

# Globalization and Public Administration Education: The View from the University of Hawai'i (Mānoa)

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**Abstract:** In this article the authors discuss on topics arising from globalization issues that should be included in public administration education. Globalization is a pervasive force for the foreseeable future, and both public administrators and public administration education must adapt and respond to that force. Factors associated with globalization are having, and are likely to continue to have, profound effects on the public institutions. And the institutions will play a critical role in determining who benefits and who loses from globalization, both within nations and between them. How public institutions engage globalization issues will depend upon a number of factors, some of which are seemingly beyond anyone's control. One of the factors we can control is how we educate people in public roles. Paying careful attention to the content of public service education, as well as the more subtle but powerful process issues associated with that education, can have large public benefits.

## INTRODUCTION

While the forces behind “globalization” have a long pedigree, the recent spate of scholarly research dates roughly from the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the rise of the supposed “new world order” following the 1991 Gulf War. For more than a decade, issues surrounding globalization have engaged the attention of scholars in many fields, from politics and economics to geography and climatology. The world's peoples are becoming increasingly connected—for better or worse. And the world community of scholars has been active in trying to understand the phenomenon.

In the field of public administration, as in many others, globalization is treated with a mixture of welcome and trepidation. On the one hand, some globalization forces promise to raise standards of living and enable previously marginalized communities to participate more fully in the world's resources. On the other hand, many are concerned about increases in inequality brought about by

globalization as well as threats to unique cultures and the domination of one world view.

The authors of this paper are colleagues in the Public Administration Program at the University of Hawai'i (Mānoa). Pratt has been with the program since its inception in the mid-1980s and comes from a background in political science. Grandy has taught in the program for a number of years and was trained as an economist. These differing backgrounds give rise to differing perspectives on many issues in our classes and, as might be imagined, sometimes lead to lively debate.

For example, we have differing, though not necessarily incompatible, views on public institutions. Pratt understands public institutions foremost as arenas in which public-regarding principles compete with various interests to shape, for good or ill, actions that have public authority. He values a competitive market, but sees its limitations. He thinks that public life is valuable in it self and is not just another kind of market activity. Grandy sees public institutions as mechanisms for resolving problems that arise from, or are poorly handled by, markets. He shares the value of competitive markets and the recognition of its

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limitations. He sees public life as the place where those limitations are dealt with. For Grandy, public authority provides a necessary framework within which private arrangements can promote people's well being. For Pratt, that framework can often be co-opted for special, as opposed to general, interests.

Our perspectives also differ in several respects on the net effects of globalization. Grandy tends to see the positive effects, while Pratt is less enthusiastic. Neither of us sees the globalization issues as black and white, and we agree on many issues.

One area of agreement—and the main purpose of this article—is that globalization is a pervasive force for the foreseeable future, and both public administrators and public administration education must adapt and respond to that force. This article offers our perspectives on topics arising from globalization issues that should be included in public administration education, and it provides an example of their application and pedagogy.

### **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I (Mānoa)**

We believe that the masters of public administration program at Mnoa incorporates some unique, or at least distinctive, pedagogical elements that help in addressing globalization issues. The program is animated by the quest to identify what persons engaged in public service need to know to become effective in their work.

The program is a designed learning environment rather than a series of carefully selected courses. The heart of the program is the Core Year. This is a shared experience for both those taking the graduate certificate and those entering the master's program. Entering students bond with one another as they proceed through the twelve to thirteen modules that make up the Core Year's curriculum. This intensive learning experience builds a cohort

Fall 2002	Spring 2003
Thinking, Writing, and Information Literacy	Understanding Organizations
Interpersonal & Group Communication	Budgetary Process
Political Perspectives	Public Policy, Administrative Law & Rule- Making
Economic Perspectives	Research Design & Methods
Critical Thinking	Ethics & the Public Interest
Legislative Process	Futures
Hawaiian Perspectives	

**Figure 1.** Core Year Modules 2002 ~ 2003

in which participants learn to share with, and rely upon, one another throughout the year—and, if we're successful, into their professional lives. The modules are a mix of hands-on tools, conceptual orientations, and a broad range of topics.

Beyond the Core Year, masters students must complete three additional requirements. First, they take a set of courses (9 units, usually 3 courses) with a unifying theme. Second, they must complete a practicum, requiring the equivalent of a full-time commitment of from six to eight weeks. Finally, as a capstone, the students must carry out a one-year research project, working in a small team on an issue of public significance. We try to give students a great deal of flexibility in all three areas. Students are encouraged to take relevant courses wherever they may find them. The practicum has been arranged with public institutions in Hawai'i, the U.S. mainland, and internationally. And the capstone is a participant-directed, collaborative project.

Globalization issues enter this educational structure in many ways. In the core year, issues of international trade, inequality of income and wealth, and public responses to the effects of globalization forces, have increasingly appeared in the economics and political perspectives modules. Cultural issues arising from globalization arise in the Hawaiian perspectives module. International dimen-

sions enter the organization module, and globalization issues arise in both the ethics and futures modules. These treatments of globalization are currently somewhat unsystematic, but they are developing with our experience of the phenomenon.

In addition, the program has increasingly attracted non-U.S. students who bring diverse experiences and insight to the program. Where possible, we encourage these students to share their experiences as they relate to specific topics so as to offer the class comparative perspectives.

## GLOBALIZATION

The literature on globalization is vast and we make no claim to comprehensively surveying it in this paper. However, we do wish to point out some of the main themes that we see emerging from the public administration literature that may have important implications for public institutions, public administrators and public administration education.

