

The Third World's Experience of Institution Building: A Comparative Perspective

Anis S. Khassawneh

*Assistant Professor, Public Administration Department,
Mu'tah University, Mu'tah, Karak, Jordan*

(Received on 19/10/1410; Accepted for Publication 16/4/1411)

Abstract. The study aims to compare the institution building experiences in four developing countries within the framework of Milton Esman's Institution Building Model. Institution building experiences in Jordan, Thailand, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia are expounded and compared with each other. It is found that political support and commitment are very essential if institutions are to succeed in achieving the developmental goals for which they were established. Without such political support the role of the reconstituted or newly established institutions in advancing development will be marginal.

Introduction

In the late fifties and early sixties, First and Third World Countries became more concerned about the concept of "development administration". This growing concern resulted from two factors: **First**, increasing development and technical assistance programs sponsored and directed by the western countries and the United Nations' specialized agencies; **Second**, the western precepts and theories of development administration were challenged and failed in many instances to achieve the intended development objectives in Third World Countries. A number of scholars in the fields of "public administration" and "development administration" attributed the failure of these models and theories to bad implementation while the practitioners of development administration claimed that western models and theories of development administration are not practicable in Third World Countries.

During the last two decades, the gap between scholars and practitioners of development administration in the First and Third World Countries has been widened and has become hard to bridge. This happened when the latter started doubting and questioning the validity and applicability of western development administration models and theories in Third World Countries. The primary objective of this article

is to study and compare the institution building experiences in four developing countries within the context of Milton Esman's Institution Building Model. Institution building experiences in Jordan, Thailand, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia will be elucidated, analyzed, and compared with each other.

The Institution Building Model will be focused upon and studied as an example of western developmental models. The reason for choosing this model as a frame of analysis is two-fold: **First**, the model itself is comprehensive in nature since it encompasses and integrates several important elements and factors related to the process of development in one theoretical framework. Elements like leadership, programs, doctrine, resources and structure are all integrated in a way that can be very useful for studying development process from its several aspects. **Second**, the model places primary emphasis on the environments within which development takes place and the input-output interaction between institutions and their surrounding environments.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study resides in its comparative nature. Relating basic theoretical assumptions and propositions of the Institution Building Model to practitioners' observations and experiences is expected to reveal the gap, if there is any, between theory and practice. More importantly, comparing practitioners' experiences in that respect will help to determine whether the problems of institution building are uniform in nature or they vary from one developing country to another according to the ecological peculiarities of each individual country. As the institution building experiences of the four countries included in this study have never been compared with each other, the conclusions of this comparative study are expected to add color, richness and interest to the literature of development and comparative administration.

Theoretical Framework

Both descriptive and analytical approaches are utilized for the purpose of this study. The theoretical background of the Institution building Model and its major facts are presented in a descriptive manner. The practical experiences of four institutions in Jordan, Thailand, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia are brought into discussion, analyzed and compared with each other. It has been demonstrated that the success or the failure of the modified or newly built institutions depends on the size and strength of political support and backing these institutions enjoy. The major assumption made by this study is that the political support given to the institutions at their early establishment constitutes the main variable affecting their abilities to maintain the fundamental organizational requirements needed to perform their functions.

Organizational variables related to leadership and resources and the way these variables are affected by political support and commitment to the institution have been elucidated and focused upon.

The Data

To conduct this study, the author has utilized secondary sources of data. Books, case studies, scientific reports, articles and dissertations have all been used in such a manner so that needed information can be extracted, articulated and compared in a reasonable fashion.

Limitations and Difficulties

As is the case in most comparative studies, the unavailability of recent data on which comparison can be based has been the primary limitation on this study. Given that generating empirical hard data about the realities of institution building in the four countries being compared involves time and resources beyond the scope of this author, sources and case studies dating back to the sixties and seventies has been necessary. It is believed, however, that the findings of the case studies used by the author still reflect the processes and problems of institution building in the developing countries and provide viable means for conducting comparative studies such as the one at hand.

The second difficulty encountered through out this study stems from the variation and differences in the level of analyses, areas of emphasis and the methodological approach used to carry out the case studies which have been utilized for the purpose of this article. To cope with such difficulty major aspects relating to institution building process such as leadership, resources and political support have been focused upon because of the availability of comparable data.

