

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523
BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET

FOR AID USE ONLY
Batch # 38

1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY	TEMPORARY
	B. SECONDARY	

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Inter-country comparative studies of legislatures (Africa & Asia); annual report, 1971/1972

3. AUTHOR(S)
(101)Iowa Univ. Dept. of Political Science

4. DOCUMENT DATE 1972	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 17p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC
--------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
Iowa

8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (*Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability*)
(Activity summary)

9. ABSTRACT
(Public administration R & D)

10. CONTROL NUMBER PN-AAC-110	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT
	12. DESCRIPTORS
	13. PROJECT NUMBER
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER GSD-3294 211(d)
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

RIG

211(d) ANNUAL REPORT

November 10, 1972

Title: Comparative Legislative Studies

Grantee: The University of Iowa

Director: Gerhard Loewenberg

A. Statistical Summary:

Period of Grant: August, 1971 to August, 1976
Amount of Grant: \$265,000.00

Expenditure for Report Year: \$2,556.35
Accumulated: \$2,556.35
Anticipated for next year: \$69,857.00

B. Narrative Summary:

The first year of the five-year grant period was devoted to the recruitment of faculty, graduate students, staff and overseas research personnel, and to the development of the research design for a cross-national study of the role of legislatures in the process of political development. A faculty member was appointed who specializes in African politics, three graduate research assistants were selected to compile bibliographical, documentary and methodological data preparatory for field research, two conferences on legislative behavior research were held, two research sites were selected and others were investigated, a publications series was established, and a Comparative Legislative Research Center was created in the Department of Political Science. The organization of the Center and the other first-year activities established the basis for the research and research training project which is now getting actively underway.

C. Detailed Report

I. General Background and Purpose of the Grant

The grant of \$265,000 to the University of Iowa had three principal purposes: 1) to enhance the capacity of the University to engage in comparative legislative research and research training; 2) to support a cross-national study of the role of legislatures in the process of political development; and, 3) to use this study as a vehicle to provide research training for American scholars as well as for scholars in developing countries. The grant was given to the University in recognition of the role which members of its faculty in various departments had played in research and teaching in this field, and in recognition of the experience of the Laboratory for Political Research in archiving and analyzing data on legislative behavior. The project participants at the University of Iowa undertook to coordinate their activities with similar programs supported by A.I.D. at the University of Hawaii and Duke University.

II. Objectives of the Grant

1. Objectives Restated

These continue to be the major objectives of our program. The first year's experience has enabled us to specify our aims with considerably more precision. Thus, five aspects of legislatures have been selected as the focal points of our research: 1) the linkage between legislators and their constituents; 2) the career patterns of members of the legislature; 3) the communications network within the legislature; 4) the lines of political controversy in the legislature; and, 5) the salience of and support for the legislature among members of the public. We have developed hypotheses concerning the influence of these aspects of the legislature on the mechanism by which governments obtain compliance for their decisions and public support for the institutions of the regime. We have also formulated hypotheses concerning the influence of legislative behavior on the public image of the regime, the political skills of policy-makers, and the agenda of policy issues in the political arena.

2. Review of Objectives

In planning our research project, we have become aware of the cost of implementing its various aspects more extensively. We have become convinced that a study of the role of legislatures in developing countries should be supplemented by research on the role of legislatures in highly developed countries. Accordingly we have formulated and submitted (to a private foundation) a research proposal for the study of legislatures in multi-ethnic industrialized societies.

We have also become aware of the value of developing a central archive of legislative data for the use of scholars at other institutions in this country and overseas, and are seeking additional financial support to implement this aspect of the project more fully. Without in any way detracting from the original objectives of the grant, we hope to be able to fulfill the objectives more extensively by pursuing these additional aspects.

III. Accomplishments

1. Recruitment of Personnel

The initial year of the project period was devoted to the recruitment of personnel and to research planning. A half-time secretary was appointed for the project in September, 1971. Subsequently, a major effort was organized to recruit graduate students, research associates overseas, and a new faculty member. To fill the faculty position, 35 department chairmen were asked for recommendations, and the job was listed in the Personnel Service Newsletter of the American Political Science Association. Nearly 70 candidates were considered by a departmental search committee. With respect to the graduate fellowships, nearly 200 letters and applications were sent out. As a result of these extensive recruitment efforts, Joel D. Barkan of the University of California at Irvine was appointed as an Assistant Professor in our Department. Barkan, who received his Ph.D. degree in 1970 from U.C.L.A., is a specialist on African politics, having written a dissertation on African university students and social change. He has done research

in Uganda, Tanzania and Ghana and has altogether spent two years in Africa. We also appointed three graduate students as research assistants to the project: William Meszaros, an outstanding student in his third year at Iowa, and James Gibson and Robert Wang, applicants with superior qualifications from Emory University and the University of Washington, respectively. Each of these students was given specific research assignments leading toward preparation for field research. These assignments consist of compiling documentary, methodological, and bibliographical data relevant to comparative legislative research.

