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**INSTITUTION BUILDING
IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**An approach to induced social change
in transitional societies**

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**INTER-UNIVERSITY RESEARCH PROGRAM
IN
INSTITUTION BUILDING**

**INSTITUTION BUILDING IN
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT - AN APPROACH
TO INDUCED SOCIAL CHANGE IN
TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES**

By

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INSTITUTION BUILDING IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AN APPROACH TO INDUCED SOCIAL CHANGE IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES

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INSTITUTION BUILDING IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AN APPROACH TO INDUCED SOCIAL CHANGE IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES

This paper outlines an approach to the study of induced social change in transitional societies. It states the underlying rationale for the concept of "institution building," the basic ideas which comprise its theoretical framework, and the boundaries which have been established by the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building.^{1/}

1. Motivation and Rationale

Besides our long-standing academic interest in comparative social change which is the topic of this symposium, the main motivational factor for this research undertaking is, of course, the fact that this nation has been involved in institution building in a large number of transitional societies for over a decade and a half. Through various instruments of foreign economic aid, mainly through technical assistance, we and other industrialized nations, through governmental and private channels, bilaterally and multilaterally, have been trying to transfer and adapt various physical and social technologies to new and developing nations for the purpose of economic and social development. For a considerable time after we started we did not think of

1/ The Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, composed of units from Indiana, Michigan State, Pittsburgh and Syracuse Universities, is engaged in an active program of field research and theory building. The headquarters of the program is at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. Milton Esman and Hans Blaise are the Research Director and Associate Research Director. The members of the Executive Board of the program who have contributed to the development of this theory are Ralph Smuckler and Eugene Jacobson of Michigan State, William Siffin and Fred Riggs of Indiana, Irving Swerdlow and Julian Friedman of Syracuse, and Saul Katz and Jiri Nehnevajsa of Pittsburgh.

his process primarily as an effort in introducing social change through institution building. It was Harlan Cleveland in his book The Overseas Americans, which was published in 1960, who coined this term. Then, the term cropped up in academic circles and was used in official government documentation for the first time when AID submitted its Congressional representation for the fiscal year 1962. Today, the term "Institutional development" is used in the designation of specialized offices at AID headquarters in Washington. Only in recent years has development, and with it the transfer and adaptation of physical and social technologies, been recognized as a comprehensive and complex process of societal change which impinges on all the values, institutions, and behavior patterns within a society, affecting social organization and the political process as well as the structure of economic activity.

The basic rationale for this research is directly relevant to the concerns of this symposium. It has several important features which push inquiry into social change and the development process toward elements and channels which have heretofore been neglected. As a consequence, the implementation of development programs and of technical assistance activities have suffered. A very important ingredient in social change which has been neglected is the institutionalization of new physical and social technologies through the vehicle of organizations.

While our formal definition of the terms "institution" and "institutionalization" will be specified in the next section of this paper, let us point out here that when speaking about "institutions" we do not mean normative action patterns such as property or religion, or cherished symbolic rites such as marriage, which are sometimes called the institutions of a society. An institution, for the purpose of this paper, is always a functionally specific social organization or a cluster of related organizations though, as we shall see later, not every organization necessarily becomes an institution. By institutionalization, we mean the process by which new ideas and functions, through the instrument of organization, are integrated

and fitted into developing societies, are accepted and acquire the capacity to sustain themselves, and, in turn, influence the larger environment in which they function.

To illustrate, we may give two simple examples of failure in institution building. In the field of rural health, where our foreign aid program attempted to introduce new technologies through the supplying of covered and seepage-proof wells with handpumps which provided safe, uncontaminated water to the village, we have had many cases where the wells, soon after their installation, fell, through neglect, into such a bad state of disrepair that the water supply again became contaminated. The reason was neither the cost nor labor involved in well maintenance which was extremely simple, nor was it ignorance of the techniques, as the villagers had been carefully briefed. But the technicians and provincial health officials had come, installed the wells, "lectured" to the villagers, even left spare parts for the handpumps, and then had left. They had failed to convince the villagers of the value of safe drinking water, of the utility of covering the well when not in use, and of simple maintenance and protection measures to avoid seepage and water recontamination. They had not only been unable to spread the doctrine of the developmental innovation they sought to introduce; they had failed to establish in the village the organizational nucleus necessary for the spreading of doctrine and for sustaining and protecting the innovation. An association of a few responsible and influential villagers convinced of the value of the innovation which would have constituted an institutional core could have gone far in exercising leadership and mustering support. As it happened, this strategy of institution building was overlooked and the innovation was not accepted.

Failures in the institutionalization process may occur even when an organizational base is built if the organization is unable to establish the necessary support linkages with its environment. Planning organizations in quite a number of developing countries can serve as an example. While formally organized and provided with adequate

resources, staff and skills, they nevertheless frequently fail to gain acceptance of their new doctrine and technology. When cultural and social values or economic and bureaucratic interests are perceived by significant actors in the environment as being in conflict with the innovative goals of the organization, or when its leadership does not perceive its task in an institutional perspective but rather as the mere implementation of a program or the transfer of a technology, the organization, while surviving as a shell, may never become an institution.

Through the foregoing simplified examples, some of the theoretical concepts which we are using in our research have begun to emerge. Three categories of variables form the structure of our initial conceptual model. These are the institutional variables -- leadership, doctrine, program, resources, and internal structure; the linkages with other institutions which we classify as enabling, functional, normative and diffused; and the category of transactions between institutions which we define according to purpose as resource exchanges, gaining support and overcoming resistance, structuring the environment, and transferring norms and values.

