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HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALISM OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A THEORY OF STUDYING THE FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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In the article, the author emphasizes that with all the diversity of modern approaches to the analysis of the political institutions' essence, the most appropriate theoretical and methodological basis for studying all the features of their functioning remains the meta-theory of institutionalism of political science. One of the varieties of particular institutional theories within the framework of the new institutionalism of the institutional paradigm of political science is historical institutionalism, the central research object of which is the functioning of institutions of state power that were formed historically first and still remain the central elements of the political system of society. The purpose of the study is to concretize the analytical priorities of the historical institutionalism of political science as a modern scientific theory of the functioning peculiarities study of political systems.

As a result of the conducted research, it was comprehensively analysed how the methodology of historical institutionalism can be implemented in relation to the study of the institutional structure formation of government at the macro-regional level, the transformation of the state institutional system in the process of democratization, the formation of the functioning systems of local state authorities. At the level of analysis of the national political systems functioning, the attention of researchers is largely directed to the study of the formation peculiarities of state power institutions. It is substantiated that the problems that arise during spontaneous transformation or purposeful reformation of the institutional structure of society have historical origins. As part of the study of the supranational level of the political government system functioning, it was also established that it depends on the historical basis of its formation. This methodology of analysis also can be applied to the study of government processes at the local level - historical institutionalism focuses on local historical processes too.

Key words: institute, institutions of state power, historical institutionalism, new institutionalism, political system of society.

Statement of the problem. With all the diversity of modern approaches to the analysis of the political institutions' essence, the most appropriate theoretical and methodological basis for studying all the features of their functioning remains the meta-theory of institutionalism of political science. Conceptualized to the level of a paradigm, institutional theory in political science was developing from classical to new institutionalism, which, however, did not fully lose its methodological consistency. One of the varieties of particular institutional theories within the framework of the new institutionalism of the institutional paradigm of political science is historical institutionalism, the central research object of which is the functioning of institutions of state power that were formed historically first and still remain the central elements of the political system of society.

Analysis of recent research and publications. According to L. Bunetskyi, it should be noted, that in general, if we talk about the new institutionalism, the «institution» category is given a complex definition as a complicated combination of formal and informal rules, cultural and value components that form a «semantic framework» for the activities of political

actors [1, p. 73]. In its historical version, researchers tend to deduce macro conclusions from analytical procedures, explaining large-scale dependencies over significant time intervals, although reviewers, underestimating it, tend to briefly describe this research approach as «history matters». Some provisions of the research strategy of historical institutionalism are presented in the papers by O. Rybii, N. Rotar, L. Tesfaye et al., but without a comprehensive generalization.

Highlighting previously unresolved parts of the overall problem. In our opinion, it is necessary to comprehensively analyse how the methodology of historical institutionalism can be implemented in relation to the study of the institutional structure formation of government at the macro-regional level, the transformation of the state institutional system in the process of democratization, the formation of the functioning systems of local state authorities and local self-government authorities. **Setting the task.** The purpose of the study is to concretize the analytical priorities of the historical institutionalism of political science as a modern scientific theory of the functioning peculiarities study of political systems.

Presentation of the main research material. To begin with, we should emphasize that the study of the political process using various modern approaches also goes together today with the application of traditional methods, with the historical approach among them, with the help of which it is possible to clarify the genesis of factors that turned out to be decisive for the emergence of certain phenomena, situations, and changes in the course of political processes' development [2, p. 33]. This paper focuses on studying the phenomenon of the institution of the society's political system, which is of special interest to several branches of social sciences at once, primarily political science and the science of public administration. The central point of research made by relevant institutions in the public administration sciences was determined primarily due to the influence of the related political sciences. As for the public administration sciences in terms of the institutional theoretical and methodological approach, their specific feature, compared with political sciences, is focusing on the study of such a subgroup of political institutions as state institutions (including local self-government) [3, p. 49].

