

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

FOR AID USE ONLY

*Batch # 38*

1. SUBJECT  
CLASSI-  
FICATION

A. PRIMARY

B. SECONDARY

TEMPORARY

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE

Comparative legislative studies program; annual report, 1972/1973

3. AUTHOR(S)

(101) Duke Univ. Dept. of Political Science

4. DOCUMENT DATE

1973

5. NUMBER OF PAGES

94p.

6. ARC NUMBER

ARC

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS

Duke Univ.

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

(Activity summary)

9. ABSTRACT

(Social sciences R & D)

10. CONTROL NUMBER

PN-AAC-123

11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT

12. DESCRIPTORS

13. PROJECT NUMBER

14. CONTRACT NUMBER

CSD-3295 211(d)

15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

211(d)  
Duke Univ.  
OSD - 3275

OSD - 3275  
DPAAC - 123

211(d) Annual Report

November 9, 1973

Title: Comparative Legislative Studies Program  
Grantee: Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706  
Director: Allan Kornberg, Professor  
Department of Political Science

Statistical Summary:

Period of Grant: July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1976

Amount of Grant: \$500,000

Expenditures for Report Year \$104,111.68 Accumulated \$159,499.78

Anticipated for next year \$127,000.00

## Narrative Summary

This is a report of activities at Duke University in the area of Comparative Legislative Studies for the period July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973. These activities, supported by a 211(d) grant (osd/3295 authorized June 30, 1971) from the Agency for International Development to Duke University for a five-year period, are intended to strengthen Duke University's institutional capacities in the field of comparative legislative studies with emphasis on the varying roles played by legislatures and legislature-like bodies in the several processes of development.

The University's institutional capacities in comparative legislative studies are being developed in seven ways that are intended to realize directly the goals of the legislative studies program. These are:

1. The addition of new faculty members with a teaching and research interest in comparative legislative studies.

In 1972-73 Dr. William Mishler was offered and accepted a regular three year appointment as Assistant Professor of Political Science. Dr. Mishler's previous rank was that of Instructor of Political Science. During the year 1973-74 Dr. Mishler will teach and also continue his research on legislative roles in health policy formulation. Dr. Mishler joins Dr. Charles Hirschman, Assistant Professor of Sociology, who also was appointed with support from this grant. In 1973-74 Dr. Hirschman will be on research leave in Malaysia working on the development of their governmental statistical operations for decision making purposes.

2. The reorientation of the research and teaching interests of other current faculty members to comparative legislative studies.

Dr. Albert Eldridge, Political Science; Dr. Jean O'Barr, Political Science; Dr. Bernard Silberman, History; and Dr. William M. O'Barr, Anthropology

all were engaged in research on various aspects of the comparative role of legislatures in modernization. In 1973-74 a significant part of their research efforts will continue to be directed to this end.

3. The expansion of curriculum offerings, library holdings, and data resources in this and in closely related subfields and the undertaking of other activities relating to the general conduct of the program at Duke University.

During the past year Kornberg taught an advanced seminar, Comparative Political Behavior (#377) that focused on the legislative role in modernization. He is on a sabbatical leave during the year 1973-74. Mishler introduced a Seminar on Comparative Legislative Behavior (#235) and taught a graduate seminar on The Legislative Process (#279). In 1973-74 he will teach a course, Political Behavior and Socialization (#252) and Comparative Legislative Behavior (#135). Smith was engaged in research during his sabbatical year, 1972-73. In the year 1973-74 he will teach a seminar, Comparative Sociology (#361) and a seminar titled, Methodology and Sociology (#295). During the year 1972-73 Hirschman introduced Race and Culture (#255). In 1973-74 he will be on a research leave in Malaysia. In addition to these offerings we have continued to expand our library holdings and data resources and in this and closely related sub-fields/to bring to the University guest lecturers whose research either feeds into the program directly or is of interest to other individuals and programs in the academic community.

4. The conduct of multi-disciplinary research on the legislative role in specific developmental problems such as urbanization and political integration.

In 1972-73 Smith spent the year in a study of the legislative role in urbanization. Kornberg was engaged in the processing of a major data set,

his parliamentary study; Mishler was engaged in a study of health policy formulation in several British Commonwealth countries; the O'Barrs held a conference on the role of language in politics; Silberman was engaged in research on the origins of legislatures in Western Europe, Japan, and Korea; Eldridge edited and co-authored a volume of papers on the role of legislative institutions in the political integration of multi-cultural societies.

In 1973-74 Smith will develop a report on his research; Kornberg will be engaged in the analysis of his parliamentary data and the preparation of a book-length manuscript; Mishler will continue his research on health policy formation and will assist Kornberg in the preparation of his manuscript; the O'Barrs will complete their contributions to the edited collection of conference papers on the role of language in politics; and Eldridge will engage in research on the varying role of legislative bodies in foreign policy formulation and implementation.

5. The facilitation of research on legislatures and developmental problems by scholars outside of Duke University whose work will contribute to the University's program.

In 1972-73 the university supported the research efforts of Professor John G. Grumm, Wesleyan University; Professor Willard Berry, Georgia State University; Professor Willard Stouffer, Southwest Texas State University; and Patricio Chaparro, Catholic University of Chile. In 1973-74 the program will continue to support the work of Grumm and Berry. We also will assist Professor Manindra K. Mohapatra in the processing of his study on Indian legislators in the state of Orissa.

6. The training of domestic and foreign students in the design and execution of systematic research on the functions of legislatures and legislature-like institutions in societal development.

In 1972-73 the program supported the following graduate students: James Lee, David Lindquist, Gregory Mahler, Timothy O'Rourke, Samuel Hines, David Falcone, and Charles Bunting-Frame. In 1973-74 the program will support Oluyomi Durotoye (Nigeria), Mahler, and Lindquist.

7. The direction and coordination of collaborative efforts by Duke University, University of Hawaii, University of Iowa, State University of New York at Albany, and associated scholars in the United States and abroad to develop the sub-field of comparative legislative studies.

In 1972-73 two meetings of the Consortium's Executive Committee were held, one in Chicago, January 11-12, 1973, and one in Montreal, August 21-22, 1973. The Consortium also began the publication of a newsletter under the editorship of Professor Michael Mezey, University of Hawaii.

It should be noted that in 1972-73 the State University of New York at Albany became a member of the Consortium. Moreover, a special Committee on Legislatures was organized within the International Political Science Association and legislative panels were organized at the International Development Meeting in Costa Rica, the American Society for Public Administration meeting in Los Angeles, and the International Political Science Association meetings in Montreal, August, 19-24, 1973. In 1973-74 a Consortium Executive Committee business meeting together with a research conference will be held in Hawaii. A conference is being planned on the role of legislatures in the formulation of programs and policies in four developmental areas (see attached document). The conference is tentatively scheduled for Rio de Janeiro. A second research conference on the conditions under which a linkage (between executives and mass public) function can be performed by individual legislators is being planned for 1975 in Penang, Malaysia.

Obviously, these objectives entail certain costs. These will be included in a category termed "General Administrative Expenses."

#### Objectives of the Grant

In developing our program in these seven directions we hope to develop our institutional capacities to provide skills relevant to the comparative study of legislatures, their organization, function, and impact as these relate to the process of societal modernization. By so doing, we shall also be generating and collating a body of knowledge and principles that will be of use to AID and to other donor agencies making policy decisions relating to the support of legislative institutions as facilitators of development.

#### Review of Objectives

Although, as will be indicated below, we have made substantial progress in achieving our two general goals, we have experienced a number of difficulties which we should like to share with the Agency.

With regard to the first goal, the development of Duke University's own institutional capacities in the area, we are particularly pleased that the University has added two new fulltime faculty members (at a substantial cost to the university) whose research and teaching interests either are directly focused or bear on the various roles played by legislatures in modernization. Thus, although Professor Hirschman's current research on the degree of employment generated by different kinds of firms in West Malaysia does not focus directly on the activities of a legislative body, his findings have policy implications that can be addressed by legislatures and other responsible and appropriate political structures. And, as has already been noted, both Professor Mishler's teaching and research focus directly on legislative bodies and their role in modernization-development. Of particular

importance is his research on the roles played by the legislatures of several commonwealth countries in providing health care services to their citizens.

We also have been gratified by the interest shown and the activities carried out by other Duke colleagues. Although it may not generally be appreciated in the Agency it is no easy matter to ask colleagues in history, in law, in anthropology, or even in political science to direct some of their research effort to a relatively new area of specialization, the varying role played by legislatures in modernization. Either such faculty members may never have been concerned primarily with the roles that legislatures or other political institutions perform in modernizing societies (as was the case with the O'Barrs, for example) or else, if they have been interested and/or have special knowledge of legislative structures and functions, typically they have not thought of legislatures in terms of their potential relevance to the several processes involved in modernization. These considerations could be thought of as having to be overcome in redirecting colleagues' interests. However, they are often relatively minor constraints in comparison with the fact that successful scholars normally are overcommitted to a variety of long-term projects. Consequently, we are particularly pleased that we have been successful in influencing several of our colleagues to become involved in the program and to maintain that involvement. For example, Eldridge, whose area of expertise is international politics, currently is engaged in background research on the relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy formulation (particularly international economic transactions) and the legislative role therein. To the best of our knowledge, the relationship is one that has received almost no systematic attention either from foreign policy specialists, or scholars interested in either legislatures or international trade, etc.

Again, with the assistance of our 211(d) grant, we have been able to build up our library holdings, to process large data sets and to employ these in teaching courses that either focus on legislatures or are concerned with systematic comparisons of socio-political institutions and processes. Moreover, the major data sets that have been processed here together with their supporting documentation will be deposited in the legislative data bank maintained by the University of Iowa. They can be sent from there to interested scholars at other institutions, thereby stimulating interest in the comparative study of legislatures and their supporting and related structures.

In addition to the United States graduate students supported by our program, we have been able to recruit two well-qualified students from developing countries, Mr. Oluyomi O. Durotoye (Nigeria), currently enrolled in the doctoral program in Political Science and Mr. Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, currently a professor in the Department of Political Science at Makerere University, Uganda, who will begin his doctoral studies in political science in September of 1974. We are pleased that we have been able to recruit two students from less developed countries who not only can benefit personally from the advanced training they receive at Duke but who also will be able to stimulate interest in systematic comparative research and diffuse among students in their respective countries some of the technical skills they have acquired in our program. Finally, our effort at coordinating the collaborative activities of the Universities of Hawaii, Iowa, and SUNY-Albany and of associated individual scholars in this country and abroad also may be considered successful. Indeed, the decision of SUNY-Albany to seek admission to the Consortium affords one indication of the degree of our success in this regard. Parenthetically, it should be noted that the University of Geneva was also stimulated into activity through the Consortium's existence and has prepared

a funding proposal now under consideration by a private foundation that would finance their participation if approved. Other foreign universities have expressed interest in being affiliated with particular activities in the Consortium's program. We are especially pleased that we have been able to send out a newsletter regarding matters such as research activities in the legislative area, conferences that have been held or are contemplated, new literature on legislatures and/or development-modernization, and new technical facilities and services available to legislatures. Letters that we have received in response to the two issues that were published indicate the newsletter has been enthusiastically received and is regarded as a valuable means of information exchange and dissemination.

Consistent with our objective of involving individual foreign scholars in activities related to the Consortium's substantive concerns, a considerable number of contacts have been established with both i.d.c. scholars and other foreign scholars with special expertise in Third World countries. As these contacts have been enthusiastically developed, a number of critical problems have become apparent in achieving the objective of wide international cooperation and collaboration:

- (1) A real lack of sufficient funds to pay the costs of any extended meaningful collaboration. Foreign travel is extremely expensive even if the activity involved is only discussion. Expenses run much higher when the real costs of systematic research must also be met. The history of this program is generally that functions for the program were added as its potential budget contracted. It would not be inaccurate to say that the grant was finalized at a point when potential program commitments were at a maximum and funds at a minimum. It had been thought that this imbalance might be redressed by securing additional funds from other operating programs within AID as well as from other organizations with overlapping interests. In the face of increasing costs and decreasing appropriations, such expectations have yet to be realized.
- (2) Uncertainty as to whether arrangements that involve the use of funds in foreign settings will be approved by the Agency. Given the uncertainty as to whether foreign expenses of participants for program-related purposes will be approved, it is very difficult to become involved in longer term future commitments with

foreign colleagues. The fact is that the process of locating potential foreign collaborators is a continuing one in which commitments are partially made simply by the initial establishment of contact. They are further enforced and concretized by each additional discussion. Under these circumstances it is very awkward to institute contacts when the embarrassment of being unable to follow through looms in the future. Some of these difficulties were referred to at some length in a letter of May 1, 1972, but, unfortunately they have never been entirely resolved.

- (3) A lack of experience as to the best ways of involving foreign scholars in our work under the circumstances of limited funds. The alternatives to which we have given serious attention range from direct grants in which the Consortium serves as a surrogate donor for the Agency to invitations to short-term participation in individual Consortium-sponsored activities like conferences. Since we lack the funds to try a variety of approaches to acquire experience on which to base these decisions, the necessary policy decisions have thus far eluded us, but they will be made (and they will have to be made) on grounds of apparent rationality.

In view of these, and other minor considerations, an important objective well within our grasp has thus far had to be deferred.

A second matter to which we are directing our attention is the most appropriate way to achieve our second goal--that of generating and collating a body of knowledge that can be useful to A.I.D. and to other donor agencies that are asked to make policy decisions relating to the support of legislative institutions as vehicles for development.