Institution-Building Model: Basic Premises and Assumptions

During the last three decades the field of development administration gained impetus by the introduction of the institution building model. Despite the fact that this model was formulated and established by Milton Esman and Fred Bruhns, other writers such as Jreisat and Riggs have sustained and supported its major themes and assumptions. However, the concept of institution building is based on the premise that development in Third World Countries can be achieved through the establishment and creation of innovative, responsive, and effective institutions able to perform new functions. It was assumed by Esman and his associates that the current institutions in the developing countries are structurally very traditional, and functionally inefficient as they perform many different functions at the same time. Unlike

their counterparts in Third World Countries, institutions in the developed societies perform more specific and specialized functions. In Esman' words,

“While single institutions in the peasant societies perform a wide range of functions for their members – the extended family, church, royal court, or tribal headquarters – modern industrial societies are characterized by a complex, interacting network of differentiated and highly specialized institutions” [1, p.142].

The transformation of Western industrial values and experiences in the development process constitutes the major pivot around which institution building revolves. To achieve such value-transformation, according to Esman, the current institutions in Third World Countries need to be reconstituted and/or replaced by new specialized modern institutions like those in the industrial societies. The reconstituted or newly established institutions would provide channels for transforming technological and modern norms and values in the different social and economic sectors in the country. While acting as “change agents” in their environments these institutions do not and should not function unilaterally. On the contrary, interaction with the environments within which these institutions operate and the response to the needs and demands impinging upon them constitute the essence of the institution building model. Being responsive does not mean, of course, that institutions would take on passive, receptive and reactive roles when interacting with the surrounding environments. In point of fact, institutions should be able to manipulate and mobilize environmental elements which are deemed to be supportive to their goals and programs. In the meantime, the capacity to survive and withstand hostile and antagonistic environments is essential for “gaining support, overcoming resistance, exchanging resources, structuring the environment, and the transferring of norms and values [2, p.670].

On the whole, the basic and perhaps the most significant premise implied in the institution building (IB) model is two-fold: **First**, institutions in Third World Countries, if certain requirements are met, can and should be vehicles by which the current social and economic milieus in these countries can be altered and changed in a way conducive to national development. **Second**, transforming modern and technological values through the reconstituted or newly established institutions in the developing countries would contribute to development.

While the second premise is debatable it will not be discussed in this study because it has been extensively analyzed and researched elsewhere [3, pp. 36-40; 4, pp. 128-130; 5, pp. 15-41]. As to the first premise, most of the analyses and comparisons presented here will focus on the organizational requirements or variables effecting the institutions' abilities to perform their functions. More specifically, leadership and resources will be the main two variables to be expounded and studied. These two variables have been chosen for their influential impact on the overall functioning of

the institutions. Other organizational variables such as internal structure, programs and doctrine, while being important, seem to be dependent on the leadership and resources variables. Therefore, these variables internal structure, programs and doctrine will not be focused upon in this article.

Institution-Building Model: Variables and Requirements

The IB model comprises three sets of variables each of which deals with certain aspects of the institutions. Divisions among these sets of variables and among the variables within each set are just for theoretical purposes. In practice, inter as well as intra set interactions among these variables are indispensable and inevitable. The first set of variables comprises the following organizational variables [6, p.96].

- 1) Skillful leadership able to direct the internal and external activities of the institution;
- 2) A doctrine, or a set of goals and objectives the institution intends to achieve;
- 3) A program which resembles all the activities that have to be performed to achieve the goals;
- 4) Resources including all human, financial, authority and other resources needed to execute programs;
- 5) An internal structure including all organizational, procedural, and authoritative structures which should be designed in a way that can facilitate performance and the implementation of programs.

The second set of variables is related to communication bridges, or as Esman uses the term "linkages", through which interaction between the institutions and their environments should take place. The kinds of linkages institutions should seek to establish with their surrounding environments are four-fold [7, pp. 332-334]; **first**, linkage with other institutions which possess the resources needed by the new institutions: "enabling linkages", **second**, linkages with the organizations and institutions rendering services and functions that are deemed to be either similar, competitive, or complementary to the new institutions: "functional linkages": **third**, linkages with institutions whose norms, systems and values have an impact upon the new institutions' inputs and outputs: "normative linkages"; **fourth**, linkages with the society as a whole, including its religious values and the mass media and others which influence the performance of the institutions: "diffused linkages".