Before giving further details of the institution building research model later in this paper, and examples of research efforts presently being conducted by four universities under this program, it might be useful to point out that, until recently, research on national development, and, indeed, most of the knowledge and insights which are currently at the root of policies and programs now guiding the development process in low income countries have emphasized two major themes:

- (a) The accumulation and efficient investment of capital. This theme underlies the rationale of the "big push" theory, the controversy between "balanced" and "unbalanced" growth, trade gaps and resource gaps, and related subjects of current research and controversy;
- b) The development of individual skills and human resources. This line of research has influenced such policy instrument as technical assistance and cooperation, and has stimulated the increased emphasis on education and manpower planning

and on the process of transmitting modern techniques. Thus, the diffusion of innovations has been conceived primarily as an educational process with little recognition of the necessity of establishing an organizational base and an institutional vehicle for fostering the acceptance of the innovations by those being exposed to them.

The institutional research focus is indeed a recent one.

2. Definitions and Basic Assumptions

In considering an institution as the vehicle through which most if not all social change is introduced and effected, we are making certain basic assumptions. First, however, let us define our terms: An institution is an organization which incorporates, fosters, and protects normative relationships and action patterns and performs functions and services which are valued in the environment. Thus, while all institutions are organizations of some type, not all organizations are institutions. Institutionalization is the process by which normative relationships and action patterns are established. In this conceptual distinction, we have borrowed from and somewhat enlarged on the distinction between organizations and institutions which Philip Selznik stated almost ten years ago: "To institutionalize is to infuse with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand."^{2/} Thus, an organization is primarily a technical instrument, a means to reach certain objectives, but never an end in itself. In contrast, as our colleague Hans Blaise has observed, "the institutional approach emphasizes not only the instrumental characteristics; nor is the focus of analysis and action primarily on the structural, functional and behavioral elements which are internal to the organizational system though these are essential also. "In institutional analysis, we are

^{2/} Leadership in Administration, Row, Peterson and Co., Evanston, Ill., 1957, p. 17.

concerned with purposes and values which extend beyond the immediate task at hand," with the spreading of "norms which affect participants and clientele beyond the functional and productive specialization of the institution." Thus, institutional values and "specific relationship and action patterns governing the performance of functions within the institution become normative beyond the confines of the institution itself... (and) stable points of reference both within the organization and for the environment."^{3/} It goes without saying that influences flow simultaneously in the opposite direction, from the environment to the institution, affecting the latter both in its structure as well as its performance.

From the foregoing definitions, some basic assumptions emerge:

- (a) Development, or more modestly, social change, and the concomitant new values, functions, technologies and action patterns, cannot be effectively introduced and sustained in transitional societies unless they are embedded in a supportive network of social structures, processes, and norms. In short, these innovative values, functions, and technologies must be institutionalized.
- (b) This process takes place in and through institutional organizations which must either be newly created or adapted and restructured for this purpose.
- (c) Institutional development need not be a "natural" or evolutionary process which occurs independently of human design. In this era, new technologies and new institutional forms are almost everywhere deliberately induced and directed. This sense of deliberate human purpose and human direction warrants the use of the phrase "institution building" and suggests a key role for modernizing elites.

^{3/} Blaise, Hans C. The Process and Strategy of Institution Building in National Development, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1964, p. 77.

- (d) Institution building is thus an approach to the development process which relies heavily on the concept of "social engineering"^{4/} and which stresses the leadership functions of modernizing elite groups within that process and the alternative action strategies available to them.
- (e) As development occurs, social functions or technologies become increasingly specialized. With specialization, interdependencies develop. The institutions incorporating innovations are thus involved in a network of complementary and competing relationships in their environment on which institution building research must focus.
- (f) Institution building is conceived of as a generic social process. There are elements and actions that can be identified as generally relevant to institution building, even though their expression will differ depending on the type of institution and the social environment.
- (g) It is possible, through systematic and comparative analysis of institution building experiences, to derive elements of a technology of institution building that will be useful to persons engaged in introducing innovation into developing societies, whether they be indigenous change agents or foreign advisors.

It is proper to note that these assumptions constitute an attempt to break out from the confines of our own professional disciplines. It is not only expedient but necessary that the institution building approach be interdisciplinary in its insights and concepts.

^{4/} Howard Perlmutter calls it "social architecture." See his pamphlet "Towards a Theory and Practice of Social Architecture," to be published in the Tavistock Pamphlet Series in Fall, 1965.

The very focus on institutional interdependencies and linkages with the environment excludes an inquiry concerned solely with political, economic, social, psychological, or technical phenomena involved in change or development. Fundamentally, we do not believe that the processes of societal change can be contained in the conventional categories in which social science knowledge has hitherto been organized.

Before taking a closer look at our guiding concepts, it might be useful to relate these concepts to the burgeoning body of literature on organization theory. Many of the fundamental concepts about organization structure and behavior, particularly those relating to internal or "institutional" variables, derive from this literature and from related writings in business and public administration. This literature, however, focuses largely on the maintenance, strengthening, or incremental reform of existing complex organizations in advanced industrial societies and frequently emphasizes behavior internal to the organization rather than relationships to the external environment. Institution Building concepts, in contrast, emphasize the creation of new organizations or the radical remodeling of existing structure in transitional or preindustrial societies and the patterns of interaction between institutions and their environment. Because of this rather pronounced difference in emphasis, we have found relatively little help from western organization theory in conceptually undergirding this research program. While modern physical and social technologies must be embedded in formal organizations, we are skeptical that much of the prescriptive literature on organizational efficiency and effectiveness - whether inspired by scientific management, human relations insights, or Weberian rationality - can be applied meaningfully to organizational behavior in preindustrial societies where different value preferences and norms of action predominate.

