



RESEARCH PAPER

**Nexus between Political Development and
Institutionalization: An Analysis of the Institution
Building Approach**

Imran Khan¹ Aisha Ahmad² Dr. Ali Shan Shah³

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of Political Science and IR GC University Faisalabad
2. Lecturer, Govt. Degree College (W) Chungi No 14, Multan
3. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and IR GC University Faisalabad

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ABSTRACT

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**Corresponding
author**

Imran Khan

imranbzu2014@gmail.com

This study finds out the views of Samuel Huntington about political stability and instability, and explains that how the institution building approach is all connected with the several variables like social mobilization, political participation, political stability, economic development and rapid modernization. Political development is the hallmark of modernizing politics and refers to the significance of institutionalization. The concepts of political development, institutionalization and modernization were never free from ambiguity when they were first advanced. This study descriptively and analytically focuses on the institution building approach of Samuel Huntington which has been particularly important to understanding the nexus between political development and institutionalization. This study recommends that political institutionalization of a state will lead to stable political development

Introduction

The current political history of the developing countries shows that those countries have been facing various kinds of political, social and economic problems which have slowed their progress and shaken their stability. Since the beginning of the 1950s, many social science

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theorists have been involved in studying these developmental problems and their possible solutions. Political development, social mobilization, political participation and political culture have closely relation with one another. In developing countries, the divergence between institutionalization and mobilization is the main idea of politics. In this perspective, an impartial crux of the politics is studied for the growth of political institutions (Huntington, 1968).

Except for Samuel P. Huntington and a few others, most contemporary writers on political change tend to associate modernization with political development. The research of both modernization and political development is vast and complicated. Most writers on comparative politics do not seem to distinguish between political development and modernization. In fact, the two terms have been used interchangeably. Referring to the process of change, Gabriel A. Almond argues,

“Whether we call this set of trends a movement toward a ‘world culture,’ a ‘development syndrome,’ ‘political modernization,’ ‘political development,’ or ‘political change,’ it seems quite evident that all of us have been writing about movement in a particular direction” (Almond, 1970).

Literature Review

The literature of political development can be studied in the works of Leonard Binder (1962), Seymour Martin Lipset (1963), Reinhard Bendix (1964), Fred Riggs (1964), Cyril Black (1966), Lucian W. Pye (1966), S. N. Eisenstadt (1966), Barrington Moore (1966), G. Almond and Powell (1966), Rustow (1967) and Samuel Huntington (1968). Daniel Lerner published a book in 1958, “The passing of traditional societies”, which defined the statistical measurements and quantitative research in the study of political development (Awan, 2008). Almond and Coleman wrote a book in 1960, “The politics of the developing areas”, which described the thoughts of political development and the political system of different countries (Awan, 2008).

Lucian W. Pye presented ten different aspects of his theory of political development: “as the political prerequisite of economic development, as the politics typical of industrial societies, as political modernization, as the operation of a nation state, as administrative

and legal development, as mass mobilization and participation, as the building of democracy, as stability and orderly change, as mobilization and power, as one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change" (Pye, 1966). He also acknowledged three fields of any country i.e; population, organization of polity and government performance; where the political development could be observed (Pye, 1966). Almond and Powell have described the term as "the increased differentiation and specialization of political structures and the increased secularization of political culture" (Almond & Powell, 1966). Rustow points out as "(i) an increasing national political unity plus (ii) a broadening base of political participation" (Rustow, 1967). Riggs elaborated it as "refers to the process of politicization; increasing participation or involvement of the citizen in state activities, in power calculations and consequences" (Riggs, 1970).

The term 'political modernization' is also used for 'political development' by some other scholars. Coleman explained "Political modernization refers to those processes of differentiation of political structure and secularization of political culture which enhances the capability, the effectiveness and efficiency of performance — of a society's political system — the interactions characteristics of a traditional polity are predominantly ascriptive, particularistic and diffused, those of a modern polity are predominantly achievement oriented, universalistic and specific. Political modernization is viewed as the process of movement from the traditional pole to the modern pole of the continuum" (Coleman, 1968).