The third set of variables is primarily related to the transaction between the institutions and their environments. Such transaction includes an "exchange of goods and services, and the exchange of power and influence between the institution and

the social organizations with which it has linkages” [2, p.670]. Institutions would be able, via such transactions, to transfer modern norms and values to the environments, withstand resistance and generate environmental support to their goals and programs.

Without being identical, the three sets of variables mentioned above are, in practice, interrelated and interdependent. The Divisions among these variables sets and within each set of variables are arbitrary in nature since the boundary lines between and/or among them are blurred and cut across each other. If institutions are to be effective in accomplishing their developmental goals inter and intra variable set interactions are essential.

Organizational Variables and Institution Building: The Experiences of the Third World Countries

The organizational variables implied in the IB Model are related to several structural aspects which in their interactive relationships have a great bearing on the institution’s capability to perform its functions. In order to be effective, the institutions must have five major requirements: skillful leadership; clear-cut objectives; solid programs; sufficient human, financial and authority resources; and internal organizational and authoritative structure. These organizational requirements enable institutions to manage and allocate their resources effectively.

In effect, the organizational requirements mentioned above are compatible with the basic concepts and principles of the organization theory literature. The categorization of these requirements as implied in the institutions building model is not much of a problem for the study of institution building in the developing countries. What is problematic in that respect is the ability of organizations in developing countries to fulfill these organizational requirements. The ability to meet these organizational requirements varies from one country to another and from one institution to another within the same country. The study of the Thai and Saudi institutes of public administration, the Balqa Province Administration in Jordan and the Comilla Academy for Rural development in Bangladesh are cases in point. As to Thai Institute of Public Administration (IPA), an institution charged with training government employees and achieving administrative development in the country, the inadequate financial and human resources were the major problems hindering the operations of the institute. The Institute was unable to attract efficient and qualified instructors because of the low salaries offered by the Institute compared with better opportunities and higher salaries available in other sectors. The Institute’s members who were sent to the United States and other countries for graduate studies preferred, upon their return, to work in other agencies that offered better pay. Therefore, “One reason for the IPA’s problem was the inadequate availability of financial and human resources” [6, p.105]. The shortages of financial and human resources and their detrimental

impact on the overall functioning of the Thai IPA was not only a characteristic of the Thai experience of institution-building. The Jordanian case in that respect provides an illustrative example of how inadequate resources crippled the ability of a regional institution to achieve its developmental goals. In an elaborate empirical research project conducted on one of the Jordanian provincial administration an attempt has been made to study "province administration as an institution with interrelated elements and patterns of interactions with the environment ..." [8, p.1]. This study has been undertaken on the background of the 1965 administrative changes which were introduced by the central government with the aim of enhancing the capability and the role of province administration in national development. These changes have been primarily concerned with aspects such as: decentralization by delegating power from central government to provincial authorities; enhancing the coordinative leadership role of provincial leaders in supervising and integrating activities carried out by local public offices; augmenting popular and citizen participation in decisions related to local issues by setting up local advisory councils through which an interactive relationship between province administration and local inhabitants would take place [8, pp. 70-76].

Without tracing analyses in details, the execution of the above mentioned changes in the Balqa Province Administration (BPA) on which the study has been conducted has encountered many problems. Similar to the experience of the Thai Institute of Public Administration, insufficient financial resources impeded the implementation of these administrative changes. Jreisat makes reference to this point when he succinctly states:

"The scarcity of financial resources is a perennial obstacle to administration in Jordan generally. Lack of funds was mentioned by the Governor as well as the heads of field offices as the most important factor delaying the implementation of several developmental projects in education, agriculture, and public works" [8, p.171].

The scarcity of financial resources, however, has not been the only institutional problem hindering the achievement of developmental goals pursued by the BPA. Factors related to the province leadership have adversely effected the institution's capability to accomplish the objectives for which the 1965 changes were launched. The lack of well-trained managerial leadership has hampered the entire operation of the Balqa Province Administration in general and obstructed the implementation of the newly adopted changes in particular. Because the BPA was neither qualified nor motivated to change its managerial and leadership patterns the lack of skillful leadership was "singled out as the most critical need facing BPA" [8, p.141].