Far from assuming that the values, norms, or action patterns associated with organizational efficiency prevail in transitional societies, institution building research must begin with the opposite assumption. Institution building or rebuilding involves deliberate

efforts to introduce radical innovations into transitional societies whose cultural values and social structures - not to mention economic and political interests - may not initially be supportive of these changes. This research thus addresses itself to problems which are qualitatively quite different from those which have preoccupied theorists concerned with change in the sense of gradual improvement or reform of business corporations, hospitals, prisons, or governmental agencies in the United States and Western Europe.

Institution Building research begins with a set of problems which confront societies as they attempt to modernize. Our data will be gathered from action situations. The elements of theory, as they emerge should constitute contributions to organizational science and to comparative administration, as well as to knowledge of the processes of planned social change. Perhaps it will be possible to extend and generalize institution building theory to cover a variety of situations in industrialized countries such as creating change-oriented institutions and integrating their new values and action patterns into the surrounding environment. These problems have not yet been adequately treated in the research and current literature on organization theory in Western societies.

3. Some Guiding Concepts^{5/}

A. The Tests of Institutionalality

By definition, the institution building process has been completed when it can be demonstrated that at least certain relationship and action patterns incorporated in the organization are normative both within the organization and for other social units, and that the functions and services performed by the organization are valued in the environment. Institutionalality is a matter of degree. We cannot

5/ This chapter presents, in abbreviated form and with minor editoria changes, the guiding concepts which the Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building has worked out in documentary form as the basis for its research undertaking.

state in absolute terms the fact that, or the point in time when, an organization has become an institution. We can speak only of a trend and identify certain indicators of the institutional character of an organization. Some of these indicators are suggested in the following paragraphs.

The first test is the organization's ability to survive. Survival alone, however, is not enough. It is possible that the organization as an operating agency may survive only at the cost of forfeiting all or most of its innovative elements. Or, it is possible that the organization may continue its existence but fail or cease to be normative. A second qualification is that the survival of specific innovations is not necessarily dependent on the continued existence of a given institution. Other institutions may become the receptacles and protectors of the new values and norms. The original institution may have come to the end of its useful social function and its abolition may become both inevitable and desirable.

A second test of the institutionality of an organization concerns the extent to which it is viewed by the environment as having intrinsic value. This can be examined by assessing the relations of the organization with the environment and the actions taken by the environment toward the organization. Some parameters to test the institutional character of an organization are:

Autonomy - the institutionalized organization has a high degree of autonomy. Three manners in which this autonomy is expressed are:

- (1) The institution can establish rules and procedures deviating from and independent from the larger system of which it is a part;
- (2) The institution can acquire resources without being subject to detailed questioning of specific operational and programmatic items, by invoking its acknowledged intrinsic value;

3) The institution can rely on the acknowledged intrinsic value of the total institution in defending itself against attacks and encroachment on some of its elements.

(b) Influence - the institutionalized organization can exert considerable influence on its environment. Expressions of this influence can be found in:

- (1) The extent to which the institution influences decisions made in its functional area;
- (2) The extent to which the institution can enlarge its sphere of action inside and outside the organization.

As a third test of the institutional character of an organization, we can determine whether specific relationship and action patterns embodied in the organization have become normative for other social units. This is the measurement of the impact or spread-effect of the innovations introduced by the organization.

B. Research Design

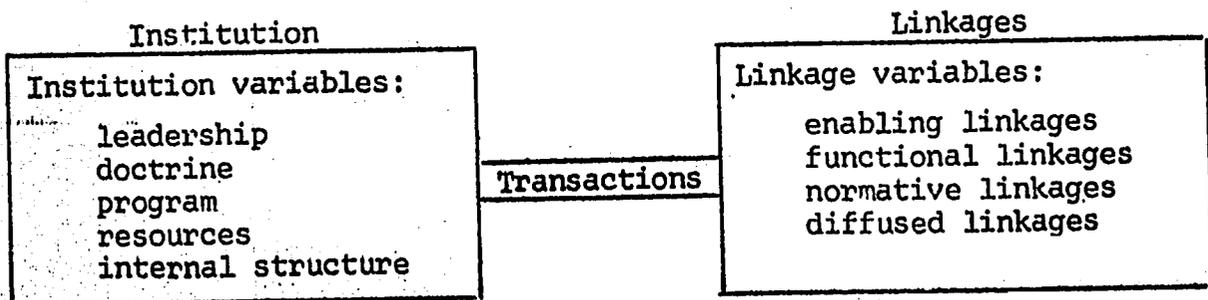
For the conduct of institution building research it is necessary to develop a conceptual scheme which will facilitate the orderly collection of logical classification of data. While this important preparatory phase has not yet been completed, the basic requirements for structuring and carrying out a coordinated research enterprise have been met. What remains to be done is a refinement of certain analytical categories and the further exploration of some dimensions of the research which time has so far not permitted.

We are presenting here the current formulation of the analytical concepts and categories. Given in a somewhat abbreviated form, it is not a definitive basis for the studies to be conducted, but rather indicative of the trend of our preliminary investigations at this time.