Eisenstatd, (1962) explained it as "the ability of a political system to sustain continuously new types of political demands and organization" Park have defined "political development in terms of the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society" (Park, 1984). Huntington uses the term institutionalization for political development. He described that the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of organizations and procedures of any political system defines the level of institutionalization (Huntington, 1965).

Political Institutionalization

The process of the evolution and stabilization of institutions is political institutionalization. Huntington defines institutions as

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“stable, valued, recurring patterns of behaviour” and describes institutionalization as “the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability” (Huntington, 1968). He further describes that political systems can be treated as developed or underdeveloped depending upon their ability to have their institutions keep pace with popular participation. Huntington argues that political institutionalization in a modern polity is not possible without political parties. A political party, according to him, is almost necessary to channelize the participation of the mobilized masses. Huntington also uses the terms political order and disorder instead of political stability and instability (Huntington, 1968).

Institutionalization is a prime requisite of political development. Political development could be accomplished only through strong institutions. The intensity of institutionalization of any society can be considered, according to Huntington, by the following four indices: (1) adaptability in opposition to rigidity; (2) complexity in opposition to simplicity; (3) autonomy in opposition to subordination; and (4) coherence in opposition to disunity (Huntington, 1965).

Political institutionalization is a significant aspect of political development. In trying to differentiate development from modernization, Bill and Hardgrave argued that development should be “understood in terms of a system’s response capacity in relationship to demands”, whereas modernization pertains to “those changes associated with man's increasing control over his natural and social environments” (Bill and Hardgrave, 1973).

Modernization unleashes forces which lead to increasing demands on the political system. It leads to political participation among other things. Samuel Huntington was much more specific in his definition of development. According to him when institutions keep pace with mobilization and participation, political development occurs. When there is a gap between the development of institutions and participation, this is leading to political decay. In order for political institutionalization to take place, mobilization may have to be controlled and gradually expanded as institutions acquire the capacity to absorb it (Bill and Hardgrave, 1973).

Political Stability

Political development has always depended on political and social stability. Political stability and smooth political transformations always generate constitutional and political developments. In the 1970s, political stability and political development was one of the main topics of comparative politics circle. Particularly, researchers believe that the political stability and political developments are necessary in a democratic government and political parties generate the process of political development (Lei, 2013).

Political stability has great importance in the evolution of a country. A stable political development helps in building a continuous and coherent path for sustainable development. Empirical research shows that the political stability in a country measures through different ways such as economic development, political development, social and cultural development, mass mobilization and political participation. Political stability is directly associated to the governmental strength. An unstable political environment will bring political instability. Political stability means government stability, which means political stability. "Political stability is like a moving cycle which needs to be kept on moving. But it requires maintenance, repairs and reforms on certain interval" (Subba, 2017). In general, political stability explains as:

- The members of the government can change without violence, either by democratic election or some other means of succession.
- Policies don't change radically between successive governments.
- Institutions like the legal system, the public service and the judiciary don't change when the government changes (Birch, 2017).

Claude Ake describes political stability as "the regularity of the flow of political exchange. The more regular the flow of political exchange, the more stable it is" (Ake, 1975). Leon Hurwitz defines this concept with five approaches which follows as: "(a) the absence of violence; (b) governmental longevity and duration; (c) the existence of a legitimate constitutional regime; (d) the absence of structural change; and (e) a multifaceted societal attribute" (Hurwitz, 1973). Shaohua Lei explains political stability in his thesis as: "a durable

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polity, whereby the central government in the polity has the capability to restrict or control endogenous subversions and to absorb exogenous challenges" (Lei, 2013).

Political Participation

Verba, Nie and Kim concentrates more on the objectives of political participation and defines the concept of political participation as "refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selections of governmental personnel and the actions that they take" (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978). Political participation, as showed from its name, concerns only political actions. Finer says participation in one's family affairs, one's workplace, the collective or village fields and the like are not political participation except insofar as the policies adopted there are in some clear way related to policies propounded for or administered on behalf of the public as a whole (Finer, 1972).