As obvious as it might seem, lack of leadership and inadequate financial and human resources faced both the Thai Institute of Public Administration and the Jordanian Balqa Province Administration. It is noteworthy that although they are

interactive, a cause and effect relationship between the two variables has been exhibited in the two institutions under scrutiny. In both cases, the leadership has not been successful in mobilizing and securing financial support from central government agencies who possessed needed resources. Such being the case, the Thai IPA has not been able to attract qualified instructors nor has it been able to sustain its instructors who preferred to work in other agencies that offered higher salaries. In the Jordanian case, the lack of managerial and leadership skills and qualities has made it extremely difficult for the BPA to obtain financial support from the central government. This has impeded the implementation of development projects and the enforcement of the 1965 administrative changes. Such impediment has been no where more patent than in the area of motivation of work behavior and commitment to organization's goals. According to Jreisat the infrequent and inadequate promotions and annual salary raise resulted in "low morale, lack of interest, and financial insecurity among employees; such conditions hardly produce motivation for change and innovation" [8, p. 171].

In contrast with the Thai and Jordanian experiences much of the success achieved by the Saudi Institute of Public Administration and the Bangladesh Comilla Academy for Rural Development has been attributed to the leadership and resources maintained by both institutions. The Saudi Institute of Public Administration (IPA), whose major objectives are to train government employees, to improve the efficiency of the public administrative system, and to "raise the standard of administration and consolidate the foundations of national development" [9, p. 80], has made big strides in that direction. On one hand, the Saudi IPA has faced no financial problems. The financial resources allocated to the institute by the central government were more than adequate since the institute's budget showed a surplus in these resources [9, pp. 245-246]. The abundant financial resources have made it possible for IPA's leadership to tackle its human resources problems. Contrary to the experience of the Thai IPA, the Saudi institute has been able to reach out and hire qualified personnel from inside and outside the country. Reflecting on the impact of the plentiful financial resources on the IPA's capability to perform its functions Mohammed A. Al-Tawail aptly states:

Since its creation, IPA has had sufficient financial resources which enable its leadership to develop the professional capacity of its staff, to create its own modern buildings and facilities, and to carry out its operations and expand its program.

On the other hand, the quality of the IPA's leadership has not been expressed through the financial resource-finding process since finding needed financial resources has neither been a problem nor has it been the prime concern of the institute's leadership. The merit of such leadership has patently been manifested through the IPA's determination and successful policy to train and qualify an indigenous personnel capable of carrying out institute's programs [9, p. 355].

Apart from the Saudi IPA case, the Comilla Academy for Rural Development (CARD) as an example of a successful institution building has been frequently referred to by students of development administration. In trying to get its trainees more practically involved in the implementation of rural development programs the academy through its excellent leadership succeeded in reorganizing its structure, redefining its goals, mobilizing its internal and external resources, and setting up very successful development projects and programs. The most noticeable one was Comilla project which aimed to change and improve social, agricultural and economic conditions for the inhabitants of three hundred villages located in one of the twenty geographical subdivisions (thanas) of the Comilla district.

The project succeeded in getting its message across by getting the population of the villages involved in the project activities. The prevalent village cooperatives were reconstituted; new agricultural marketing and funding institutions were established; commercial banks and institutions opened branches in the Comilla area; and a central cooperative association for providing services that could not be rendered by each individual village cooperative was set up. To this must be added that central government agencies found it necessary to open local offices to cope with the extensive new development taking place in the district. Thus, the successful experience of the Comilla project lies in its "institutional development of organizations and systems and networks of relationships which serve their development purpose and which survive" [10, p. 184].

As compared with the Saudi IPA, the Comilla Academy's leadership and resources played a crucial role in achieving the project objectives. Nevertheless, the remarkable leadership of Akhter Hameed Khan, the academy director, was perceived as the major pivot around which the success of the project evolved. In point of fact, the skillful leadership of Akhter Khan was expressed in terms of his ability to convince central government to get the academy involved in such field project and provide it with the resources needed to run its operations [10, p. 181]. The central government approval to allow the academy to undertake this project entailed a significant change in the Academy's training methods and techniques. Involving trainees in actual field operations whereby they were exposed to genuine and practical situations as a part of their training program resembled this change in the academy's training methods and techniques.