The historical institutionalism we have identified is one of the varieties of research strategies that develop within the broader area of new institutionalism as a component of the institutional theory of political science. To rationally use the possibilities of the new institutional theory, it is necessary to outline possible elements in the neo-institutionalism research scheme comprehensively, within the existing levels, such as institutional, organizational, and individual one; consideration of research targets as institutionalized practices, formal/informal rules of the game [4, p. 15]. In general, institutional research from the beginning of its development focused on the structural and organizational aspects of power relations as fundamental factors for their implementation in a certain area. Institutionalists focused on the transformation of power institutions, because they believed that they had had a significant impact on the course of the political process (in contrast to the environment, which influenced it to the lesser extent), and impacted behaviour [2, p. 26].

T. Kondratiuk points out that historical institutionalism as an independent area of the modern, scientific institutional approach to the state policy and administration issues arose in the early 1980's [3, p. 50]. Both foreign and Ukrainian researchers note that this type of new institutionalism in the content of its main provisions is one of the most appropriate as for the analysis of formalized aspects of politics – those norms, structures and processes that are associated with the organization of power relations. Foreign researchers emphasize that it is within the framework of political science that two varieties have been developed – historical institutionalism (originated in comparative political science) and institutionalism of rational choice (based on American politics and international policy studies). As the most relevant for political

science, Ukrainian researchers suggest to single out the following: sociological (including one of its forms – normative), and historical neo-institutionalism of limited rational choice [4, p. 8].

In her paper, O. Chaltseva gives a list of the main researchers who were developing the ideological provisions of historical neo-institutionalism (T. Skokpol, S. Steinmo, K. Telen, Ch. Tilly, et al.), and notes that it is historical neo-institutionalism, unlike other versions of the new institutionalism, that already allows us to place a significant emphasis on the contextual features of public policy, which is the principal subject of her research. The researcher also refers to the work made by P. Hall, who identifies four defining features of historical institutionalism. Firstly, representatives of this research area seek to conceptualize the relationship between institutions and individual behaviour; secondly, they emphasize the asymmetry of power relations associated with the development and functioning of institutions; thirdly, they insist on the dependence of institutional development on the chosen path and emphasize the unpredictable nature of results obtained; fourthly, they involve other types of factors (such as culture) that affect the political process in institutional analysis [5, p. 178].

As for the subject area of research, it should be noted that in this context the main unit of analysis is the institution of the political system of society, which can have different positions in the coordinate system of its space (it can be state, political or social), but nevertheless it always remains the core of the research process. Each area of neo-institutionalism independently tries to give answer to the question of how institutions impact the public policy's development. The institutional approach primarily focuses on the role of state and social institutions in the process of determining and developing public policy. According to the logic of this approach, institutions determine the essence of public policy, the strategy of its development through the decision-making system [5, p. 180]. If we directly address the historical aspects of the analysis, the perspective of consideration of institutions shifts to the specific features of their development, which may become essential for their functioning, for example, in a crisis period.

State and political institutions can be considered as «rooted» in history and political thought, and reflecting the totality of social traditions and social practices (written or unwritten), customs and norms, and, accordingly, more as emerged in the process of evolution than created consciously [3, p. 49]. Y. D. Dreval notes that the science of public administration applies a historical approach both to achieve the depth of the analytical process, and to deploy the linear logic of research and the development of the subject matter. Broadly speaking, the paper analyses the diverse aspects of the relationship between the past and the present, which are revealed in the concepts of public history and collective memory. The purpose of using public history is to try to make history more comprehensible for society, which would allow to apply the historical knowledge in practice. The author provides the European Union as an example, which plays a central role in instilling norms and principles that should bring former enemies together through a new interpretation of the «reconciliation» concept [6]. As for the subject area of the research practices' application of the historical type's institutional analysis, today it is applied in political science in the study of a fairly wide range of objects: the role of international organizations in global politics, transformation processes in transitional societies and specific aspects of the development of domestic local entities.