Our difficulty in trying to achieve this goal is rooted in great part in the philosophical differences that exist among social scientists regarding the relative merits of "basic" as opposed to "applied" research. We think it fair to say that the majority of our colleagues in the Consortium feel that "in the long-run" the most appropriate way to advance knowledge in any discipline or sub-discipline is to engage in "basic" research even when the results of that research are not immediately or obviously relevant to the solution of pressing societal problems. Parenthetically it should be understood that unlike our colleagues in the physical sciences our time frame

is compressed. When the typical social scientist says "immediate" he means "in six months or a year," and when he says "in the long run" he means "in a few years" and not at some indefinite point in the infinite future. At any rate, they argue that we can best achieve our second objective and also ultimately fulfill our responsibility to A.I.D. by building a body of general knowledge regarding the varying role of legislative bodies in societal modernization rather than by directing our research efforts to specific problems that A.I.D. or other donor agencies may face. They are cognizant that A.I.D., as an organization, must be oriented toward the provision of services in response to expressed needs that in turn derive from specific problems faced by l.d.c.'s. But they feel that academic social scientists are not and indeed should not be so oriented. On the other hand all of us are interested in l.d.c.'s and the problems associated with their modernization-development. Moreover, since we have accepted A.I.D. funds we feel a responsibility, indeed an obligation, to be sensitive and concerned with the Agency's problems and to assist in their solution insofar as we are able. In short, we must reconcile our interest and orientations as scholars with what we feel are A.I.D.'s interests and orientations.

Quite frankly, our attempts to reconcile scholarly orientations and interests with our perceptions of the Agency's interests and needs has been difficult, in our view, because of infrequent contact between ourselves and people in the Agency. One reason for this lack of interaction may be that we simply have never had any clear indication from A.I.D. of the kind of programmatic interests for which we could provide assistance either through research or through consultation. Happily, two recent memoranda by

Jonathan Silverstone (August 28, 1973 and September 7, 1973) have provided us with a concrete statement of some of the interests which his division has that might be facilitated by the work of the Consortium as well as a number of specific proposals for research in which Consortium members could engage. One result of his memoranda has been a proposed international conference that will focus on the legislative role in facilitating or impeding the formulation, evaluation, and implementation of public policies and/or programs in public education, health care and health-care services, urbanization and agricultural modernization. Our feeling is that the results of this conference can be of immediate interest and service to A.I.D. in pursuing its mission. Hopefully, we can in the future engage in additional research and also provide consulting service to the Agency. In so doing we can help realize our second programmatic goal of generating and collating a body of knowledge regarding the legislative role in development.

### Accomplishments

The following specific steps were taken to realize program objectives during the second year of the grant.

1. Professor William Mishler, one of the two faculty members whose salary is in part funded with 211(d) funds added a new seminar titled, "Seminar in Comparative Legislative Behavior" to the offerings of the Political Science Department. This seminar is primarily concerned with the comparative study of certain structures, processes, and functions of legislatures and legislature-like bodies in a number of Western and non-Western societies. In addition to introducing the students to an extensive body of literature the course tries to familiarize the student with several of the more prominent methodological and conceptual approaches to the study of legislative bodies. Mishler also taught a second graduate seminar titled, "The Legislative Process," a course concerned with the structure and behavior of legislative systems, their relationship to their soci-political environment and their varying roles in the policy process.

With regard to research, he currently is engaged in a project on legislative effectiveness in and responsiveness to health care needs in Canada. This research is almost totally supported by the Duke University Research Council and the Health Administration program of Duke University. In addition, he participated in a panel on comparative legislative studies at the Southern Political Science Association, a meeting for which he and David Lindquist (a graduate student whose work has been supported partially by program funds) prepared a paper titled, "Political Socialization and Legislative Behavior in Canada and Germany: Some Problems of Studying a Missing Link in Legislative Research." Finally, Mishler is co-author of two papers whose titles are listed

in the accompanying appendix.

Professor Charles Hirschman, a second faculty member whose salary is partially funded with 211(d) grant funds, taught an undergraduate course on sociological research methods and a graduate course on race and culture. His research during the past year focused on explaining differential socio-economic attainment among the several ethnic communities of West Malaysia. He also has been engaged in research on the extent of employment generated by different firms in the manufacturing sector of the West Malaysian economy. A paper based on his research was presented at the Rural Sociology Society meeting in August 1973. His dissertation has been tentatively accepted (assuming revisions) for publication in the Rose Monograph Series of the American Sociological Association. Professor Hirschman will be on leave in 1974. He will conduct research on population and family planning for the Malaysian government under the auspices of a program funded by the Ford Foundation.

\$11,517.12 of program funds were utilized to pay one-half the salaries for Mishler and Hirschman during the past year.

2. As was indicated above we have encouraged several current faculty members to redirect some of their research (and hopefully their teaching) interests to matters that involve the legislative role in development. Thus, Professor Albert Eldridge was encouraged to spend a substantial portion of the past summer revising the essays contributed to the volume he is editing titled, "Legislatures in Plural Societies." During that time he also wrote the first draft of an introductory essay titled, "Legislatures in Plural Societies: A Conceptual and Analytical Overview." The resulting volume will be forwarded to Sage Publications on December 1, 1973, for inclusion in the publishing program that we have established in cooperation with Sage.

In addition, Eldridge has been engaged in background research required to prepare a research proposal to be titled, "Legislatures in Foreign Policy Making." The proposed research will seek to clarify the conditions under which legislative bodies or legislative subsystems can play a role in foreign policy formulation. Professors William M. O'Barr (Anthropology) and Jean F. O'Barr (Political Science) organized a symposium at the Quail Roost Conference Center in January, 1973 on language and politics in legislatures and other formal institutions. There were twenty participants, and more than 50 observers from Duke University, North Carolina Central University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and North Carolina State University also attended the sessions. The papers presented were concerned with the political consequences of multi-lingualism and other effects of language on the political processes of formal institutions such as legislatures, local councils, and courts. The participants represented a broad spectrum of disciplines: political science, anthropology, sociology, law, and socio-linguistics. The conference papers now have been revised and edited by the O'Barrs and, together with the essays and interstitial material prepared by them, will be published as a volume by Mouton in a series titled, "Contributions to the Sociology of Language," Joshua Fishman, editor. Outlines of the books edited by Eldridge and the O'Barrs are included in the appendix.

Two other faculty members also have been encouraged to contribute to the program. Professor Sheridan Johns (African Studies) is revising a paper he prepared on legislative research in Africa and Professor Bernard Silberman (History) is preparing a paper on the origins of legislative institutions in Japan and Korea for a combined research conference and

business meeting of the Consortium to be held in Hawaii in April 1974.

We used \$ 6,172.81 of program funds in this area during 1972-73.

3. As was indicated in our last report, we added two new seminars in Sociology to the curriculum titled, "Urbanization and Modernization" and "Methodology of Comparative Research." In addition, in the fall of 1972 Kornberg taught a graduate seminar titled, "Comparative Political Behavior," which focused on the legislative role in political integration. As was indicated above Smith, Mishler and Hirschman all are currently teaching courses that focus directly on legislatures or on the social processes that bear on their existence and continued viability. Kornberg is on a research leave during 1973-74 and is engaged in analyzing and writing up the results of his study on parliamentary attitudes and participation in the Canadian parliament. The resulting volume will be included in the publication program established with Sage.

In addition, we have made more purchases of reading materials in the program, have acquired a set of data on participation in the British House of Commons from Professor Andrew Milnor of the University of Kentucky, and have completed the processing of a second major data set. These data are or will be utilized as resource material in teaching at Duke and also will be stored with <sup>the</sup> legislative data bank at Iowa for dissemination to interested scholars elsewhere. \$ 3,311.90 of program funds were utilized for these purposes during 1972-73.

4. A) As was indicated in our last report we completed the field work for a major study of the varying roles played by government and opposition members in the operation of a legislative system in the process of relatively rapid change. The principal data sources were: 1) lengthy structured personal interviews with 189 Canadian Members of Parliament; and 2) documentary material such as Hansard and Standing Committee reports. During the past

year these interviews have been completely coded; extensive content analyses of Hansard and other documentary material have been carried out; and the resulting data have been processed in machine-usable form and stored on electronic tapes at the Duke University Computing Center. As was indicated, Kornberg is in the process of analyzing these data and writing up the results in book form. These data also will be utilized for teaching and research purposes within the University and stored with the Iowa data bank so they also can be available for interested scholars elsewhere. The theoretical and instrumental value of this study has been described in last year's report (p. 8) and need not be repeated.

It also should be noted that during the past year Kornberg revised a lengthy paper on the relationships among socio-economic change, legislative recruitment, and public policy outputs of parliament during a 100-year period. The paper is titled, "Societal Change, Legislative Composition, and Legislative Outputs in Canada: Some Empirical Considerations," and will be published shortly in the Sage legislative series. He also collaborated with David Falcone and William Mishler in an additional analysis of these data that will be published as a chapter titled, "Parliamentary Change in Canada: The Survival of a Null-Model in a Longitudinal Analysis," in Mattei Dogan and Juan Linz (eds.), From Notables to Professional Politicians: One Century of Ministers and Parliamentarians in Advanced Societies, M.I.T. Press.

4. B) As we noted in last year's report, we have undertaken a study of the varying roles played by legislatures in developing and implementing urbanization policies and programs. Considerable progress was made on this study during Smith's sabbatical leave, half of which was financed by Duke University. As a prelude to the research, a previously prepared paper on

"Legislatures and Urbanization" was greatly extended and revised for use:

(a) as a guide for the research activity itself; (b) as a means of communicating the theory behind the study to interested colleagues and potential collaborators in developing nations; and (c) as a general introduction to and framework for a final report on this study of how urbanization policies and programs are established and executed and the roles of legislatures in these processes. This work has led to contacts with a wide variety of officials of international organizations involved in development, including the Ford Foundation, the Organization of American States, Resources for the Future, various world-wide and regional development banks, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, the United Nations Environment Program, and Inter-Parliamentary Union. These contacts provided both useful criticism and contacts with potentially important persons who could be quite helpful should a limited number of extensive field studies prove practicable. In the course of the year's work inventories of secondary sources pertinent to (a) existing urbanization policies and (b) the actual structural constraints that set the limits within which legislatures can participate formally in the formulation and implementation of such policies were completed. They provided a basis for selecting approximately eighteen countries that might be useful sites for intensive field studies. Much of the year was spent in assessing the possibility of establishing contacts and access in the Eastern European, Asiatic, and African countries among them. These activities led to the selection of four--Turkey, Iran, Cyprus, and Israel--for visits. The visits provided both preliminary data on the legislative role in the processes of interest, and established very useful contacts should field studies prove practicable. Indeed, in each country prospective

collaborators were optimistic about the possibility of conducting collaborative studies and interested in trying to provide a contribution of local funds toward the costs of such studies. Six of the countries, those in Latin America, were reserved for possible consideration during the present year. In the course of these various activities, general interest in various other phases of the University's program were stimulated at the University of London (Morris-Jones), the Sorbonne (Balandier), the University of Geneva (Sidjanski, Kerr, Handley, Ziegler), and the University of Tel Aviv (Zelnicker).

4. C) As also was indicated above, a third research project in which we are currently engaged is a study of the responsiveness and effectiveness of national and provincial legislatures in providing health care services. Because of the availability of outside funds for this project, the research until now and data/have focused on Canada, a nation that is viewed by many as having a model public health care system but which nonetheless receives extensive criticism because of the costs of the services offered and the inefficiency with which they are delivered.

Specifically, this research involves the construction of an econometric model of the dynamics of the present health care system and the use of this model in a series of computer simulation experiments. Attempts will be made to assess the responsiveness of the various components (including legislatures) of the health care system to public needs and demands. Attempts also will be made to determine the effectiveness of policy responses in meeting public needs and measuring the impact of alternative policies on the system. Although, as was observed, the initial model is of the Canadian health system, the expectation is that the model or components

of the model also can be used to address similar problems in other systems.

4. D) Preliminary organizational work (see attached memo in appendix) has been carried out for a major research conference on the varying role of legislatures in formulating and implementing policies and programs in four areas relevant to development. The conference that is tentatively scheduled for Rio in August of 1974 will be organized and coordinated in conjunction with Candido Mendes University in Rio.

\$26,092.90 of program funds were utilized for these projects in 1972-73.

5. As was noted in last year's report, we have tried to facilitate the research of scholars outside of Duke University whose work will contribute to the enhanced institutional capacity of Duke in the program area. These are Professors John Grumm of Wesleyan University, W. B. Stouffer of Southwest Texas State University, Willard Berry of Georgia State University, Patricio E. Chaparro of Universidad Catolica de Chile, and Andrew Milnor of the University of Kentucky. The latter, as was noted above, has gathered and made available to us a major data set on individual participation of MPs in the British House of Commons. Chaparro's research during the past year has focused on the institutional and individual processes through which university students become leaders in Chile. Data have been gathered on the social backgrounds, political attitudes and opinions of student leaders, their attitudes toward political institutions, and their aspirations and political careers.

We also supported Professor Willard Berry's collection and coding of data on five Indian Lok Sabhas. He has collected biographical and electoral data for 2106 Indian MPs as well as participation data for 1590 parliamentarians. He currently is preparing a manuscript that is a diachronic analysis of

several major dimensions of the institutionalization of the Lok Sabha.

It will be submitted for consideration by the Consortium's publication program with Sage publishers.

Stouffer is completing a study tentatively titled, "The Development of District Councils in Sokoto: A Study of Institutions for Popular Participation in Northern Nigeria." This manuscript also will be considered for the Consortium's publication program.

During the past year Professor Grumm has been engaged in the generation of a mathematical model to test the capacity and hence the effectiveness of legislative bodies in responding to the expressed needs of a society. Some of the results of his work to date are to be published in an extended professional paper in the Consortium's publication series. The paper is titled, "A Paradigm for the Comparative Analysis of Legislative Systems." \$ 5,231.69 of program funds were utilized to assist these scholars in 1972-73. It should be noted that approximately \$22,000 of support to Grumm does not appear on this year's budget because the charge against grant funds was not made before June 30, 1973.

6. As was noted in last year's report a major portion of our efforts and resources has been allocated to training graduate students in the design and execution of systematic comparative research. The approach is to use research as a major vehicle for focusing training since it provides the context in which broad propositions find their concrete references. Students whose graduate training has been supported in part with 211(d) program funds during the past year were David Lindquist, Timothy O'Rourke, Gregory Mahler, Samuel Hines, Charles Bunting-Franc, and the late James Lee. It should be noted that these students have received the bulk of their support

from other sources and that 211(d) grant funds were utilized largely (and effectively) to direct their interest specifically to research on legislatures. A more extended statement of our objectives with respect to graduate training is contained in last year's report and thus is not repeated. \$13,838.46 of program funds were utilized for graduate training in 1972-73.