All in all, the leadership and resources variables, as the preceding comparisons indicate, have strongly affected the institutions' ability to perform their functions in the four countries discussed above. It has also been observed that in Jordan, Thailand and Bangladesh the resources variable seemed to be in a state of dependence in its relationship with the leadership variable. In the case of the Saudi Institute of Public Administration the two variables have been interactive and no such dependent relationship between resources and leadership has been manifested. For the Thai

Institute of Public Administration and the Jordanian Balqa Province Administration it can be said that it is not the lack of resources so much as the inability of their leadership to reach out and secure such resources which has made it difficult for both institutions to accomplish their goals. It is the author's profound belief that acquiring financial and human resources is a major leadership function and it should be perceived as such if we are to be effective in studying and understanding the realities of institution-building in the developing countries. Even in the Saudi case where the Institute of Public Administration faced no problem in obtaining the funds from the central government, the institute's leadership played a key role in promoting political commitment and interests in the Institute operations which, in turn, was positively reflected in the financial resources allocated to the IPA.

As to the case of Bangladesh, a country whose major problem is scarcity of financial resources, it is the leadership which has made it possible for the Comilla Academy to secure the financial resources needed for the implementation of Comilla project. It is worth mentioning, however, that although he is the key factor contributing to the success of Comilla project, the distinctive leadership of Akhter Khan, the Director of the Comilla Academy, has been subject to an extensive debates by students of institution-building. Critics of the experience of the Bangladeshi Comilla Academy have been very skeptical and doubtful as to whether the Comilla project could have been successfully executed without the remarkable leadership of Akhter Khan [10, pp. 184-185]. Without such leadership, the critics contended, a successful replication of the Comilla project in other regions in Bangladesh is questionable. If critics' remarks yield anything they draw attention to the crucial role leadership plays in finding and mobilizing resources needed for building institutions capable of carrying out development goals. It is no exaggeration to say that resource-finding is and should be one of the major standards by which the merit of leadership is judged and measured. It is with this background in mind that the authentic problems of institution building in the developing countries can be better identified, comprehended and tackled.

Institution Building: Linkages and Transactions with Environments

In order to perform their functions, the reconstituted or newly built institutions should be able to establish communication bridges or as Esman uses the term, linkages with some other organizations and institutions prevailing in the surrounding environments. These linkages, as stated at the outset of this article, are divided into: enabling linkages; functional linkages; normative linkages; and diffused linkages. Through these linkages, reconstituted and/or newly established institutions are expected to articulate themselves and interact with their environments thereby broadening their influence as change agents. The inputs-outputs form of transaction between these institutions and their surrounding environment will be helpful to

spread modern values and innovations and create social and economic change conducive to development. Moreover, via such transactions the institutions would be enabled to deal with resistance from some hostile environmental elements and mobilize environmental support to their goals and programs.

Moving from theory to practice one finds that the actual experiences of the institutions being compared have displayed considerable variations in their abilities to maintain linkages and transactions with other organizations and institutions embedded in their surrounding environments. Among the four cross-cultural cases in question, for instance, the experience of the Comilla Academy for Rural Development in Bangladesh has been the most compatible with the theoretical implications of the Institution-Building model. The most distinguishing facet of the Academy's project in Comilla district was its success in creating many linkages with both public and private institutions and organizations that were deemed to be having an impact on the project's operations [10, p.181]. While "enabling" and "functional" linkages with government agencies at both central and provincial levels were established, new branches of government departments and agricultural banks were induced to open in the area within which development was taking place. It is through these linkages that the academy was able to secure financial, human and authority resources needed for the implementation of Comilla project, and persuade government agencies who provided the academy with trainees and who stood as the prime beneficiaries of its output to take more interest and become involved in the academy's training programs and operations.

As to the normative linkages, the academy was very successful in maintaining strong linkages with the old and newly established organizations like local village councils, agricultural marketing agencies, and money-lending organizations. Diffused linkages with local community social figures, farmers, investors, and villagers, particularly those who showed enthusiasm and interest in the project's operations were successfully sought and realized. Providing that various linkages with relevant environmental elements were established, the academy's staff and trainees and the project planners and implementers interacted effectively with the village societies in the Comilla district. Evidently, villagers and Academy trainees, became very involved and actively participated in the project operations. Social and economic change was noticeable and perceived as highly conducive to development.

