

Globalization, Nationalism and Public Administration: Challenge and Response

LEONOR MAGTOLIS BRIONES*

In scope and purpose, globalization transcends national boundaries. Mainstream concepts of globalization focus on macro and microeconomic phenomena. At the same time, it is recognized that globalization brings about political, social and cultural transformation. However, spectacular breakthroughs in science, technology and information accelerated the process. The era of globalization has seen the surge of nationalism in many parts of the globe. As the planet shrinks into a global village and as borders disappear, it is believed that nationalism will become irrelevant. Nevertheless, nationalism should serve as the guiding principle in dealing with globalization in order for the latter to serve the national interest. The theory and practice of public administration in the Philippines is profoundly affected by globalization. It is imperative to review existing theories of public administration in terms of their relevance and responsiveness to current developments particularly the process of globalization. Changes in the practice of public administration are such that theoreticians and academics are hardly able to monitor, much less keep pace with simultaneous developments on a global, regional and national scale.

Introduction

As we near the end of the second millennium and prepare for the third thousand years of life on this planet, debates have heightened on the directions of "our common future." One word which has elicited a wide range of conflicting reactions is *globalization*. Another word is *nationalism*. National, regional and global conferences are continually held on the implications of globalization for the inhabitants of this fragile planet. Debates and exchanges take place almost daily in different fora and media—print, radio, TV, and of course, the Internet.

*Professor, College of Public Administration and Vice-President for Finance and Administration, University of the Philippines. She is actively involved in advocacy work on social development issues at the national, regional and global level. At present, she is a trustee of **Action for Economic Reforms**, an advocacy group composed mainly of U.P. faculty, graduate students and alumni. Prof. Briones is also Chair of **Focus on the Global South**, a regional nongovernment organization (NGO) based in Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. At the same time, she is the coordinator for Asia of **Social Watch**, a global network of NGOs monitoring the implementation of government commitments to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Summits on social development and women.

Globalization is not just an abstract concept which makes for interesting global debate. It is a reality which shapes and directs the lives of people in nearly all countries, whether as active players or objects, and as winners or losers. At the same time, the extent of the impact of globalization in different countries is determined by its interaction with nationalism.

It is very likely that globalization and nationalism will be among the most powerful forces which will shape our lives, individually and collectively, in the near and distant future. It is appropriate for theoreticians and practitioners of public administration to examine these two forces as they impact on the lives of the Filipino people.

This overview paper is divided into four major parts. The first part deals with concepts of globalization. The wide range of concepts is grouped into two parallel streams: mainstream concepts and emerging concepts. The second part of the paper identifies the challenges and opportunities of globalization in four main areas: the economy; political institutions and governance; social institutions and culture; and science and technology. Human development is the unifying thread which integrates these four areas. The third part of the paper is on nationalism. It reviews current thinking on *new nationalism*. The fourth and last part focuses on the challenges to the theory and practice of public administration.

The paper ends with remarks on the practice of using the image of animals to portray national goals, i.e., the Philippines' aspiration to be a tiger economy.

Concepts of Globalization

The wide array of literature on globalization reveals a broad range of concepts on the subject. These can be grouped into two parallel sets of concepts: those I would describe as mainstream concepts and those I would label as emerging concepts of globalization.

Mainstream Concepts

Mainstream concepts view globalization as primarily an economic, particularly trade and business phenomenon. Globalization did not descend on national economies in one fell swoop. The process has been going on for at least two decades. In recent times, globalization was accelerated by spectacular advances in science, technology and information.

Alburo best describes the different dimensions of globalization as an economic phenomenon in his latest paper on the subject. One dimension is

macroeconomic. He notes: "The globalization of markets for commodities and factors seems to be one meaning behind globalization, i.e., the convergence of prices. Nowhere is this more visibly seen than in the globalization of financial markets" (Albuero 1997: 6). He also observes that the globalization of markets is a continuation of international trade.

Another dimension to globalization, according to Albuero, is the firm or microeconomic agents. Globalization means firms behave differently in terms of suppliers and markets. Different parts of a particular product are produced in different countries and are then assembled in still another country. Suppliers come from one set of countries while financing is generated from still another set of countries. The same goes for markets.

Thus, globalization is both a macroeconomic phenomenon as in financial markets, as well as a microeconomic phenomenon, as in the changing behavior of firms. Albuero also points out several characteristics of globalization. First, global firms today are both small and large, and nimble. A second characteristic is changes in the nature of investments beyond simple equity purchases. For example, there is increasing investment in research and development. A third characteristic is the change in location of international production, followed by a fourth characteristic which is changes in the nature of production processes and organization. Fifth is changes in international governance. Globalization involves going beyond legal systems and relying increasingly on private systems of dispute settlements and arbitration.

Globalization at the micro and macroeconomic levels has spurred the transformation not only of economic systems but also of political, social and cultural institutions as well. While the process might be described as economic in nature, impacts are wide-ranging. Thus, Ofreneo notes that "it is cursed by civil society as a bane as it brings in its wake jobless growth, social and gender inequality, crass global cultural commercialism and environmental despoliation" (Ofreneo 1997: 1). Bello likewise points out that

globalization has gone hand in hand with income inequality in the South. It has also been accompanied by the growth of inequality in the North, so much so that people are now talking about the erasing of the traditional North-South cleavage and pointing to the rise of the South in the North just as the elites of the South tied to the world economy constituted an emerging *North in the South* (Bello 1997: 4-5).

Policy analysts look at the globalization process as a challenge to government policymakers. According to them, government should formulate policies which would result in maximum benefits for the country. Choices have to be made among priority concerns. Policy responses to trends in globalization can range from carefully calibrated but complex policy choices to simple and administratively easy policy decisions.

On the other hand, Parr views the political transformations occurring in the wake of globalization as opportunities for civil society. According to her,

civil society takes on an increasingly powerful role in development and in influencing policies. Globalization has meant a retreat in the role of the state as market forces and market actors determine the course of growth. This rearrangement of roles between the market, the state and people gives more space for the civil society to organize itself to effectively voice the interests of the people and of the common good. It also gives more responsibility to the civil society to take up the interests of the people whose voices would otherwise be overwhelmed and drowned by the powers of business interests and of the politically powerful (Parr 1997: 1-2).

To summarize, mainstream concepts in globalization view it as primarily an economic phenomenon accompanied by political, social and cultural transformations. Many view these transformations as threatening to human development while others see them as opportunity for civil society to play a major role in the development process.

Emerging Concepts

The second set of concepts does not limit the globalization process to macro and microeconomic phenomena. For example, Sarah Timpson, Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), views international movements, actions and initiatives on democracy, human rights, environmental and social development as part of globalization.

Pro-democracy movements and human rights campaigns have become global concerns. The cause of the environment as part of our "common future" is recognized in all countries. Problems of social development – poverty, unemployment, social disintegration and gender issues – are also the subject of worldwide campaigns.

The work of the UNDP and other United Nations (UN) organizations has contributed much to the globalization of the above concerns. The series of global UN summits on social development, women, population and housing has focused global attention on these concerns. Governments have made commitments and set specific targets as their contribution to global solutions.

On the other hand, nongovernment organization (NGO) alternative meetings which parallel the annual World Bank-International Monetary Fund (WB-IMF) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) meetings are now regular events. During these meetings, the above issues are brought to the fore. The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit held in the Philippines was matched by parallel summits held by different NGO groups. The forthcoming

summit in Vancouver, Canada will also see alternative NGO summits. The only difference is that the Canadian government is giving NGOs full access to the formal Summit as well as permission to hold alternative conferences. These parallel NGO meetings bring attention to issues which are left out in meetings of governments and international institutions.