7. Our efforts and resources continue to be allocated to the Consortium-like structure that has been established to facilitate and coordinate the efforts of Duke, the University of Hawaii, the University of Iowa, and associated individual scholars in the United States and abroad (e.g., Manindra K. Mohapatra's study of state legislators in the state of Orissa). As was noted above, the State University of New York at Albany is now formally associated with the Consortium. We also noted that a committee for comparative study of legislatures has now become a permanent unit of the International Political Science Association and that a Consortium newsletter is now being published and widely distributed. Moreover, legislative panels have been included in the meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, the International Development Association, and the Southern Political Science Association. Other consortium-like activities were noted in last year's report. Our intention, despite some of the difficulties discussed earlier in this report, is to continue and indeed to expand the scope of consortium-sponsored activities. \$ 27,477.14 of program funds were utilized for consortium-related activities in 1972-73.

In addition, \$ 10,469.66 were allocated for general administrative expenses.

### Impact of Grant Supported Activities

There are four principal ways in which grant supported activities enhance Duke University's capability in the program area.

1. By creating a cadre of faculty and students whose principal research and teaching interests focus directly on the role of legislatures in the several processes involved in modernization.

2. By stimulating the interest of a second group of faculty and students, either in the study of legislatures or the study of the several processes involved in development-modernization.

3. By facilitating the research efforts of scholars outside of the University and by utilizing their work ultimately to enhance and enrich our own program at Duke.

4. By coordinating the efforts of the other consortium members with our own and by working with them to promote an interest and involvement of others outside the consortium in the comparative study of the role of legislative bodies in modernization, thus helping to generate knowledge that feeds into each of our programs.

A more extensive statement on the impact of grant supported activities in the university is contained in last year's annual report.

### Utilization of Institutional Resources in Development

As has already been noted, we have been able to recruit two graduate students from developing countries whom we regard as highly qualified and who in our view will be able to take maximum advantage of graduate training in a major American University. Moreover, these students can share at least some of the knowledge and research training they acquire with colleagues and students in the universities in which they will teach in Nigeria and Uganda.

A number of members of the Duke faculty have served and would welcome the opportunity to serve as consultants to either the Agency, other governmental agencies, or private foundations that sponsor programs with developmental implications.

Finally, the results of research, such as will be reported in the proposed conference in Rio, not only can contribute to the body of principles and knowledge that we are trying to develop but also should be instrumentally and more immediately valuable to A.I.D. in the performance of its development mission.

#### Other Resources

During the past academic year the Duke University Research Council has provided funds that have been utilized to carry out research directly related to this program. The university has waived its normal university overhead requirement and provided us with work space for faculty, students, staff, and visiting professors involved in activities related to the program. The University also has made available some \$15,000 of computing time for preparing datasets, for processing of research results, and for teaching and training activities related to this program. As is indicated elsewhere, University fellowships and other sources support graduate students engaged in research related to the program. Finally, the University recently received a \$235,000 grant from the Donner Foundation for Canadian Studies. A substantial proportion of this money will support the research of faculty and students whose work relates directly to this program.

Next Year's Plans of Work: Some Illustrations

1. We intend to continue processing and analyzing major data sets that contribute not only to teaching and research at Duke University but which also can be disseminated among interested scholars in universities outside our own. Our estimate is that we will spend approximately \$10,000 during the next year on this work.
2. We intend to continue the analysis and preparation of a manuscript on the Canadian Parliament. Our estimate is that we will spend \$1,000 on this project.
3. We intend to continue our research on the legislative role in urbanization. Our estimate is that we will spend \$ 9,000 on the legislative role in urbanization.
4. We intend to continue our study of health policy making and the legislative role therein. Our estimate is that we will spend \$ 1,000 on this project.
5. We intend to continue to support the research of professors John Grumm, Willard Berry, and Patricio Chaparro. Our estimate is that we will spend \$ 25,000 for this purpose in the coming year.
6. We intend to help fund a conference on the origins of legislatures. The conference is to be held in conjunction with a consortium business meeting. Our estimate is that we will spend \$ 6,000 for this purpose in the coming year.
7. We intend to expend \$ 2,000 for honoraria to the contributors to Professor Eldridge's volume. We also will continue to support Eldridge's work on linkage between foreign and domestic policy and the legislative role therein. We expect to expend \$ 3,075 for this purpose in the coming year.

8. We intend to help support a conference in Rio on the legislative role in facilitating or impeding development in urbanization, public education, health-care and/or health-care services, and agricultural modernization. We expect to expend \$ 10,000 for this purpose ultimately, but only about \$1,000 in the next budget year.

9. We intend to continue to support graduate students engaged in research related to our program. Our estimate is that we will expend \$ 9,000 during the coming year.

10. Consistent with the University's desire to support a program of Comparative Legislative Studies, the university will pay one-half the salary and fringe benefits of Professor William Nishler during the next academic year. It also will pay one-half year of salary and fringe benefits for Professor Charles Hirschman who will be on leave during the second semester. We expect to spend \$12,025 on these two professors during the next academic year.

11. Our expectation is that we will continue to coordinate and direct the program of the consortium group and of associated scholars outside this country. Our expectation is that we will spend \$32,000 in carrying out activities on behalf of the consortium.

12. We intend to continue to solicit support for our program and for consortium activities from sources other than A.I.D. We also intend to participate in appropriate professional meetings and conferences. Our expectation is that we will spend \$12,000 for these purposes, for new research activities, and for the general administration of the program.

Table I

## Distribution of 211 (d) Grant Funds and Contributions From Other Sources of Funding\*

Review Period, July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973

	Period Under Review	211(d) Expenditures		Projected to End of Grant	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
		Cumulative Total	Projected Next Year		
Faculty recruitment	11,517.12	12,222.78	12,025.00	32,708	11,517
Redirection of faculty interests	6,172.81	14,844.56	9,000.00	16,155	14,000
Enhancing University facilities	3,311.90	7,157.73	10,000.00	12,842	13,500
Research	26,092.90	40,654.69	16,075.00	13,270	13,500
Faculty research of others elsewhere	5,231.69	5,637.14	22,000.00	7,363	4,500
Teaching and training	13,838.46	25,923.37	18,900.00	52,677	6,000
Consortium activities	27,477.14	36,969.91	32,000.00	70,995	6,000
General Duke program administration	10,469.66	16,089.60	7,000.00	7,489	7,000
TOTAL	104,111.68	159,499.78	127,000.00	213,499	76,017

\*The allocation of these figures are our best estimates. The sum is derived as follows: matched salary for new faculty, 11,517; half of sabbatical year, 11,000; one-third of program director's salary, 8,000; waived overhead, 30,000; computing and data processing, 15,000; conference contribution, 500.

Table II

Expenditure Report

(Actual and Projected)

Under Institutional Grant #AID/csd-3295

Review Period, July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973

	Expenditures to date		Projected Expenditures			Total
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total	Year			
			3	4	5	
Salaries	70,280	112,025	74,751	64,883	59,011	310,670
Fringe Benefits	8,454	12,945	6,900	7,000	6,081	32,926
Student Awards	4,923	5,223	8,900	17,398	16,344	47,865
Travel & Expenses	9,264	13,860	11,000	11,931	11,209	48,000
Supplies, Services, Etc.	11,190	15,446	25,449	10,144	9,500	60,539
TOTAL	104,112	159,499	127,000	111,356	102,145	500,000

DUKE  
CSD-3295 1973

APPENDIX I

Titles of Papers Produced with Support of  
Comparative Legislative Studies Program, 1972-73

Urbanization and Legislatures: Another Look at Analyses of Modernization  
Joel Smith  
Allan Kornberg

Political Elite and Mass Perceptions of Canadian Party Locations in Issue  
Space: Some Tests of Two Theories  
Allan Kornberg  
William Mishler  
Joel Smith

Legislatures and the Modernization of Society  
Allan Kornberg  
Samuel Hines, Jr.  
Joel Smith

Parliamentary Change in Canada: The Survival of a Null-Model in a Longitudinal  
Analysis  
David Falcone  
Allan Kornberg  
William Mishler

Parliament's Role in the Integration-Modernization of Canadian Society,  
1865-1876  
Samuel Hines, Jr.  
Allan Kornberg

Legislatures and Societal Change: The Case of Canada  
Allan Kornberg  
David J. Falcone  
William Mishler

APPENDIX II

Articles in Print

A Computer Simulation Model of Multiparty Parliamentary Recruitment

James S. Lee

Allan Kornberg

Legislatures and the Modernization of Societies

Allan Kornberg

Samuel M. Hines, Jr.

Joel Smith

APPENDIX III

Consortium Newsletter



UNIVERSITY

CONSORTIUM FOR

Comparative  
Legislative  
Studies

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT ALBANY

DUKE UNIVERSITY

vol. 1 no. 1  
may 1973

michael i. mezey · editor

social science research institute · university of hawaii

NEWSLETTER

#### A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

This is the first issue of the *Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter* and, as such, it would be appropriate to state what we are about. The *Newsletter* was created and is financed by the University Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies, composed of Duke University, University of Hawaii, University of Iowa, State University of New York at Albany, and associated scholars. Professor Allan Kornberg of Duke is Chairman of the Consortium.

The goal of the Consortium in establishing the Newsletter is to facilitate communications within the growing international community of scholars and parliamentary professionals concerned with the comparative analysis of legislatures. The following categories of information will appear in the *Newsletter*.

→ Reports of comparative legislative research in progress, indicating the substantive interest of the research project, the research site, and the names of the principal investigators.

→ A co-operative research exchange, to be used by scholars seeking data as well as by scholars desiring to announce the availability of their own data.

- Notation of pertinent published articles and books, containing standard bibliographical information. Abstracts of selected articles will be printed as space permits.
- Notation of relevant unpublished papers, with abstracts as space permits.
- Reports of changes in the constitutional or political position of legislatures, with occasional brief articles on major changes.
- Reports of significant innovations in legislative procedures, as well as efforts underway to achieve such changes.
- Announcements of future meetings and conferences, and reports thereon after their conclusion, when of particular interest to those concerned with legislatures.
- Announcements of financial support available for comparative legislative research.

A note about these categories: there is nothing sacrosanct about them; suggestions about additions or deletions will be entertained. Nor will each category be represented in every issue of the *Newsletter*. The contents of any particular issue will be determined by space considerations as well as by the information that comes to our attention.

This last point is especially important. This is your *Newsletter* and what appears in it depends in large measure on what you tell us. We have neither the facilities nor the staff to seek out all relevant information on our own. If you think that a journal article, or a conference paper, or a doctoral dissertation, or your own work is relevant to our interests, let us know. In this sense, the *Newsletter* is very much a collective enterprise the quality and utility of which will be determined by your efforts as well as ours.

One general editorial restriction should be noted: for various reasons, we are primarily concerned with information relevant to legislatures outside the United States. Research, articles, and papers on American legislatures will be noted only if they have an explicit comparative dimension or if they are especially relevant to understanding legislatures in non-American settings.

We will be publishing quarterly, with an issue appearing on or about the first of May, August, November, and February. Deadlines for the receipt of items will be the end of the first week of the month preceding publication. Every effort will be made to include all material received before the deadline; however, space limitations and other editorial considerations may mean that an item will be held over to the next issue.

Our initial mailing list has been drawn together from a variety of sources and so it is possible that some people receiving this first issue are not very concerned with comparative legislative studies. Our budget is limited; if you are not interested in receiving further issues of the *Newsletter*, please let us know.

All contributions and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Michael L. Mezey, Editor, *Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter*, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

¶ ¶

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

A Study of Legislative Behavior in the Canadian House of Commons. Principal Investigators: Allan Kornberg, William Mishler, Joel Smith, all of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706.

Focusing upon a variety of behavioral indicators of the parliamentary activities of Canadian MPs, this study attempts to develop a model of the structure and determinants of legislative participation and influence in the House of Commons. Special attention is devoted to the influence of early life socialization, political recruitment, constituency pressure, intra-institutional socialization, and formal/informal legislative procedures upon the ascribed influence and actual participation of MPs in the legislative process. The data for this study consist of (1) lengthy structured interviews with 189 MPs conducted during the winter of 1972/73; and (2) indicators of overt individual behavior including content analysis data from debates and the House question period, data on committee attendance and participation, and voting data.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

A Study of the Role of African Sub-National Legislative Assemblies in Economic Modernization. Principal Investigator: Willard Stouffer, Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas.

This study focuses on the impact of local legislative assemblies in several sub-Sahara African nations on the economic development of those societies. Data consist of semi-structured interviews with selected members of the local assemblies in these nations, supplemented with data from public documents and an analysis of legislative debates.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Legislatures, Regulation, and Development Goals. Principal Investigator: Lloyd Musolf, University of California, Davis, California 94616.

One way of examining legislatures is to select a policy area and observe the legislature's role in it. The area of economic regulation is an important area for government action, but the extent of legislative involvement with it, particularly in developing countries, is problematical. The questions that this study seeks to answer are (1) how does governmental action in the field of economic regulation appear to relate to national goals? (2) to what extent does the legislature contribute to this relationship? (3) what factors determine the legislative role in regulation and in relating it to development. A pilot study, analyzing case studies of regulation, is now underway in British Columbia and California.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Democratic Political Stability in France. Principal Investigator: Robert J. Jackson, Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada.

This is a study of the cognitions, attitudes, and action orientations toward political stability and violence of members of the French National Assembly. It is based on a one in four stratified sample of Deputies in the 4th and 5th legislatures of the Fifth Republic.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Comparative Bureaucracy Study. Principal Investigators: Samuel J. Eldersveld and Robert Putnam, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

The research focus of this study is the relationship between bureaucrats and parliamentarians. Samples of each group have been interviewed in Holland, England, France, Italy, Germany, Sweden, the United States, and Jamaica. The political attitudes, values, and behavior of legislators and bureaucrats are compared, using data gathered from a questionnaire administered in comparable form in each country.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Social Background of Members of the House of Representatives in Japan: 1890-1970. Principal Investigator: Yasumasa Kuroda, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

This is a study of the social background of members of the House of Representatives who were elected during the period from 1890 through 1970. The data were originally gathered by Professor George Akita of the History Department of the University of Hawaii. Portions of his data were placed on IBM cards and new data were added to his original file. A total of thirty-eight variables have been assembled for all members of the Diet elected since its founding in 1890. During this eight year period, about 6,000 people were elected to more than 13,000 terms in the Diet. Analysis of the data will begin this fall. The first book-length manuscript describing the social background of members of the Japanese Diet is expected to be completed next spring.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Legislative Responsiveness: A Pilot Study. John G. Grumn, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut 06457.

