

## **Introduction**

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"Bringing Institutions Back In: The Role of Micro- and Meso-Institutions in Development" was the tenth researcher training course to be organized as part of the Ph.D. programme on "Political and Cultural Institutions in Development". The course was convened by Daniel Fleming, Thomas Hansen and Laurids Lauridsen and held at Roskilde University Centre from 21 to 24 April, 1992.

As in the case of the earlier researcher training courses, networks of cooperation around the Ph.D. programme played an important part in its organisation and the recruitment of lecturers was facilitated by the relations established with collaborating institutes in Norway, Finland, Zimbabwe and India.

The original outline of the researcher course was formulated as follows:

"Partly in reaction to the rise of neo-liberalism, recent debates on the forms and dynamics of capitalist development have emphasized organizational and institutional factors. Institutional patterns in the relations between state and enterprises, between different enterprises, and between managers and employees inside enterprises have been at the forefront of the discussion. The primary focus has been on advanced capitalist countries but the proposed seminar series will concentrate on the relevance of the discussions for development processes in the South.

In contrast with the preceding seminar series on "neo-institutionalism" this one will present and discuss more radical institutionalist approaches.

At the micro-level (inside enterprises), Burawoy has stressed the significance of "bringing production back in" by studying

the politics of production and factory regimes. Other recent writings have argued that Taylorist work organization is in the process of being replaced by a post-Fordist pattern in which the division of labour is less pronounced, labour is re-skilled and regarded not just as a cost, but also as a resource, and in which the participation of workers in decision-making is crucial for innovation and competitiveness. The seminar will investigate the relevance of these propositions in a Third World context.

At the meso-level (relations between production units, relations between production units and the state, and relations between individuals and the state) a similar "disaggregation" of the debate has taken place. Through studies of the emergence of new industrial districts, the literature on flexible specialization has thrown light on the role of local institutional networks and competitive cooperation. In recent contributions to state theory, the state is looked upon as a set of institutions and practices linked together in a provisional totality of shifting and competing hegemonic projects (Bob Jessop and the neo-Gramscians). Political and social forms of regulation are seen as a result of the complex articulation of relations between economy, state and civil society. Although these contributions take their point of departure at the macro-level, they highlight the role of concrete institutions, of concrete forms of interventions and of specific discourses and organizational forms in civil society. In more society-oriented approaches, in for example regulation theory, social innovations, social compromises and institutional forms of regulation are considered critical and decisive determinants for the structuration of capitalist processes of production. The seminar series will elaborate on the appropriateness of such institutional approaches in the study of Third World societies.

A further result of the tendency towards "disaggregation" is the growing interest in civil society, i.e. in forms of regulation which are not statist or not part of the economy. In the context of development studies, the presence of a vigorous civil society has been presented as a necessary precondition for both democracy and development (cf. for example the writings of G. Hydén). However, no consensus has been reached as to what constitutes civil society? Is it just a residual category? Is it just

another formula describing what was earlier called "the traditional society" or "the informal sector"? Or does the concept of civil society contain a logic of regulation that is inseparable from the modern state and from advanced capitalism? Such questions will provide focal points for the seminar series and the analytical usefulness of the concept will be discussed in the light of general lectures and specific case studies.

Although the seminar series will look primarily at regulations inside a nation state, it should also be discussed how meso- and micro-based institutions are affected by the increasing internationalization. Does increasing internationalization undermine the nation state and create more space and demand for societal regulation? Or will the micro- and meso-institutions themselves be undermined by transnational forces?"

Thus the basic idea of this researcher course was to 'bring institutions back in' - institutions understood as the complex forms of rules, norms, habits, routines and structural principles of organization which makes the expanded economic and social reproduction of capitalism possible. The market as an institution was the core of an earlier researcher training course ( see Occasional paper no. 6 on New Institutional Economics and Development Theory). Therefore, the economic perspective in this trainer course focused on the firm and the workplace as social institutions. The asserted developmental role of strong, efficient and accountable state institutions was also dealt with. Strong and efficient was approached from the angle of the state as an actor, while accountability was taken up as part of broader discussions on processes of democratization and political liberalization. Finally, institutional orders and processes of institutionalization/sedimentation in civil society constituted the third entrance point in the researcher training course.

The course was divided into four sections.

The first introductory section was theoretical. The key speaker was Lars Mjøset who gave a lecture on "Institutions, regulation and economic development. The importance of a typology of

institutions and of comparative studies." The major part of this lecture dealt with the strength and the weaknesses of the comparative historical analysis of Dieter Senghaas and Ulrich Menzel. Mjøset emphasized that while Senghaas and Menzel have contributed extensively to comparative studies of autocentric development, we are still without similar studies of structural heterogeneity in a historical perspective. The second and minor part of the lecture presented aspects of the French regulation approach and its contribution to the study of institutions and socio-economic transformation. The text included in this collection covers only the first part of the lecture.

Within the second section on civil society and democracy, two lectures on the Zimbabwean experience were given and both are represented in this occasional paper. Brian Raftopoulos gave a lecture on "Beyond the House of Hunger: Struggle for Democratic Development in Zimbabwe" and Jocelyn Alexander proceeded with a lecture on "Local institutions and state bureaucracies in Agrarian Politics: The case of Independent Zimbabwe". The two lectures complemented each other - the one having its focus at the national level and the other at the local community level. Related to these lectures, Norbert Tengende presented the part of his PhD project dealing with "Civil Society and the Post-Colonial State". Moreover, Jeremy Gould lecture on "Different meanings of modernity as social force mediating between actors in society on different levels - using cooperatives in Zambia as an example" criticized the neo-classical modernization theory and suggested an alternative methodological strategy which looks upon "modernization" as a transformative process.. Finally, K. Sukuta gave a lecture on "Democracy and Intra-party politics in Zimbabwe". Jeremy Gould's paper is included in this collection.

The third section - production systems, labour institutions and democracy - discussed selected economic institutions at the level of production and the workplace. Two lectures were given. Laurids S. Lauridsen gave a lecture on "Factory regimes and wage relations as institutions in capitalist development" while Jesper Rasmussen lectured on "Local Institutions: The Organizational Forms of Local Enterprises" with particular

reference to small enterprises in Zimbabwe. The former lecture is represented in this collection, while Rasmussen's contribution can be found in IDS Bulletin, July 1992. Finally, Keld Buciek presented his on-going PhD project and gave a paper on "Unions and labour relations in Ghana's mining industry".

The fourth and final section dealt with state, bureaucracy and society. Included in this collection is the lecture of Pradip Kumar Bose on "The theories of capitalist state in the Indian context", which presented a variety of aspects of the Indian debate on the state. The last lecture, which is not included in this collection, were given by René Bugge Bertramsen. Based on René Bugge Bertramsen et al, *State, Economy and Society*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1990 , he demonstrated how institutional aspects of the shift from Fordism to Post-fordism can be analyzed inside a theoretical framework synthesizing French regulation theory, British state theory (Bob Jessop's strategic-relational analysis) and neo-Gramscian theory (discourse analysis). Moreover, two PhD projects was presented and discussed in this section. Kristen Nordhaug presented a paper on "Late industrialisation and democracy: the case of Taiwan", and Einar Braathen gave a paper on "Effects of Political-administrative institutions on economic management. Mocambique and Zimbabwe in a comparative perspective".

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