Active participation is not limited to attendance in UN summits and WB, IMF, ADB and APEC meetings. NGOs, peoples' organizations, academics and research institutions often meet on their own. The Society for International Development (SID), a global network of over 4,000 NGOs met from 21-24 May 1997 on the multiple dimensions of globalization in Santiago de Compostela in Spain. Members of Social Watch, a global network of NGOs monitoring the implementation of government commitments on social development and women, meet regularly and actively lobby UN meetings. Focus on the Global South has been holding meetings and conferences on paradigm shifts in Asia.

The above are only a few examples of many NGO initiatives at the national, regional and global levels which have resulted in the globalization of issues related to democracy, human rights, environment and social development. They are equally active players in the process of globalization – whether economic, political, social or cultural.

Parallel Streams of Globalization

To summarize, mainstream concepts of globalization focus on macro and microeconomic phenomena. At the same time, it is recognized that globalization brings about political, social and cultural transformation.

On the other hand, movements and initiatives on democracy, human rights, environment and social development are increasingly globalized. These form the second emerging stream of globalization. This is primarily due to the work of NGOs, peoples' organizations, research groups and academics. UN organizations have given special attention to these issues in their global summits.

Active players in mainstream globalization come from business and government while those in the emerging stream of globalization come from international organizations like the UN and civil society.

These parallel streams of globalization are reflected in four major areas of concern: the economy; political institutions and governance; social institutions and culture; and science and technology.

The Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization

The Economy

Globalization, especially in the mainstream sense, is most visible in the economy. As pointed out earlier, it started as a macro and microeconomic process primarily in business, trade and investment. Rapid advances in science, technology and information speeded up the process of globalization.

Trade Liberalization and Structural Adjustment. In the Philippines, structural adjustment which started during the last years of the Marcos administration, accelerated the opening up of the economy to the winds of globalization. This included trade liberalization, reforms in the financial sector, privatization, fiscal and monetary policy measures (particularly reduction of budget deficits and the restructuring of the Central Bank) and other globalization-friendly economic policies.

These measures were part of structural adjustment packages which the government implemented as conditionalities for loans from the three multilateral institutions, i.e., the IMF, WB and the ADB. The same measures were also supported by country creditors (e.g., the United States and Japan) as well as private international banks.

It will be recalled that the external debt of the Philippines escalated during the late seventies, leading to a massive balance of payments crisis in September 1983. The Philippine debt problem was part of the global debt crisis which devastated middle as well as low income countries for more than a decade. Many middle and low income countries continue to grapple with debt problems. While the Philippines is officially out of the woods, the threat of a debt crisis persists.

Structural adjustment programs were implemented amidst bitter public debates, numerous public hearings and people's actions ranging from pickets to mammoth rallies and demonstrations.

The mainstream view of structural adjustment considers the process as beneficial to the economy. Implementation of structural adjustment programs facilitated the reentry of the Philippines to the global economy. It is believed that such reentry is responsible for the country's much heralded economic recovery and the consequent claims of dramatic economic growth.

The alternative view is that structural adjustment entailed horrendous human costs. A study of countries which implemented structural adjustment programs was published by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 1988. Entitled *Adjustment With a Human Face*, the book contains case studies

of countries which underwent structural adjustment and the consequent impacts in terms of distribution of income, education, health and other social indicators. The Philippines is included in this study.

The UNICEF study precipitated a flood of literature on the negative aspects of structural adjustment. This and other studies inspired the organization of thousands of NGOs and people's movements which literally stormed international meetings and brought to the merciless glare of international attention the plight of the global poor.

In the Philippines, the late seventies and early eighties saw the emergence of NGOs and people's organizations (POs). These groups sprang from the real experience of jobless growth, poverty, social disintegration, gender-related problems and environmental destruction which came in the wake of structural adjustment.

Structural adjustment purportedly prepared the stage for economic recovery and speeded up integration into the global economy. However, the dark side of globalization cannot be ignored.

GATT/WTO and APEC. While structural adjustment speeded up the process of globalization, the Philippines' entry into the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade/World Trade Organization (GATT/WTO) dramatized the challenges, opportunities and the dangers of globalization.

Prior to the ratification of GATT by the Senate, the Philippines had been actively involved in negotiations and meetings like the Uruguay Round. NGOs had been campaigning and bringing to public attention the dangers of unfettered globalization. However, it took the GATT debates to galvanize the attention of Filipino citizens and focus their interest on globalization.

The ratification of GATT was vigorously contested by NGOs who organized themselves into an Anti-GATT Coalition. Academics and policy analysts were bitterly divided. It was the government's assurance that safety nets would be provided for the prospective GATT losers which won the day and led to its ratification by the Senate.

When it became evident that the vaunted safety nets were not forthcoming, erstwhile defenders of GATT turned vociferous critics.

The debates on GATT prepared the public for even more bitter debates about APEC. While government had a headstart in the information campaign on APEC, eventually media covered the positions of the three major NGO groups opposing APEC. The position of government was that the commitments submitted to the APEC Summit will complete the globalization process and

pave the way to prosperity for all Filipinos. The position of APEC opponents ranged from total rejection of the commitments of government to warnings that the country was ill-prepared to implement them and that there would be more winners than losers. Concerns were also expressed about sustainable environment and gender issue.

Perspectives on Globalization. Perspectives on the implications of globalization and the economy range from the optimistic to the pessimistic. One view holds globalization as the answer to the challenge of global survival. Borderless economies would facilitate the totally free movement of goods, services and people. The full operation of the free market would result in the availability of the best goods at the lowest prices. Unfettered competition would encourage excellence in the production of goods and services.

Another view perceives globalization as both goal and opportunity. The government for example, largely views globalization as giving the Philippines the opportunity to enter the global market as a major player. It is perceived that benefits will flow from such a possibility and will lead to higher incomes, full employment and better quality of life for the people.

Still another perspective recognizes the positive benefits of globalization on the economy. At the same time, it recognizes the challenges and dangers. Thus, various policy options which can maximize benefits for the Philippines are proposed. These range from sophisticated and highly calibrated policy models to relatively simple and administratively feasible alternatives.

Another view recognizes that globalization is already in our midst. While policy measures are largely economic in orientation, the effects are political, social, and cultural. The impact of globalization is measured in terms of its effects on human development. This view likewise calls attention to gender aspects of globalization and its impact, particularly on women.

An oft-repeated view is that the Philippines opened its doors to globalization at a time when it was ill-prepared to do so. This was clearly articulated during the debates on GATT and the bitter confrontations during the APEC Summit. The warning was that in the short run, the Philippines would have more losers than winners.

Still another view is that globalization is merely another name for imperialism in the third millennium. It points out the leading role of the Group of 7 countries, the participation of multilateral finance institutions, big business and developing country governments.

All the above views and more are propounded by various members of the University of the Philippines community. The university can serve as a venue

for reasoned debate and discussions, particularly on policy options and alternative programs of action.

Political Institutions and Governance

It is accepted by all who are involved in the debate that globalization does not only transform economies; political institutions also undergo profound changes, with consequent implications for governance.

Levels of Governance. Under globalization, levels of governance can be perceived at three main levels: global governance as exemplified by multilateral institutions like the UN, WB and the IMF whose policies regulate relationships among member countries and bind them to commitments and conditionalities; and international institutions like the WTO which is the supreme arbiter on all matters pertaining to trade.

A second level is regional governance where countries commit themselves to regional organizations which are created for political and trade purposes. The third level is national governance, of which local governance is still another level.

The forces of globalization are so compelling that current national policies are largely responses to external rather than internal stimuli. In the case of the Philippines, no less than the President of the country has announced that at least a hundred laws on agriculture need amendment or repeal. An amendment of the Constitution is necessary to provide the appropriate legal framework for the numerous commitments which the government has submitted to the APEC Summit.

