic imbalances between the countries of the region.

Camacho, in contrast, traces the consequences of migration for the Philippines and its economy (Chapter 11). A feature of the Philippines is that supply of skilled labor produced by the education system has grown faster than the economy as a whole, where the rate of growth has been much more variable: industry has in fact declined along with agriculture over the years, while poverty has persisted, especially in the rural areas. Emigration

has been a noticeable feature of the economy since the period of American colonization, but from the 1970s it became a labor export policy actively promoted by the Marcos regime. The flow of remittances from workers overseas has since become a mainstay of the national economy (Parrenas, 2001). Camacho argues that this outflow of skilled labor could eventually be problematic: the continued export of science teachers may already be having serious impact on levels of education in the Philippines, while the exodus of qualified nurses is also alarming, undermining the capacity of the country to expand its own medical services to meet the needs of the local population. Whether this situation will continue, or whether the global prospects of teachers and nurses will increase the flow of students into these professions, has yet to become clear.

Remittances are also the subject of Pfau and Giang (Chapter 12), this time in the context of Vietnam. Using data from successive surveys of household living standards, the authors find that the main source of remittances has been the United States, and that remittances have increasingly flowed to the rural areas and away from major cities. The proportion of households receiving remittances has held steady at around 5 to 7 percent, with a disproportionate amount going to households headed by elderly females or the unemployed. These findings suggest that overseas remittances are in fact slowly helping overcome income inequalities in Vietnam.

Production and Trade

Thoburn (Chapter 13) also looks at Vietnam, though the focus is now on the flows of goods and services, rather than people. In discussing the case of the textile and clothing industry, Thoburn looks at the effects of the phasing out of the Multi-Fibre Arrangements, which restricted entry of goods from developing countries to major markets in the United States and Europe, and their replacement by a freer trade regime. This has in fact encouraged production of goods for exports by developing countries, making them in turn more vulnerable to competition from other low cost producers — and especially China. The chapter also addresses the question of how far Vietnam has been able to remain in the export game under the new trade regime. In the 1990s, Vietnam was able to increase its exports of clothing and textiles dramatically, despite restrictions on exports to the

United States. The situation here improved with the conclusion of a bilateral trade agreement in 2001, and Vietnamese imports to American markets rose rapidly. Thoburn argues that patterns buying in this industry are influenced by three sets of factors: distance and lead times, costs (particularly of labor), and trade distortions such as tariffs. The further away the suppliers are from the target market, the more likely they are to export standard goods which respond little to changes in fashion, such as tee-shirts, jeans, and men's suits. The Vietnamese industry concentrates more on production than product development, and thus adds less value to the Vietnamese economy than might otherwise be the case. Thoburn concludes that the industry thus remains vulnerable to competition — especially in markets which ease restrictions on the inflow of Chinese goods.

Nakahara (Chapter 14) also deals with production and networks of producers, this time in the personal computer industry. She argues that since the late 1980s, a new form of production has emerged in the industry, moving away from vertical integration in which the multinational company carries all the stages of production, to one where stages of the production process, such as marketing, planning, development, production and customer support, are increasingly subdivided and geographically dispersed. The main driver behind this dispersal is the difference in the cost of skilled labor between different countries and regions: Bangalore is much cheaper than Silicon Valley, and the skills have reached there through the process of the circulation of skilled labor, the brain circulation also described by Lee in Chapter 1. Flows of components and people are thus intimately linked. Nakahara also shows how the economy of Taiwan has benefited from the changes, by taking over the role of administering and supporting much of the production taking place throughout mainland China.

Logistics and Transport

Underpinning the changing location of production discussed by Thoburn and Nakahara is the global revolution in transport and logistics, and this is the subject of Hoshino (Chapter 15), Le (Chapter 16), Ho (Chapter 17), and Lee and Chang (Chapter 18).

Hoshino's chapter examines the cases of the two ports of Hakata and Kitakyushu, located in western Japan. Even though they are the largest

ports in Kyushu, they suffer not only from competition with major regional hubs such as Shanghai and Busan, but also from exclusion by the Japanese government from its own “Super-Hub Port Initiative,” involving major ports such as Kobe and Yokohama on Japan’s Pacific coast. The increasing size of container ships and the economics of shipping means that larger ships tend to call at fewer ports, and increasingly these are located in China. Hakata and Kitakyushu still play a useful role in connecting Kyushu with other cities in the region, especially in relation to the automobile industry, but their role within the pattern of regional trade is relatively minor. One possibility for the future is to use Japan’s excellent rail networks to speed the flow of goods from e.g. Shanghai to Tokyo, by offloading containers at Hakata and moving them to Tokyo by rail.