Contrary to the Bangladeshi experience, the Thai Institute of Public Administration was unable to maintain exchange links with other environmental elements relevant to its functions and programs. It is therefore no wonder that government agencies with whom the IPA needed most to maintain both enabling and functional linkages have hampered instead of enhanced the institute's operations. Suffice it to say that the inability to establish effective enabling linkages with central government agencies has made it extremely difficult for the Institute to deal with the drain on its

technical staff and personnel who were offered better pay in other public and private agencies. This situation was aggravated by the IPA's weak functional linkages with government departments who seemed to be in a state of rivalry and competition with the institute for the services of the latter's well-trained instructors and technical staff. It was very easy for the IPA's instructors to get better-paid jobs in central government agencies who paid no heed to the applicants' service commitment to the Institute. This indicates a lack of coordination between the IPA and the government agencies with whom strong functional exchange links should have been established and buttressed.

The Saudi Institute of Public Administration and the Jordanian Balqa Province Administration provide very telling examples of how institutions' ability or inability to sustain effective enabling linkages have great bearing on the entire operations of these institutions. Notwithstanding the fact that the Saudi IPA has experienced several problems relating to its functional, normative and diffused linkages, the institute's strong enabling linkages with central government agencies played a key role in securing the resources needed to perform its functions. Conversely, the failure of the Jordanian Balqa Province Administration to uphold such enabling linkages with central government departments on which the BPA heavily relied for financial and authority support constituted the chief obstacle to the implementation of the 1965's administrative changes. With this in mind, it is imperative to say that neither the resources needed to carry out development projects and programs nor the authority needed to make essential development decisions in the Balqa province were delegated to the BPA's leadership. These obstacles, moreover, have accentuated administrative centralization, the malady of the 1965's administrative changes were supposed to cure.

Based on the cases of institutions-building in Thailand, Jordan, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia it is plausible to say that political commitment and backing stand as the most prominent environmental factor affecting the institutions' abilities to perform their functions and fulfill their objectives. Noticeably, political commitment and support has played a major role in determining the ability of the four institutions under scrutiny to establish and maintain effective enabling linkages with their surrounding environments. While the lack of political support and commitment has been the most detrimental factor to the operations of the Jordanian BPA and the Thai IPA, it is the strong political backing to which the successful institution building experiences of the Bangladeshi Comilla Academy and Saudi Institute of Public Administration can be attributed.

In the Jordanian BPA case, for instance, most of the problems encountered in the actualization of the 1965's administrative changes were mainly due to the weak political support and backing to these changes. Jreisat plainly makes this point when he states:

"The most critical environmental hurdle retarding the implementation of changes in BPA is the lack of political commitment as a result of the ambivalence of the ministers regarding the new values, and their invested self-interests which benefit by the status quo" [8, p.98].

It is worth remarking that the insufficient financial and authority resources from which the BPA suffered badly were a direct consequence of inadequate political conviction and support to the blueprints of the 1965's administrative changes. To reiterate, while decentralizing the relationship between central and provincial authorities was the essence of these administrative changes, the actual patterns of the central agencies, particularly at the ministerial level, devoted and preserved centralization.

Within the same line of reasoning, the financial problems faced by the Thai institute of public administration can be understood and comprehended. The institute's inability to acquire adequate financial resources from the central government has virtually defeated its personnel policy of maintaining qualified and well-trained teaching and technical staff. Even so, this inability was not the problem, so much as a manifestation of a deeper and more fundamental problem, that is, the lack of political support and commitment to the Institute's goals.

The Bangladeshi and Saudi experiences stand in a sharp contrast with those of the Jordanian Balqa Province administration and Thai Institute of Public Administration. In effect, it is the political support and commitment which made it possible for the Bangladeshi Comilla Academy for Rural Development and the Saudi Institute of Public Administration to maintain potent enabling linkages through which resources needed to carry out their programs were obtained. As far as the Comilla Academy is concerned, the financial resources could not have been allocated to the academy nor could the authorities needed to undertake its Comilla project have been delegated by the central government without strong political support of the academy's goals. By the same token, the significant political backing to the Saudi IPA was patently manifested through:

"1) eliminating the resistance or indifference of the government agencies to [IPA's] training programs; 2) helping IPA to acquire the financial and human resources needed for its operation and expansion; and 3) involving IPA in the Administrative Reform Program which has increased its prestige in the country ... "[9, p. 357].