The implementation of all major policies is usually preceded with justifications on the need to globalize and prepare for competition, whether it is privatization, the comprehensive tax reform program, or the deregulation of the oil industry.

The Role of the State. The debate on globalization and governance is sharpest on the matter of the role of the state. The dominant view is that with accelerated globalization and free market competition, the role of the state should be limited to that of a facilitator—the leveller of the playing field, the provider of basic services and the formulator of globalization-friendly policies. The latest buzzword is *minimalist government*.

The alternative view agrees with the analysis that the present structure and administrative capacity of the government is not sufficient to deal with the complex problems, demands and consequences of globalization. However, it

must be transformed to carry on its responsibility to provide services to those who are surely going to lose in the game of the free market. The view is that government has a responsibility to promulgate policies and implement programs which will attend to the victims of the dark side of globalization. Such view is reflected in the UN Summits which have been held on social development, women, population, environment and housing. This is also the position of many NGOs which emphasize the responsibility of government to those who are marginalized by its policies.

Globalization will give free rein to the forces of the market. However, the market can only bless those who can play—those who have goods to sell and those who have the income to buy. Increasingly, large sections of the population are excluded from the market by poverty, unemployment and other factors. The government cannot ignore this phenomenon of exclusion of more and more people from meaningful participation in society.

Whither Public Sector and Private Sector? Still another consequence of globalization on governance is the blurring of boundaries between the public sector and the private sector and between public administration and private administration. More and more public goods are being produced on contract by the private sector. At the same time, the public sector is also producing more private goods.

Globalization has resulted not only in the opening of economies; it has likewise led to the opening of governments to private business. Government offices are continually reminded that they must be run like private businesses. On the other hand, the private sector is endlessly advised to have a social conscience.

Globalization leads to borderless economies. Will it also lead to borderless governments, and consequently, governance?

Public Finance. Even public finance has not been spared from the transforming effect of globalization. On taxes, calls have been made for taxes on global commons, as well as taxes designed to raise resources for the rehabilitation of the environment. Governments are enjoined by the UN to set aside specific portions of their budget or commit a percentage of their gross national product (GNP) for social development and for global concerns.

The wide array of financial arrangements which has emerged in the wake of globalization has opened new vistas for resource generation. At the same time, problems of accountability are increasing due to complex organizational arrangements in public programs and projects.

Administrative Reforms. Not surprisingly, the traditional structures of government could not cope with the requirements of accelerated globalization.

This is particularly true of governments of developing countries. Hence, there is an inexorable call for administrative reforms.

For the past decade, the call has been for *downsizing*. Private businesses started the trend with ruthless reductions in staff in the grim battle for survival. In the United States alone, hundreds of thousands of employees were booted out as corporations downsized in order to sharpen their competitive edge. Governments followed the trend and adopted the call for downsizing.

Another word which has become popular is *reinventing government*. The fad started in the United States and developing country governments are exerting herculean efforts to reinvent their own administrative systems.

There is general agreement that governments badly need downsizing and reinventing. The question is: Which functions of government should be downsized and reinvented? One view is that government should be reduced to its barest minimal essentials. Another view holds that while government needs restructuring, its priorities have to be transformed to serve increasing numbers of people who are excluded from society. Social development remains a major responsibility which cannot be abandoned in the preoccupation with downsizing.

Globalization of Corruption. As expected, one dark side in globalization and governance is corruption. Opening the corridors of government to globalization has laid it wide open to opportunities for venality of unprecedented scale. The Amari deal is just the latest example. The different organizational arrangements which have been developed to accommodate the complexities of globalization have also opened a veritable Pandora's box of corruption.

The globalization of corruption is such that international anti-corruption movements have emerged to combat this scourge. At least, this is the good news.

The Role of Civil Society. In recent times, civil society has enlarged its participation in governance in the face of the minimalization of governments. Parr notes:

In the globalizing world of the 21st century, the civil society takes on an increasingly powerful role in development and in influencing policies. Globalization has meant a retreat in the role of the state, as market forces determine the course of growth. This rearrangement of roles, between the market, the state and people gives more space for the civil society to organize itself to effectively voice the interests of the people and of the common good. It also gives more responsibility to the civil society to take up the interests of the people whose voices would otherwise be overwhelmed and drowned by the powers of business interests and of the politically powerful (Parr 1997: 1-2).

The main players in the dominant globalization process are big business, governments and international institutions. Reactions to the underside of globalization have come mainly from civil society. As global, regional and national governance mechanisms emerge, civil society has likewise organized itself on a global, regional and national scale.

This is perhaps the major difference between mainstream globalization thought and the alternative view. The former is preoccupied with policy options which governments can undertake particularly on economic matters. The latter considers civil society as part and parcel of governance. They are not objects of government attention: they are players and they are part of the solution.

Social Institutions and Culture

Globalization has impacted on all aspects of collective and individual existence in most countries of the world, including the Philippines. This is particularly true for social institutions and culture.

Dominant cultures have been globalized through media and information technology, resulting in the trend towards homogenization. The most obvious effect is the rapid spread of consumerism. Tariff liberalization and deregulation has allowed untrammelled trade in consumer goods. The desire for endless consumption is abetted by dazzling advertising transmitted through media. A dedicated shopping freak can shop in the comfort of his or her home and order endless arrays of consumer goods from many countries, through television, e-mail, fax and the Internet.

These developments can be considered beneficial since the range of choices for a consumer is virtually limitless. However, when a customer buys a pair of shoes, clothing, electronic gadgets, video cassettes, or whatever, he is not only bringing in a consumer good; he is also bringing in culture.

Thus, social institutions and culture are now transformed by media and technology. The observation has been made that media have now taken over the functions of social institutions which serve as the bedrock of society. Institutions like the family, organized religion and education have been profoundly transformed. It is said that media disseminate knowledge and information at a much faster rate than regular institutions of learning. Anyone interested in religion will have infinitely more choices in the Internet than going to church. Concepts of the family are also undergoing transformation.

All these changes are exhilarating and liberating. However, dominant cultures will tend to have the edge because of access to information technology. At the same time, minority cultures can easily be marginalized. The impact of

cultural change on people, especially at the individual level can be mind-boggling. It is not clear whether this is a good or bad thing. What is obvious is that culture will tend to be homogenized.

The Dark Side: Social Disintegration. It cannot be denied that globalization has had positive effects on social institutions and culture. Cross-cultural exchanges have contributed to reduction of prejudices and biases on the basis of race, religion and culture. Social institutions have undergone positive changes which were rapidly communicated on a global scale. Nevertheless, the dark side of the force of globalization cannot be underestimated.

In May 1995, the UNDP convened a global summit on social development. One of the main themes was on social disintegration. The dizzying pace of change occasioned by structural adjustment, liberalization and the transformation of political and social institutions wreaked havoc on societies and individuals who did not have the capacity to adjust and cope.

One effect is the globalization of criminality. As in corruption, criminal syndicates have internationalized their operations and have taken full advantage of science, technology and even culture to enhance their "productivity." While legitimate trade and business have expanded, criminal operations have likewise escalated. Economies which have opened their doors to increased trade have learned to their sorrow that they have let in sophisticated criminal groups as well—drug syndicates, assassination networks, sex syndicates, as well as terrorist groups.

Drug-related crimes like mass murders have become part of the daily fare. Societies all over the world, including the Philippines agonize over apparently senseless and unexplainable crimes. Violence against women and children is apparently on the rise in the Philippines and elsewhere.