The cognitive possibilities of historical institutionalism as a tool for studying actors in international politics are revealed mainly in the works of the European School of Political Sciences. As emphasized O. Fioretos: «... historical institutionalism examines its contributions to the study of state preferences at the microlevel, to middle-range theorizing in the area of governance gaps, and finally to a general understanding of institutional development in the

international system. ... historical institutionalists are more sceptical that the proliferation of new international rules and norms will lead to a convergence in states' national policy and institutional choices than are standard rationalist and sociological institutionalist accounts» [7, pp. 383-384]. So, when it comes to the role of the state, researchers primarily focus on how the interests of domestic political groups determine the development of a national governance design, and the political course of government is adopted in international institutions (for example, how national forms of regulation of a certain area of public relations produce difficulties in reaching consensus at the EU level).

Specified scientist also argues the following: «The international system in the early twenty-first century is characterized by a governance paradox. While organizations governing international affairs have never been so plentiful and as well endowed with resources and mandates, there has also been no point in history in which the same organizations have been as heavily criticized for not living up to expectations» [7, p. 386]. In our opinion, the main reason for the growing rooting of this practice of the international organizations' functioning is due to the attempts of individual, more influential, states to maintain their privileged position within the organization on the international stage, which is why they resist changing the balance of power and make efforts to consolidate the current rules of the political game (as more profitable) even in the face of the threat of crisis. Within the country, certain political groups may also be rather concerned in maintaining the existing position of the state in an international organization, and therefore they benefit from the presence of inconsistencies in the internal state determination of foreign policy priorities.

Among the individual institutions for regulating international politics in the framework of historically oriented political science research, the institutional structure of the EU is also closely monitored by researchers. P. Katzenstein points out that: «... two intellectual developments that recently have shaped much of the theoretical discussion in the fields of comparative and international politics» [8]. In the political science tradition of the United States, it is studied as a certain kind of functional entity on a par with other international organizations (through the perspective of the international relations' theory). However, in Europe, analysts have chosen a different path – their research is carried out within the framework of a comparative methodology (a comparative study of the relations' development evolution that has led to the development of a particular institution) [8]. This allows to find a clear relationship where a common history of interstate relations is extremely important in understanding the complex system of «checks and balances». So, in our case, the tools of comparative political science are more promising for enriching the theoretical basis of political science and adequate in relation to the empirical research material, when states are understood as formalized structures of dominance in the institutional area of both internally and externally directed joint EU policies.

When considering the specific aspects of the EU's internal policy, which regulates its institutional structure, from the perspective of qualitative analysis [9], most often it is noted that in the member states of the Community, governments may not always be fully aware of the full range of consequences of political reforms that relate to structural transformations and entail a redistribution of the balance of power. As C. Jönsson wrote: «Because of information asymmetry and other barriers to proper member state control the supranational institutions have succeeded in pushing European integration further and in other directions than desired by national governments» [9]. At some point, international politics between EU countries turned into «domestic global politics». But upon testing against reality, it became clear that in order to implement effective regional cooperation, the population of EU's countries needs, at least to a certain extent, to obtain a subjective sense of civic unity and European identity.

As for the institutional analysis of transformation processes in transition societies, Y. Holovakha and N. Panina describe the specific features of the development of institutions in our country, and in the post-Soviet space as a whole, as an affirmation of «double institutionalization» [1, p. 75] - the presence of institutional forms that operate simultaneously without logical agreement: new democratic institutions legally introduced by the government, and old Soviet norms and practices that still exist at the level of traditional legitimacy within institutions. By shifting the focus from formalized structural and functional analysis, neo-institutionalism best explains how undemocratic double standards are maintained and operate in transitional societies with the establishment of democratic forms of government. According to A. Kolodii, it is this research strategy, of which historical institutionalism is a part, that can help in solving problematic issues of democratic transformation through reorientation of the focus from the search for an ideal institutional design to the study of ways to transform formal institutions into real ones [10, p. 65].