(a) Analytical concepts - Three basic analytical categories may be distinguished in institution building. In the first place we are concerned with the structuring of the instituti

as a system with a set of elements or variables which, in their interrelationship, determine the behavior of the entity in the performance of its program of action. The second category is the specification of the environment with which the institution interacts. At all stages in its development, there are interdependencies between an institution and certain social entities in its environment. The institution maintains an exchange relationship with the environment, from which it obtains its authority to operate, its support, and its resources; which uses the institution's output and provides complementary services; and to which the institution strives to transfer its values, norms, and technologies. These points of interaction with the environment have been termed institutional linkages. Besides the specification of the relevant environment and its properties, we are concerned with the kinds and purposes of transactions which are conducted between the institution and its environment. Under transactions are included both the exchange of goods and services, and the exchange of power and influence. The three analytical categories of institution building are presented in Figure I. The elements identified under institution and linkages, as well as the category of transactions, are described as follows:

FIGURE I
The Institution Building Universe



- (b) Institution variables - Our first set of variables for the analysis of the institution building process pertains to those elements which are necessary and sufficient to explain the systemic behavior of the institution. It is suggested that the data may be organized into five categories, each with a set of properties or variables. At this stage of the research it is not possible to identify all the variables which are relevant to institution building. Our research design must be viewed, rather, as a classificatory scheme which allows for the ordering of data in a consistent and meaningful manner. The cumulative identification of variables within the various categories, and the testing of propositions about their relationships will yield theoretical insights, while the classification will ensure the possibility of comparative analysis.

Below we will describe each of the five categories and suggest some of the properties which determine the value of each central concept.

- (1) Leadership - Leadership is defined here as the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine and program of the institution and who direct its operation and relationships with the environment. On the basis of this definition, the leadership group is not restricted to those who are formally charged with the direction of the institution, but includes all those who - according to the definition of institution building - participate in the "planning, structuring and guidance" of the institution. Leadership is viewed as a unit, with the variables or determinants of leadership being significant for the group, rather than in terms of each individual.

Some of the variables in the leadership category are: political viability, i.e. the political acceptability and survival power of the members of the

leadership group; professional status, the status or rank in the professional group and field of activity within which the institution operates; technical competence, with regard to the functional area and technologies used by the institution; organization competence, the ability to design and implement effective structures and processes for the operation of the institution; role distribution, the distribution of roles and functions to permit the utilization of the complementary assets which leadership group members bring to the situation; continuity, the continuous association of members of the leadership group with the institution.

- (2) Doctrine - Doctrine is defined as the specification of values, objectives, and operational methods underlying social action. The doctrine is viewed as the stable reference point of the institution and of its interaction with the environment, to which all other variables are related.

Some of the variables in this category are: specificity, the extent to which the elements in the doctrine supply the necessary foundation for social action in a given situation; relationship to existing norms, the conformity of the doctrine elements to the socially expected and sanctioned behavior; relationship to the preferences and priorities of the society, specifying the relation of doctrine elements to the intermediate goals and targets of the society.

- (3) Program - Program is defined as those actions which are related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the institution.

Relevant variables of the program are: consistency, with the rules or specifications contained in the doctrine and among the programmatic elements; stability,

the reliability of the output in terms of quality, quantity, and in time perspective; feasibility, regarding physical and human resources, complementary production of other organizations, and the absorptive capacity of the society; contribution to needs, concerning the actual contribution made through program actions to satisfying the specified needs of the society.

- (4) Resources - Defined as the physical, human and technological inputs of the institution. Resources is a significant category, not only with regard to those resources which are at the institution's disposal or which it can acquire in absolute terms, but also regarding the sources from which they have been or can be obtained. Program decisions, and even decisions concerning doctrine and leadership, may be affected by the ability to mobilize resources, and the sources from which they can be obtained. The sources will also affect the interdependencies of the institution with other organizations.

Two variables under resources are: availability - the physical, human and technological inputs which are available or can be obtained for the functioning of the institution and the performance of the program; sources - the sources from which the inputs have been obtained and alternative sources to which the institution has access.

- (5) Internal structure - Defined as the structure and processes established for the operation of the institution and for its maintenance. The distribution of functions and authority, the processes of communication and decision making, and other relationship and action patterns, are essential for the analysis of institution building and maintenance. Internal structure and

processes determine the efficiency and effectiveness of program performance, as well as the identification of participants with the organization, its doctrine and program.

Important variables in this category are: identification, the mechanisms and processes which enhance identification of participants with the institution; consistency, conformance of internal structure with the rules and specifications of the institution's doctrine and program; adaptability, the capacity to change over time to accommodate shifts in program emphasis and other changing conditions.

- (c) Linkage variables - The linkage variables specify the interdependencies which exist between an institution and other relevant parts of the society. We have stated earlier that an institution cannot be studied in isolation. It is dependent on other social organizations for its authority to function and for the acquisition of resources. It is dependent on the complementary production of other organizations, and on the ability of its environment to use its resources. It is also concerned with and subject to the norms of relationship and action which are established in the society. The institutional linkages are the points where the institution maintains exchange relationships with its environment. A mapping of the institutional linkages is the strategic mapping for the analysis of the institution building process.

The creation of a new institution or the reconstitution of an existing institution will affect the role boundaries of the interdependent complex of functionally related organizations. The existing linkages and the strategic manipulation of these linkages by a new institution is of considerable relevance to the institution building process.

Within the class of institutional linkages, we shall distinguish four categories: (a) enabling linkages, (b) functional linkages, (c) normative linkages, and (d) diffused linkages.

- (1) Enabling linkages - The enabling linkages are the linkages with organizations and social groups which control the allocation of authority and resources needed by the institution to function. In the creation stage of a new institution they are the prime target of the institution builders. It is through the enabling linkages that the change agents seek to further their cause and that the competitive claimants and other forces of opposition seek to withhold authority and resources from the new institution. Also for continued functioning, the institution is dependent on its enabling linkages.

The entities within this category are the specific organizations and groups with which enabling linkages exist.

- (2) Functional linkages - This second set of linkages are the linkages with those organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs, and which use the outputs of the institution. It should be noted, however, that in the case of inputs we have included the aggregate financial resources, the capital and operating budget, under the enabling linkages. Also included in the functional linkage complex are those organizations which perform or seek to perform, similar functions and services to those of the institution under study.