On the theory that the most important quality of a legislature as it relates to political development is its capability for responding to needs and demands in society, a measure of *responsiveness* is proposed which provides an interval scale of the degree to which the system responds to changing needs in the environment. With the development of this index, we can then manipulate statistically the structural and political conditions of the system to determine how these are related to system responsiveness. The expectation is that in systems where the executive assumes a high degree of control over the legislative branch by means of formal powers or by his manipulation of party controls, mere structural reforms in the legislature will have little effect on changing the degree of responsiveness.

On the other hand, the assumption is that where the legislature is more independent of the executive, and where the external influence of any political leader is less, well-designed structural changes may have some effect upon the responsiveness rate. The results of a pilot study, using American state data, support this; reforms which provide better informational services and communications with constituents are the ones which will be most effective in increasing the responsiveness rate.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

CONFERENCES

✓ The First International Conference on Legislative Development was held in Nicosia, on the island of Cyprus, December 17-21, 1972. The conference was co-sponsored by the Comparative Development Studies Center of the State University of New York at Albany and the Research Committee on Legislative Development of the International Political Science Association. In addition to members of the IPSA Committee and faculty and staff from SUNY-Albany, the Conference was attended by scholars from the United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, Belgium, Uganda, Lebanon, Israel, Korea, and Brazil, as well as representatives of the parliaments of Brazil, Cyprus, and Ethiopia. An officer of the European Parliament was also in attendance.

Themes of the various round-table discussions held at the Conference included:

→ Development and Legislative Development: What are the interrelationships between development of legislatures and overall development of a country? Why are legislatures considered anti-development.

→ Organization Theory and Legislative Behavior: Is the process of decision-making within a legislature different from the process of decision-making in the executive or the bureaucracy.

→ What is the role of legislatures in the 1970s? Can a "rubber-stamp" legislature affect legislation? In what ways?

→ What are the various means to legislative development? Should the legislators become technocrats? Can they? What is the role of the political-technical staffer?

The Conference was also the occasion for the first meeting of the IPSA Committee on Legislative Development. Members of the Committee are:

- Carlos Astiz, State University of New York-Albany, Chairman
- Gerhard Loewenbeg, University of Iowa, Vice-Chairman
- Abdo Baaklini, State University of New York-Albany, Secretary
- Raymond Farhat, Lebanese University
- James Heaphey, State University of New York-Albany
- Allan Kornberg, Duke University
- Candido Mendes, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrucao
- W. H. Morris-Jones, University of London
- Giovanni Sartori, Instituto Di Scienza Politica

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

✓ The International Center for Parliamentary Documentation, a division of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, organized a symposium on "The Member of Parliament: His Requirements for Information in the Modern World." The symposium was convened in Geneva, January 18-20, 1973, and was chaired by M. Andre Chandernagor, President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council. Delegates from thirty-three countries and from the International Labor Office, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and the Council of Europe attended the symposium. A full report of the conference proceedings as well as the results of an international survey of the informational facilities available to parliamentarians is being prepared by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Publication information will be carried in future issues of the *Newsletter*.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

✓ The 13th World Conference of the Society for International Development was convened in San Jose, Costa Rica, February 22-25, 1973. Included on the program was a roundtable on "Legislating Change: Role of National Legislatures in Development" chaired by Professor Carlos Guttierrez of the University of Costa Rica. Abstracts of the papers presented are provided below:

"Legislatures and Legislative Ideologies in Developing Countries." Abdo I. Baaklini, SUNY-Albany. Contrary to the prevailing notions in the West that legislatures in developing countries were a by-product of Western enlightenment or the colonial experience, they were in fact a product of the internal dynamics of society and came into existence in spite of the colonial experience. So-called traditional societies are not stagnant but carried within them the ability and the potentiality for competition, participation, and representation. Legislatures in developing countries need to be studied and evaluated within the logic of the system in which they operate rather than through the imposition of an alien model which tends to confuse and bias our studies. If such an approach were adopted we might discover that the problems of legislatures may not be in their existential realities but in the studies about them.

"Legislative Reform in the Costa Rican Assembly." Milton Clarke, Director of Technical Department, Costa Rican National Assembly. The Costa Rican legislature is in decline. Since there is no consecutive re-election of either assemblymen or the President, there is little continuity. This is especially difficult for the legislature because it lacks any continuous bureaucratic structure. A committee system, adopted ten years ago, provides some division of labor; prior to that the assembly met as a whole on each issue. However, committee assignments must be rotated each year, which does not allow for assemblymen to acquire expertise in one area. A department of technical services, recently established to act as advisors to the standing committees, has helped to provide some continuity.

"Legislative Reform in Brazil." Eduardo Pereira, Budget Division, Brazilian Federal Senate, and SUNY-Albany. Until recently, legislative reform in Brazil has meant constitutional reform affecting the distribution of power. Now, reforms have come to stress not only constitutional matters but procedures and organizations. Procedures of both houses prior to and after recent reforms are described. The result of these changes has been a strengthening of the role of the professional staff engaged in providing analysis and advice to the legislators.

"Legislative Reform in Lebanon." Mahdi Sadek, Director of Financial Affairs, Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. Unlike most developing countries, Lebanon has been privileged to have a continuous, strong legislature. Until 1971, efforts at improving the legislature as a working institution had been minimum, although not absent. The main feature of the 1971 reforms was the provision of a standard personnel law governing all personnel matters of the legislative staff. It defined the jurisdiction and functions of the various units and established additional units to assist legislators in their work. Presently, the Lebanese Parliament views legislative reform as an on-going activity with the potential to influence other countries in the region.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

✓ The Second Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania was convened on Orchas Island, Washington, March 21-25, 1973. A paper entitled "The Pacific Legislature--Spearhead for Political Change," was delivered by Norman Meller, University of Hawaii.

One among the introduced political institutions modeled along metropolitan lines, the legislature today is found at the center of the various Pacific island governments. Once established to meet the communication needs of the administering authority, it has fostered political integration, speeded political socialization, and prepared its members for assumption of the authority and responsibility of self-government. The locally recruited legislator came to have an input into decision-making long before local inhabitants had a comparable role in colonial executive and judicial institutions. Today's leaders in many of the Pacific's self-governing polities, as well as the contestants arrayed against the continued exercise of colonial power in others, have derived their saliency through these island legislatures.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

✓ The 25th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies was convened in Chicago, Illinois, March 30-April 1, 1973. Included on the program was a panel on "Legislative Elites in India and Pakistan," chaired by Professor Henry C. Hart of the University of Wisconsin. Paper titles and authors:

"Elite Integration and Political Development in India,"  
Robert Robins, St. Antony's College, Oxford/Tulane University

"Muslims from India in the Pakistani Legislative Elite,"  
Theodore P. Wright, State University of New York-Albany.

"The Indian Council of Ministers: An Analysis of Legislative and Organizational Careers,"  
Norman K. Nicholson, Cornell University/Northern Illinois University.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

✓ The Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration was convened in Los Angeles, California, April 1-5, 1973. Included on the program was a panel on Legislative Staffing, chaired by Professor Milton Esman of Cornell University. Paper titles and authors:

"Organization for Legislative Reference Servicing--Cross Polity Lessons from Japan and the United States," Norman Meller, University of Hawaii.

"Legislative Staffing Problems in Developing Countries: Problems and Prospects," Abdo I. Baaklini, State University of New York-Albany.

"Legislative Staffing: Some Preliminary Findings," Alan P. Balutis, State University of New York-Albany.

Professor Won-Woo Suh of the Graduate School of Public Administration, University of Seoul, participated in the discussion.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

RECENT ARTICLES

Afghanistan: Nonparty Parliamentary Democracy. Marvin G. Weinbaum [University of Illinois at Urbana] *The Journal of Developing Areas* 7 (October, 1972), pp. 57-74.

The precedents for a parliamentary system in Afghanistan and the emergent constitutional framework for competitive politics is considered. A description follows of how six years without legal political parties has shaped the norms and practices of the Afghan parliament. The resulting state of executive-legislative relations is next examined, and consideration is given to the reasons why a law legalizing political parties has failed to receive authorization. A final section speculates on the future of legislative politics, with or without political parties. In this context, some necessary components for a viable Afghan parliament are suggested.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The Functions of a Minimal Legislature: Role Perceptions of Thai Legislators. Michael L. Mezey [University of Hawaii] *Western Political Quarterly* XXV:4 (December, 1972), pp. 686-701.

The National Assembly of Thailand that existed between 1969 and 1971 is defined as a "minimal legislature." As such, it is politically subordinate to other institutions and it commands very little respect or support from mass or attentive publics. Role analysis is used as a means of exploring the function of such a legislature. Interviews with 59 percent of the members of the National Assembly reveal six purposive role orientations. These orientations, taken as a whole, suggest that the most important latent function of the Thai legislature is demand-reduction. Legislators report a large volume of demands directed at them; they see their role as articulating and communicating these demands, and believe that their role of overseeing the executive is their primary instrument for producing responses to these demands.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The Role of National Party Leaders in the Selection of Parliamentary Candidates: The Belgian Case. Jeffrey Obler [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill] *Comparative Politics* 5:2 (January, 1973), pp. 157-184.

Control over candidate selection may be interpreted as an important resource which allows national party leaders to wield influence over legislators. However, in Belgium, national party leaders rarely intervene in legislative nominations and do so less to encourage discipline and more to shape voter preferences and sustain intra-party unity. Belgian constituency associations have not consistently challenged the re-election of maverick incumbents and have protected such dissidents from discipline by the national party. The reasons for this are (1) party identification in Belgium is more closely related to the constituency than to the national organization; (2) members participate en masse in the nomination process; and (3) persistent internal factionalism within the parties blocks the imposition of discipline by the national organization.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The Premise of Parliamentary Planning. David E. Apter [Yale University] *Government and Opposition* 8:1 (Winter, 1973), pp. 3-23.

The range of contemporary needs and the possibility of acting on the basis of long-range projections is more and more problematical. Planning is more suspect. What is needed is a method of review built into the process at every stage. Our solution is that parliaments should become forums of open debate on planning, participate in priority setting through legislative decision-making, and serve as agents of popular and technical review and revision. Participatory planning would require a populist lower house dealing with short term plans, interest and populist information, and the reactions of marginals, and a professional upper house to deal in the long term. The two houses would repair their conflicts in committees by producing alternative priority sets which would be decided in legislative debate. The errors and mistakes of the previous plans would help to form the substance of new and remedial planning, and the projection of new priorities.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

## BOOKS

*Comparative Legislative Behavior: Frontiers of Research.* Edited by Samuel C. Patterson and John C. Wahlke (University of Iowa). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972.

This is a collection of essays originally presented at the Shambaugh Conference on Comparative Legislative Behavior Research, held at the University of Iowa in May, 1969. Included in the volume are the following chapters:

"Lawyers in Politics: The Danish Folketing and United States Legislatures." Mogens N. Pederson, University of Aarhus

"Comparative Legislative Research." Gerhard Loewenberg,  
University of Iowa.

"The Voting Behavior of British Conservative Backbenchers."  
John E. Schwarz, University of Arizona and Geoffrey Lambert,  
University of Manitoba.

"Orientations to Decision-Making in the Vienna City Council."  
Peter Gerlich, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.

"Decisional Structures in Small Legislative Bodies."  
Heinz Eulau, Stanford University.

"Perceptions of Party in the Dutch Parliament."  
Hands Daalder, University of Leiden and Jerrold G. Rusk,  
Purdue University.

"Political Parties in the Finnish Eduskunta."  
Pertti Pesonen, University of Helsinki.

"Councillors, Activists, and Electors: Democratic  
Relationships in Scottish Cities." John A. Brand,  
University of Strathclyde.

"A Test for the Existence of Feedback in State Legislative  
Systems." John A. Grumm, Wesleyan University.

"Trends and Prospects in Legislative Behavior Research."  
Samuel C. Patterson and John C. Wahlke, University of Iowa.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

*Le Député Français.* Roland Cayrol, Jean-Luc Parodi, and Colette Ysmal,  
all of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris. Published by  
Armand Colin, Paris, February, 1973.

This book contains the results of interviews administered between  
October, 1969 and June, 1970, to 407 members of the French National Assembly.  
The data are presented under the following headings:

#### SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

*Political Socialization.* The age of first interest in politics. Political  
socialization through the family and outside the family. Typology of political  
socialization of the representatives.

*Family and Religion.* Religious activity of the representatives. The  
religion of the representatives and their parents. The method of instruction.  
Association with a catholic movement. The level of conservatism in the tradi-  
tional family. The conservatism of a traditional family and political  
socialization.

*Elements of Social Mobility.* The profession of the representative and social background. Professional mobility across the generations. Education of the representatives and social background.

#### POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND TRADITION

*Partisan Heritage.* The apolitical mentality. Generations and politics.

*The Political Families.* Left and right: who and why? Heritage and tradition.

#### POLITICAL CAREERS

*Ways of Entry and Official Channels.* The diversity of political debuts. The diversity of official channels.

*General Data.* Age of first political activity. Age of first membership in political organizations. The rhythms of a local career. The national career. The importance of early political organization.

*The Leaders.* Leaders of the UDR. Other parliamentary groups.

ANNEX. List of questions used in the study.

§ § § § § § § § § § § § § §

#### BIBLIOGRAPHIC ACTIVITIES

The Comparative Legislative Research Center at the University of Iowa is developing a computerized legislative research bibliography, containing both American and non-American citations. A similar project is underway at the Comparative Development Studies Center at SUNY-Albany. The CDSC plans to have its bibliographies in a form suitable for publication and distribution. Iowa is also engaged in developing an item-index of research questions which have been used in the major interview studies of legislatures.