Without becoming entangled in more details, the experiences of the four institutions under investigation shared a common denominator, that is the great bearing of political support on the overall functioning of these institutions. The variations in the magnitude and strength of this political support have produced variations in the institutions' abilities to: fulfill their organizational requirements particularly those related to leadership and resources; and establish and sustain effective linkages through which transactions with the surrounding environments can take place.

In any event, no matter how successful or unsuccessful the institutions under comparison have been in fulfilling their ultimate goals, the variation in the level of progress which has been made and/or the problems which have been encountered can all be explained and interpreted by the theoretical propositions implied in the Institution-Building model. It might have become clear to the reader thus far that the institutions' abilities to accomplish what they were striving for have been made up and shaped by the organizational, linkage and environmental transaction variables implied in Esman's model. These variables, as the foregoing comparative highlights revealed, are substantially affected by the strength or weakness of political advocacy and commitment to the institutions' objectives. Such notion, however, is very well accounted for by the Institution-Building model and does not deviate from its theoretical implications. Political as well as other environmental support, according to Esman's model, is a necessity if institutions are to be capable of carrying out their development programs.

Although, the theoretical framework of the institution-building model provides a sound base for studying and comparing institution-building experiences in the developing countries, using this model involves a very significant limitation. This limitation derives from the fact that the model has not come to grips with one of the most fundamental problems facing institution-building in the developing countries. As is the case in most developing countries, it is quite possible for the institutions to be established by political decrees and decisions with minimal or no actual political support given to these newly built institutions. Under such circumstances it becomes extremely difficult for the institutions to have the kind of leadership that is capable of directing their operations and fulfilling their ultimate goals. By the same token, and as an extension to the previous point, institutions would face trouble when trying to acquire and mobilize financial, human and authority resources. The institution-building model envisages political support as something that has to be worked for and accomplished by the institutions themselves. In other words, institutions and through their leadership should strive for acquiring political as well as other environmental support to their goals and programs. While not contesting the validity of such logic, this author profoundly believes that the abilities of institutions to perform their functions and extract further political support are determined by the magnitude and strength of political support given to the reconstituted or newly established institutions in the first place. In the Jordanian and Thai cases, as the leader might recall, the lack of skillful and competent leadership and adequate resources has been due to the lack of political support and commitment to the Institutions' goals. Along the same line of reasoning, the successful experiences of the Saudi Institute of Public Administration and the Bangladeshi Comilla Academy for Rural Development are attributable to massive political backing to these institutions. Without such support the Bangladeshi Academy, for instance, would have not been able to secure the financial, human and authority resources needed to implement its Comilla project. Of

course, this not to say that the remarkable leadership of the academy has not been a contributory factor to its success. On the contrary, the leadership of Akhter Khan, the academy's director, has been the major pivot around which the institution's success revolved. What needs to be stressed here is the fact that such competent leadership would by no means have been assigned to Comilla academy without political support and commitment to its objectives. Similarly, the financial resources needed to execute the Comilla project would not have been allotted by the central government without such political advocacy and backing to the academy. It is in this sense that political support becomes a prerequisite if institutions are to be able to sustain the most essential organizational requirements especially those related to leadership and resources. It is the author's firm belief that without such political support institution building in Third World Countries will keep experiencing frequent stops, starts and changing directions while the developmental objectives for which institutions are established remain more theoretical than actual.

Conclusions

Throughout this study an attempt has been made to study and compare institution building experiences of four developing countries within the context of Milton Esman's Institution Building model. The institutions which have been focused upon for the purpose of this article are: Institutes of Public Administration in Saudi Arabia and Thailand, Balqa Province Administration in Jordan, and the Comilla Academy for Rural Development in Bangladesh. Variables relating to leadership, resources, and political support have been the major pivot around which comparisons and analyses revolved.

The conclusion which can be drawn from this comparative study is three-fold: **first**, leadership and resources variables play a central role in determining institutions' ability to perform their functions and accomplishing their goals. Obviously, the lack of skillful leadership in conjunction with inadequate resources have halted the capabilities of the Jordan Balqa Province Administration and the Thai Institute of Public Administration to fulfill their developmental objectives. Conversely, the progress made by the Saudi Institute of Public Administration and the Bangladeshi Comilla Academy for Rural Development has been ascribed to the leadership and resources of these two institutions. Based on this finding, investigating the strength of the leadership and resources variables and how they influence the overall functioning of the institutions, become indispensable if research in institution building is to be effective in identifying and tackling the authentic problems of institution building in the developing countries.