Le (Chapter 16) focuses directly on the development of international ports in China. As the economy surged ahead during the 1990s, the logistics industry also developed very fast, with the improvement of harbor facilities, rail networks and airports. Giant Chinese logistics companies also developed. Particularly spectacular was the investment in coastal ports, and Le notes that Chinese ports now occupy half of the top ten places in world container port rankings. The most ambitious construction projects are those at Shanghai, now the world’s largest port in terms of total cargo throughput, and the second largest in terms of container traffic. Its dominance is due to its position at the mouth of the Yangtze River, where major East-West and North-South shipping routes intersect.

Shanghai’s main rival within China is Hong Kong, and this is the focus of Ho (Chapter 17). Even though Hong Kong is still a dominant regional hub, it faces increasing competition from the neighboring ports of Shenzhen and Guangzhou, in addition to the looming presence of Shanghai further up the coast. It is still able to capture traffic arriving on smaller vessels from the Pearl River Delta, and it still has advantages over Shenzhen in terms of location, Chinese shipping regulations, and its status as a separate customs territory, though these are advantages which could eventually disappear. In air transport by contrast, Ho argues that Hong Kong is in a much stronger position, with much less competition from nearby cities in China. In general, Hong Kong benefits from the flexibility of its regulations and the efficiency of its operations, but it could generate considerable savings through reducing the red tape governing the movement of goods to and from the Chinese

mainland, and the use of information technology to smooth the flow of goods.

Lee and Chang in Chapter 18 also deal with the logistics industry, and the specific problem of security in the wake of the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington in September 2001. Movements of oil and liquefied natural gas are of particular strategic importance, not only in meeting energy requirements but also in keeping militaries on the move. The importance of the Asia-Pacific region for the US is that many of its imports originate from the major Asia-Pacific ports. Threats to international trade in the Asia-Pacific region include the vulnerability of strategic points such as the Straits of Malacca to piracy or terrorist attack. This chapter details the various measures taken by the US to monitor the movement of containers and their contents in order to reduce the risk of attack.

Architects and the Urban Landscape

At first sight, the final chapter in the book, Ren's study of architecture in Beijing (Chapter 19), looks separate from the others in the set, but in fact it brings together two of the major themes in the book: the creation of urban infrastructure under the influence of globalization, and the movement of people and ideas, in this case the stellar architects and their associates responsible for the grandiose buildings currently proliferating in the region's would-be global cities (Sassen, 1991; Yeung, 2000). She argues that this trend towards the use of "starchitects" to create high-tech buildings to brand and market cities through "megaprojects" has become commonplace, though Beijing provides a spectacular example thanks to its construction for the 2008 Olympics. These iconic buildings are important symbolic capital in the creation of a global city, even though the economic gains of such constructions are often far from clear. The Chinese case is interesting in that urban redevelopment is not a response to the de-industrialization of historic industrial cities as it often is in the West. Instead, it is driven by China's high-speed economic growth, and results from the collaboration of local investment capital, strong government, and prestigious international architectural partnerships specializing in the latest sleek, minimalist transnational designs. The Beijing city government is also driven by a desire to build a financial center which can rival Shanghai. The shaping of urban space thus

takes place within the context of the globalization of capital, and the desire by cities and nations to establish a new global identity.

Conclusion

The chapters in this book thus form a cycle: they begin and end with the movement of highly-skilled migrants across the globe, leading the revolutions in technological development and mega-urbanization. In between, they take in the lives of ordinary people coping with the strains and tensions within households, trying to assimilate and adapt to often difficult migrant situations, and trying to keep things going at home as well as abroad through their remittances and investments. These movements have been made possible by the technological developments also taking place: the information technology which allows the global integration of production processes, and the technical advances and cost reductions in shipping and air transport. Mediating the flows are the nation states, increasingly powerless to control the flows of information, capital and people across their frontiers. They try hard to regulate migration, but their efforts are constantly circumvented by the desperate, the traffickers, and corruptible agents of the state. They try hard to regulate the movement of goods, but their efforts are frustrated both by the smugglers and the need to engage in free trade agreements and/or the World Trade Organization if they are to remain players in the global economy. And as the location of production shifts to the developing countries with their cheaper supplies of labor, they try to boost their economies by attracting investment through developing infrastructure and participating in the global competition for prestige and mega-events (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006) such as the Olympics, World Expos, and the World Cup.

How long these trends will continue into the 21st century is an interesting question. As this book goes to press, the economic crash of the property bubble forecast by Yuchengco (Chapter 2) has already happened, and we are in the middle of a global economic recession. If the economic growth of China and India can bring the world economy back onto the rails, it is possible that these kinds of trends can continue for some time to come, though the spectres of climate change and rising energy costs also loom on the horizon. But whatever happens, people will still be on the move, their movements will be shaped by changes in technology and the location of

capital, and states will still try to control their movements. These chapters play an important role both in describing the directions and extent of these changes in the last few decades, and providing insights into the possible shapes that they may take in the future.

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