Most scholars agree that globalization is not a new phenomenon; there was, for example, a major spurt in global integration in the latter part of the nineteenth century.<sup>1)</sup> Some trace back the beginning of globalization for centuries. In a popular book, *New York Times* columnist, Thomas Friedman (2000, 9) defined globalization as “the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies” in ways that enable individuals, corporations, and nations to reach the world, and for the world to reach them, “faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before.” The process “is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system.” This perspective captures both the positive potential and the deep concerns about globalization. Many see contemporary globalization as a new phenomenon that transcends past characterizations. For example,

Jan Aarte Scholte (1997, 430~432) argues that globalization is not merely increased “internationalization” or trade “liberalization.” Instead, globalization is a “transborder” phenomenon characterized by the increasing degree to which social relationships are de-territorialized. It is a phenomenon in which people think of themselves and their relationships as being beyond territory.

Technology’s role in facilitating globalization is only one of a number of factors that writers from public administration identify as characterizing the globalization process. Many (for example, Farazmand 1999, 511 and Savitch 1998, 251) recognize the role of technology, particularly the Internet, in opening borders and options to people that can promote democracy, pluralism and accountability.

Observers also acknowledge self-interest seeking in this transborder, technologically-enabled phenomenon. Globalization is often seen as driven by transnational corporations in search of higher profits—either by lowering costs or extending markets. The “global factory,” offers a compelling image of this transnational corporate activity in which stages of production, distribution, and marketing are sited in separate locations around the globe.

The social effects of self-interest seeking behavior remain problematic, however. Several observers (Farazmand 1999, 512~513; Scholte 1997, 432~436) express concerns about the effects of these private motives. They see globalization as associated with a transition from “competitive” to “monopoly” capitalism, characterized by increased concentration of ownership and economic power (Farazmand 1999, 511; Scholte 1997, 437~438). However, the effort to lower costs and expand markets by moving across the globe may be instead driven by a desire to confront competition and to challenge existing market power. No doubt different goals motivate different corporate strategies, and the effects of implementing those strategies may or may not have desirable social effects. Even

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1) See, for example, O’Rourke and Williamson (1999).

so, we expect that the antitrust role of public agencies will prove no less necessary today than it was before this era of enhanced corporate, global activity.

## **PUBLIC PROBLEMS ARISING FROM GLOBALIZATION**

The previous section characterized aspects of the globalization process. This section focuses on four major problems stemming from globalization as identified in the public administration literature. Interestingly, Savitch (1998, 248) was one of the few writers we reviewed who see some positive effects from globalization, asserting that, broadly speaking, “[m]ost nations and most localities are better off today than they were 30 years ago.”

### **Globalization and the Developing World**

The impact of globalization on developing countries captures the attention of many writers. Some see that impact almost wholly in negative terms as the fallout of corporate irresponsibility (Farazmand 1999, 512). But this perspective seems to ignore the potential benefits to poor countries from increased trade and investment. Other writers, more benignly, argue that globalization increases disparities in income and wealth within and across communities (Savitch 1998, 255). These disparities may be due to relatively wealthy regions being able to invest more heavily in necessary infrastructure (Savitch 1998, 253). Indeed, there is an irony that “those communities that enjoy a rich array of institutions are well off and need them least (Savitch 1998, 266).” Institutional capacity may be the effect of wealth as much as a cause—a suggestion that existing disparities may widen.

### **Competitive Loss of Fiscal Capacity**

A concrete problem for public administration is

the potential reduction in public resources stemming from the globalization process. Several observers note the decline in welfare expenditures as states compete with one another to attract economic activity (Scholte 1997, 448 and Farazmand 1999, 515). Farazmand refers to this as the transition from the “welfare state” to the “corporate state.”

Yet this view may confound at least two phenomena. First, some states participating in globalization have found it necessary to adjust tax rates and expenditures in ways that raise their attractiveness. While this may be a “race to the bottom,” it may also be seen as reflecting an externally imposed measure of accountability, as suggested by Friedman’s (2000, 101–111) “golden straight-jacket.” Second, in the United States, and to some extent in Europe, aspects of the welfare state have come under increasing scrutiny as being both expensive and ineffective. Debate continues on the merits of those claims.

Still, the basic point remains. Competition among governments to promote their economies via tax breaks and other business incentives can put fiscal strains on governments that are “long-term and transnational” (Scholte 1997, 448; also see Savitch 1998, 256).

### **Loss of Sovereignty and Democracy**

If globalization has not made the state irrelevant, it may have reduced the state to a shadow of its former self (Scholte 1997, 441; Farazmand 1999, 514). Farazmand (1999, 516) argues that international aid agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund “negate local democracy” by attaching policy strings to aid packages. However, there are real accountability problems attending such aid. How do such agencies assure that the assistance is appropriately applied rather than squandered? Policy strings may be (imperfect) efforts at securing accountability.

Scholte (1997, 451) sees the institutions of

globalization as reducing effective democracy. For example, he notes that organizations such as the World Trade Organization, to which democratic states are members, are not necessarily democratic themselves. But the conclusion seems to depend importantly upon definitions. Most democracies are indirect to some degree or another; direct democracy is the exception rather than the rule.

Global economic forces can also cause changes beyond the control of developing nations. Some bemoan the effects of global economic forces that encourage rural to urban migration and that force farmers to take “undignified wage-earning jobs” (Farazmand 1999, 516; also see Savitch 1998, 253). Similarly, Savitch (1998, 252) notes the paradox that as localities as a whole become wealthier the number of poor rises. Globalization can bring new economic opportunities to a locality but in ways that differ dramatically from the experience of people living there. Thus, people may find themselves forced to weigh the possibility of higher incomes and wealth against familiar tradition and culture.

### **Private over Public**

Many see globalization as giving rise to the ascendance of private interests over public interests. For Farazmand (1999, 518) globalization expands the sphere of private activity which promotes corruption. He sees privatization as advancing private interests “at almost any cost to community and society.” The rise in inequality associated with the drive to increase gross domestic product (Savitch 1998, 255) shows how globalization promotes elitism and enriches the few. Ultimately, these processes destroy communities and “public spiritedness” (Farazmand 1999, 518).