Second, notwithstanding the interactive relationship between the two variables, the resources variable is largely affected by the merit and strength of the leadership variable. It might have become clear to the reader that it is the competence or incom-

petence of the leadership which has made it possible or extremely difficult for the institutions in question to obtain and mobilize the resources needed to carry out their programs. Therefore, resource-finding capabilities should be the standard upon which the merit of the institutions' leadership is measured and evaluated.

Third, political support and commitment are very essential if institutions are to succeed in achieving the developmental goals for which they were established. Without such support the role of the reconstituted or newly established institutions in advancing development in Third World Countries will be marginal.

Finally, the Institution Building model, as the preceding analyses and comparison suggest, provides viable means for studying and comparing institution building experiences in Third World Countries. Nevertheless, the model has fallen short of signifying the substantial impact of political support and backing on the institutions at the early phases of their establishment. Although, the model stresses the vital role political support plays in enabling institutions to carry out their programs, the model envisaged this support as something to be strived for by the institutions themselves. This conception overlooks the fact that the ability of the institutions at their early stages of establishment to perform their functions and mobilize political support depends on the magnitude and strength of the political support given to these institutions in the first place. This support, as believed by this author, has a great bearing on the main two organizational variables-leadership and resources on which the success or the failure of the institutions depends. As is the case in most developing countries, it is not unusual to find that institutions are established by political decrees and decisions while minimal or no actual political backing and support are given to these institutions. As such, it is no wonder that neither the competent leadership would be assigned to these institutions nor the resources needed to implement their development projects would be allocated by the government agencies. Consequently, these institutions turn out to be more in form than content and the whole concept of "institution building" becomes nothing but a mere abstraction.

References

- [1] Hambidge, Grove. *Dynamics of Development*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, Inc., 1964.
- [2] Jreisat, Jamil E. "Synthesis and Relevance in Comparative Public Administration." *Public Administration Review* 35, No. 6 (1975).
- [3] Tachav, Frank (ed.). *The Developing Nations*. New York: Dodd, Mead Co. 1972.
- [4] Hudson, Michael C. *Arab Politics - The Search for Legitimacy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977.
- [5] Munoz, Heraldo (ed.). *From Dependency to Development*. Boulder, Co. Westview Press, 1981.

- [6] Caldwell, Alexandar J. *American Economic Aid to Thailand*. Toronto, London and Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1974.
- [7] Esman, Milton and Bruhns. "Institution Building in National Development: An Approach to Induced Social Change in Transitional Societies" in *Comparative Theories of Social Change*. Hollis W. Peter (ed.), Ann Arbor, Michigan: Foundation for Research of Human Behavior, 1966.
- [8] Jreisat, Jamil E. *Provincial Administration in Jordan: A Study of Institution-Building*. *Ph. D. Dissertation*, University of Pittsburgh, 1968.
- [9] Al-Tawail, Mohammed A. "Institute of Public Administration in Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Institution Building." *Ph. D. dissertation*, University of Pittsburgh, 1974.
- [10] Gant, George F. *Development Administration-Concepts. Goals Methods*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.

خبرة العالم الثالث في إنشاء معاهد الإدارة

أنيس صقر الخصاصونة

أستاذ مساعد، قسم الإدارة العامة، جامعة مؤتة، الكرك، الأردن

ملخص البحث . تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى مقارنة خبرات بناء المؤسسات في أربع دول نامية ضمن الإطار النظري الذي تضمنه نموذج ميلتون ايسمان «نموذج بناء المؤسسات» . خبرات بناء المؤسسات في كل من الأردن . تايلاند . بنغلادش والمملكة العربية السعودية تمت مراجعتها ومقارنتها مع بعضها البعض . من أبرز النتائج التي توصلت إليها الدراسة هو أن الدعم والالتزام السياسي خصوصاً في المراحل الأولى لإنشاء المؤسسات يلعب دوراً أساسياً في نجاح هذه المؤسسات وتمكينها من تحقيق الأهداف التنموية التي وجدت من أجلها . بدون وجود مثل هذا الدعم السياسي فإن دور المؤسسات المنشأة حديثاً أو المعدلة في تحقيق التنمية يصبح هامشياً .