2. Research Planning

In the process of research planning, we corresponded extensively with scholars in Ghana, India, Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Turkey, and other developing countries to survey the feasibility of selecting various research sites. Professor C. L. Kim personally visited Turkey, Malaysia, Singapore, and Korea, and established contacts with scholars in these countries.¹ While in Turkey, he visited the University of Istanbul and discussed research on legislative behavior with several political scientists. He identified and talked with Turkish scholars seriously interested in research collaboration. Although no firm arrangements were made in Malaysia and Singapore, Professor Kim talked to a number of political scientists both at the University of Penang and the University of Singapore. Many of those whom Professor Kim consulted expressed an interest in participating in a comparative legislative research project. In Korea he discussed the mechanics of doing a survey study with Professor Sung-chick Hong, the director of the Social Science Survey Institute of the Korea University. As a result of these deliberations, we have decided to conduct research in Korea and Turkey, and are seriously considering Malaysia, Singapore, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia or Zambia as other possible research sites. We expect to include three or four legislative systems in the comparative study.

¹ Professor Kim's trip occurred in July and August, 1972, after the end of the first year of the grant period. It is reported here because it was closely connected with the first year's planning activities. Approximately half of the expenses of this trip were provided by the Far Eastern and Slavic Institute of the University of Washington.

3. Research Instruments

During the year, we developed an extensive bibliography of studies on legislative behavior, based on a list originally compiled by Professor S. C. Patterson. This bibliography has been put into machine-readable form utilizing the TRIAL information retrieval system. Items in the bibliography can be listed by author, the bibliography can be searched by key words, and indices of the bibliography can be prepared. At present 1321 citations are included; 921 deal with research on American legislatures and 400 are comparative studies or studies of foreign legislatures. The bibliography covers material published during the last 15 years and is being continuously extended. It is available to all interested scholars, and arrangements are being made to adapt it for the use of the University of Hawaii.

In addition, the Laboratory for Political Research in our Department has acquired a number of data sets on legislative behavior, some the result of research done by members of the faculty of the University of Iowa, some acquired from scholars elsewhere. A list of these holdings is also accessible through the TRIAL system. Within the next year, an item index of the major legislative research instruments employed to gather these data will be compiled and will be similarly accessible. If additional funding can be obtained, we hope to expand the data holdings in this area greatly, and to develop a specialized archive of legislative data available to all interested scholars. A list of existing data sets has been compiled. The experience of the Laboratory in the acquisition, processing and dissemination of political data, and the concentration of specialists in legislative research at the University of Iowa, provide the basis for the development of the archive here. A detailed proposal has been drafted and efforts will be made to obtain funds to support this project.

4. Conferences

Two conferences on legislative research were held at the University of Iowa during the past year both supported by outside funds, yet both directly relevant to the subject of the A.I.D. project.

They brought together scholars from the United States and abroad to exchange and discuss research findings and to consider the directions which further work should take.

Under the auspices of the Benjamin F. Shambaugh Fund of the University of Iowa, a conference on "Legislative Systems in Developing Countries" was held on November 11-13, 1971. Papers on legislative behavior in Colombia, Japan, Kenya, the Philippines, Thailand and Uruguay, as well as papers on several conceptual problems were read and discussed by 15 faculty members from universities and colleges throughout the United States. The conference was organized by Professors G. R. Boynton and C. L. Kim. (See Appendix A.) Its results will be published in the Sage series on comparative legislative research being edited by Professor Malcolm Jewell. This series was founded as a result of deliberations among the three universities holding A.I.D. grants for comparative legislative research.

On March 13-15, 1972, a conference sponsored by the Mathematical Social Science Board was held on the "Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of the History of Legislative Behavior." Nearly 40 historians and political scientists from major universities in this country and abroad attended the sessions, which were organized by Professor W. O. Aydelotte of the Department of History and Professor S. C. Patterson of the Department of Political Science. (See Appendix B.) The papers will be published by the Princeton University Press.