But what is “public” and what is “private” changes over time. The division between public and private social activity has become increasingly complex at the same time that globalization has expanded. The

two phenomena may well be related, yet they are not obviously so. The New Public Management’s interest in raising the efficiency of publicly provided services has led to explorations of privatization as one solution, but these efforts seem to have been conceived independently of the forces of globalization.

Contemporary globalization is associated with efforts to make institutions, such as the workplace, more private—that is, less affected by public rules. Within this trend, however, are counter trends, such as the public interventions that take place in families on behalf of children or the elderly. The continuously shifting boundary between public and private is of great significance for public institutions, going well beyond the effects of globalization.

## **GLOBALIZATION IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Views on the implications of globalization for public administration and public administrators vary. On one side are those who see such harm from globalization that the only sensible response is resistance. Those who see globalization as a mixed bag suggest responses designed to ameliorate the potential damage while preserving the benefits. Still others argue that public administrators will simply have to deal with the decentralizing, individually empowering aspects of globalization.

### **Resistance**

Farazmand (1999, 517) argues that globalization has undermined the public sector’s role in allocating resources and equitably distributing wealth. At one time public agencies balanced corporate interests with others, but these agencies have given way to a coercive bureaucracy, resulting in a “criminalization of society” in the

pursuit of social control and capital accumulation. Farazmand therefore urges resistance "by all public administrators with a social conscience." Yet, at least in the United States, the public sector has not played a primary role in allocating resources and has only played a marginal role in distributing wealth. It is therefore not clear that globalization represents such a dramatic break with the past that it requires guerilla-type responses.

As one pragmatic suggestion for responding to globalization, Farazmand(1999, 518) argues that public administrators should attach long-term strings to corporate global arrangements. At a minimum, such a strategy would require extensive international coordination as otherwise corporate managers could simply choose to operate elsewhere.

### **Informed Collaboration**

Savitch (1998, 262~265) suggests that public entities will have to increase participation on various levels, provide incentives for organizations' elites and masses to engage in constructive governance, and find ways to maintain accountability (and, so, credibility) to their constituents. Incentives for community organizations and public-private partnerships could be created by offering local constituents a level of ownership in their activities (via stocks and bonds) (Savitch 1998, 267). That is, Savitch suggests using the financial tools of corporate activity to dissipate the harmful incentives of globalization.

Savitch (1998, 258) believes that governments will have to behave more creatively in the face of increased global competition. They will have to use their resources more efficiently, display greater accountability, and mitigate increasing disparities in order to resolve pressures for social unrest. Governments will not successfully command actions or outcomes, but they can facilitate actions by private and non-profit agencies to engage in

both market-driven and public activities (260).

### **Professionalization**

Authors who differ in many areas seem to agree that promoting the professionalization of public administration can serve as a constructive response to globalization. Farazmand(1999, 518) sees professionalization as a method for countering the "globalizing transnational elites" while learning from their technical skills. In a somewhat different vein, Riggs(1994) argues that attempts by Americans to export their brand of public administration perversely undermine the target countries. In Riggs's view, the export of the presidentialist system of government leaves too much scope for a powerful bureaucracy to link with the military when crises occur. This does not happen in the U.S. because of the professionalization of the bureaucracies and because the top levels of the bureaucracies are under close control of the elected leadership. Caiden(1994, 53) also points to professionalization as one of the factors that distinguishes public administration from other fields.

## **PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND GLOBALIZATION**

In this section we review the kinds of pressures for change that forces associated with globalization present to public institutions. We argue that, despite some opinions to the contrary, it is unlikely that any single response will satisfy the different economic, socio-political, historical and cultural contexts in which public institutions operate. Public officials will increasingly work in settings where they easily obtain information about the responses occurring anywhere else in the world. Knowledge of the variety of responses to the forces of globalization, together with the need to respect their specific situations, increasingly require the capacity for new kinds of judgment.

By "public institutions" we mean: (1) the administrative parts of government at all levels, (2) non-governmental organizations (what are called non-profit organizations in the United States), and (3) the civic sector of voluntary associations and citizen groups. In short, we focus here on the organizations associated with public administration in the United States. While this definition leaves out the legislative and judicial functions of public institutions, it is consistent with the fact that most reform efforts now taking place lie within the administrative branch, or within the administrative units of legislatures and judiciaries (Toonen 2001, 183).<sup>2)</sup>

As noted above, globalization is not new, but accelerated pressure to reshape public institutions internationally is a distinctive, and perhaps even unique, feature of globalization today. This pressure for public institution reform faces societies at all levels of development, from the United States, Britain and Japan to Thailand, South Korea and Cambodia. In economically developed societies the pressure for reform comes in part from the pressure global competition places on the ability to fund public institutions. In less developed and transitional societies the pressure also originates in the policies of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund.

In general, globalization forces appear to lead toward changes in public institutions of three kinds: size, form, and purpose.

Size refers to efforts to reduce the functions performed by public institutions. In many ways the Reagan and Thatcher revolutions serve as examples. Attention to size inevitably includes, in addition to the question of how large government should be, whether and when to emphasize improvement of public institutions rather than reduction in their scope.

Attention to form reflects a broadening of the responsibility for public issues from units of government to include other organizations. Increasingly, attention is given to the integration of different kinds of responses, taking into account local governments, NGOs, the civic sector, and business.

In horizontal integration, agencies of government combine with NGOs and businesses to address the same public issue. For example, an environmental problem may be tackled jointly by the provincial Departments of Environment and Health, a municipal Office of Community Relations, an NGO, a private firm, and a citizens group.

In vertical integration the connection is not across different sectors but "up and down," institutionally speaking. Using the same example, an international body adopts an environmental policy affecting national policy. This, in turn, gets communicated downward through the national, regional and local governments in terms of programs and allocations of public budgets.