§ § § § § § § § § § § § § §

#### INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENTATION (CIDP)

The stated goal of the CIDP, created in 1965, is to enable the Inter-Parliamentary Union to carry out one of its statutory missions, that is, to work for "the development of parliamentary institutions with a view to improving the working of those institutions and increasing their prestige." It contributes to the accomplishment of these objectives by (1) systematically assembling and distributing information on the structure and working of legislative assemblies, and on the status of their members; (2) encouraging the comparative study of representative institutions, and their special characteristics and problems; (3) attempting to help the Assemblies of developing countries strengthen their infrastructure.

In order to compile its documentation files and information index and bring them up to date, the Center maintains close relations with the members of its network of National Correspondents, which now covers some 87 countries. It also collects information on specific aspects of the life of legislative assemblies by conducting inquiries, either on its own initiative or in answer to requests received. The books, documents, and data which it obtains are made available to all who wish to consult them at the Center's headquarters in Geneva. The CIDP also endeavors to send comprehensive replies to world-wide requests for information or bibliographies.

Some of the material the Center collects is widely circulated through its publications. It publishes studies on specific subjects and each year, in its *Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections*, gives details on developments in the organization and working methods of Assemblies and on the status of their members for the previous twelve months; it also provides an account of all legislative elections held throughout the world during the same period. The CIDP also publishes *Parliaments*, a basic reference work containing comparative data on the structure and working of legislative Assemblies in 55 countries. The latest edition was published in 1966; a new and revised version is presently being prepared.

Inquiries on the work, services, and publications of the CIDP can be addressed to M. Pierre Cornillon, Assistant Secretary-General, International Parliamentary Union, Place du Petit-Saconnex, 1211 Geneve 19 (SUISSE).

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

#### COMPARATIVE LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH PUBLISHING PROGRAM

This program is sponsored by the Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies (Duke University, University of Hawaii, University of Iowa, State University of New York-Albany). The General Editor is Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky.

##### *Editorial Advisory Board*

Jean Blondel, University of Essex  
 Ralph E. Crow, American University of Beirut  
 Hans Daalder, University of Leiden  
 Gary Hoskin, State University of New York-Buffalo  
 Robert J. Jackson, Carleton University, Canada  
 Subhah C. Kashyap, Institute of Constitutional and  
 Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi  
 Allan Kornberg, Duke University  
 W. H. Morris-Jones, Institute of Commonwealth Studies,  
 University of London  
 Samuel C. Patterson, University of Iowa  
 Mogens N. Pedersen, University of Aarhus  
 Richard Sisson, University of California at Los Angeles  
 Joel Smith, Duke University

The purpose of this publishing program in Comparative Legislative Research is to make possible, in a flexible format, the prompt publication and wide distribution of legislative research that has a comparative perspective. The editors are interested in receiving manuscripts that report cross-national research on legislative systems, institutions, behavior, and outputs. They are also interested in single-nation legislative research (particularly on foreign countries) that tests and develops hypotheses which are significant for comparative research.

The program consists of three series: (1) the *Sage Progress Series in Comparative Legislative Research* will report the results of collective research activities, including conferences, and other edited, theme-oriented works. One volume (in two separate bound parts; usually on two different topics) will be published each year. (2) The *Sage Series on Legislative Studies* will include two book-length studies each year. (3) A series of eight separate original papers annually (ranging in length from 32 to 96 printed pages per paper) will be published in a *Comparative Legislative Studies Series* as "Sage Research Papers."

The editors welcome contributions from scholars in the United States and other countries. Because this is a new publishing venture, they are most interested in attracting good manuscripts appropriate for the series as soon as possible. Individual papers, as well as manuscripts, should be submitted to Professor Malcolm E. Jewell, Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506. In order to speed evaluation of the manuscripts, two or preferably three copies should be submitted whenever possible. Anyone who wants more information on the program or has questions about whether a manuscript is appropriate for it should write directly to Professor Jewell.

Standing Orders, at discount prices may be placed for any or all of the three series. Individuals and institutions who wish to order, or to receive announcements of forthcoming titles, should write to Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90212. (From the U.K., Europe, Africa and the Middle East, write the London office: 44 Hatton Garden, London EC1N 8ER.)

The first publication in the *Sage Progress Series in Comparative Legislative Research*, scheduled for late 1973, is a volume on "Legislative Systems in Developing Countries," edited by Chong Lim Kim and G. R. Boynton, both of the University of Iowa. The papers in it were first presented at the Shambaugh Conference at the University of Iowa in November, 1971. They include papers on the legislatures of Columbia, Kenya, Japan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Philippines, South Korea, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

DEADLINE FOR THE AUGUST, 1973 ISSUE OF THE NEWSLETTER IS JULY 6, 1973

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶



UNIVERSITY

CONSORTIUM FOR

Comparative  
Legislative  
Studies

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK--ALBANY

DUKE UNIVERSITY

vol. 1 no. 2  
august 1973

michael i. mezey · editor

social science research institute · university of hawaii

NEWSLETTER

THE CONSORTIUM FOR COMPARATIVE LEGISLATIVE STUDIES

The *Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter* is published under the auspices of the Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies, an organization consisting of four institutional and four individual members. The participating institutions are Duke University, University of Hawaii, University of Iowa, and State University of New York--Albany. The individual associates are John G. Grumm (Wesleyan University), Malcolm E. Jewell (University of Kentucky), Lloyd D. Musolf (University of California --Davis), and Richard Sisson (University of California--Los Angeles).

The Consortium is financed by a five-year, one million dollar grant from the Agency for International Development. The purposes of the grant and the objectives of the Consortium are:

→ To develop a functioning but geographically dispersed center of competence for training and research in comparative legislative and related studies.

→ To train foreign and American students in the design and execution of systematic comparative legislative research.

→ To encourage and execute interdisciplinary and comparative research on legislatures, with special emphasis on their roles in nation-building, national integration, economic modernization, and the participation of people in the political process.

→ To encourage foreign scholars, particularly those in less developed countries, to study their own legislative institutions.

→ To provide information, data, and, in some cases, training to legislators and legislative staff members so that they may be better able to modernize, improve, or otherwise reform their institutions.

→ To catalyze and institutionalize multilateral efforts by scholars in developed and less developed countries in order to facilitate and support the emergence of a subfield of comparative legislative and related studies.

It is important to note that the Consortium itself primarily serves coordinating and administrative functions. The institutional and individual members maintain autonomy over their own programs and activities within the Consortium structure. Decisions involving the Consortium as a whole are made by an Executive Committee composed of one voting member from each of the four participating institutions and one voting member representing the individual associates. The Consortium is headquartered at Duke University; Professor Allan Kornberg of Duke serves as Director. He can respond to general inquiries about the Consortium and specific inquiries about the various activities going forward at Duke. He may be contacted at the Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706.

Information about the program at the University of Hawaii may be obtained from Professor Norman Meller, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

The Comparative Legislative Research Center at the University of Iowa is directed by Professor Gerhard Loewenberg, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

The Comparative Development Studies Center at State University of New York--Albany is directed by Professor James Heaphey, Graduate School of Public Affairs, State University of New York--Albany, Albany, New York 12222.

The Consortium associates can be reached at the following addresses:

Professor John G. Grumm, Department of Political Science,  
Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut 06457

Professor Malcolm E. Jewell, Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky 40506. (Professor Jewell is general editor of the publishing program sponsored by the Consortium in cooperation with Sage Publications. Details of the program were described in the May, 1973 issue of the *Newsletter*.)

Professor Lloyd D. Musolf, Department of Political Science,  
University of California--Davis, Davis, California 94616

Professor Richard Sisson, Department of Political Science,  
University of California--Los Angeles, Los Angeles,  
California 90024

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

**COMMITTEES IN LEGISLATURES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS.** Principal investigators: John D. Lees, Department of American Studies, University of Keele, Keele-Staffordshire-ST5 5BG, England and Malcolm Shaw, University of Essex.

This is a study of the workings of the principal committee structures in the national legislatures of nine countries: United States, Italy, Chile, West Germany, Philippines, Canada, Britain, India, and Japan. The countries were chosen with an eye to ensuring a mix of constitutional practices, party systems, and stages of political development. Field research has been conducted by specialists on each country, and includes extensive interviewing of legislators and legislative officials and the gathering of information in terms of a carefully devised frame of reference. The final study will comprise lengthy analyses of committees in the legislatures of the nine countries, plus a concluding cross-national section of findings based on the data obtained from the nine countries studied. The collaborators on the project are Stuart A. Walkland, University of Sheffield (Britain), Michael Rush, University of Exeter (Canada), Charles J. Parrish, Wayne State University (Chile), Subhash C. Kashyap, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies (India), Francesco D'Onofrio, University of Teramo (Italy), Hans H. Baerwald, University of California --Los Angeles (Japan), Robert J. Jackson, Carleton University (Philippines) and Nevil Johnson, Nuffield College, Oxford (West Germany).

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

**LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR IN KENYA, KOREA, AND TURKEY.** Center for Comparative Legislative Research, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

The project is concerned with the role legislators play in the process of political development and will focus primarily on the relations individual legislators have with their constituents, other elites, and other legislators. As such, the project will address itself to the following two questions: How do legislators in developing countries establish and institutionalize those patterns of behavior which facilitate the representation of different social groups, and how do they do this in a manner that is different from others (bureaucrats, party personnel, etc.) who also engage in such pursuits. Second, how do legislators in developing countries establish and institutionalize those patterns of behavior which enable the regimes of those states to penetrate and mobilize the rural population and, in turn, integrate these people who reside on the periphery into the national political system? The primary focus will be on the individual legislator, not the legislature. The latter is not an institutionalized phenomena, but rather an institution in "the process of becoming." Therefore, the emphasis will be on those who are responsible for the legislature's creation and institutionalization rather than on the institution itself. The collaborators on the project are Gerhard Loewenberg, Samuel C. Patterson, G. R. Boynton,

Chong Lim Kim, Joel Barkan, and John Wahlke, all of the University of Iowa, Malcolm Jewell, University of Kentucky, John Okumu, University of Dar es Salaam, S.D. Pai, Seoul National University, and Ilter Turan, University of Istanbul.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARY PERSONNEL. Principal Investigators: Giovanni Sartori, Italia Maria Orlandini, Maurizio Cotta, all of the Department of Political Science, University of Florence, Via Laura 48, Florence.

This research updates to the present the data on Italian parliamentarians previously collected under the direction of Professor Sartori. The data include the following: (1) socio-economic, educational, and professional backgrounds of MPs; (2) political careers of MPs before nomination (local administrative, trade union, and party offices held); (3) parliamentary offices held by MPs; (4) parliamentary tenure; and, (5) participation in standing committees. The data have been collected through mail questionnaires, examination of parliamentary archives, and through various official and unofficial sources. The main purpose of this research is to see how the consolidation of the Italian political system has affected the characteristics of parliamentary personnel and therefore the working of Parliament itself. The research is scheduled for completion during the Summer of 1973.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

RESEARCH ON A TYPOLOGY OF LEGISLATURES. Principal Investigator: Maurizio Cotta, Department of Political Science, University of Florence.

This study is focused on structural and functional models of parliamentary institutions. One purpose is to identify a certain number of structural models that allow the variety of organizational patterns of legislatures to be reduced to a manageable size. On the functional side, this study will try to single out some typical balances of functions performed by legislatures. By relating structural and functional models of legislatures, this study expects to find material relevant to theory-building on the role and significance of legislatures within political systems.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN GUANABARA STATE, BRAZIL. Principal Investigators: Maria Antonieta Parahyba Leopoldi, Lidice Aparecida Pontes Maduro, Maria Lucia Teixeira Warneck Vianna, and Sonia Maria Laranjeiras, all of the Public Law and Political Science Institute of Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, Brazil. Themistocles Cavalcanti is Director of the Institute.

This is a two-part study. The first part focuses on candidates for state and national legislative offices contesting the November, 1970 election in Guanabara State, Brazil. Ninety-two candidates were interviewed in an attempt to discover the recruitment experiences of the candidates, their relation to the party system, and their views of their future legislative work. Reports of this research have been published in the Political Science Review of the Public Law and Political Science Institute of Getulio Vargas Institute. The second part of the study is based on interviews with forty-seven members of the Guanabara State Assembly elected in November, 1970. The interviews focus on the political socialization process, recruitment into the political party, careers within the party organization, and the legislator's concepts of the legislative process and his relationship with his constituency.

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE EXAMINED WITH REFERENCE TO THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF SELECTED COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES. Principal Investigator: W. H. Morris-Jones, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, London WC1B 5DS.

The representative assembly is a regular feature of most political systems but its functions are not everywhere the same and often undergo change. By selecting a number of such institutions which may be said to have virtually common starting points as at the moment of independence, we expect to be able to compare and explain how their directions of change have varied in response to influence from their respective environments. Part of the environment is the local social, cultural and political scene but another set of influences comes, in the case of the new states of the Commonwealth, from the legacies of colonial legislatures, the perceptions of a Westminster model and the maintenance of quasi-professional links with other parliaments. This is a study of institutional growth, decay, and destruction. It is a study which exploits the Commonwealth as a framework which holds certain mainly historical factors constant while enabling attention to be focused on others. It is carried out by comparative study of five Commonwealth legislatures of similar size in countries of similar population dimensions located in different social and cultural settings: Jamaica, Ghana, Kenya (or Tanzania), Ceylon, Malaysia.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

PARTY SYSTEMS AND PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT: A STUDY OF CABINET FORMATION AND MAINTENANCE IN SEVENTEEN WESTERN PARLIAMENTS, 1918-1972.