Another dark side is the globalization of cults, including suicide cults. It is not fair to say that cults emerged from globalization. Cults are part of societies all over the world. However, the current proliferation of cults and their use of advances in science and technology to gain adherents and communicate with "recruits" are disturbing. Recipes for committing group suicide are dispensed via the Internet.

Mass suicides are not new. What is new is the increase in incidence in different parts of the world, e.g., the United States (U.S.), Canada, France, Switzerland and Japan.

Even more disturbing is the increase of suicide among youth. Again, young people have committed suicide in all societies. Globalization per se does not drive the youth to suicide. However, the breakdown of social institutions

and bewildering cultural changes appear to exacerbate anomie among the youth in certain societies, at this time. Suicide statistics in Australia and New Zealand are even more disturbing than those of the U.S. and Japan. All these are symptoms of disease in the global fabric of society.

Poverty. A discussion on poverty rightfully belongs to the section on the economy. While poverty is basically an economic problem, it is closely linked with social institutions and the problems of society. In spite of all the wonderful news about the wonders and blessings of globalization, the fact remains that poverty on a global, regional and national scale remains an intractable problem. Over a billion human beings live in absolute poverty. In the Philippines, poverty incidence in 1994 was calculated at 35.7 percent of the population, with a national poverty threshold of P8,969 annual individual income.

One view regards poverty as stemming from underdevelopment. Thus, economic growth is expected to solve the problem. We all know that economic growth does not necessarily reduce poverty. The Club of Rome, for example, bewails "the scandal and the shame" of poverty amidst spectacular economic growth and impressive strides in science and technology.

One aspect of the current debate is whether poverty has worsened with structural adjustment and other policies designed to enhance globalization. The answer is a resounding yes from UN organizations, NGOs, POs and other advocacy groups. Mainstream economists argue back that poverty would be much, much worse without structural adjustment.

The debate has been raging for more than ten years on a global scale. NGOs regularly stormed the annual meetings of the WB and the IMF and presented arguments as well as alternative programs. Two years ago, the WB finally relented and grudgingly agreed that there had been mistakes in structural adjustment programs in certain countries. The WB President agreed to conduct a tripartite evaluation of selected countries to determine the success or failure of structural adjustment. A major area to be examined is its impact on poverty.

As agreed, the evaluation would be conducted jointly by the WB, the government of the selected country and a national NGO. The Philippines has been selected as one of the countries to be evaluated. However, the government has not yet made up its mind whether it would allow its supposedly spectacular success in structural adjustment to be evaluated on a tripartite basis.

Poverty and its social consequences continue to be a major concern of international institutions, governments and civil society. The nightmare of social disintegration can be traced in many instances to pervasive poverty.

Employment. Like poverty, the subject of employment likewise belongs to the section on the economy. However, employment is not only an economic matter; it is part of the fabric of society. Social institutions and culture shape and are shaped by employment and work. Again, many of the ills that plague society often occur under conditions of high unemployment.

With globalization, the nature of work and that of employment is undergoing profound transformation. Rifkin (1995) rages about "the end of work." The Club of Rome's Orio Giarini and Patrick Liedtke (1996) ponder on "the employment dilemma and the future of work." The UNDP devotes a special issue of the Human Development Report (HDR) to "jobless growth."

In the Philippines, Ofreneo (1997) confirms that employment targets did not materialize with the country's entry into GATT/WTO. Briones (1996: 98) of *Social Watch* reports to the UN Economic Social Commission on "higher growth, fewer jobs."

These and many more reports confirm the undeniable fact that work and the nature of employment as we know them are changing profoundly. Permanent employment is on the way out. The buzz words are *contractualization* and *casualization*. Employees are the immediate victims of *downsizing*, especially in the private sector. Firms which need to be nimble and agile are not interested in permanent employees. Workers are not necessarily blessed by technology, they are threatened by it. The office and factory as areas of work are in the process of transformation as more and more people work in their homes and other places.

Those who are employed are beset with insecurities; those who are unemployed are driven to desperation. The drive to compete and deal with the stresses of unemployment is the cause of physical as well as social illness. Work is creation; in many ways, it is life itself. If the end of work is near, and the future of work is uncertain, what is there to look forward to?

Going Back to Roots and Identity. A review of the impact of social institutions and culture should not end with the terrors of social disintegration, the horrors of poverty and the spectre of the end of work. It must end with hope. Even as globalization has sparked the trend toward homogenization of culture, a parallel stream has also developed. This is the trend in many countries to search for cultural roots, whether tribal, community or national. In the North, as well as in the South, there are movements to go back to the community and live in harmony with the environment as well as fellow human beings.

All over the world, social institutions are breaking up. All over the world also, hope is reborn in many ways and in many forms. Even as people are engulfed in consumerism, alternative lifestyles are emerging. Even as the

environment is destroyed in many places, it is nursed and nurtured elsewhere. While minority cultures are absorbed by dominant cultures, in other places culture is rediscovered. Even as there is destruction, there is also creation.

Science and Technology

It has been noted that globalization has been going on for decades. However, spectacular breakthroughs in science, technology and information accelerated the process. While change is a fact of life, change is now occurring at a dizzying speed. Thus, globalization is going on not only in trade, business and investment; practically all facets of human endeavor are now being globalized.

All aspects of human activity are affected—individual lifestyles, community work, economic systems, political and social institutions, and culture. Some issues have surfaced in contending with the benefits as well as costs of science and technology.

Keeping Abreast. At the rate new knowledge in science and technology is generated, the pressure to catch up, keep abreast and stay ahead is overwhelming. Professionals have their hands full just keeping in touch with developments in their field, and charting new directions. The constant challenge to communities, governments and economies is to stay at the cutting, competitive edge.

In the overweening drive to stay ahead, the human costs are tremendous. Surviving in the third millennium can mean running in a race without end, where there are no final victors, only temporary winners. Competition is not only with others—whether individuals, firms, communities or governments—more often, competition is with oneself.

Rapid obsolescence is a nightmare with horrendous financial implications. Take computers. Today's expensive high-tech model is tomorrow's Jurassic junk. Consumers are pressured to acquire the latest consumer good; hospitals and laboratories must have the latest equipment; armies must have the most sophisticated killer machines.

To stay ahead or at least keep abreast, massive investments in research and development need to be expended. This is where the richest countries, the biggest multinationals and the best-funded universities have an edge.

Since the products of science and technology are goods which have financial costs, these tend to be available only to those who can pay for them. Those who have limited resources can only content themselves with leftovers,

throwaways and second-hand gadgets. Thus, the gap between those who have access to science and technology and those who don't is widening. It is possible to have technologically advanced areas as well as "Jurassic" areas—all in one country. This is evident for example in countries like Mexico. This can also happen in the Philippines. Advanced areas can even move faster while lagging areas will be left behind in the garbage bin of science and technology.

Moral and Philosophical Questions. Exciting developments in science have raised moral and philosophical questions which are now the subject of debate. Questions about cloning humans or parts of humans, genetic engineering, trade in parts of the human body, the right to live, and even death—all these societies have to deal with.

The Bottom Line. What is the bottom line for globalization and science and technology? They must serve humanity—and not just one country or one sector, one region or one community. Expansion of the frontiers of knowledge must be available to all. The greatest gains in science and technology are in the preservation of life. Exciting discoveries in health and medicine must bring relief and enhance the lives of all mankind and not just the few who can afford them. Equally wonderful advances in food production have to be shared with the global community. The present situation of people starving to death while others are throwing away leftovers is intolerable.

In other words, science and technology must enhance and enrich the quality of life of all who live in this planet. Thus, it will indeed be a blessing to all.

Human Development

Human development is the strand which holds together concerns on political institutions and governance, social institutions and culture, and science and technology. At the end of the day, what really matters is how the interaction between globalization and these different institutions redounds to higher levels of human development.