This integration illustrates how globalization can lead to less, rather than more, centralization and control. Savitch (1998, 248) suggests that while the nation-state will not disappear, the importance of local governments will rise. This happens because citizens, consumer groups, business, and labor will receive information and react much more quickly than traditional public institutions (258). According to Savitch (1998, 257) traditional public institutions are poorly equipped to deal with the basic decentralizing forces of globalizing changes. Fast pace and decentralizing forces will favor smaller organizations, with flat organizational structures (259). Increasingly, the complexity of society is being managed by a broad range of public entities including community-based organizations and public-private arrangements (261). Public institutions will have to respond to globalization, and the increasing pace and decentralization it brings to life, by accepting greater autonomy, self-regulation, pluralism

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2) The imbalance of attention to reform between "administrative" and "political" parts of public institutions is an area of potential future concern.

and citizen accountability (269).

Related to these changes in institutional form, Scholte (1997, 445–447) suggests that globalization has given rise to “supraterritorial constituencies.” By this he means that states increasingly take into account the interests of those outside their physical territories. We would expect this to be an outcome of globalization at least at a strategic level. The potential responses of others will increasingly influence our actions as we become more intimately connected.

The third change in public institutions associated with globalization concerns their purposes. For example, Farazmand (1999, 510) argues that globalization has changed the purposes of some governments from the “traditional welfare administrative state” to a “corporate welfare state.” Moreover, globalization may simply undermine public purposes when corporations compel states to relax regulatory, labor, and other administrative measures or when corporations move production overseas to avoid the costs of government protections such as through the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Act (Farazmand 1999, 511, 514).

While of concern, these arguments must be weighed against the recognition of a transition in thinking about the purposes of government in society over the last several decades. The appropriate mix of public and private activities has been in intellectual play for some time (as reflected, for example, in New Public Management theory). It may be that state decisions to deregulate (for example) represent a principled evolution of values rather than the abdication of public responsibility.

The purposes of public institutions are critical because if public institutions in different places intend to accomplish different things, then they cannot be reformed in the same way with regard to size, form, or anything else. Questions of purpose do not invite either/or responses, but instead necessitate an understanding of different emphases

in specific times, places and positions on the political/economic development scale.

The New Public Management, which emphasizes government with fewer responsibilities and greater efficiency, may be insufficiently nuanced in this respect. Its tenets, which now are promoted by influential international organizations like the International Monetary Fund, are problematic precisely because they appear to leave little room for diversity in reform.<sup>3)</sup> In a recent article, Lois Wise describes drivers of change which she refers to as “social equity”, “democratization” and “humanization” that get far less attention than the goals espoused by New Public Management and concludes that,

The direction of management practice cannot be seen as fully determined by any one approach to government reform or as traveling in only one direction. Understanding the balance among competing drivers of change is a key to interpreting both contemporary and future administration reform (Wise 2002, 563).

It seems evident that a variety of approaches to the reform of public institutions must exist that reflect different purposes for those institutions. In this spirit, B. Guy Peters, in *The Future of Governing*, describes four broad approaches to reform: (1) market models, (2) the participatory state, (3) flexible government, and (4) deregulated government. He argues that the orientation most appropriate in a particular setting differs for developed and developing countries, which vary

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3) C.f. Huddelston (2000). For a discussion of these trade-offs using slightly different language, see Peters (2001, 173–175). For an assessment of the highly mixed results of the New Public Management for public institutions and public administration in developing countries, see Manning (2001). For a prominent economist’s critique of neoliberalism and New Public Management as narrow ideologies guiding the advice of the International Monetary Fund, see Stiglitz (2002).



significantly in public and private infrastructure. For Peters (2001, 201), this means that decision-makers must think about the best match between specific tasks and alternative ways of doing things, including alternative models. It also means giving consideration to the strengths of traditional forms of public organization before moving to an entirely new paradigm.

The point here is that responses to questions raised by globalization about size, form, and purpose of public institutions are a matter of judgment and balance.

An important factor shaping what public institutions do and how they do it is the capacities of those institutions. "Capacity" includes resources, technical systems, a public service ethic, and education and training. Where no mechanisms exist for effectively enforcing policies, or where public organizations are unresponsive, unaccountable and/or inequitable, judgments must be made about whether to rely on the private sector or where to reform public institutions in order to achieve long-term public purposes, economic viability, and legitimacy.<sup>4)</sup> In some cases the initiation of change must take into account what Peters (2001, 168) calls "reform fatigue," a history of experiments with total quality management, reengineering, or similarly heralded change strategies, that produced no significant results. The strengths of the traditional model of public bureaucracy in providing predictability to citizens may outweigh even the desirability of greater flexibility.

Cultural values, specifically political culture, also affect what public institutions do. Political culture refers to shared views of such things as the appropriate role of government in social and economic life; the role of parties, elites and interest groups in the political process; and the desirability of public participation. Political cultures form in

specific locations in response to externally generated events such as wars or business cycles; local conditions, such as social crises and changes in climate or resources; and, most importantly, the on-going joining, conflicts, and overlaying of ethnic groups and ethnic group values. According to Daniel Elazar (1984), for example, American public institutions reflect an individualistic political culture that de-emphasizes community and minimizes the role of public institutions in favor of personal relationships and private concerns. Individualistic political culture favors private parties negotiating their own social needs and economic interests in a marketplace-like setting.

This perspective on public life and public institutions competes with others. Elazar identifies a moralistic political culture that emphasizes the nurturing of common values and the development of viable communities. This is, for example, a dominant strand in Japanese political culture. This political culture rejects the unrestrained pursuit of private interests, and is wary of the effects on community of an unregulated commercial marketplace. Here public institutions are valued in so far as they balance commercial activities with broad public benefit. A third, traditionalistic political culture, favors arrangements that protect base values, continuity and stability, rejecting the pursuit of private interests and promoting high levels of community involvement. Thailand provides an example.