Principal Investigator: Lawrence C. Dodd, Department of Political Science, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

This study analyzes the relationship between party systems, party coalitions, and cabinet durability in seventeen Western nations. The data bank currently consists of (1) a list of all parties in each parliament for the seventeen countries, 1918-1972; (2) the number of seats controlled by the parliamentary party; (3) an estimation of the salient ideological cleavages within each parliament and the position of each party on those cleavages; (4) a list of the cabinets that existed in the countries for the time periods indicated, and the length of their duration; and, (5) the political parties that held ministerial seats in the cabinet and, in most cases, the identity of the ministers and the ministries held. This data bank is being employed to test hypotheses relating party system characteristics, party coalition characteristics, and cabinet durability.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

PARLIAMENT AND INFORMATION. Principal Investigators: M.P.C.M. van Schendelen, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

This study investigates the information available to members of the Dutch Parliament. The analysis is based on interviews with 131 of the 150 members of the Dutch "Second Chamber." Members were questioned about their intra- and extra-parliamentary sources of information, the problems that they encounter in obtaining information, and their attitudes concerning the sufficiency of the information available. A preliminary report of this study was presented at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Symposium on the Member of Parliament and his Requirements for Information in the Modern World held in Geneva in January, 1973.

### A STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE WEST GERMAN BUNDESTAG.

Principal Investigator: David Lindquist, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706.

This is a Ph.D. thesis in progress focusing on the political socialization and recruitment experiences of a sample of the German Bundestag. Particular attention is given to the relationship between differential socialization and recruitment experiences and representational roles and behavior. Attention also will be given to the impact of these processes on the nature and extent of legislative participation and influence in the Bundestag. Structured interviews with a sample of Bundestag members will provide the data base for this study.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

CACIQUISMO AND PARLIAMENT IN SPAIN. Principal Investigator: Joel Prager, Department of Political Science, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, T2N 1N4.

This study focuses on the impact of *caciquismo* (Spanish machine politics and boss rule) on Spain's parliamentary institutions. Of special interest is the legislative behavior of the Spanish Cortes dating from the Spanish Restoration until the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Involved is a study of legislative composition, ecological representation, committee assignments and partisan alignments. The data at this stage of the project consist of public documents, analysis of legislative debates, scattered studies and tabular information, and the pioneering work of Juan Linz.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

COMPARATIVE BUREAUCRACY STUDY. This project was reported in the May, 1973 issue of the *Newsletter*. Robert Putnam, of the University of Michigan, who was listed as one of the principal investigators, has asked us to note that this is a collaborative study involving seven scholars, each with responsibility for particular countries. They are in addition to Professor Putnam (Britain, Italy, and Germany), Sam Eldersveld (Holland), Joel Aberbach (United States), Thomas Anton (Sweden), Ronald Inglehart (France), Archibald Singham (Jamaica), and John Waterbury (Morocco).

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

### PAPERS

"Using Computers to Analyze the Activities of Members of Parliament."  
Mark N. Franklin, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ, Occasional Paper Number 9, published by the Survey Research Centre, University of Strathclyde, 1971.

Activity analysis is advocated as a fruitful approach to testing hypotheses about legislative behavior. Such analyses involve specifying with some accuracy what members of a legislature actually do with their time. In the House of Commons, how often and upon what occasions do particular MPs speak on the floor? When do they speak in committee meetings? What are the topics of their principal concern at these times? What questions do they ask? The gathering of these "unobtrusive measures" presents significant problems in data collection and processing, many of which can be surmounted by computing techniques. This paper outlines suggested categories for data collection (debates, committee meetings, questions, early day motions, divisions),

describes appropriate data collection methods, and assesses the problems of data retrieval and manipulation.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

"Institutionalization and Elite Integration in India, 1952-62."

Robert S. Robins, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Prepared for the panel on "Legislative Elites in India and Pakistan" convened at the 25th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 30-April 1, 1973.

In the 1952-62 period, elite integration in India was most evident in party terms up to the state level and in governmental institutional terms above that level. The Congress Party and the formal structure of government were the two major institutions of elite integration, but a wide variety of other institutions was also involved. At the district level, non-Congress parties were probably at least as important as the Congress for moving aspirant elites into positions of influence. In relation to political institutionalization, elite integration was of most utility in aiding complexity, of moderate use in aiding autonomy and coherence, and of lesser direct use in this brief period in aiding adaptation. The practice has been to recruit higher level elites from among those who have first acquired a substantial institutional position at a lower level. This is demonstrated by an examination of career paths leading to the Council of Ministers. Requiring prospective higher level leaders to have first served in lower level elite posts socialized these new leaders, and also made their personal and political capacities familiar to established leaders.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

"The Indian Council of Ministers: An Analysis of Legislative and Organizational Careers." Norman K. Nicholson, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois. Prepared for the panel on "Legislative Elites in India and Pakistan" convened at the 25th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, March 30-April 1, 1973.

The focus of this paper is recruitment to the Indian Council of Ministers during the period 1952 to 1969. The careers of 133 ministers are examined. The major dependent variables are speed of ministerial appointment, rank of appointment, and likelihood of promotion. The independent variables include nature of previous political experience, caste, education, and state of origin. Party organizational backgrounds are determined to be more advantageous than exclusively parliamentary experience; low castes are disadvantaged compared to minority groups and higher castes; the size of a state influences the degree to which it is represented in the Council, but is not related to rank or promotion; foreign educated politicians are clearly advantaged, especially over those with local education. Symbolic representation at the ministerial level is very likely to be granted to regions and definable ethnic groups; interest group representation, so common in Western systems, is much less likely to be provided.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

"Role Perceptions of Legislators in Two 'Political Cultures': A Study of Comparative Legislative Behavior." Manindra K. Mohapatra, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia. Prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Social Science Association, April 27-28, 1973, Blacksburg, Virginia.

The "ombudsmanic" role orientation of legislators is explicated and examined in two contrasting cultural settings. This role refers to the behavior of legislator when they are called upon by individual constituents to help them in connection with their personal problems involving the public bureaucracy. Data for the study come from interviews with 85 state legislators in the Indian state of Orissa and 20 former city councilmen from the Tidewater area of the American state of Virginia. In both settings, a great majority of the legislators held supportive views about their complaint-handling (i.e., ombudsmanic) role. In both cases, demands for intervention in the bureaucratic process on behalf of aggrieved constituents seemed to be a significant reason for assuming the ombudsmanic role. In both cases, concerns were expressed by some legislators about the perfunctory nature of their other legislative roles indicating that the ombudsmanic orientation was part of a quest for a more meaningful role in their respective institutions. Finally, in both settings, a small proportion of legislators rejected the ombudsmanic role.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

#### RECENT ARTICLES

The Development of Public Support for Parliament in Germany, 1951-59. G. R. Boynton and Gerhard Loewenberg (University of Iowa) *The British Journal of Political Science* 3:2 (April, 1973), pp. 169-189.

Basic political attitudes changed rapidly in Germany after 1949. This study examines the direction and rate of the change in support for the Parliament among various demographic and attitudinal groups. The data base for the analysis consists of survey questions measuring both specific and diffuse support for the Bundestag, administered annually between 1951 and 1959 to national samples of the German adult population. The earliest increases in support for the Bundestag came disproportionately from those citizens satisfied with the policies of the Adenauer Government. In the second half of the decade, support for Parliament among those dissatisfied with the Government in office began to catch up, suggesting that while "output satisfaction" was an initial source of rising support for the regime, regime support subsequently developed independently of attitudes toward day-to-day policy. Over the entire decade, the youngest age groups contributed disproportionately to the rising level of support. Also, those citizens who expressed confidence in the responsiveness of MPs, those well informed about politics, and those believing that their economic situation was improving were each consistently more supportive of Parliament than their opposites.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Computer Simulation Model of Multiparty Parliamentary Recruitment. James S. Lee (Lehman College, City University of New York) and Allan Kornberg (Duke University). *Simulation and Games* 4:1 (March, 1973), pp. 37-58.

Modeling and simulation research strategies are used to generate an improved theory of Canadian parliamentary recruitment. The model is based on four equations relating the following variables: number of candidates recruited by the party in the current and preceding election, socio-economic status of past and present candidates, status differences among past and present candidates, inter-party electoral competition in past and present elections, and degree of urbanism of sample constituencies. Attempts to validate the model led to the conclusion that political parties make recruitment decisions whose aim-effects are long term and intended to transcend a particular election. At a point in time at which a party begins to view itself as a serious contender for control of public office, it will alter its recruitment decisions so that

the expectation of a successful future becomes a more important criterion than the expectation of immediate success.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Party Coalitions in Danish Law-Making 1953-1970. Erik Damgaard (University of Aarhus, Denmark). *European Journal of Political Research* 1 (1973), pp. 35-66.

Despite assertions about the ubiquity of coalition behavior in politics, theories of coalition formation have not usually been tested on data pertaining to the legislative process. The paper explores advantages and shortcomings of existing coalition theory for studying law-making in a multi-party parliamentary democracy with highly cohesive parties, using Denmark as the test case. All passed government bills 1953-1970 are studied in terms of the size and composition of the winning coalitions and policy area of bills. In all cabinet periods a certain number of bills are passed by minimal majorities, but most are not, indicating that minimal majority behavior is not a principal strategy in law-making. However, the traditional left-right model of the Danish party system is very successful in accounting for the coalitions formed. Classification of bills into policy areas also shows considerable variation with respect to levels of conflict, with taxation as the most conflict-generating area. The findings suggest that if we are ultimately to understand the significance of coalition behavior in politics, it is imperative that we relax strict rationalistic behavior assumptions and concentrate efforts on developing ways for systematic study of the content and perceived consequences of decisions made by winning coalitions.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Changing Attitudes Through International Participation: European Parliamentarians and Integration. Henry H. Kerr, Jr. (University of Geneva) *International Organization* 27:1 (Winter, 1973), pp. 45-84.

Regional integration theory emphasizes elite social learning and attitude change as concomitant processes of integration. Participation by national elites in EEC decision-making may bring about these changes. To test these hypotheses, French and German delegates to the European Parliament were interviewed, and their attitudes compared with those of a control group sampled among their national colleagues. The general finding was that the delegates' attitudes appear to undergo cognitive, but not affective, changes. Delegates develop more complex perceptions and become better informed and more interested in European matters, yet they become neither more favorable nor less hostile to these issues because of the self-recruitment of many legislators who were avowed Europeans before their nomination. Strong ties to national parties apparently diminish the attitudinal effects of this learning experience. Only when the parliament has full-time legislators who exercise potent policy-making tasks will its role in European integration increase.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Parliamentary Reform and Governmental Effectiveness in Canada. J.A.A. Lovink (Queen's University, Kingston) *Canadian Public Administration* 16:1 (Spring, 1973), pp. 35-54.

Proposals for parliamentary reform typically concentrate on improving parliament's competence as a critic of public policy and administration, as a prod to executive

responsiveness, and as an agency for political education. Opponents of such proposals make much of the need to preserve undiminished the power of the political executive, seen as indispensable to "responsible government." In this paper, the values affirmed by both sides in this controversy are adopted as criteria in terms of which the present institutional arrangement and any proposed alteration to it, ought to be evaluated. On that basis, an analysis is made of the probable consequences of three leading reform proposals, namely, to strengthen the standing committee system, to abolish the so-called "confidence convention" and to adopt pre-legislative inquiries as routine procedure. Each of these reforms is found to have certain advantages and disadvantages compared to the status quo. Choice therefore required a partial value ranking among the criteria of assessment. This done, the analysis concludes that on balance the best course is to adopt pre-legislative inquiries as routine procedure.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Legislatures and the Modernization of Societies. Allan Kornberg (Duke University), Samuel M. Hines, Jr. (Converse College), and Joel Smith (Duke University). *Comparative Political Studies* 5:4 (January, 1973), pp. 471-491.

Modernization is defined as the enhanced capacity of a social system to accommodate to simultaneous rapid change within its sectors and to events in the total outside environment. Legislatures are especially appropriate institutions to consider for enhancing understanding of the modernization process because of their affinity to several aspects of modernization itself. Whether legislatures ultimately facilitate or impede modernization is an open question that warrants further systematic comparative research.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The 1971 Coup in Thailand: Understanding Why the Legislature Fails. Michael L. Mezey (University of Hawaii). *Asian Survey* 13:3 (March, 1973), pp. 306-317

The 1969-1971 constitutional experience in Thailand conforms to a discernible historic pattern in Thai politics characterized by legislative activism when divisions within the governing elite are most acute. These divisions are resolved eventually by a *coup* which either reduces the legislature to impotence or abolishes the institution altogether. Initially conflict among government leaders became manifest over the composition of their party's slate of parliamentary candidates. Conflict between the Cabinet and Government legislators was persistent, but most severe during consideration of the annual budget bill. Legislative opposition to the Government was provoked by intense constituency demands for development funds, and covertly supported by Government leaders opposed to the legislature and seeking to discredit the institution. The low level of public support for the legislature, anti-legislative attitudes among bureaucratic, military, and attentive elites, and a very weak political party system all contributed to the ultimate failure of the Thai legislature.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The Cube Law and the Decomposed System. Thomas W. Casstevens (Oakland University) and William D. Morris (Carnegie-Mellon University). *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 5:4 (December, 1972), pp. 512-532.

The Role of the "Outsider" in Quasi-Legislative Systems: The Potential Utility of the Legislative Model. Thomas J. Volgey (University of Arizona--Tucson). *International Organization*. 27:1 (Winter, 1973), pp. 85-98.

The Immigration Act 1971: A Case Study in the Work of Parliament. Hannan Rose (University of Kent at Canterbury). *Parliamentary Affairs* 36:1 (Winter 1972/73), pp. 69-91.

National Legislators and Political Integration in the European Community. Werner J. Feld (Louisiana State University--New Orleans). *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies* (October-December, 1972) 6:4, pp. 9-23.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

The January-March 1973 issue of the *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies* (volume 7, number 1) is devoted to the topic of parliamentary committees in India. The articles included were discussed originally at a seminar on "Parliamentary Committees and the Parliamentary System in India" held on March 25, 1972 and sponsored by The Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi. The articles in the special issue describe and evaluate the functions of the committee system in the Lok Sabha, and assess various proposals for reform of the system.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

## BOOKS

The May, 1973 issue of the *Newsletter* carried a notice of the symposium on "The Member of Parliament: His Requirements for Information in the Modern World," convened in Geneva in January, 1973 under the auspices of the International Center for Parliamentary Documentation, a division of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

The CIDP has now published two volumes emanating from the symposium. Volume I is a report *in extenso* of the proceedings of the Symposium. It contains the formal statements prepared by the representatives of the 37 nations participating in the symposium as well as transcripts of the discussions that took place. Discussion centered on the primary question of whether or not the MP is sufficiently informed to carry out fully his mandate. Services, facilities, and other mechanisms available to the MP and capable of providing him with information were assessed in different national situations.