Verba and Nie make the same distinction between political participation and participation in the other spheres. They have limited their argument to 'participation vis-a-vis the government' and excluded participation in the other spheres such as family, school, job, and voluntary associations. Their main concern is "to describe and explain patterns of participation outside of those that are more narrowly political – i.e., aimed at affecting the government" (Verba & Nie, 1972). Nevertheless, the impact of social participation on the political process cannot be neglected. This point, actually, has been stressed by several scholars. The argument is that individuals who are involved in community affairs are much more likely to participate in politics than those who are not active. Perhaps the most important empirical study that supports this argument is Almond and Verba's findings in "The Civic Culture" that persons participating in decisions in one organization are more likely to participate also in decisions of other organizations. Political participation takes some form of 'political action' to influence the government. Therefore, positive and negative feelings toward the government are not viewed as political participation (Almond & Verba, 1965).

The Institution Building Approach

The work of Samuel Huntington has influenced many researchers and his three equations have been verified in many case studies. His analysis in political development is drawn from his reflection of the process of politics in the developing countries. Looking at the Third World countries, Huntington observed that “urbanization is rapid; literacy is slowly increasing; industrialization is being pushed; per capita gross national product is inching upward; mass media circulation is expanding; political participation is broadening.” He further argues that the rapid increase of these elements of modernization is associated with the lack of “progress toward many of the other goals identified with political development— democracy, stability, structural differentiation, achievement patterns, national integration” (Huntington, 1965).

Huntington might have been the first to distinguish between modernization and development. In his influential article “Political Development and Political Decay,” published in 1965, he warned that modernization is having a negative influence on development, leading to what he calls a political decay. Huntington is most concerned with stability in his research. By relating stability to institutionalization and instability to modernization, he has given the main focus of his work to the study of political development. Later, he focuses in his work to measure institutionalization and the plans he suggests for institution-building. Huntington discusses that modernization is also a cause of instability in the developing countries. He further discusses, many scholars on political development are highlighting the methods of modernization. He observes this is not only wrong but also dangerous because these features are actually generating “not political development but political decay” (Huntington, 1965).

The causes for this are that such modernizing fundamentals as industrialization, communication, and participation are producing difficulties for more modernity. Or, to put it another style, Huntington discusses, political institutions have directly affected by the social mobilization and political participation in the developing countries. This takes the next step to be argued in this respect. He studies institutionalization to be the main issue in political development, and

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argues that “it is useful for many purposes to define political development as the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures” (Huntington, 1965).

Huntington describes the concept of institutionalization in his significant article, “Political Development and Political Decay” (1965), and later in “Political Order in Changing Societies” which was published in 1968. While Huntington concentrated stability in 1965, he emphasized more on instability in 1968. Using both studies, an effort will be prepared to present his syndrome of stability and instability. Huntington discussed the negative effect of modernization in the following three equations: (Huntington, 1968).

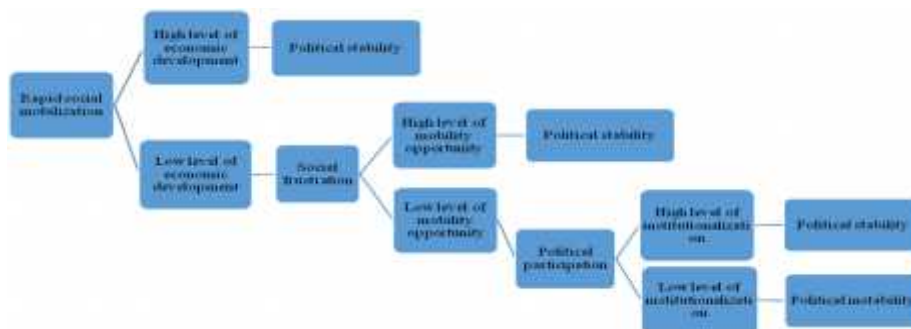
$$\frac{\text{Social Mobilization}}{\text{Economic Development}} = \text{Social Frustration}$$

$$\frac{\text{Social Frustration}}{\text{Mobility Opportunities}} = \text{Political Participation}$$

$$\frac{\text{Political Participation}}{\text{Political Institutionalization}} = \text{Political Instability}$$

These three interactions basically mean that the gap between economic development and social mobilization leads to social frustration; the gap between mobility opportunities and social frustration produces political participation; and the gap between political institutionalization and political participation produces political instability. To simplify Huntington’s argument, these interactions will be presented in three steps, as shown in the diagram.