These particular political cultures will not be found in every society, although it would be surprising if elements of them did not compete in many locations, especially as a result of globalization. The point is that public institutions will respond to globalization from significant differences in social values. The challenge is to negotiate appropriate paths between historically rigid and ineffective public bureaucracies and public organizations responsive to their particular circumstances.

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4) For a good discussion of the differences between public and private authority for making societal rules, see Katz (2002).

## **GLOBALIZATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION: SOME ISSUES**

This section briefly reviews some current thinking about the issues that globalization presents to public administration education as a prelude to the educational proposals we offer in the next section.

In the early 1990s, Morton Davies and his colleagues conducted an international survey to assess the degree to which public administration education was being changed by the new managerialism that had become a global phenomenon (Davies, Greenwood and Robins 1994). They surveyed 141 institutions engaged in education and training. While the response rate was only 21 percent, the results were provocative.

The authors found a wide variation in curriculum content, reflecting change, new terms masquerading as change, and insufficient attention to emerging issues. A “managerial revolution” had, in fact, impacted the education and training of many institutions. At the same time, it appeared that fashionable terminology was being used to describe classroom practices that had in fact not changed. They referred to this difference between rhetoric and reality in education and training as an “implementation gap” that might affect the ability of administrators to deal effectively with globalization-related changes (Davies, Greenwood, and Robins 1994, 77). Finally, the authors questioned the degree to which appropriate information technology training, women’s perspectives, and the administrative aspects of environmental concerns was finding its way into the cores of curricula.

In 2001 Nick Manning came to somewhat different conclusions with respect to the managerial revolution. A senior public sector management specialist with the World Bank, Manning’s review of the impact of the New Public Management in developing countries serves as a useful follow-up

to the earlier work of Davies, Greenwood and Robins. Manning wanted to know whether “in a fashion-prone industry does [NPM] stand out from the other relatively minor twists and turns of public management (297)?” He concluded that the New Public Management has not become the dominant school of management thinking, and has not been nearly the cure-all that some of its proponents forecast. Indeed, he argued that we have been lucky that NPM’s sometimes formulaic approach to complex problems has not actually damaged public organizations. Manning did note that the New Public Management succeeded in broadening the range of choices, opening up “interesting, albeit untested, possibilities (308).”

Donald Kettl (1999) highlighted the emerging need for indirect management tools as a result of globalization. Kettl, who has written extensively about changes in public administration and public affairs internationally, observes that globalization has meant more government programs are being offered through nongovernmental partners. This implies the need for indirect management tools. These “indirect tools of government require different management approaches, and those approaches are substantially different from the traditional authority-based models that dominate the study and teaching of public administration” (Kettl 2001, 215). Lester Salamon’s (2002) large collection of essays underscores these themes and offers a common set of criteria to describe and assess a range of approaches to both direct and indirect government.

Ali Farazmand (1999) urges a more comprehensive response to globalization by public administration educators and practitioners. He sees the need for education and training that:

- helps engage citizens in the work of public institutions while maintaining a balance between serving the economic interests of national or global corporations and broader public interests;

- makes visible the high performance capabilities of public organizations and the failures of the private sphere;
- carries a strong public service ethic that is resistant to forms of corruption that might accompany privatization;
- does not allow the idea of “citizen” to be replaced by the idea of “consumer;”
- is more sensitive to the differing forms of administration that may prove successful in diverse cultural and societal contexts; and
- acts as a conscience and protector of “global community interests” against inequities and political repression that globalization may spawn or not undo (Farazmand 1999, 517–19).

How educators provide information can be as important as the content. The familiarity of Marshall McLuhan’s phrase “the medium is the message” suggests we understand this point, but the insight, for a number of reasons, often is ignored in practice. During much of the post World War II period in the United States little attention was given to the significance of how to deliver education. That began to change in the 1980s, and today phrases like “designed learning environments,” “student-centered learning,” “teaching versus learning,” and “active learning” are fairly common throughout the educational system.

Sensitivity to the impact of delivery on learning—the process issues—is less common elsewhere. Often both content and delivery are relatively unchanged over time. In places where content is altered to incorporate new knowledge—perhaps knowledge made available through globalized networks—the way teachers communicate that knowledge to learners remains unchanged.

Jung (2002) addresses this issue and its significance for responding to factors associated with globalization. He observes that students being prepared for work in public institutions in South Korea still must memorize what is written in

textbooks and write down what they are told by lecturers. The type of exams required to enter civil service reinforces this system. Jung observes that this method of learning is incompatible with the kind of critical and innovative thinking necessary for public institutions to effectively function in an era of globalization.

## **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION EDUCATION IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD -- A PROPOSAL**

Given (1) the reality of globalization-induced changes, (2) the role public institutions might play in shaping those changes in socially valuable directions, (3) the need for new institutional forms and the idea of balanced response appropriate to a specific social-cultural-institutional setting, and (4) the difficult choices about the most needed education and training, what do people in public roles need to know to be effective in the face of increasing globalization?

Our response to the question comes in two parts. The first part addresses content areas, the second deals with the educational process or orientation to content.

With respect to content, we suggest eight areas of special importance in the face of globalization.

1. **Critical Economics.** Though other factors are important in globalization, the pursuit of economic interests and the interpretation of globalization by mainstream economic analysts are central.

By “critical economics” we refer to an understanding of the primary tenets of mainstream, contemporary economics, as well as an awareness of the field’s assumptions and values (both explicit and implicit) and their limitations.<sup>5</sup> We also emphasize the differences between economics and

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5) For an example of work that lends itself to a critical discussion of economics, see Elinor Ostrom (2000).

business as fields of study and practice, in particular in their orientation to the role of the market and their differing focus on societal vs. individual outcomes. For example, where the field of business education may focus on how to increase profits by moving production away from the host country, the field of economics would focus on whether the net benefits (benefits less costs) to society are positive or negative as a result.