For seven years, the UNDP has been issuing a Human Development Report which makes it possible to track the progress of a country, a region and the community of nations as a whole. Human development adds the variables of education and health to income as a gauge for measuring development.

The Report makes it possible to assess a country's progress in relation to others in the region as well as on a global scale. While the focus is on income, education and health, each year a special theme is selected which illumines a dimension of human development. In 1995 for example, the focus was on

gender. Thus the need to “engender human development” was given special attention.

Human development therefore serves as the measuring rod, the bottomline and the bench mark for examining globalization and its impacts on various economic, political, social institutions including science and technology.

The Response to Globalization: A New Nationalism

Nationalism: Two Views

The era of globalization has seen the surge of nationalism in many parts of the globe. As in the earlier topics discussed, there are also two parallel streams of thought on nationalism.

One stream of thought is that nationalism is incompatible with globalization. As the planet shrinks into a global village and as borders disappear, it is believed that nationalism will become irrelevant. One comment is that if immigration laws will be lifted and people will be allowed to travel and to live where they please, the concept of nationalism as it is generally known and practiced will disappear. There are those who are comfortable with the idea of being “a citizen of the world.” One globe-trotting Filipina has remarked that the only time she remembers she is a Filipina is when she travels because she has to use a Philippine passport. Otherwise, the issue of nationalism and nationality is of no importance and of no use to her.

Another stream of thought concedes that globalization is already here and is a fact of life. Nevertheless, as Ofreneo (1997: 3) points out, nationalism should serve as the guiding principle in dealing with globalization. It is a powerful response which can shape and use the forces of globalization to serve national interest.

Towards a New Nationalism

In the Philippines, there are many variations between these two streams. It is no big deal for business corporations to change nationalities if it will enhance corporate profits. It is said that a number of firms owned by Filipinos are actually registered in Hong Kong or elsewhere. Thus, they can register as *foreign firms* in the Philippines and avail themselves of come-ons and sweeteners which are usually dangled to foreigners.

The word globalization is familiar to most Filipinos, thanks to high-pressure pronouncements from the government and the hoopla attending the

GATT and APEC debates. Nevertheless, many refuse to let go of their nationalist sentiments, especially in this year of the Centennial.

Big ticket deals in privatization have brought to the fore the real possibility that strategic sectors of the economy will be controlled by non-Filipinos. The prospect brings discomfort to many while others don't see what the point is all about.

Those who see nationalism as a powerful countervailing force to globalization see the need to add new dimensions and possibly, even reinvent it. It is not because nationalism as we know it has failed, it is because times have radically changed. Nationalism is what has given us a sense of identity as a people, different and distinct from all others. We all share a common history and a common past. If it disappears under the onslaught of globalization, it would have to be invented because it is crucial to our survival as a people.

But why the need for new nationalism? For example, one dimension is anti-imperialism, we have to take the classic "Stages of Imperialism" a few steps further. Products used to be identified with specific countries, e.g., U.S., Japan, or what have you. Now products are composites of parts made in different countries. Firms used to be identified with countries, e.g., General Electric with the U.S., Toyota with Japan, Mercedes Benz with Germany, and so on. Now we have multinational ownership of firms. A mother corporation might be American, the daughter might be French and the grandchild corporation might be Singaporean or Japanese. An airplane can have a hundred parts made by a hundred different corporations from a hundred different countries.

Many writers have written about new nationalism. Calixto V. Chikiamco for example views nationalism as *the care of the nation's soul*. He says:

This definition is not so discontinuous from our previous understanding of nationalism. Our national failures can be explained by the corruption and abuse of our soul. What is American interference and paternalism if not a degradation of our nation's soul as a result of which we couldn't see ourselves as anything but 'little brown brothers?' What else is false economic nationalism as anything but an aberration of soul: due in part to false economic nationalism and the rent-seeking system it fostered, work, which nourishes the soul, turned to something ugly. It meant *palakasan* and asserting those social ties such as fraternity link, regional origins, or personal loyalties which help us advance in such a rent-seeking system rather than our sense of nationhood (Chikiamco 1995: 22B).

He then goes on to define what entrepreneurship is all about:

Entrepreneurship is about the care of the soul: it means taking responsibility, joining others in a community of work, creating

products and ideas to stay ahead, and developing accountability to customers, suppliers, laborers, investors and other stakeholders. Yet the image of entrepreneurship we have had is a negative one and bound to degrade the soul: businessmen using press and politicians to gain special privilege or pummel competitors (Chikiamco 1995: 22B).

In my view, the fundamentals of nationalism have not changed. It is still love of country whose borders should not disappear even with borderless economies. It is still the striving to protect the interest of the many over that of the few. It is the knowledge that we have a shared history which can never be erased. It is the belief that we continue to create history, distinct and apart from other peoples. It is in the honoring of our heroes and the recognition of their heroic deeds. It is the recognition that we have a national patrimony which is ours to nurture and to enjoy.

Nationalism is not a static notion which we pick up from history books. It is a continuing creative process. Perhaps this is where new nationalism comes in. The complex dimensions of globalization have to be analyzed in terms of how we can respond for the interest of the greater majority of our people. But nationalism is not all about responding and reacting. It is also being proactive and taking the initiative.

The Role of Civil Society

Nationalism and civil society go hand in hand. One inspiring development in recent times is the increasing role of civil society in all aspects of global, regional and national endeavors.

Civil society has proven itself to be effective in bringing about human development. Actions have ranged from environmental protection, assertion of rights in gender issues, to poverty alleviation.

In the Philippines, civil society has been very active in literally serving the people's interests. It can play an important role in identifying the building blocks of new nationalism.

Challenges to Philippine Public Administration

Globalization is not a mere theoretical possibility. It is part of today's reality. As noted earlier, it is transforming not only the economy, but also political, social and cultural institutions. The theory and practice of public administration in the Philippines is profoundly affected by globalization. The theme of this conference is very timely. There is an urgent need to take a look at the challenges facing the field of public administration as the Philippines enters the third millennium.

Theories of Public Administration

It is imperative to review existing theories of public administration in terms of their relevance and responsiveness to current developments, particularly the process of globalization. Considering the speed with which changes are happening on a global scale, dearly held theories and concepts may no longer give answers to today's problems and dilemmas.

Redefining the Borders of Public Administration in a Borderless, Globalizing World. The first question which probably is necessary to raise is: What is Public Administration at present?

When I took up public administration during the sixties, the borders of the field were fairly clear and well-defined. We students had no doubt about what we meant when we used the term *public administration*. How should we now define public administration in a borderless, globalizing world?

Public administration is not limited to national administration. Agreements and commitments crafted at the global and regional levels oftentimes provide the policy framework for national public administration. The controversial commitments made during the APEC Summit are well known examples of global and regional commitments which are translated into national policies. Existing laws and policies need to be overhauled to comply with the requirements of such commitments. In the agricultural sector for example, it is said that over one hundred laws need to be repealed to comply with APEC commitments. No less than the Philippine Constitution needs to be amended since many of its provisions are not complementary with requirements of GATT/WTO and APEC.

The same is true of the Philippines' membership in GATT/WTO. As one of the earliest members of this global organization, the country is under obligation to comply with policies, rules and regulations mandated by WTO. Again, this has implications not only for policy but also for actual programs and projects in the Philippines. Finally, such global decisions will impact on the lives of Filipinos.

In the area of social development, commitments made during the UNDP Summits on social development, women and the environment are expected to be translated into actual policies, programs and projects. These are commitments to reduce poverty, unemployment and social disintegration, as well as commitments on women and the environment.

It is assumed in *traditional public administration* that policy decisions are formulated at the national level. More and more, many policies which transform and affect the lives of people are mere implementations of global and regional policies.