Impact of Modernization on Political Stability



Source: Designed by the author, based on the arguments of Huntington.

The rapid social mobilization has great influence on economic development and creates new standards of life. If the level of economic development is higher than the rate of social mobilization, the new aspirations and wants will be fulfilled. This should lead to satisfaction and consequently to stability. The implication of the equational relationships would end here without moving to the second step. On the other hand, if economic development is lower than social mobilization, the gap between the two creates social frustration (Huntington, 1968).

Through feedback, social frustration becomes an input to the system. It interacts with mobility opportunities. The result of this interaction depends on their levels. If the rate of mobility opportunities is higher than the rate of social frustration, these frustrations should be removed and stability would be the output. This would be the end of the process. On the other hand, if social frustration is higher than mobility opportunity, demands for political participation will result (Huntington, 1968).

At this final step, political participation becomes the new input, interacting with political institutionalization. If the level of institutionalization is higher than the rate of political participation, the output will be stability. If the opposite is the case, instability would be the outcome. Huntington's analysis is focused on stability and instability. Indeed, in 'Political Development and Political Decay' he did not divide the relationships into three equations, but rather dealt with the connection between modernization and institutionalization. So the equation would probably be:

$$\frac{\text{Rapid Modernization}}{\text{Political Institutionalization}} = \text{Political Instability}$$

This relationship means that the gap between rapid modernization and institutionalization produces political instability. According to this interaction, Huntington distinguishes four types of political systems: (1) civic political systems with high levels of both institutionalization and mobilization (the U.S.A and the Soviet Union); (2) contained systems with high levels of institutionalization but have

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low levels of participation and mobilization (India); (3) corrupt political systems with high level of social mobilization and low level of institutionalization (Some third world countries) and (4) primitive political systems with low level of both (Al-Rawaf, 1980).

Huntington describes political stability as political development and political instability as political decay. The greater political development and institutionalization results greater political stability is the principal concern of his approach. So political development and political stability has a direct link on each other. Now, let us check the close relationship between political institutionalization and political development and the effects of political participation on them, if the equation would probably follow as: (Awan, 2008).

$$\text{Political Development} = \frac{\text{Political Institutionalisation}}{\text{Political Participation}}$$

In this equation, political institutionalization is greater than the political participation and political institutionalization is directly associated to political development which means that it will strengthen political development. Otherwise, if political institutionalization is less than the political participation it will leads to political instability and political decay.

Looking only at institutionalization, Huntington also differentiates between input institutions (political parties) and output institutions (government). Consequently, there are four different types of society: (1) countries with strong input and output institutions (India); (2) countries with strong input and weak output institutions (North Vietnam); (3) countries with weak input and strong output institutions (Sudan); and (4) countries with weak input and output institutions (Congo) (Huntington, 1965).

It is in these terms that Huntington sees political development. He defines "A well-developed political system has strong and distinct institutions to perform both the 'input' and the 'output' functions of politics" (Huntington, 1965). Therefore, India, which is held to be a developing country according to the classical criteria of modernization, is seen by Huntington as a developed society. He proposes four criteria to measure institutionalization. Adaptability,

complexity autonomy and coherence can be used to define the level of institutionalization of any political system or any specific organization and procedure (Huntington, 1965).

1. **Adaptability-Rigidity:** When an organization or procedures have the feature of adaptability, there is high level of institutionalization; while an organization or procedures have rigidity, there is low level of institutionalization.
2. **Complexity-Simplicity:** When the political organizations have the feature of complexity, the system is highly institutionalized; while the political systems have simplicity, that system is less institutionalized.
3. **Autonomy-Subordination:** When the political organizations follow the autonomy that political system is highly developed, otherwise there is the chance of less institutionalization.
4. **Coherence-Disunity:** When an organization or procedures have the feature of coherence, there is high level of institutionalization; while an organization or procedures have disunity, there is low level of institutionalization.