In its interaction with the functional linkage organizations, an institution will strive for achieving complementarity. As an institution which embodies and

promotes new relationship and action patterns, and new technologies, it works toward the spread of these innovations through the functional linkages.

Again, the entities in this category are the organizations with which complementary or competitive relationships exist

- (3) Normative linkages - The normative linkages specify the linkages with institutions which incorporate norms and values which are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution. This applies to both the socio-cultural norms and the operating rules and regulations. As an example, an institution may be affected by the rules and regulations of a civil service commission, even though no enabling or functional linkage exists with that body. Similarly, certain norms and values may be protected by a religious or political organization, without a direct linkage of the (1) or (2) category existing between the institution and the norm protecting organization. Yet, the presence of these norms and values in other parts of the society will affect the feasibility, process and strategy of institution building. Depending on the property of the linkage, it can enhance or hamper the institution building process, and is a strategic element for action and analysis.

The significant entities in this category are those norm and value protecting institutions which enhance or hinder deviations introduced by the institution.

- (4) Diffused linkages - Not all the interdependencies between an institution and its environment are with specific social organizations. The establishment and operation of an institution is also affected by the more diffused support or resistance in its immediate

environment and in the larger society. Thus, diffused linkages refer to public opinion and relations with the public, as expressed in news media and other channel for the crystallization and expression of individual and small group opinion not reflected in formal institutions.

- (d) Transactions - In the structuring of an institution, the performance of its program, and the transfer of its innovations to other segments of the society, an institution conduct certain transactions with the social organizations with which it has linkages. Transactions are defined as the exchange of goods and services, and the exchange of power and influence. Thus, it is not restricted to physical inputs and outputs, but includes such social interaction as communication, support acquisition, and the transfer of norms and values.

A specification of the transactions which take place between an institution and the social entities in its environment may be made in terms of the purposes of the transactions. This is relevant for the study of the flows of different kinds of transactions and their effect, of the institutional linkages through which transactions take place, and the institutional variables which affect the transaction patterns. The following purposes of transactions have been identified:

- (1) Gaining support and overcoming resistance - An important element in the transactions of a new institution with its surroundings is to strengthen or create bases of support for the organization and its program. In part this consists of overcoming opposition, by creating a favorable relationship, by neutralizing, or by isolating opposition forces.
- (2) Resource exchanges - The purpose here is the acquisition of the necessary resources for the operation of the institution and the distribution of the outputs of the organization.

(3) Structuring the environment - Frequently an institution will be created in an environment which is ill prepared for the fulfillment of complementary services on which the institution is dependent for the effective performance of its functions. Thus, a number of the transactions of the institution will be designed to create complementarity by bringing about changes in existing organizations or by creating new units outside the existing organizational complex which provide the necessary complementarity.

(4) Transfer of norms and values - In the process of introducing new relationship and action patterns which are normative for other individuals and organizations in the society, some transactions of the institution will be directed to that purpose. Giving attention to this kind of transaction is both essential and characteristic for institutional organizations.

The above listing of a typology of transactions is neither exhaustive, nor are the categories mutually exclusive. A given set of interactions may have several of the purposes mentioned simultaneously. The flow of transactions, their purposes and elements, appear to be significant for the analysis of the strategy and process of institution building.

4. The Larger Theoretical Framework

We shall now sketch the outlines of the larger system, the theoretical context and perspectives, into which our research focus on institution building will fit. The model to be given here does not necessarily represent a consensus of the scholars who are engaged in the inter-university institution building project but is based on

a paper^{6/} presented some two years ago to a Research Seminar of the Comparative Administration Group at Boston University. Its concern was social change or development, limited to "transitional" societies i.e., the less industrialized countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The inquiry was designed to be task oriented. The author was well aware that previous research and theory building on the developing areas had been weighted on the side of purely analytical models. But the enormous out-pouring of energy and of resources directed at programmed action in the developing countries justified a commensurate increase in research which is normative and supportive of program action, and oriented to implementation and problem solving. Such research, however, must begin with the goals of social action and then proceed to relate these goals to instruments of action.

Accordingly, it was assumed that throughout the underdeveloped world, governing elites have committed themselves and their regimes in large measure, though with varying degrees of intensity, to two inter-related modernizing goals: nation building and socio-economic progress. Nation building is the deliberate fashioning of an integrated political community within fixed geographic boundaries in which the nation state is the dominant political institution. Socio-economic progress is the sustained and widely diffused improvement in material and social welfare. These goals subsume myriads of specific activities, and varying choices and emphases on intermediate objectives and priorities.

It is recognized, of course, that governing elites might be motivated also by other, often competing goals, explicit or latent such as survival or enrichment in office, territorial expansion, or the protection of vested economic or social interests. To the degree that this occurs, the model presented here loses its relevance. There

6/ Esman, Milton J. The Politics of Development Administration, CAG Occasional Paper, 1963.

is, however, impressive evidence provided by many other scholars and by observed behavior of key members of these elites that nation-building and socio-economic progress are in fact powerful motivational goals in most transitional societies. Though this assumption may somewhat oversimplify reality by neglecting other and possibly competing goals, it provides a method for illuminating through research the patterns of action and organization which are most likely to move transitional societies toward these twin goals.

Nation building and socio-economic progress, as overriding goals, then constitute normative guides and regulators of official doctrine, and as such influence public policy and programmed action. They call for the operational solution of a series of major tasks common to all regimes which have espoused these goals (and which we need not to define in this context), and for operating programs through which these tasks are performed and which constitute the core of development administration. Our task or action oriented model now begins to emerge, incorporating the following components: a governing, goal-oriented elite which bears the major responsibility for initiating and directing the process of modernizing change; a doctrine, or set of action commitments, which establishes, communicates, and legitimizes norms, priorities and styles for operating programs; and a set of action instruments through which communication with the community is maintained and operating programs are implemented.