2. **Organizational Capacity.** Globalization is associated with changes in the resources available to public institutions as well as ideas about how public organizations should operate.

By capacity we refer to knowledge that is most likely to maintain or create public organizations, especially governmental organizations, capable of balancing the conflicting values of responsiveness, public accountability, and equity. We emphasize learning that contains positive images of public organizations appropriate to local environments as well as knowledge of strategies most likely to give those images reality. For example, opportunities for higher quality training and education in public service work, enabled by exposure to international programs, will encourage employees to become constructive change agents in their organizations.

3. **Inter-organizational Relations.** Globalization will present more social problems that require coordinated responses among public agencies, both governmental and non-governmental. Often these problems reach across national boundaries, originating in one nation state but heavily impacting others. This learning emphasizes how to create effective vertical and horizontal partnerships and responding to the challenges of collaboration while maintaining core organizational functions. For example, environmental NGOs, concerned with the destruction of unique natural habitats, may work with local governments to regulate, or provide new economic incentives that ameliorate, environmental damage from economic activities.

4. **Public-Private Relations.** In a world reshaped

by the dynamics of globalization, public organizations increasingly will find themselves in a variety of working relationships with private organizations. These relations take many forms and are heavily couched in contractual language. Taken together they are called indirect or third party government. Whatever the specific form of the relationships, if they are to be effective and public-regarding, then public officials will require new kinds of knowledge. Such knowledge will include the ability to (1) recognize the incentives and likely outcomes embedded in privatization contracts, and (2) generate ideas for re-aligning incentives in poorly designed contracts to support socially desirable outcomes.

5. **Partnering and Citizen Empowerment.** Broad citizen involvement will prove critical in maintaining legitimacy if public institutions are to respond appropriately to narrow, but powerful, global economic interests. Such involvement will also give authority to local priorities in relation to global initiatives. This learning focuses on the importance of organizational transparency and citizen participation, as well as the ways in which public organizations can encourage public deliberation and develop citizens as partners. For example, in the environmental arena, international agreements can put transnational corporations on collision courses with local communities over restrictions on business activities. People in public positions must play a delicate role in sorting through the laws, interests and values, while legitimating citizen involvement in the future of their community.

6. **Public service ethics.** Ethics studies the ways in which value conflicts are handled, especially the conflicts among values held by a single individual or group (for example, the choice between duty to one's workplace or one's family, or between loyalty to the group and the desire for promotion). The focus here is on the value conflicts that globalization's differentiated rewards raise for people

in public service roles and the tools that can be used to help resolve those conflicts in publicly responsible ways. For example, conflicts arise between the desire to protect cultural values from global homogenization and concerns that "local values" may merely cover specific parochial interests.

7. Futures orientation. Because globalization is a powerful, far-reaching, and (potentially) long-lasting force, it is in many ways about competing views of the future. Will globalization lead to as-yet-unimagined prosperity for all? Or will it bring environmental catastrophe and huge gaps in income and wealth? Learning in this area focuses on developing capacity for futures-oriented thinking, a sensitivity to identifying alternative futures in a globalizing world, and how public institutions can help move toward futures seen as desirable from the largest number of perspectives.

8. Technology for Public Purposes. Individuals in public roles can be taught to use information technology in ways that serve several purposes especially significant in a globalizing world. One purpose is to help individual organizations that are moving toward greater connectivity to share information and coordinate actions. Another purpose is to link practitioners to methods in other places that may deal more effectively with common public problems. For example, it is now possible for someone in Mongolia to learn about reform initiatives in Great Britain, and to communicate with a knowledgeable official about specifics of the initiative's outcomes. A third, and emerging, purpose for information technology is to link together individuals in different parts of the world in their citizen roles, thereby helping to create a basis for global public interests and global citizenship.

9. Indigenous Issues. Nowhere does the local/global dichotomy emerge with more force than with respect to the issues of indigenous peoples. Indeed, in a real sense, the effects of globalization define indigenous issues. How to balance the

interests and duties of indigenous and other citizens when responding to globalizing forces? Concerns of temporal and spatial priority arise in conjunction with conflicts among unique cultures, justice, and responses to external influences. Public administrators must become adept at seeing issues from indigenous eyes and learn to develop and manage processes that resolve conflicts in ways that build communities and a shared sense of citizenship.

Despite its importance, the content of curricula is only part of the educational challenge; the other part requires ways of thinking that give public administrators the skills to successfully respond to situations their teachers have not yet imagined. This shift of focus to look beneath the content of public administration training and education comes in reaction to what we observe in many education and training settings: after going through an education or training program, individuals find themselves acting in ways that do not support, or even undermine, what they have learned. This pattern may develop especially in places where the organizational and/or professional sub-cultures emphasize top-down relations, the importance of certainty, and avoiding public differences of opinion. However, as we have shown, individuals in public roles can expect to deal with an increasingly complex, multi-layered environment that demands an equally complex outlook to be effective. This means that we need to understand how people obtain this mental complexity and build its attainment into public service education.

There are a number of ways of understanding how human beings shift from more rigid, categorical ways of thinking about the world toward more complex processes capable of sorting through conflicting information, values, and emotions to reach decisions and take action (c.f., Piaget 1952 and Gilligan 1982). We find especially helpful the understanding that William Perry, Jr. (1970) developed initially to describe how young adults who

were facing an increasingly pluralistic world adapted, or failed to adapt, their mental structures to that world.

In Perry's interpretation, all of us have the potential to evolve the way we view our environments, what he referred to as our mental structures. He described this evolution as going from "dualistic" thinking to "committed relativism." "Dualistic thinking" is an orientation that divides issues into good or bad, right or wrong, true or false, and relies heavily on authority figures for The Answer.

"Committed relativism" denotes an orientation that views the world as highly contextual and in which change is continual. This is an outlook that contains a self-understood capacity to make meaning and, in the light of that meaning, to take action. Here, as in dualism, authority and shared meanings provide an important source of knowledge and understanding, but there is no expectation that authority can, or should, know everything, or that shared meanings lie beyond question.