Huntington discusses the association of environmental challenge and age. The age of the organization is used to measure its adaptability. When the environment changes, the organization should adapt itself to the new conditions. An old organization is more likely to adapt to the changes and continue to exist through time than young organizations. A complex organization consists of several subunits, each performing several functions. An organization should be autonomous in order to perform its functions without any pressure from the society. Men holding important positions should be recruited from inside the organization. An effective organization requires teamwork, consensus, command and loyalty. Huntington attempts to relate positively the elements of his criteria to each other. He explains the complexity of a political system becomes a means to autonomy and autonomy contributes to its coherence by providing a variation in procedures (Al-Rawaf, 1980).

So far Huntington has told us that modernization, which at present is influencing many developing countries, is the evil that leads to instability. He also has informed us that institutionalization is the key of political development. He provides measurable criteria so we can test the institutionalization of our organizations and political

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systems. The final point to be made concerning Huntington's effort is the remedies he suggests for the problem. He does not seem to be very doubtful. The developing countries still have the chance to develop their organizations. He says, political systems can be made in all societies (Huntington, 1965). He proposes some measures to be taken by the modernizing countries to institutionalize their organizations and systems. He initiates by identifying that "the psychological and cultural characteristics of peoples differ markedly and with them their abilities at developing political institutions"; and that "the potentialities for institution-building differ markedly from society to society" (Huntington, 1965).

Then he proposes two methods that can be used in institution-building. The first one which is to be considered as a necessary requirement is anything which slows social mobilization. This is supposed to create the favorable conditions for institutionalization. How can modernization be slowed? Huntington comes up with three propositions: increasing the complexity of social structure, limiting or reducing the communications in society, and minimizing competition among segments of the political elite. Controlling communication is seen as very important because it is much more focus to the influence of a government. Whether to be believed or not, the methods which Huntington has suggested to reduce communication include the limitation of mass media exposure, literacy, and education. This explains why Huntington's ideas have been considered by several scholars to be dangerous in giving the elite the right to dominate the will and interests of masses (Huntington, 1965).

The second method consists of the strategies that can be developed directly to the issue of institution building. Institutionalizing a political system requires the appearance of a charismatic leader or leaders who, while holding power, can arrange to defuse authority into the units of the system. Obviously this creates a problem because the charismatic leaders usually concentrate on maintaining their authority instead of creating institutions. Mustafa Kamal is seen by Huntington as being among the very few leaders who were able to do so. He institutionalized the political system of Turkey (Huntington, 1965).

Political parties are seen by Huntington as an important factor in providing stability and legitimacy in a political system. A small

political party in the developing countries, he believes, is more effective than large mass parties. Competitiveness among political parties in the developing countries is seen by him as having a destabilizing influence. Therefore, he seems to prefer one-party or two-party systems. He further describes that the countries with multi-party systems have more military interventions and much more unstable (Huntington, 1965).

Conclusion

This paper examined the institution building approach of political development, which outfits better because it concentrates on the concepts of political participation, social mobilization, economic development; political institutionalization and modernization. Huntington presented three equations for understand the notion of political development. He describes political stability as political development and political instability as political decay. So political development and political stability has a direct link on each other. Huntington places great emphasis upon the stability of governmental institutions which could be achieved, according to him, by balancing mass mobilization and governmental institutionalization. Being concerned with stability, he criticizes modernization on the ground that it is destabilizing the whole system. On the other hand, institutionalization is a prime requisite of political development and organizations get value and stability due to this process. Political development could be accomplished only through strong institutions. According to Huntington, in any organization the level of institutionalization can be measured by the following four indices: (1) adaptability in opposition to rigidity; (2) complexity in opposition to simplicity; (3) autonomy in opposition to subordination; and (4) coherence in opposition to disunity.

It is concluded that the greater political development always results greater political stability. The equations of Huntington expressed if political institutionalization is greater than the political participation and political institutionalization is directly associated to political development, it will strengthen political development. Otherwise, if political institutionalization is less than the political participation, it will lead to political decay.

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