The following four principal action instruments are available to the governing elites: (1) political organization, (2) the administrative system, (3) associational interest groups, (4) the mass media. The realization of the goals, as well as the initiation, protection, and effectuation of individual programs, requires the use of several or all of these action instruments in concert. The administrative system, unaided by complementary instruments, is in most transitional societies unable to carry this burden alone.

The relevance of this larger model to institution building research now becomes clear. The twin goals of nation building and socio-economic development and the concomitant assimilation of new values and norms

by society cannot, as an inspection of the action instruments will show, be achieved without organization and institutionalization. The latter may occur in the political, administrative, or mass media field, or in the field of specific associational interests and groupings. These fields provide channels, through the building of effective institutions, for the governing elites to motivate the community in support of program measures and to deploy resources with reasonable confidence that the community is prepared to receive them. A successful institution in any development action field will thus become a critical two-way communication link between the governing elite and the community which will permit the felt need of groups to become manifest, provide legitimate means of interest articulation, yet enable leadership to anticipate the consequences of programmed action and maintain continuing pressure in behalf of planned innovations. In short, institution-building provides the means by which a change oriented leadership can articulate with an organized community and the community can participate in the struggle to achieve the twin goals.

The larger goal and action oriented model for nation building and socio-economic development thus provides both a theoretical framework and context as well as a perspective and orientation for the narrower model which guides our institution building research. It will assist us in selecting critical institutions which must be researched when the focus is on social change in developing societies; it indicates likely interdependencies with the environment as well as inter-institutional linkages. Both models, though different in scope, are similar in that they assume as a basis human design and purposeful action; and some variables such as leadership (governing elites) and doctrine occur in both models. One may think of both models as wheels of different size mounted on the same axle or drive shaft; we may shift from one to the other, from low to high gear, or vice versa, depending on whether we wish to study social change on the macro, or societal level or on the micro level of the individual change agent or institution.

5. Some Remarks on Methodology

Let us now shift back to the lower, less speedy but perhaps more powerful gear of the institution building model. In order to ensure the cumulative quality of our research findings, to enhance the comparability of data and to facilitate the deduction of generalized propositions and hypotheses applicable to the institution building process as a whole, we have attempted to discipline our field research through a loose conceptual structure which serves as a common reference and departure point to all the participating researchers. Nevertheless, well aware that our guiding concepts do not constitute the last drop of wisdom and that critical variables may have been missed, researchers are encouraged to look for additional variables and unanticipated relationships. We also sponsor research which approaches institutions with different key concepts, provided the research proposal makes a convincing case for this different approach.

To operationalize this conceptual scheme for field research purposes, Jiri Nehnevajsa, the Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, has designed for the Inter-University Research Program the scaffold of a methodology which we recommend to individual researchers, but do not require that they follow.

Within the scope of this paper, only a few salient points of this methodological scaffold^{7/} can be sketched. This methodology considers institution building not as a single process but as a set of distinct though interrelated - processes each of which constitutes a separate research problem. It guides the analysis of the goals of the institution; of the program which must be formulated and implemented to meet the goals; of the support which must be obtained from the environment to permit the operation of the institution; of the program priorities which must be established and enforced; of the resources which must be acquired; of the organizational structure and processes which must

7/ Nehnevajsa, Jiri. Methodological Issues in Institution-Building Research, A Working Paper. University of Pittsburgh, March 29, 1964.

be designed and put into operation; and of the complementarity which must be achieved in the environment to ascertain the availability of appropriate inputs and the absorption of outputs.

To identify relevant variables and data, the methodology thus disaggregates the process of institution building into a fairly large number of subprocesses and time-bounded stages. As a starting point of analysis, two main cycles of research are distinguished, the evaluation cycle and the design cycle. The former begins with the evaluation of an existing institution, proceeds to redesign whenever needed, and then moves to re-evaluation. The design cycle addresses itself to the process of setting up a new institution, and then evaluates both its design and operating characteristics. The type of analysis undertaken in both cases is concerned with the identification of the institution's goals or objectives, its actual or intended results, some measurement of actual or potential discrepancies between the two, and an identification of sources of discrepancies. The results of evaluation always feed into problems of design which, in turn, have to be re-evaluated through monitoring. There are at least four dimensions to be analyzed: (1) the operational objectives of the institution under study; (2) the larger social goals which the institution's operational objectives support; (3) the interinstitutional linkages from the vantage point of a) boundary maintenance, b) input and support acquisition, c) output and support production; and (4) the consequences of institutional action for other aspects of social, political and economic life of the society (diffused linkages). Analytical steps to be taken (e.g., goal analysis, realization analysis, degradation analysis, problem solving analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis, etc.) are the same for each dimension. An individual research study can fruitfully concern itself with one or several of the steps in any one dimension, or deal with the same step in several dimensions, or with several steps in several dimensions.

The methodology also specifies major categories of information which might be required in the kind of analysis considered above. A useful technical device is the mapping of the normative structure and

functioning of an institution (Blueprint Mapping), of its operations (Operations Mapping), and the kinds of perceptions which salient segments of the population have regarding the institution (Image Mapping)

For each of these mappings, in turn, certain substantive axes are identified to cast light on what needs to be depicted. Intra-institutional components (doctrine, leadership, program, financial and personnel resources), internal structure, and inter-institutional relationships (enabling, functional, normative, and diffused linkages) are specified as aspects of each map.

The mappings express relationships and occurrences at certain points in time. This approach is articulated in terms of present states, antecedent states, and future states of affairs of the institution.