Perry places "relativism" in between dualism and committed relativism. A person oriented to the world through relativism is neither dualistic nor capable of sorting through different ways of seeing things. As a consequence, a relativist is left to make choices on the basis of what is personally, socially or politically comfortable or expedient.

For example, it is not difficult to find individuals who embrace globalization as all Good or reject it as all Bad. Others are unable to figure out exactly what they think or how to act: a person may read about child labor in a clothing factory one day, and buy an inexpensive shirt imported from that factory the next. Committed relativists will see the same, or more, complexity in the issue, but have the inclination and the tools to come to their own conclusions. Thus, a committed relativist may favor this instance of globalization because it provides higher wages but be keenly aware of the

possibilities of abuse and the need for some regulations.

An orientation of committed relativism contains two qualities especially important for public administration roles in a globalizing environment (Pratt 1995).

The first quality is the convergence of intellectual and ethical development. These two go together because a committed relativist neither depends upon authority figures to know what to think nor feels overwhelmed by contradiction, ambiguity or change. Instead, opinions and actions are self-consciously connected to a process for understanding. For example, a committed relativist would neither completely rely on nor dismiss the official interpretation of a cross-border transmission of disease. Instead she would deliberately go through a process that weighs other relevant information before coming to her own opinion. It is this process and the taking of personal responsibility that makes the orientation ethical.

We refer to the second quality as "committed openness" (a slight, but we think useful, variation on Perry's committed relativism). In committed openness the meaning of action has changed. Where a dualist finds certainty in what an authority advocates and a relativist relies on familiarity or expediency, committed openness creates a state of tension. The tension lies between the need to make meaning and take action in complex situations, and the need, because of that very complexity, to remain open to re-consideration of what is thought and done. Opinions and decisions are taken seriously, but are not considered final. They instead are the result of a process the individual "owns" that necessitates both commitment to one's views and openness to changing them.

The movement from dualism to committed openness, as portrayed by Perry, takes place through a series of steps that do not occur simply as part of aging or physical/emotional maturation. It happens because the way the individual sees things—the

mental structure—is challenged. A person living in a world of homogeneous values, shared interpretations, and unquestioned authority is not likely to change her or his way of thinking. On the other hand, the same individual living in a more pluralistic, change-oriented world will be challenged. Because of globalization, more and more of the world's population will be confronted with challenges to how they view their world. This is especially true, and socially significant, for those who work in public service positions. Creating education and training environments that recognize and help individuals to creatively deal with these challenges will help foster movement toward committed openness.

### **AN EXAMPLE: FAIR TRADE**

In this section we illustrate our suggestions for public administration education using an important issue associated with globalization. The phrase “fair trade” gained public prominence during the events surrounding the 1999 WTO protests in Seattle, Washington. The phrase is commonly posed as an alternative to the “free trade” slogan that has played an important part in economist's thinking since the days of Adam Smith and David Ricardo.

We refer to fair trade as a set of “side agreements” to international trade compacts that attempt to ameliorate what some see as the negative consequences of international trade. The most familiar of these agreements are labor and environmental standards. Labor agreements include measures governing working hours, child labor, and working conditions. Environmental standards such as carbon emission restrictions also could be made part of such agreements. From an economic perspective fair trade refers to any terms attached to trade agreements that add conditions or regulations concerning the indirect effects of trade. From a

political perspective, “fair trade” denotes rules attached to economic transactions that influence the way the benefits and costs of those transactions are distributed.

#### **A Dualistic View**

As an illustration of dualistic thinking about fair trade, consider two, opposite positions on the issue. A dualist might argue that any side agreements are inappropriate because they reduce the benefits provided by free trade and market-based economies.<sup>6)</sup> This view supports a strongly pro-market orientation and sees little or no role for the public sector—especially in international trade agreements. A person holding this view might object to any international framework and simply support direct negotiations between countries (bilateral trade negotiation).

Another dualistic view, quite different from the first, sees unregulated free trade leading to unambiguously negative consequences for the world. In this orientation side agreements are required if trade is to have socially positive outcomes.<sup>7)</sup> This perspective might also be consistent with those who argue that international trade simply benefits large corporations and makes the rich richer. Indeed, one can imagine that those advocating this view might see international trade as so biased that it would be better to halt all of it so that countries would move toward self-sufficiency.

Both of these examples present extreme positions, which allows us to make another point. We do not argue that extreme positions are necessarily dualist. It is possible to adopt an extreme position after having considered the issues and having constructed good arguments against the alternatives. At the same time, it is not the case that moderate positions are synonymous with committed openness. A dualist might adopt a “reasonable” position

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6) Perhaps as in Chacksfield, Adam (1993).

7) Perhaps as in Cullen, Shay (1996).

merely because an authority figure has espoused it or because it is dominant peer opinion.

We work hard to encourage students to self-consciously adopt differing perspectives as lenses through which they can interpret complex issues. One way we do this is to link the Economic Perspectives and Political Perspectives modules by asking participants to apply some of the tools of economic and political analysis to a single topic, such as fair trade. At the end of the first of these two modules the participants write a “thought piece.” This relatively informal, analytic piece allows them to develop an understanding of the module’s major concepts when applied to fair trade.

At the end of the second module, the participants write a more formal paper in two parts. The first part also applies that module’s major analytical concepts to fair trade. The second part of the paper asks the writer to think about the similarities and differences in interpretation and possible action steps suggested by the two disciplines.<sup>8)</sup> In short, we want them to be skilled in using different perspectives, and to be aware of what it means to do this.

We now summarize the process we use to accomplish these goals.