Reestablishing the Locus and Focus of Public Administration. Theories of public administration tell us that through the years, the locus and focus of public administration have been changing. These changes were shaped by developments which transformed the location of public administration as well as the focus of both theory and practice.

In light of rapid global, regional and national changes, it is time to determine once more the locus and focus of the field of public administration. Is it possible that both are in danger of disappearing under the onslaught of globalization?

Clarifying Concepts on the Role of the State, the Private Sector and Civil Society. The role of the state has been the subject of vigorous debate. Views range from the idea of the minimalist state, the concept of a transformed role for the state, and the traditional view that the state must play a dominant role in the economy.

Policy declarations of the government tend to favor the idea of a minimalist state wherein government is reduced to the role of "facilitator." In the words of the UNDP, the state is *on the retreat*. The traditional view is that government must continue its traditional role of providing basic social development services and actively participating in the economy through macroeconomic policies as well as government corporations. Another view acknowledges that government policies and structures desperately need transformation. Nevertheless, while greater efficiency and effectiveness is required, government has a role and responsibility to assist the losers in the globalization process. It has a duty to reduce social problems which have accelerated as a consequence: poverty, unemployment and social disintegration.

At present, it is the government and the NGOs which are debating publicly on the role of the state. The challenge is for theoreticians and practitioners in the field of public administration to join the "conversation" on this key issue.

Nowadays, the delivery of public goods and services is not limited to the government. Both the private business sector and civil society are actively engaged in the production, marketing and distribution of public goods. Thus concepts of what *private sector* and *civil society* mean are also changing. The earlier definition of private sector was "everything outside government." At present, the current definition of civil society is "everything outside government and the private business sector." With boundaries blurring among government, civil society and the private sector, how is one distinguished from the others?

Reviewing Theories of the Bureaucracy. The student of public administration typically starts with Weber's *ideal-type* bureaucracy before tackling theories of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is identified with rules

and regulations, formal structures, permanency and so on. With the advent of advances in science and technology, particularly in information technology, many aspects of the bureaucracy are undergoing transformation.

For example, more and more people are able to do their work at home through computers, e-mail and the Internet. This has implications on civil service rules, working hours, and even requirements for government offices and buildings. As one expert in public administration puts it, if the routine functions of government will eventually be performed by computers and robots, will there be need for large administrative staffs? The implications for capacity building and requirements for different skills boggle the imagination. What will the bureaucracy of the third millennium be like?

The Practice of Public Administration

Globalization presents formidable challenges to theories of public administration. The challenges to the practice of public administration are equally daunting. Changes in the practice of public administration are such that theoreticians and academics are hardly able to monitor, much less keep pace with simultaneous developments on a global, regional and national scale.

Socioeconomic Transformation. The macroeconomic policy of the government is already in place. It is articulated in the national development plan and translated in terms of the annual budget and the corresponding programs, projects and activities of the various agencies of government.

This policy framework reflects commitments to external institutions, e.g. to the IMF and the WB for structural adjustment programs; to the GATT/WTO for economic, particularly trade policies; and to bilateral partners for specific trade and economic commitments. The same policy framework is likewise expected to reflect commitments made to different UN Summits, e.g., on social development, women, environment, habitat and so on. Nevertheless, commitments to the financial multilateral institutions and the GATT/WTO tend to take precedence.

There is a need to review the social and economic impacts of current policy. Again, the NGOs and volunteer organizations are actively doing this in different sectors of the economy. Public administration researchers are doing this on an individual basis. Nevertheless, a comprehensive review is necessary. Colleges and institutes of public administration are in the best position to undertake such a review since they are most familiar with the structures and institutions of government and have access to data which others do not necessarily have.

The 1997 Human Development Report confirms what the NGOs and individual academics have been saying all along: globalization has its dark side. In developing countries, it is characterized by bad policy, bad terms and bad rules. Thus, benefits for poor people are very uncertain. The Report contains a special feature on the impact of liberalization in the corn producing areas in the Visayas and Mindanao (Human Development Report 1997: 86). Impact on the major losers, like corn, is just one of the areas urgently needing review.

Another urgent need is for the assessment of the implementation of government commitments to UN global summits. Once more, NGOs are taking the lead in this endeavor. One of the best known examples is *Social Watch*. During the Social Development Summit in Copenhagen, the Philippine government, along with more than a hundred countries, made detailed commitments for the reduction of poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. Commitments were likewise made during the Global Summit on Women.

So far, two reports (for 1996 and 1997) have been completed. These reports were submitted to the Commission on Social Development. One of the more interesting findings is on infant mortality and maternal mortality. Governments, including the Philippines, have made commitments to reduce these by 50 percent by the year 2000. Interestingly, in the case of the Philippines, instead of getting reduced, maternal mortality is rising. Correspondingly, infant mortality is likewise rising. This is confirmed by studies conducted by Professor Herrin which are cited by the Philippine Institute of Development Studies (Manasan, Llanto and Nuqui 1996: 104-108).

There are many other dimensions of globalization which need militant monitoring. The resources of NGOs are limited. Public administration institutions can join hands with NGOs in making a comprehensive critique of the claims of globalization.

Governance. Public administration is part of the broader area of governance. The traditional way is to consider governance primarily in terms of national governance. A further delineation is local governance. At present, the intrusiveness of global governance is becoming more and more intense. As noted earlier, many national policies are in compliance with global governing bodies like the GATT/WTO and the multilateral financial institutions and regional alliances like APEC. Thus, globally initiated policies are implemented, whether national economies are prepared or not.

It was likewise noted earlier that the bureaucracy must undergo transformation if it is to be used as an instrumentality for helping the poor and marginalized survive the rigors of globalization. There is much talk of reducing

the bureaucracy to its minimal size. But it must be recognized that even as waste, extravagance and unconscionable expenditures are eliminated, government must help losers and potential winners participate in the global arena. It must formulate policies and implement programs which will enable them to benefit from the expected blessings of globalization. This is a responsibility that government cannot retreat from.

A very clear example is reduction of infant mortality. NGOs and private business can only do so much in this area. It is also the same with cholera which is still an annual event in the Philippines. These are responsibilities which cannot be entrusted to the market.

The need to reexamine national planning and budget priorities is an important first step in transforming the bureaucracy. Let us take the 20/20 proposal of the UNDP. With this scheme, governments which are recipients of aid have committed to devoting 20 percent of their budgets to basic social development services. At the same time, donor governments have committed to focus 20 percent of their aid programs on basic social development.

Not many studies have been made on the national budget allocations and actual expenditures. The national budget is the most eloquent expression of government's priorities and commitments. Again, a group of NGOs in the Philippines is examining budget priorities in relation to specific social development requirements. This is a very challenging area for public administration policy study groups.

Resource mobilization is the other side of government expenditures. Many commitments and budget priorities are unfulfilled because resources are never enough.

Finally, the role of NGOs, private volunteer organizations (PVOs) and POs in governance cannot be ignored. They do not only monitor and evaluate governance. They actually participate in policy formulation and implementation. One indicator is the increasing number of NGO persons who are enrolled in public administration. A related indicator is the fact that more and more graduates of public administration work in NGOs after graduation. This is particularly true of bachelor's degree holders.

Decentralization. While global governance is a powerful and irresistible trend, the parallel trend of decentralization presents a formidable challenge. Of course, these two trends need not be in conflict with each other. Decentralization, especially in the administrative sense, can facilitate implementation of global governance at the local level. At the same time, decentralization can be a powerful countervailing force *vis-a-vis* globalization, especially in terms of decentralization of power and authority to local government units and communities.