Finally, the methodology considers the broad research design requirements which flow from the interaction of the mapping levels discussed above, the substantive aspects of each map, and time. It also sketches out some of the methodological problems which are involved in the acquisition of data required for analysis.

Limitations, Expectations, and Research Need

Among the limitations of this approach, one particularly should be noted: this program researches induced social change, not "development." At the present state of knowledge in the social sciences, there is no objective, scientifically valid way of defining "development," "improvement," "progress," or "modernity." Unless we wish to be prescriptive or oriented toward value-judgments, we must be satisfied to consider institution building as an instrumentality for changing present states toward more preferred states, and to analyze and measure deviations from existing normative patterns of value and action which institution building can bring about.

In this respect, for instance, the model presented here seems to differ from that of Harold Lasswell with whom we share, however, other institution building concepts. Lasswell urges, in the political

realm, that "models of political development should be explicitly preferential, and that the preferred model requires an ideology of progress and commitment to wide participation in power as a long-run goal."^{8/} Our model does not satisfy that requirement. Neither is this research program well adapted to distinguish between political development and political decay, subjects which Samuel P. Huntington tied to institution building concepts in a stimulating and provocative recent article.^{9/} The last few decades have witnessed a large number of interesting cases of institution building in which genuine social change was quickly and effectively introduced and assimilated and which could be fruitfully researched if the focus is on social change, but not if it is on development. We are thinking here of Nazi Germany and the communist world. Take, for instance, an institution such as the Hitler Youth movement or some of the other Nazi organizations which acquired all the elements and qualities of an institution. None of us would wish to call this process political development, but it was real induced and apparently institutionalized social change nevertheless. Whatever one's value preferences may be, the more scientifically valid and fruitful focus for analyzing the institution building process is social change, not development. As social actors we hold values and preferences. As scholars, however, we must regard these same values and preferences as data.

Another limitation as in so many social science research undertakings is the problem of measurement and precision. When mapping transactions and linkages, competing positive or negative influences, support and opposition, when attempting to analyze the quality and effect of leadership and doctrine, the forces which are at play can often be related to the objective by little more than a plus or minus symbol. Nevertheless, there is the hope that with experience more sensitive yardsticks will be found.

8/ Lasswell, Harold D. "The Policy Sciences of Development," in World Politics, XVII: 2, January 1965, p. 290.

9/ Huntington, Samuel P. "Political Development and Political Decay," in World Politics, XVII: 3, April 1965, pp. 395-430.

Another problem is how to handle the difficult dimension of time. Even though innovations must be institutionalized to be genuinely accepted and integrated in a developing society, even though institutions are important vehicles for transferring technologies and inducing social change, an institution may in some cases prove to be an important focus for resisting change. The same institution which, in the early part of its life span, brought about the acceptance of an innovation, and which was perhaps created for this very purpose, may, at a later point in its life-cycle, become a formidable obstacle to further induced change. Has it "aged," has it become "conservative"? While we are interested primarily in the building phase of new or remodeled organizations, it is important in many cases to look at the history of an institution and to speculate about its "age," the point which it may have reached in its life cycle. Why is this important? Because we wish this research to be action oriented, to assist in the rational choice of the institution which may, among available alternatives, serve best as the vehicle for the desired innovations. Again, when examining linkages between the selected and other existing institutions, the history and life-cycle of the linked institutions must be considered as important factors affecting support of or resistance to the innovating institution.

There are other instances where the time factor affects practical decisions and choices among alternatives which cannot be neglected if we wish to contribute to developing an institution building technology. Are there necessary sequences of events in the institution building process? Over what period of time is a desired innovation to be introduced in the society? Decisions on time phasing, on "pushing" or introducing a new technology more slowly and gradually, will obviously affect the action strategy of the institution builders, their methods of dealing with the institutional variables such as its internal structure, its leadership, its doctrine and resources, and its relations with linked institutions.

This type of decisions, i.e., those which involve consideration of the factor of time, illustrates well the dual focus which all institution building research must have: the focus on the internal, organizational aspects of the institution, on the instruments by which norms are fostered and protected, and the focus on the environment which must be brought to accept and value the institution's innovative services. We cannot afford to neglect either. Perhaps the most fascinating challenge in this research is to achieve a better understanding of the interactions between organizations and environment in the context of deliberate and induced social change and of the strategies available to institution builders in managing these interrelationships.

To mention a final pitfall we wish to avoid: our view should never become so narrow that we think institution building is the only process by which social change can be induced. While this is a major action process, there are others as well. There is more than one path to salvation.

What results do we expect, in the short-term perspective, from the individual research projects which are being supported by this program? To answer this question, it is perhaps useful to give a few short examples of research projects which are actually being implemented. Certain priorities were established at the beginning of our undertaking. First, as the focus is on induced social change in transitional societies, almost all of the field research now being conducted consists of analytical studies of actual institution building experiences in one of the low income countries. The total building process of an institution is being studied over time. Secondly, the critical or focal role which certain functional classes of institutions are believed to play in enhancing development has led us to assign research priority during the early years of the program to selected types of institutions in the hope that this would facilitate comparative analysis and theory building. A third influence in the determination of priorities was the fact that our participating universities, in a number of cases, had already been involved in technical assistance roles, often in

cooperation with AID. They had already established institutional contacts, gained access to data, and saw now, in addition, an opportunity to critically evaluate their practical involvement in institution building at the same time that they were developing the elements of a more adequate theory. The combination of all these factors resulted in the identification of the following types of institutions to which initial research priority was given:

- (a) Educational: (1) universities, (2) teacher training centers, (3) institutes of public administration.
- (b) Planning: agencies charged with the formulation of national development plans and with resource allocation;
- (c) Areal and multifunctional: (1) local government, (2) multi-purpose resource development agencies;
- (d) Cooperatives.