Volume II is a report of the findings of an international inquiry on parliamentary information. The data consist of responses to a questionnaire distributed by the CIDP to its correspondents in 39 countries. The data are summarized in thirteen extensive tables, each containing the gist of the replies to groups of related questions. Each table is preceded by the relevant questions and an explanatory note concerning the responses. The questionnaire examines the sufficiency of the parliamentary library; the resources and functioning of the documentation and research services; the availability of experts to the parliament; the procedures which contribute to informing the MP, such as questions, interpellations, and commissions of inquiry; the existence of non-parliamentary bodies, such as ombudsmen, which contribute

by their activities to informing MPs. A selective bibliography of published works on 29 countries is provided in an annex.

Those wishing to receive these volumes may request the relevant information from the International Center for Parliamentary Documentation, International Parliamentary Union, Place du Petit-Saconnex, 1211 Geneve 19 Switzerland.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

*Legislatures in Comparative Perspective.* Edited by Allan Kornberg (Duke University). New York: David McKay, Inc., 1973.

This is a collection of essays originally presented at the Conference on the Concepts and Methods of Comparative Legislative Study held at Quail Roost, North Carolina in February, 1970, under the sponsorship of the Committee on International Studies of Duke University. Included in the volume are the following essays:

"Introduction: On Legislatures in Comparative Perspective." Allan Kornberg, Duke University.

"Comparative Legislative Institutionalization: A Theoretical Exploration." Richard Sisson, University of California--Los Angeles.

"Legislative Structures: Some Thoughts on Elected National Assemblies." Fred W. Riggs, University of Hawaii.

"The Institutionalization of European Parliaments." Peter Gerlich, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.

"The Decay of Latin American Legislatures." Carlos A. Astiz, State University of New York--Albany.

"An Exploratory Analysis of the Institutionalization of Legislatures and Judiciaries." John R. Schmidhauser, University of Iowa.

"The Institutionalization of Parliament and Public Orientation to the Political System." Gerhard Loewenberg, University of Iowa.

"Social Structure and Politics in Subnational Systems: A Comparison in Four Nations." Richard I. Hofferbert, University of Michigan, and Ira Sharkansky, University of Wisconsin.

"Exchange Theory and Parliamentary Instability." Timothy M. Hennessey and Jeanne Martin, Michigan State University.

"Linkages Between Legislative Parties and External Parties." Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky.

"The Legislative System as an Economic Model." John G. Grumm, Wesleyan University.

"Toward a Model of Parliamentary Recruitment in Canada." Allan Kornberg, Duke University, Harold D. Clarke, University of Windsor, and George L. Watson, Arizona State University.

"Dimensions of Support in Legislative Systems." Samuel C. Patterson, John C. Wahlke, and G. Robert Boynton, University of Iowa.

"Legislative Staff in Oceania as a Focus for Research." Norman Meller, University of Hawaii.

"Bargaining and Parliamentary Behavior in Africa: A Comparative Study of Zambia and Kenya." Jay E. Hakes, Louisiana State University--New Orleans and John Helgerson.

"Determinants of Institutional Continuity: Freshman Cue-Taking in the U.S. House of Representatives." William Mishler, Duke University, James Lee, Lehman College, City University of New York, and Alan Tharpe, Duke University.

"Consensus on Legislative Roles Among Japanese Prefectural Assemblymen." Chong Lim Kim, University of Iowa.

"Patterns of Opposition Behavior in Modern Legislatures." Andrew J. Milnor, University of Kentucky, and Mark N. Franklin, University of Strathclyde.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

*Legislative Recruitment and Political Integration: Patterns of Political Linkage in an Indian State.* Richard Sisson and Lawrence L. Shrader (University of California--Los Angeles), Berkeley, California: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, Research Monograph No. 6, 1972.

The data on which this study is based consist of background information and interviews with members of the legislative assembly in the Indian state of Rajasthan. Chapter titles are listed below:

- Chapter I: Introduction: Legislative Elites and Political Integration
- Chapter II: The Legislator and Society: Patterns of Distinctiveness and Congruence
- Chapter III: The Legislator and the Public Order: Public Authority and Public Policy
- Chapter IV: The Legislator and his Constituency: Structural and Attitudinal Linkages between Elite and Mass
- Chapter V: The Legislator and the Political System: Patterns of Intra-Elite Linkage
- Chapter VI: Conclusion

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

CONFERENCES

The IXth World Congress of the International Political Science Association will be held at Sir George Williams University in Montreal from August 20th-25th, 1973. Included on the program will be two panels on Comparative Legislative Studies.

They will meet on Wednesday morning and afternoon, August 22nd, in Room 613 of Sir George Williams University.

*Panel 1, 10 a.m. - 12 noon.*

Chairman: Gerhard Loewenberg, University of Iowa

Papers: "The French Deputies and the Political System." Roland Cayrol, Jean-Luc Parodi, Colette Ysmal, all of Centre d'etude de la Vie politique francaise contemporaine.

"Committees in Legislatures and the Political System." John Lees, University of Keele, and Malcolm Shaw, University of Exeter.

"The Changing Role of Parliament in the Dutch Political System." Jan Kooiman, University of Leiden.

"A Comparison of Canadian Party Differences on Issue Space." Allan Kornberg, William Mishler, Joel Smith, all of Duke University.

Rapporteur: Samuel C. Patterson, University of Iowa

*Panel 2, 3 p.m. - 6 p.m.*

Chairman: Allan Kornberg, Duke University

Papers: "Legislative Representation and National Integration." Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky.

"Recruitment and Background of Brazilian Legislators and Congressional Staff Members." Carlos A. Astiz, State University of New York--Albany.

"Suffrage Extension, Mobilization, and Legislative Recruitment in Norway: A Diachronic Analysis." Mogens N. Pedersen, Odense University, and Kjell Eliassen, University of Bergen.

"Information Utilization in the Knesset." Martin Edelman, State University of New York--Albany, and Shimshon Zelniker, Tel Aviv University.

Rapporteur: Michael L. Mezey, University of Hawaii

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

A national program to demonstrate the effectiveness of professional staffing in state legislature committees has been launched by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures under a \$1,996,000, three-year grant from the

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. The program, called The Model Committee Staffing Project, will allow the Citizens Conference to recruit, train, and provide candidates to assist committees working on state health policy in six or seven state legislatures.

Elton K. McQuerry, CCSL Director of Program Development and manager of the new project, said, "Many legislators now are compelled to fly blind; they don't have the kind of professional and technical assistance that they need to do a really effective job. The Model Committee program will demonstrate how a well-trained professional staff can help committees and committee members develop better legislation, and that in turn will demonstrate to the legislature that professional staffing of all its committees on a continuing basis is a sound investment."

In order to qualify to receive staff assistance, the legislative committees and the leadership of those legislatures will commit certain resources to the support of the staff, such as office space and facilities, bill drafting services, and other "in-kind" support.

The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, a national organization based in Kansas City, Missouri, was organized in 1965 by business, labor, and civic leaders to assist efforts toward legislative reform. Supported by foundation grants, corporate contributions and contractual work, it has provided technical assistance to citizen legislative reform activities in most of the fifty American states and conducts a widespread research and publication program for legislatures, the news media, and interested citizens. A major landmark study, completed in 1971 evaluated the fifty state legislatures by such criteria as staff assistance for legislators, length of sessions, salaries, handling of bills, minority representation, and conflict of interest. In addition, the CCSL works extensively with citizens commissions making recommendations for improvement of their state legislatures, and on other demonstration projects. A concentrated Program for Legislative Improvement is now being conducted in seven target states (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Ohio, Minnesota, Louisiana, Arizona, Colorado).

Information about the Model Committee Staffing Project or any other activities of the CCSL can be obtained by corresponding with Mr. Larry Margolis, Executive Director, Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, 4722 Broadway, Kansas City, Missouri 64112.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Dr. Harrison Fox and Mr. Joel Winkelman, assistants to United States Senator Bill Brock, have prepared a survey of alternative proposals for the reform of the United States Congress. The report discusses problem areas such as deficiencies in the exercise of congressional fiscal responsibility, the seniority system, minority staffing, terms and qualifications of Senators and Representatives, and committee structure and procedure. A review of reform legislation proposed during 1972 and 1973 is also included. A copy of the report may be obtained without charge from Dr. Fox, who may be contacted through the office of Senator Bill Brock, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The response to the *Newsletter* has been most gratifying. In fact, the volume of mail has been such that it is nearly impossible for us to reply to each piece of correspondence that we receive. Generally, acknowledgments and responses are sent only when specifically requested, or when particularly appropriate or necessary. We hope that those who do not receive acknowledgments of material that they send will take it as a sign of our maximum workload and minimal budget, and not as an indication of rudeness.

The deadline for receiving information to be included in the November, 1973 issue is *October 5, 1973*. All correspondence should be sent to Professor Michael L. Mezey, Editor, Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

¶ ¶

APPENDIX IV

Outlines of O'Barr and Eldridge Volumes

TO APPEAR IN THE SERIES Contributions to the Sociology of Language:  
Joshua A. Fishman, Series Editor; Mouton & Co., Publishers

LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

Their Interaction in Formal and Informal Arenas

Edited by

William M. O'Barr  
Jean F. O'Barr

I. INTRODUCTION

1. "The Interaction of Language and Politics" by William M. O'Barr

A review of the literature on language and politics; a typology of language and politics relationships; plan of the book, including rationale for the three countries and the kinds of political arenas examined; a comparison of cases and an evaluation of the papers which follow; suggestions for future research.

II. TANZANIA

2. "An Overview of Language Policy and Language Use in Tanzania" by William M. O'Barr

The distribution of languages (vernaculars, Swahili, English) across the population of Tanzania; the evolution of Swahili from coastal lingua franca and language of Arab colonialism to symbol and vehicle of modern Tanzanian nationalism; who speaks Swahili?; the language policy of independent Tanzania; Swahili's role as national language.

3. "The Evolution of Courts, Councils, and Legislatures in Tanzania" by Jean F. O'Barr

A history and analysis of local, regional, and national formal political institutions in pre-contact, colonial, and post-independent Tanzania; provides the necessary background to understand the subsequent case studies.

4. "Language and Politics in Tanzanian Governmental Institutions" by Jean F. O'Barr

Examination of the effects of colonial and post-independence language policies upon the operation of formal political institutions from national assembly to village council; consequences of language policies for popular enfranchisement and involvement in the political process; examines the degree to which current policy actually brings about the desired involvement of Tanzania's rural peasants.

5. "Language, Law, and Change: Problems in the Development of a National Legal System in Tanzania" by Fred DuBow

Examines some of the problems that have arisen in developing a national court system in which factors of language have played significant roles; primary objective is relating the linguistic requirements of various legal institutions to the existing distribution of linguistic skills in the population; emphasizes ways in which language knowledge affects the ability of law and legal institutions to be accessible to various groups in the society in both colonial and post-independent periods; raises question of just how well current language policy in courts achieves Tanzania's overall egalitarian goals.

6. "Language and Power in Local Courts" by Marc J. Swartz

Examines the use of hyperbole and figures of speech in political contests; a theoretical paper about political uses of rhetoric; case material drawn from author's fieldwork among the Bena in rural Tanzania.

7. "Language and Politics in a Rural Tanzanian Council" by William M. O'Barr

Primary objective is the understanding of how a local council in rural Tanzania operates; initial focus is upon conventional modes of analysis in social anthropology which are used to explain why the council takes most of its decisions through consensus rather than majority vote and why as a political body it is largely ineffectual to both the superordinate government and the people it is supposed to represent; then analysis shifts to consider the communication system at work in the council and its effects upon the political process; demonstrates that a focus on linguistic factors can add new dimensions of understanding to the social processes at work in political arenas.

### III. INDIA

8. "Multilingualism in India and Its Socio-Political Implications" by Mahadev L. Apte

The distribution of languages (vernaculars, Hindi, English) across the population of India; constitutional recognition of linguistic diversity; historical background to linguistic states of India; contemporary roles of Hindi and English; problems of linguistic minorities

9. "The Evolution of Courts, Councils, and Legislatures in India" by Barbara and John Flynn

A history and analysis of local, regional, and national formal political institutions in pre-contact, colonial, and post-independent Tanzania; provides the necessary background to understand the subsequent case studies.

10. "Language and Politics in the Indian Parliament" by Jyotirindra Das Gupta

Effects of India's language policies upon the national legislature; review of the concerns over language which have occupied the Indian Parliament; effects of current policies upon the abilities of individuals and groups to participate in the Parliament.

11. "Language and Litigation in South India" by Robert L. Kidder

Analysis of the use of language in Bangalore local courts (few litigants know English, the language of the court, and must rely upon their lawyer's knowledge and abilities to use it); consequences of the inability of litigants to understand the court language; a consideration of what a shift from English to local languages would do to court's image, its ability to engender trust and to function adjudicatively.

12. "Esoteric Speech in Indian Village Councils" by F. G. Bailey

A theoretical paper which asks why some legislative bodies stay close to "ordinary" speech while others develop "esoteric" speech codes; case material drawn from author's field work in Orissa.

#### IV. PAPUA NEW GUINEA

13. "Overview of Language Use and Language Policy in Papua New Guinea" by Gillian Sankoff

The distribution of languages (vernaculars, Tok Pisin, English) across the population of Papua New Guinea; roles of government, missions, and trade in altering the speech communities of aboriginal New Guinea; roles of English and Tok Pisin (Pidgin English) in contemporary Papua New Guinea.

14. "The Evolution of Courts, Councils, and Legislatures in Papua New Guinea" by Steven Staats

Types of local councils and decision-making bodies in aboriginal Papua New Guinea; history and analysis of Australian attempts to introduce courts and local councils and to set up a national assembly; consideration of planning for independence; provides the necessary background for understanding case studies.

15. "Language and Politics in the National Assembly" by Edward P. Wolfers

Relationships among language, education, socio-economic class, and political power in the national assembly; the evolution of language policy and the development of the national assembly.