Decentralization as a process has been building up in the Philippines for nearly five decades. It will be most fascinating to see how decentralization will further develop within the framework of globalization.

Concluding Remarks

The twin phenomena of globalization and nationalism present formidable challenges to the field of public administration. As the College of Public Administration celebrates its 45th year with alumni, friends, supporters and fellow institutions of public administration, it is great to sit back and congratulate ourselves for our significant accomplishments. But this is also a time for pause and reflection. Whither the theory and practice of public administration in the third millennium? Are we going to let inexorable, irresistible forces shape the thrusts and directions in our field of endeavor? Or are we going to take the initiative in the challenging task of a transformed public administration which will help create a better country, a better region, and hopefully a better world?

References

- Alfiler, Ma. Concepcion P.
1997 Globalization, Nationalism and the University of the Philippines: Challenge and Response. 7 April.
- Alaras, Consolacion R.
1995 A Letter to Our Namamathala, Mamamathala for Pamamathala —Pamathalaan (Sacred Politics). Quezon City.
- Alburo, Florian
1997 Effects of Globalization on Growth and Equity in the Philippines: An Overview. Paper distributed during the 3rd Sustainable Human Development Forum. Shangri-La Plaza, Mandaluyong City. 4 April.
- Aman, Alfred C. Jr.
1997 A Global Perspective on Current Regulatory Reforms: Rejection, Relocation, or Reinvention?. *Global Legal Studies Journal II*. March 24: 1. (<http://www.law.indiana.edu/glsj/vol2/ no2/aman.html>).
- Asian Magazine for Human Transformation
1997 One Mind, One Humanity, One Destiny. *Impact*. 32(1). January.
- Banting, Keith
1996 Social Policy Challenges in a Global Society. In Morales-Gómez, Daniel and Mario Torres A., eds. *Social Policy in a Global Society — Parallels and Lessons from the Canada-Latin America Experience*. 15 April. <http://www.idrc.ca/books/focus/761/banting.html>. Internet.

- Balisacan, Arsenio M.
1997 What is the Real Story on Poverty in the Philippines? A Reexamination of Evidence and Policy. School of Economics, University of the Philippines. 27 February.
- Batu Research and Documentation Center
1996 Globalization: For Integral Human Development? *BATU Monitor*. X(12).
- Bello, Walden
1997 Reflections on the Effects of Globalization on Equity in the Third World. *Third Human Development Forum*. April.
1996 Neither Market Nor State – Development Debate in South-East Asia. *The Ecologist*. 6(4), July/August: 167-175.
- Bello, Walden and Joy Chavez Malaluan
1996 APEC: Four Adjectives in Search of a Noun. Manila People's Forum on APEC.
- Briones, Leonor M.
1996 Higher Growth, Fewer Jobs. *Social Watch*. Trial Edition. Montevideo, Uruguay: Instituto del Tercer Mundo.
- Bullard, Nicola
1997 The Nation-State Confronted with Globalization: Southern Perspectives. Paper presented at the Society for International Development 22nd World Conference, Santiago de Compostela, 21-24 May.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique
1996 Social Consequences of Globalization: Marginalization or Improvement. New Delhi, India: Indian International Centre. Internet.
- Cariño, Ledivina V.
1995 The Changing Role of ASEAN Governments: The Actions of State and Public Administration Systems. In Cariño, Ledivina V. and Sirajuddin H. Salleh, eds., *Globalisation and the ASEAN Public Sector*. Kuala Lumpur: Asian Pacific Development Centre.
1994 Future Developments in Philippine Public Administration. Paper presented to the National Economic and Development Authority. Pasig City. 25 November .
- Cariño, Ledivina V. and Sirajuddin Salleh
1995 *Globalisation and the ASEAN Public Sector*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Asian and Pacific Development Center.
- Cariño, Virginia S.
1993 Philippine Science and Technology: Time for Bold Moves. Quezon City: Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines.
- Center for Policy and Development Studies
1996 *Policy Forum*. 11(10). November.
- Chikiamco, Calixto V.
1995 Toward a New Nationalism. *Manila Standard*. 29 October.
- Civil Service Commission (CSC)
1995 *Report for the Mid-Term Accomplishments of the Ramos Administration*. Quezon City: Civil Service Commission. 8 June.

Constantino, Renato

1990 *The Nationalist Alternative* (revised edition). Foundation for Nationalist Studies. Quezon City.

1974 *Identity and Consciousness: The Philippine Experience*. Manila, Philippines.

Cordillera Studies Center

1995 *Culture of Nationalism in Contemporary Philippine Society Conference Proceedings*. Baguio City: University of the Philippines.

Cox, Robert W.

1991 The Global Political Economy and Social Choice. In Danile Drache and Meric S. Gertler, eds. *The New Era of Global Competition — State Policy and Market Power*. Montreal and Kingdom: McGill Queen's University Press.

Delbruck, Jost

1996 Globalization of Law, Politics, and Markets, Implications for Domestic Law: A European Perspective. Christian-Albrechts-Universitat, Kiel, Germany. Internet.

Deles, Teresita Quintos

1997 Philippine NGO and PO Perspectives on Equity-Led Growth. *Intersect* (The Intersectoral Communicator). January.

Delos Santos, Merideth

1997 Is there a Right to a Healthful Environment? *The Human Rights Agenda*. 2(2), March.

Department of Budget and Management (DBM)

1995 *Re-engineering the Bureaucracy for Better Governance — Principles and Parameters*. Manila: DBM.

Department of Finance, Special Report of the Department

1997 *Reforms Instituted to Improve Financial Resource Management, 1992-1996*. Manila: Department of Finance. 12 February.

Diokno, Jose

1987 Manalang, Priscila, ed. *A Nation for Our Children*. Quezon City: Claretian Publications.

Doronila, Maria Luisa

1992 *National Identity and Social Change*. Quezon City: Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines.

Endrigo, Jose N.

1995 Response of Public Administration System of the Philippines to Global Challenges. In Ledivina V. Cariño and Sirajuddin H. Salleh, eds. *Globalisation and the ASEAN Public Sector*. Kuala Lumpur: Asian Pacific Development Centre.

Edren, Gus

1990 Employment Adjustment and the Unions: Case Studies of Enterprises in Asia. *International Labour Review*, 129(5).

Ferrer, Ricardo D.

1991 Nationalism and Nation Building. Roundtable Discussion on our Quest for Nationhood. UP Faculty Center Conference Hall. 23 August.

The Fookien Times

1997 1997 Philippine Yearbook.

Garrido, Ferdinand M.

1996 Coming to Grips with Globalization. *UP-CIDS Chronicle*. January-March: 1.

Giarini, Orio and Patrick Liedtke

1996 *The Employment Dilemma and the Future of Work*. The Club of Rome, Switzerland.

Gonzales, Eduardo T.

1996 Has Globalization Left Its Mark on Governance Structures and Institutions in Employer-Employee Relations in the Philippines? *Issues and Letters*. Philippine Center for Policy Studies. 5(9-10). September-October.

Gonzales, Ma. Rowena R. (ed.)

1996 *The World Bulletin* (A Bulletin of the Institute of International Legal Studies). FOCUS: Intellectual Property Rights. The University of the Philippines Law Center. 12(1-3). January-June.

Graham, Carol

1996 Safety Nets and Compensatory Mechanisms. *Globalization and Liberalization: Effects of International Economic Relations on Poverty*. New York: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

International Labor Office

1995 Gender, Poverty and Employment: Turning Capabilities into Entitlements. Geneva, Switzerland.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

1996 Building a New Global Partnership. *IMF Survey*. 14 October: 2.

1996 *Interim Committee Declaration: Partnership for Sustainable Global Growth*. Washington, D.C.: 29 September.