These conferences have provided faculty and graduate students at the University of Iowa with the opportunity to expand their contacts with some of the most important scholars in the field of legislative research, and to obtain advice and cooperation with respect to the research and research training program we are developing.

In addition to the conferences, a number of scholars in the field of legislative research spent periods of several days to a week or more as guests of the Department. They included Dr. Jan Kooiman of the University of Leiden, who is directing the study of the Dutch Parliament, Dr. Max Kaase of the University of Mannheim, one of the outstanding younger

scholars in German political science, Professor Raymond Hopkins of Swarthmore College, who has done legislative research in Tanzania and Kenya, and Dr. Erik Damgaard, who is engaged in a study of the Danish parliament. Each of these visiting scholars held seminars for faculty and graduate students to discuss their legislative research and to offer advice on the research project we are undertaking. In each case their visits were funded by the University of Iowa.

5. Research Organization

To coordinate the research and research training in the field of legislative studies, the Department of Political Science has created the Comparative Legislative Research Center under the direction of Professor Gerhard Loewenberg, in association with Professors Joel Barkan, G. R. Boynton, Chong Lim Kim, S. C. Patterson, and John C. Wahlke.

During the past year its facilities were used in the process of recruiting personnel for the project, developing the preliminary research design, accommodating visiting scholars, and undertaking conference planning. In the future, it will provide space for the project's overseas research associates, and for graduate seminars, documentary materials, and office records. The Center will also supply staff assistance for the various aspects of the program. It relies closely on the data archives and analysis facilities of the Laboratory for Political Research which is presently under the direction of Professor William A. Welsh, while Professor G. R. Boynton is on leave at the National Science Foundation.

6. Consortium Activities

In our planning, we have maintained regular contact with our counterparts at the University of Hawaii and Duke University. We met with faculty from these universities in Chicago in September, 1971, during the meetings of the American Political Science Association, and had a special two-day conference with them in Iowa City during March, 1972, at which Jonathan Silverstone represented the Agency for International Development. We have also conferred with Professor Malcolm Jewell of the University of Kentucky, who will participate actively in our

research project during 1973-74. He has drafted a research proposal for the study of the relationship between ethnic cleavages and legislative behavior which will be incorporated in our research design.

IV. Impact of Grant Activities in Developing Institutional Capabilities

As is clear from the enumeration of project activities, the first year of the project has contributed significantly to the capacity of the University of Iowa to engage in cross-national legislative research. It has permitted the addition of a faculty member specializing in African politics, the recruitment of three excellent graduate research assistants, the creation of a Comparative Legislative Research Center, the addition of a graduate research seminar to the curriculum, the acquisition of legislative data, and the organization of a major cross-national study. Furthermore, the existence of the project contributed to and profited from two legislative research conferences held at the University, and attracted visits from scholars at other institutions.

V. Utilization of Institutional Resources in Development

The personnel recruitment and planning activities which dominated the first year of the project were undertaken by existing faculty members at the University of Iowa on their own time. The University funded one of the research conferences, and most of the faculty recruitment expenses, and it provided office space and equipment for the Comparative Legislative Research Center. Professor Kim's trip to Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Turkey produced intensive consultations with scholars in those countries from which we are developing a collaborative research relationship. We expect the full consequences of these activities to become apparent in the second and third years of the research project.

VI. Other Resources for Grant-Related Activities

The University of Iowa contributed various overhead expenses in support of the project, specifically including office space, equipment, and computer time.

The exact value of these contributions cannot be given. In addition, the Shambaugh Fund of the University of Iowa contributed \$8,000.00 for the conference on Legislative Systems in Developing Countries, and the Mathematical Social Sciences Board contributed \$9,000.00 for the conference on the "Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of the History of Legislative Behavior."

VII. Next Year's Plan of Work and Anticipated Expenditures

The consequence of the research planning activities of the past year include the introduction of a research seminar on legislative behavior into the graduate curriculum of the Department of Political Science and the organization of a faculty planning group which meets weekly to discuss working papers on various aspects of the research design and problems of research organization.