According to these priorities, research undertakings concerned with educational institutions are at present being carried out as follows. Scholars associated with the University of Pittsburgh are examining the process and strategy of introducing change in higher education in Ecuador, focussing their studies on the Central University and the Catholic University in Quito. Pittsburgh is also researching the Institute of Public Administration in Zaria in Northern Nigeria, and has sponsored a study of the institution building experience of a Center for Rural Teacher Training in Cambodia. Michigan State University is investigating the institutionalization of business school education in Brazil, and is researching the College of Education at the University of Nigeria in Nsukka, in Eastern Nigeria. An institution building study in Thailand, focussing on the process of diffusion of specific educational innovations through the Ministry of Education is also being undertaken by Michigan State scholars. Indiana University's research is concerned with the Institute of Public Administration at the Thammasat University in Bangkok, Thailand. Syracuse University is studying the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Near East.

certain cases, the research group is also sponsoring institution building work done by scholars from other universities; thus, researchers from the University of Southern California are assisted in their study of the Brazilian School of Public Administration and the Administration Department of the Brazilian Public Service. It may be of interest to point out that the last mentioned study is a recast, in institution-building concepts, of a previous study of the Administrative Department and does not involve the collection of new field data.

The largest project concerned with planning organizations is being implemented by Syracuse University. Central Planning institutions in four countries and on three continents, in Venezuela, Kenya, Pakistan, and India are the focus of this study. Pittsburgh is undertaking a smaller study concerned with planning agencies on the sub-national level in the Indian States of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

Among the areal and multifunctional institutions is a study of rural local government, in this case of the Indian Panchayat. This study focusses on the institutionalization of political values and structure within newly constituted village governments. The Institute of Municipal Administration in Brazil is another study relating to local government which the University of Southern California is sponsoring. Institutions mobilizing financial resources for development are the focus of a study in Turkey conducted by the University of Pittsburgh. Its purpose is to establish a methodology for facilitating choice of investment in institutions within a particular sector or activity.

Concerning our final priority, i.e., cooperatives, only one project is underway. This is a University of Pittsburgh sponsored study of the Moshav agricultural cooperatives in Israel, and of the possibility of transferring the Moshav model to other developing countries.

As the last item in this presentation of ongoing field research projects, we may mention a research proposal which has recently been approved, though its conceptualization differs radically from our model of the institution building process. A senior scholar proposes

to examine how, in developing countries, certain institutional arrangements have emerged from the interplay of political, social, and economic pressures between three parties: government, management, and trade unions. In this proposal, a new emerging institution is conceived of as a kind of adjustive mechanism originally brought about by efforts to resolve areas of conflict, which may become a norm setter not only for the institutions whose conflict originally gave it birth, but also for other linked institutions performing related functions. This concept of institutional development, based on a model of social interaction which the author classifies as "transaction-dialectic," though not absolutely incompatible with ours, differs clearly from our basically elitist-social engineering approach in emphasis. Nevertheless, the last thing we wish is that our concepts become a stifling dogma; the genesis of institutions may well be found in both types of stimuli and perhaps others besides. Thus a number of different conceptualizations such as this one must be examined.

We can only speculate on what changes may occur in our model as research findings become available. It might well be that further critical variables may be added to our institution building research kit which will be related to what de Tocqueville called "the art of associating together." Take, for instance, the individual's capacity to function within the large, complex, impersonal and functionally specific type of organization which seems to be a prerequisite for effective modernization and development. In transitional societies, as Lucian Pye, Everett Hagen and others have pointed out, this capacity often does not exist to a sufficient degree to permit the specialized activities of modern societies to be effectively carried out through complex formal organization. We must increase our understanding of how the socialization process in transitional societies may inhibit association under modern forms of organization and group action. Some of the institutional linkages to be explored may have to go back to the family or the extended family, and variables such as prevalent patterns of trust, basic loyalties, and other personality factors may become critical

These factors raise interesting questions of organizational theory. It may be that in societies where patterns of trust and loyalties are based predominantly on primary relationships, on intensely personal ties with the family, clan, or tribe, modern associational patterns which are impersonal and complex, which demand loyalty less to a person than to abstract standards of conduct or program goals fail to offer to the individual sufficient gratifications, psychological security, and a feeling of identity. How can this capacity to associate and interact productively in formal organizations be enhanced? What functional substitutes for this capacity or for formal organization can be improvised?

It may be that one institution building variable which has already been identified as important, institutional doctrine, may become recognized as an even more important and powerful instrument to increase the ability to function in modern and complex forms of organization. Socio-psychological inquiries into the effect of institutional doctrine on personality development, on fostering or inhibiting human potential for effective group action might then be called for, and doctrine variables such as specificity, content, intensity, and communicability may have to be examined in detail.

As we begin to accumulate data from our field research, the program will begin to include more topical research focussing not on complete institutional experiences but on a single or a limited number of institution building variables such as doctrine, leadership, time, and their manifestations in several institutions carefully selected for purposes of comparison. In this manner we shall begin systematically to posit and to test hypotheses relating the variables one to the other and to types of linkages with interacting institutions in the larger society. Thus the painstaking construction of theory will be initiated.

Throughout this enterprise, however, we are unashamedly pre-occupied with action and with the problems of the practitioners. Enormous efforts and resources are being committed to induced change

by indigenous governments and foreign advisors with little appreciation of the institution building dimensions of their undertakings and little guidance in the strategies and practices that might enhance their prospects of success, reduce their margin of uncertainty, or minimize avoidable mistakes. We intend to maintain a continuing dialogue with practitioners of the art of institution building so that they may participate in translating our findings with a minimum of delay into guidance that may be immediately useful and may constitute the elements of an eventual social technology.