IBON Philippines Inc.

1996 What Price Philippines 2000? *IBON Facts and Figures*. 19(13 & 14). 15-31 July.

1996 The APEC Agenda. *IBON Facts and Figures*. 19(16). 31 August.

1996 The Truth About 1995. *IBON Facts and Figures*. 19(1 & 2). 15 & 31 January.

1996 The Global Clout of the WTO. *IBON Facts and Figures*. 19(6). 31 March.

Kirshner, Orin

1996 Re. Globalization v. Globalism. by Mark Ritchie. Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy. February. (Okirshner@iatp.org).

Krasner, Stephen D.

1993 Economic Interdependence and Individual Statehood. In Rober Jackson and Alan James, eds. *States in a Changing World — A Contemporary Analysis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Laaman, Laura L.

1997 The Dolphin's Dynamic. *World Executive's Digest*. February: 62.

- Loeb, Kurt
1997 Globalization. February. (<http://www.mirror.org/canpol/loeb/globalization.html>)
- Lowe, Angie
1996 The Globalization of Business. Texas Tech University. March. (<http://english.ttu.edu/courses/1312/kemp/sp96/sa2f/amlsa2f.html>.)
- Magno, Alexander R.
1994 Filipino Politics in the Electronic Age. Paper presented to the National Economic and Development Authority, Pasig City. 25 November.
- Malhorta, Kamal
1997 The Role of the State in East and Southeast Asia. Unpublished paper.
- Manasan, Rosario G., Gilberto M. Llanto and Wilfredo G. Nuqui
1996 *Financing Social Programs in the Philippines - Public Policy and Budget Restructuring*. Makati: Philippine Institute for Development Studies.
- Mercado, Orlando S.
1997 Service to the Nation. Commencement Address Delivered at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. 27 April.
- Montes, Manuel F.
1987 11 Questions Regarding Nationalist Industrialization. Forum on Nationalist Industrialization sponsored by Ateneo Center for Social Policy and Public Affairs & Lakas Manggagawa Labor Center, Asian Institute of Management. 8 December.
- Morales-Gomez, Daniel A.
1996 Development and Social Reform in the Context of Globalization. In Morales-Gómez, Daniel and Mario Torres, eds. *Social Policy in a Global Society - Parallels and Lessons from the Canada - Latin America Experience*. 15 April. (<http://www.idrc.ca/books/focus/761/banting.html>). Internet.
- National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) Management Staff
1996 *Economic Deregulation, Competitiveness for Globalization and Privatization*. Routine Report. Pasig City: NEDA.
1996 Development Administration. *1996 Socio-Economic Report*. Pasig City: NEDA.
- National Security Council
1993 Workshop-Seminar on RP Business and Industry in the 21st Century. Mayon Conference Room, Quezon City. 18 October.
- Ofreneo, Rene
1997 Globalization, Transformation and the University. April. Unpublished.
- Ofreneo, Rene and Nicolas B. Barriatos
1991 Employment, Security and Labor Market Flexibility in the Philippines. Paper contributed to the international comparative research project on labor market flexibility and employment security conducted by the Labor Law and the Labor Relations Branch of the Industrial Relations and Labor Administration Department of the International Labor Office, Geneva.
- Paderanga, Cayetano W., Jr.
1996 Building Bureaucratic Capability in the Philippines. *Workshop on Building Capacity for Sound Development Management*. January.

- 1996 *The Philippines in the Emerging World Environment: Globalization at a Glance*. University of the Philippines: Center for Integrative and Development Studies.
- 1993 Labor and Development: The Need for a New Paradigm. Philippine Exporters Confederation, Inc. (PHILEXPORT). July.
- Padolina, William G.
1997 *Commencement Address Delivered During the 88th Commencement Exercises of UP Manila*. PICC Plenary Hall. 18 April.
- Parr, Sakiko Fukuda
1997 Sustainable Human Development in a Globalizing World. Human Development Report Office, New York.
- Parsonage, James
1994 *The State and Globalisation: Singapore's Growth Triangle Strategy*. Working Paper No. 23. Western Australia: Asia Research Center on Social, Political and Economic Change, Murdoch University.
- Philippine Center for Policy Studies
1996 *Workshop Conference on Labor*. Facing Up to the Global Challenge: The Impact of Global Competition on Labor. Hotel Rembrandt, Quezon City. 3 May.
- Presidential Mangement Staff (PMS)
1996 *A Technical Report on the 1996 Accomplishments of the Ramos Administration*. Manila: PMS.
- Rifkin, Jeremy
1995 *The End of Work: Technology, Jobs and Your Future*. New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons.
- Riker, James V.
1995 Reflections on Government-NGO Relations in Asia: Prospects and Challenges for People-Centered Development. In Heyzer, Noeleen, *et al.*, eds. *Government-NGO Relations in Asia: Prospects and Challenges for People-Centered Development*. Kuala Lumpur: Asia and Pacific Development Centre.
- Ruggiero, Renato
1997 Singapore: Opening a New Chapter. *WTO Focus*. January: 6.
1996 Trading Towards Peace. *WTO Focus*. October-November: 15.
- Samson, Laura
1997 New World Information Order. Unpublished.
- Sassen, Saskia
1996 Globalization and Impact on Cities. *Public Culture*. Vol. 8(2). Winter. (<http://www2.uchicago.edu/jnl-pub-cult/backissues/pc19/sassen.html>). Internet.
- Slater, Robert, Barry Schutz and Steven Dorr (eds.)
1993 *Global Transformation and the Third World*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. London: Boulder Adamantine Press.
- Social Watch
1997 *Social Watch No. 1 1997*. Uruguay: Instituto del Tercer Mundo.

Steingard, David and Dale Fitzgibbons

- 1997 Challenging the Juggernaut for Globalization: A Manifesto for Academic Praxis. Illinois State University. 22 April. (<http://weatherhead.cwru.edu/amjdc/papers/85.html>). Internet.

Swann, Dennis

- 1989 The Regulatory Scene — An Overview. In Kenneth Button and Dennis Swann, eds. *The Age of Regulatory Reform*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Taylor, J.A. and C.W.R. Webster

- 1996 Universalism: Public Services and Citizenship in the Information Age. *Information Infrastructure and Policy*. 5(3): 217-232.

Third World Studies Center

- 1995 The Region in the 21st Century. *Kasarinlan* (The Philippine Quarterly of Third World Studies). 10(3), 1st Quarter.

Ulrich von Weizsacker, Earnst

- 1994 *Earth Politics*. London: Zed Books.

United Nations Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development

- 1997 *Critical Trends: Global Change and Sustainable Development*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Development Programme International Labor Office - Geneva

- 1994 The Employment Challenge: An Agenda for Global Action. Paper prepared for the *UNDP Roundtable on Global Change*. Stockholm. 22-25 July.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

- 1997 *Human Development Report 1997*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1996 *Human Development Report 1996*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1995 *Human Development Report 1995*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Walker, Gordon R. and Mark A. Fox

- 1997 Globalization: An Analytic Framework. (<http://www.law.indiana.edu/glsj/vol3/no2/walker.html>).

Waterman, Peter

- 1993 *Globalisation, Civil Society, Solidarity: The Politics and Ethics of a World Both Real and Universal*. Working Paper Series No. 147. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

White, Louise G.

- 1991 Global Policy Studies and the Nation-State. In Stuart S. Nagel, ed. *Global Policy Studies: International Interaction Toward Improving Public Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Woodward, David

- 1996 Effects of Globalization and Liberalization on Poverty. *Globalization and Liberalization: Effects of International Economic Relations on Poverty*. New York: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

World Bank (WB)

- 1996 *From Plan to Market: World Development Report 1996*. New York: Oxford University Press.