Meetings in prospect include a seminar on legislative research in Africa organized by Professors Joel Barkan and Raymond Hopkins to be held during the meetings of the African Studies Association in November, 1972, a round-table on legislative development sponsored by a research committee of the International Political Science Association with Professor Carlos Astiz as Chairman and Professor Loewenberg as Vice-chairman, and a panel on comparative legislative research at the 1973 meeting of the International Political Science Association with Professors Allan Kornberg and Gerhard Loewenberg as rapporteurs.

In the summer of 1973, the Comparative Legislative Research Center at the University of Iowa will hold two conferences. The first will be a working session of the field directors who will have charge of the three or four country studies comprising our comparative research project. This session will be in direct preparation for the field research which will get underway early in the 1973-74 academic year. The second conference next summer will be a workshop on legislative research in which faculty and graduate students from various American and foreign universities will report on their most recent findings and consult with each other on research in progress.

The archiving of legislative data is underway through the facilities of the Laboratory for Political Research. This work consists of the acquisition and cleaning of

existing legislative data sets, the compilation of documentation on legislatures of all independent states, the extension of the legislative research bibliography, and the compilation of an item index of research instruments used in legislative research.

The anticipated expenditure for next year is \$69,857.00. Of this amount 18 percent is for the new faculty position, 29 percent is for staff salaries in the Laboratory for Political Research (for the development of the data archive), 15 percent is for graduate student stipends, 10 percent is for fringe benefits, 11 percent is for faculty released time, 5 percent is for secretarial salaries, 10 percent is for travel, and 1 percent is for equipment and services. (See Table II.) The last 4 items, comprising 27 percent of anticipated expenditures, is attributable to the cross-national research project.

VIII. Report of Expenditures

Since the first year of the project was primarily devoted to personnel recruitment and research planning by faculty members at the University of Iowa, expenditures from the A.I.D. grant were minimal. Of the total of \$2,556.35 expended, approximately 81 percent was for secretarial salaries, approximately 13 percent was for office expenses, and approximately 6 percent was for travel. These amounts are all attributable to the budget line for the multi-nation comparative study. (See Table I.)

Wherever possible, we have sought outside support for our activities and will continue to do so. However, in the coming year we expect that expenditures will rise sharply, as data archiving proceeds in the Laboratory for Political Research, the salary of the new faculty member and the stipends of graduate assistants are covered, and foreign field research directors attend planning conferences at the University of Iowa.

Table I

Distribution of 211(d) Grant Funds
and
Contributions from Other Sources of Funding

Review Period September 1971 to June 30, 1972

Grant Related Activities	211(d) Expenditures		Projected Next Year	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total		
<u>Research</u>				
secretary	\$1,901.80	\$1,901.80	\$ 3,708.00	
faculty released time			8,000.00	
graduate student assistants			10,800.00	
laboratory for political research (data archive)			20,000.00	
equipment & services	339.36	339.36	1,000.00	
<u>New Faculty Position</u> (Joel D. Barkan)			12,500.00	
<u>Consultation</u>				
<u>Conferences</u>				
Shambaugh Fund of University of Iowa				\$8,000.00
Mathematical Social Sciences Board				9,000.00
Field Directors' Conference			4,500.00	
Visits of Foreign Scholars				800.00
Professor Kim's trip to Malaysia, Korea, Singapore, Turkey			1,200.00	1,150.00
Other Travel			1,200.00	

Table II

Expenditure Report

(Actual and Projected)

Under Institutional Grant #AID/csd-3294

Review Period September 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972

Budget Items	Expenditures to Date		Projected Expenditures
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total	Second Year
<u>Personnel</u>			
New Faculty Position (Joel D. Barkan)			\$ 12,500.00
Secretary (half-time) (three-fourths time)	\$ 1,901.80	\$ 1,901.80	3,708.00
Laboratory for Political Research (Data Archive) staff salaries for data librarian, assistant technical director, study processing supervisor, data processing supervisor			20,000.00
Faculty Released Time 1 summer stipend, (senior faculty)			4,500.00
1 summer stipend (junior faculty)			3,500.00
Graduate Student Assistants (3 stipends @ \$3,600)			10,800.00
<u>Fringe Benefits</u>	173.41	173.41	6,949.00

Table II (cont.)
Expenditure Report

Budget Items	Expenditures to Date	Projected Expenditures	
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total	Second Year
<u>Travel</u>			
Faculty Recruitment	\$ 141.78	\$ 141.78	
Overseas Field Directors' Conference			\$ 4,500.00
Professor C. L. Kim's conference in Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, Turkey			1,200.00
Other Travel			1,200.00
<u>Equipment and Services</u>			
Office Equipment and Supplies	221.76	221.76	400.00
Telephone and Telegraph	117.60	117.60	600.00
TOTAL	\$2,556.35	\$2,556.35	\$69,857.00