However, the tendency to reject new regulation models (and, accordingly, the institutions that provide them) can significantly increase in regional authorities with a high level of the central government's civility. In this context, the key aspect is the role of local self-government in the local governance system, which normally has unique specific features and reflects the values and concerns that are typical of the local community. We agree with researcher L. Grubovic, who noted: «National politics and state traditions remain the most powerful factors in explaining various aspects of urban politics» [11]. Even under the most favourable circumstances, the construction of a «state within a state» cannot last for long without the central power's support, unless it has sufficient resources and political will to strengthen official power in the most remote regions. The historical analysis of institutions at the micro level is presented by S. S. Iannarone, who analyses several publications on urban construction and development in her author's review. The latest urban design of the future, the impact of globalization on the development of the cities being important international centres for establishing economic, political and cultural cooperation, as well as the transformative power of international migration in the context of a particular city – all these aspects are defined by the author as areas of scientific research, which are important today and promising in the future. The author cited the paper by R. C. Smith «Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants», which actualizes the phenomenon of the «transnational life» institution, embodied in the daily practice of the individual and social structures that help shape the life of the immigrant world, and embedded in the relationships between people, institutions and the place of residence [12]. The study of urban political regimes means finding a good testing ground for historical institutionalism regarding the consideration of local institutions embedded in multi-level global contexts (case studies). As we have previously noted, using the conception of the “path of dependence” phenomenon, we must not only be able to recognize the thread of history that runs through the entire process of development and construction of the institutions, but also find analytical opportunities for adequate clarification of cause-and-effect relationships and those factors that determine the transformation of institutions in a dynamic dimension [13, p. 101].

Conclusions and prospects for further exploration in this direction. The author set the identification and research of the essence the analytical priorities of the historical institutionalism of political science as a modern scientific theory of the functioning peculiarities study of political systems as the main research tasks. At the level of analysis of the national political systems functioning, the attention of researchers is largely directed to the study of the formation peculiarities of state power institutions. It is substantiated that the problems that arise during spontaneous transformation or purposeful reformation of the institutional structure of society have historical origins. As part of the study of the supranational level of the political government

system functioning, it was also established that it depends on the historical basis of its formation. This methodology of analysis also can be applied to the study of government processes at the local level - historical institutionalism focuses on local historical processes too. Further research on the subject should be aimed at identifying or developing a methodology that will contribute to the correct analysis of problematic aspects of the political institutions functioning, and the development and implementation of practical recommendations for their solution.

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ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ІНСТИТУЦІОНАЛІЗМ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ НАУКИ ЯК ТЕОРІЯ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ ПОЛІТИЧНИХ СИСТЕМ

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У статті автор акцентує на тому, що при всьому багатоманітті сучасних підходів до аналізу сутності політичних інститутів найбільш відповідним теоретико-методологічним підґрунтям до вивчення всіх особливостей їх функціонування залишається метатеорія інституціоналізму політичної науки. Одним із різновидів окремих інституціональних теорій в рамках нового інституціоналізму інституціональної парадигми політичної науки є історичний інституціоналізм, центральним об'єктом дослідження якого є функціонування інститутів державної влади, що сформувалися історично першими і досі залишаються центральними елементами політичної системи суспільства. Метою дослідження була конкретизація аналітичних пріоритетів історичного інституціоналізму політичної науки як сучасної наукової теорії дослідження особливостей функціонування політичних систем.

В результаті проведеного дослідження було комплексно проаналізовано яким чином методологія історичного інституціоналізму може бути реалізована щодо дослідження формування інституціональної структури управління на макрорегіональному рівні, трансформації інституціональної системи держави в процесі демократизації, формування систем функціонування місцевих органів влади. На рівні аналізу функціонування національних політичних систем увага дослідників більшою мірою спрямована на вивчення особливостей становлення інститутів державної влади. Обґрунтовується, що проблеми, які виникають під час стихійної трансформації або цілеспрямованого реформування інституціональної структури суспільства мають історичні витоки. В рамках дослідження наднаціонального рівня функціонування системи політичного управління також було встановлено, що це залежить від історичного підґрунтя його формування. До вивчення процесів управління на місцевому рівні ця методологія аналізу може бути застосована – історичний інституціоналізм фокусується на локальних історичних процесах.

Ключові слова: інститут, інститути державної влади, історичний інституціоналізм, новий інституціоналізм, політична система суспільства.