### **Economic Perspective**

We would start the discussion of fair trade in the Economic Perspectives module by reminding participants of mainstream economic arguments for free trade. This involves a discussion of “comparative advantage” and the argument that specialization combined with trade can make all countries better off in the specific sense that world production of goods and services rises and each country ultimately gets more of each good to

consume.

We then begin to look at the economic concepts that are relevant to criticisms of trade (which also apply to market transactions more generally). For example, one participant routinely will ask about the potential environmental costs of trade that occur, for example, when a less developed country specializes in mining activity. This might lead to a conversation about externalities and how economists think about unintended environmental damage that arises from market transactions.

We would point out that a well-accepted role for government in this area involves either imposing emission taxes on activity that generates pollution or in granting subsidies for limiting pollution. We might then discuss the possibility raised by the Coase Theorem for resolving such problems via negotiation, and that this might be possible within the bargaining over an international trade agreement. Thus, we might find ourselves talking about an approach that looks something like “fair trade.” The negotiations over environmental issues may not lead to government-like regulation, but still involve negotiations over how environmental costs will be borne.

Other questions may focus on labor issues, such as child labor, or even slavery. This could lead to a discussion of market power on the employer’s side, the employees’ side (unions), or both; and the question of whether existing alternative economic activity in less developed countries makes some types of child labor desirable. The discussion of slavery also provides the opportunity to emphasize the voluntary nature of market transactions—making the point that by definition slavery is not voluntary for the enslaved. Thus, slavery would fall outside the boundaries of the usual positive welfare conclusions of mainstream economics because it violates the fundamental premise of voluntary exchange.

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8) This last part is a common feature of our teaching—we try to encourage students not only to use the tools of the module but to reflect upon how well those tools help them understand their worlds.



### **Political Perspective**

We ask students to continue thinking about issues raised in the Economic Perspectives module as they move to the Political Perspectives module, but now we ask them to apply the conceptual tools of principles, interests, and strategies to examine issues, including fair trade.

We commonly start by noting that political analysis and political action is about how things of importance get distributed in society. We point out that trade is a good place to ask the fundamental political question: who gets what, when and how?

Within this context we begin by identifying the most organized and influential players involved in the fair trade issue: developed country corporations, unions, environmentalists, less developed country businesses, unions, national governments of various types, the WTO, and so on. We encourage students to understand that all of these players (and others not listed) have particular interests at stake in the fair trade debate. These players also will espouse value-based principles to which they adhere or, at least, put forward. Some of them will act strategically, that is with a considered course of action, as they engage in the debate and as they pursue their interests. We point out the importance, and the difficulty, of separating principles from interests, and of identifying strategies that must be concealed in order to be effective.

In considering the environmental standards component of fair trade we might note the interests of some of the parties: higher profits and/or management income for multinational corporations, environmental cleanup for users of natural resources in a developing country, profits and income for developing country companies, jobs for workers in both developed and developing countries, and so on.

We would then try to identify the various principles put forward by the parties. Multinational

corporations might argue for the virtues of free trade, unimpeded by “government bureaucracy.” Developing country companies and unions might argue for the right of open access to developed country markets and the rights of sovereignty of each country to manage their resources as they see fit. Environmentalists and users of developing country natural resources might raise the issue of ecological sustainability and the value of preserving plant and animal species.

In discussing labor issues through the political lens we might contrast the principle of voluntary associations in a labor market put forth by economists with the interest employers have in retaining enough control over the labor force to keep employee costs low. We would introduce the idea of “structural coercion”, and encourage a discussion of whether a person with no employment options who must accept low wages and poor benefits no longer can be said not to have a voluntary choice.

For each topic students would be encouraged to identify the strategies used by the parties and the likely sources of power. We might point to lobbying, campaign contributions, and efforts to influence rule-making as some of the strategies of multinational corporations, thereby implicitly recognizing the power of income and wealth. We might note the use of publicity by environmentalists in appreciation of their power that comes from use of the mass media and the appeal to “universal” interests. And we might note the use of the free market argument by developing country companies and unions to gain access to developed-country markets and the power derived from the position of the “underdog.”

### **A Committed Openness View**

We believe this process helps bring our students to an outlook that incorporates the processes associated with committed openness. Of course,

there is no single “committed openness” view on fair trade (or, indeed, on any complex issue). People may agree completely or disagree sharply, but we would hope they do so after looking at the issue from a variety of perspectives and engaging the compelling arguments on other sides.

So it is quite possible to find someone coming out of this process dedicated to the position that, suitably structured, free trade agreements are desirable. This person may recognize that economic incentives can lead to environmental degradation or unsafe working conditions. But she may see the imposition of blanket trade conditions as undermining the economic possibilities of poorer countries. The person may believe that many of the environmental and labor condition issues will resolve themselves as income and wealth is produced through open international trade.

A colleague may disagree—arguing that environmental degradation may be irreversible and must be prevented. The individual may note that the developing country “winners” of free trade agreements are a small subset of the local population, and that income and wealth inequalities will only become exacerbated in the absence of appropriate side conditions, a development that can undermine the possibilities for open and democratic societies.

These two may or may not find resolutions to their disagreements. Yet being openly committed to their positions means that they listen carefully to each other’s arguments and attempt to honestly address them from their perspectives. Where appropriate, each may modify his or her position in light of the arguments put forward by the other, or by new information they encounter at a later date.

## CONCLUSION

Factors associated with globalization are having, and are likely to continue to have, profound effects on the size, form and purpose of public institutions.

Whatever those effects, these institutions will play

a critical role in determining who benefits and who loses from globalization, both within nations and between them. That is, public institutions will help shape the public consequences of globalization.

How public institutions engage globalization issues will depend upon a number of factors, some of which are seemingly beyond anyone’s control. One of the factors we can control is how we educate people in public roles.

Globalization will make the work of public administrators more complicated while at the same time increasing the demands for leadership at all levels. We believe that paying careful attention to the content of public service education, as well as the more subtle but powerful process issues associated with that education, can have large public benefits.

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