APPENDIX A

Conference on Legislative Systems in
Developing Countries

University of Iowa

November 11-13, 1971

Thursday, November 11

Morning Session: Legislative Inputs: Recruitment

Chairman: G. R. Boynton

"Opportunity Structure and Legislative Recruitment in
Developing Political Systems"

Lester G. Seligman

"Legislative Recruitment: The Case of the General
Assembly of Uruguay"

Joel G. Verner

Discussants: Raymond F. Hopkins

Young C. Kim

Michael R. King

Afternoon Session: Legislative Inputs: Parties and
Interest Groups

Chairman: Peter G. Snow

"Legislative Development and Political Parties: The Case
of Thailand"

Michael L. Mezey

"Interest Articulation in the Philippines Legislature"

Richard A. Styskal

Discussants: Allan E. Goodman

Gary Hoskin

Marvin G. Weinbaum

APPENDIX A
(cont.)

Friday, November 12

Morning Session: Internal Workings of the Legislature

Chairman: Donald McCrone

"Ideological Conflict in the Colombian Congress"
Gary Hoskin

"The Committee System in the Japanese Diet: Recruitment,
Orientation, and Behavior of Committee Members"
Young C. Kim

Discussants: Lester G. Seligman
Joel G. Verner

Afternoon Session: The Role of Legislature in Political Systems

Chairman: Chong Lim Kim

"The Genesis of Political Power: Determinants of Legislative
Constituency Service in South Vietnam"
Allan E. Goodman

"The Kenyan Legislature: Political Functions and Citizen
Perceptions"
Raymond F. Hopkins

"Toward a Classification of Legislative Systems: Its
Application and Implications for Developing Nations"
Marvin G. Weinbaum

Discussants: Michael L. Mezey
Richard A. Styskal

Saturday, November 13

Morning Session: New Directions in Comparative Legislative
Research in Developing Countries

Chairman: Gerhard Loewenberg

APPENDIX B

Conference on the Use of Quantitative Methods in the
Study of the History of Legislative Behavior

University of Iowa

March 13-15, 1972

Monday, March 13

Morning Session:

Chairman: William O. Aydelotte

Anthony King and Geoffrey Hosking, "Radicals and Whigs
in the British Liberal Party, 1908-1914."

Panel: Austin Ranney, Douglas V. Verney

Aage R. Clausen and Soren Holmberg, "Legislative
Voting Analysis in Disciplined Multi-party Systems:
The Swedish Case."

Panel: John F. Manley, Robert Zemsky

Afternoon Session:

Chairman Samuel C. Patterson

Mogens N. Pedersen, "The Personal Circulation of a
Legislature: The Danish Folketing, 1849-1968."

Panel: Henry G. Horwitz, Patrice Higonnet

Gudmund Hernes, "A Paradigm for Legislative Research."

Panel: Gerhard Loewenberg

Tuesday, March 14

Morning Session:

Chairman: Allan G. Bogue

Douglas Price, "Career and Seniority Patterns in the
United States Congress in the Nineteenth Century."

Panel: Nelson W. Polsby, Samuel C. Patterson

APPENDIX B
(cont.)

Tuesday, March 14 (cont.)

William O. Aydelotte, "Constituency Influence on the
British House of Commons in the 1840's."

Panel: Edward Schneier

Afternoon Session:

Chairman: Gerhard Loewenberg

Antoine Prost, "Measurement of the Attitude Changes
Among the Members of the French Chamber of Deputies,
1882-1884."

Panel: David M. Wood, James Q. Graham, Jr.

Allan G. Bogue, "The Substantive Meaning of Radicalism
in the United States Senate During the Civil War."

Panel: Jerome M. Clubb, Joel H. Silbey

Wednesday, March 15

Morning Session:

Chairman: Henry Horwitz

Peter H. Smith, "The Making of the Mexican Constitution."

Panel: Charles A. Hale, Richard Jensen

Donald R. Matthews and James A. Stimson, "Cue-Taking by
Congressmen: A Model and a Computer Simulation."

Panel: Cleo H. Cherryholmes, Herbert Weisberg