16. "Political Power and Linguistic Inequality in Papua New Guinea" by Gillian Sankoff

Examination of the changes in social structure which occurred during the colonial period in New Guinea and the ways in which these changes are reflected by shifts in languages and dialects; focus upon the political organization of a single village and the shifts in language and power structure through colonial period; explores the deepening linguistic and social stratification accompanying the current spread of English.

17. "Language and Politics in Local Courts" by Riener Lang

Focus on the local courts of New Guinea; examining the roles of interpreters in multilingual courts.

18. "Multilingualism and the Political Process among the Tolai" by Richard F. Salisbury

Relates pattern of language use and multilingualism to patterns of relationship between the central government and local peoples; based upon author's extensive research between 1961 and 1971 with the Tolai of New Britain, the wealthiest, best educated, and politically most advanced of all New Guinea ethnic groups.

#### V. DISCIPLINARY INTERESTS IN LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

19. "Political Anthropology Looks at Language and Politics" by F. G. Bailey and Marc J. Swartz

Two distinguished authorities on political anthropology relate language and politics to the concerns of social anthropology.

20. "Sociolinguistics Looks at Language and Politics" by Joan Rubin

A well-known sociolinguist evaluates language and politics in the context of contemporary issues in linguistics.

21. "Political Science Looks at Language and Politics" by Henry L. Bretton

A distinguished scholar of third-world politics calls for more concern with language in studies of government and politics in multilingual societies.

22. "Formal Institutional Studies and Language" by Malcolm Jewell

A well-known authority on the study of formal institutions points out the kinds of language problems of interest to studies of formal political institutions.

22. "Law and Language" by Arnold Leibowitz

A lawyer examines the ways in which language policies discriminate against minorities in Western and non-Western societies.

## CONTENTS

PREFACE

CONTRIBUTORS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

- I. Albert F. Eldridge. Pluralism, National Integration, and Legislatures: Conceptual and Analytical Overview
- II. Malcolm E. Jewell. Legislature Representation and National Integration
- III. Richard J. Trilling. Pluralism and Legislative Performance
- IV. Maryin G. Weinbaum. The Legislator as Intermediary: Integration of the Center and Periphery in Afghanistan
- V. Lenard J. Cohen. Conflict Management and Institution-Building in Socialist Yugoslavia: The Role of the Parliamentary System
- VI. Ali A. Mazrui and Dent Ocaya-Lakidi. Parliament, Parties, and the Presidency in East Africa's Experience: Political Survival and National Legislation
- VII. Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary. Permanent Supremacy and Perpetual Opposition: Parliament in Northern Ireland, 1921-1972
- VIII. Allan Kornberg and Samuel M. Hines. Parliament's Role in the Integration-Modernization of Canadian Society, 1865-1877
- IX. Abdo I. Baaklini. Legislatures and Political Integration in Lebanon: 1840-1970

INDEX

APPENDIX V

Correspondence and Memoranda Relating to Consortium

# CARLETON UNIVERSITY

OTTAWA CANADA  
K1S 5B6



DEPARTMENT OF  
POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 1, 1972.

Dr. Erven Long  
Office of Research and University  
Relations  
Technical Assistance Bureau  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20523.

Dear Dr. Long,

I am writing in my capacity as committee chairman, with regard to a matter that arose during the meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies in Iowa City March 20 and 21. In the course of reporting on the programs already initiated at the three schools making up the Consortium (Duke, Hawaii and Iowa), we found that a number of problems had been experienced at the grantee institutions as a consequence of the administrative procedures followed by the Agency. These problems, happily, have been quite minor. But, I thought it would be appropriate to write so that you can be aware of them. In addition, my colleagues and I are concerned with avoiding situations that would create difficulties in the pursuit of our stated policies and strategies for developing institutional excellence in the area of Comparative Legislative Studies. Very briefly, we have experienced three kinds of problems to date. These are:

- 1) Problems that derive from the necessity of obtaining prior approval to use our 211-d grant funds to hire non-professional staff and to compensate professional colleagues in foreign countries.
- 2) Problems that arise from the necessity of obtaining prior approval for the expenditure of 211-d grant funds for travel outside the continental United States.
- 3) Problems that are involved in engaging the interest and collaboration of colleagues in foreign countries in research and training programs when, because of the prior clearance requirements, there is uncertainty as to whether the expenditure of grant funds that might be required for these purposes

will be approved by the Agency.

With regard to the first problem, that of hiring non-professional staff and compensating professional colleagues, this can result in the deferral of program-related work until approval is secured. For example, I could not hire a part-time research assistant for my current study of the Canadian Parliament until I received permission from the Agency, despite the fact that the amount requested was relatively small and the country in which I was carrying out my research has no AID mission. Although my request was approved, I had to postpone the beginning of the fieldwork for approximately three weeks. In turn, this resulted in my not completing the fieldwork before the House of Commons adjourned for a two month period following the Christmas vacations of 1971. And, interviews with M.P.'s and especially Cabinet Ministers, that I could have obtained with relative ease before the Christmas prorogation are now extremely difficult to schedule--given the strong probability that a national election will be held within the next two or three months.

I understand from my colleagues at the University of Hawaii that one of their colleagues also had to wait for approval to hire a part-time research assistant for a study in which he was engaged in the Philippines. The amount requested, once again, was quite small. I also understand that it was suggested to him that the clerical work he required could be done at the American Embassy in Manila. Although an Embassy very well might be of real assistance in some instances such as, for example, helping to secure appropriate housing for a scholar planning an extended stay in an l.d.c., the feeling was that in this instance the individual in question could have been "compromised" (at least in the eyes of Philippine scholars) by having work associated with his research done by American Embassy staff--regardless of how efficiently they perform a task. As you know, in many l.d.c.'s there is a deep, even paranoid suspicion that all Americans--scholars, businessmen, even tourists--are "agents" of our government. Of course, we do not feel we are. But, more important, we do not want to give colleagues in l.d.c.'s the smallest reason to think that we are. For, if they do think so, there is substantial probability that they will not collaborate or become associated with programs for which we need and want their assistance.

Admittedly, the two experiences just described resulted in only minor and temporary inconveniences. But they do raise the more basic question of whether prior approval procedures of this nature can have unintended or inadvertent policy consequences for such matters as what research can be undertaken outside the United States and (if prior approval must also be obtained before grant funds can be used to support or compensate professional colleagues) who can be a foreign participant in research or a collaborator in a training program. It was felt that the Agency would have every right to make such decisions if it was contracting for our services. But since the 211-d grant, rather than being a contract, is an arrangement that is intended to facilitate the achievement of institutional excellence in a particular area, the Agency should want to go out of its way to avoid any such possible implications--at least this is our view.

With regard to the second problem, that of obtaining prior approval for travel outside the continental United States, our understanding is that this procedure has its origins in the '50's when there was concern that the travel of United States nationals to sensitive areas might have deleterious consequences for our foreign policy objectives. As it currently operates, however, the policy has the effect of requiring prior approval for travel even to such countries as Canada, Switzerland, or West Germany--areas that hardly can be described as "sensitive". By way of illustrating how the necessity of obtaining prior approval for our travel outside the United States affects the every-day functioning of our institutional programs, two of my colleagues, George Myers and Joel Smith, had to obtain prior approval to attend the annual meeting of the Population Association of America because this year it is being held in Toronto, Canada. Had the meeting been held in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles or any other American city, they simply would have gone to the meeting since their attendance is well within the purposes of our grant (Myers is the Director of the Duke University Population Studies program and he is associated with our Comparative Legislative Studies program and Smith is Co-Director of our Legislative program and an associate of the Population program). Parenthetically, I should add that I had to secure prior approval to travel to Iowa City to chair the meeting of the Consortium Advisory Committee because I happen to be doing research in Ottawa during the academic year.

Third, with regard to the problems that are involved in engaging the interest and collaboration of colleagues in foreign countries in research and training programs if the expenditure of funds to permit their participation must be approved in advance by the Agency, this problem could become acute in the near future for my colleagues at the University of Iowa. You will recall from their submission that one of their major research goals is a multi-nation study of the bases of public support for legislatures and legislature-like institutions. Such a study cannot be undertaken without the active collaboration and involvement of colleagues in the countries in which the field research will be carried out. The necessity of securing prior approval presents a two-fold problem. First, if we are to be honest with foreign colleagues whose collaboration we seek, we must tell them that travel and research funds for them and/or compensation for their services first must be approved by an agency of the United States government. Foreign scholars in l.d.c.'s (as you are aware) are extremely sensitive with respect to any appearance of involvement with an official agency of the United States or, for that matter, any other foreign government. It is one thing for them to collaborate with an individual U.S. scholar or to participate in the program of a U.S. University. It is quite another matter for them to collaborate, or, even give the appearance of collaborating, or being involved in a program of an agency of our government.

A second and related problem, from the perspective of my colleagues at the University of Iowa, is the uncertainty involved in planning such an ambitious undertaking. That is, if they can never make a firm commitment

to an l.d.c. scholar that he will be compensated for his professional services, or that he will have funds available for travel, or for program-related research (because every such expenditure in a foreign country requires prior approval from the Agency), the difficulties involved in carrying out an ambitious and important project--with such great potential "payoff" for the programs of the three Universities, for social science knowledge generally and, I might add, for the Agency--can become almost insurmountable.

At Duke and Hawaii we eventually will face the same problems in organizing research conferences, symposia, and "training" workshops that are a part of our respective programs. At Duke, for example, my colleague in anthropology, Professor Mac O'Barr, plans to hold a symposium on the effect of linguistic differences on the operation of legislative bodies in multi-lingual societies. Assuming the continuation of current prior clearance procedures, every foreign invitee will have to be told that his or her invitation is contingent on AID approval. It seems to us that this is precisely the kind of role AID wishes to avoid playing. We realize that the Agency must be fiscally responsible and we are not concerned with having to follow procedures designed for that purpose. As responsible scholars who previously have had considerable experience with administering government grants for training and research purposes from agencies such as NSF and NIH, we fully expect to follow conventional spending and accounting procedures. In the past, as grantees, we have never assumed nor have we ever represented ourselves as employees or contractors of a particular agency. Customarily we travel and make our contacts only as university professors and not as personnel of the United States government. Our assumption was that we would continue to conduct ourselves in this manner in administering the 211-d grants. Indeed, our feeling was that the success of our respective programs depended upon our acting as independent university scholars rather than as governmental personnel! The elaborate (in our view) clearances that have been required and which may be required in the future now suggest to us that the Agency does not treat our grant as a typical grant but rather as a contract; that in a sense, we are regarded as employees of the Agency.

We are confident that this is not now and never was the intention of the Agency; that the procedures that we have had to follow to date are as they are largely because of borrowing from contract procedures. If we are correct in this latter assumption, then the procedures may be open to discussion and the Agency open to a consideration of alternatives. If, however, we are wrong, and the Agency does regard the 211-d grant as a contract, subject to the same procedures as any other contract, then, at the very least, we would like to have from you the reasons for the present administrative policies on foreign clearances. Knowing these reasons would at least help us in accommodating to such difficulties as may arise. Can we discuss these matters at length when I, and Professors Gerhard Loewenberg and Norman Meller (the Directors of the programs at the Universities of Iowa and Hawaii) come to Washington for the annual review and accounting of expenditures?

Dr. Long

-5-

May 1, 1972.

I am sure that you will agree that it is in everyone's interest for the Agency to facilitate our ability to achieve the goals for which the 211-d grants were made. As you may have learned from Jonathan Silverstone, who attended the Iowa meeting, we already have made considerable progress during the first year of the grant. We feel confident that we can continue to progress toward the attainment of our program goals and, thereby, to justify the award of the 211-d grants to our respective institutions. This letter is motivated by a concern for arriving at mutually satisfactory procedures that will facilitate our stated policies and strategies for developing institutional excellence.

I look forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely,



Allan Kornberg  
Visiting Professor  
Chairman, Advisory Committee of the Consortium  
for Comparative Legislative Studies.

cc:

Gerhard Loewenberg, University of Iowa.

Norman Meller, University of Hawaii.

✓ Joel Smith, Luke University

Jonathan Silverstone, AID.

AK/md

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

January 12, 1973

Dr. Allan Kornberg  
Department of Political Science  
Duke University  
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Dear Professor Kornberg:

This is a belated follow-up to our phone conversation of last fall concerning your earlier letter to Dr. Long asking for a relaxation of clearance requirements for overseas travel and compensation under Institutional Grants.

You will recall that I indicated that the Agency was concerned about the travel issue as a policy matter and was in the process of examining differential treatment of overseas travel under the grant versus contract situation. I also indicated to you that your letter, in its entirety, was included as an appendix to a report to the Administrator recommending that action be taken in the direction of your request.

The Administrator initiated the establishment of an intra-Agency Working Group on Grant Policy including representatives of the Technical Assistance Bureau, the Auditor General, the General Counsel and the Contract Management Office. Recognizing that this was one of many issues assigned to this group, it was as recent as January 10 that the group agreed to recommend to the Administrator that the maximum requirement for foreign travel under Institutional Grants should be merely that the Grantee notify the Agency of any foreign travel, financed under the grant, at least 30 days prior to that travel. No prior authorization or approval should be required. However, we are assuming that the Grantee would want to know, for example, if the person involved is persona non grata or in some way in official trouble. The notification requirement would reveal such information but it would be the Grantee's decision as to what action to take.

This proposed approach can be taken only when there is understanding all around that no support or services are expected from the Agency

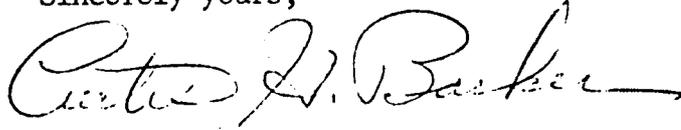
(i.e. making local contacts, obtaining visas, providing work space, meeting planes, making reservations, etc.).

I must quickly point out that two things must happen before this proposed policy becomes operational: 1) it must have the approval, in its final form, of all bureaus of the Agency; and 2) it must be translated into procedures for operational implementation. I personally, am optimistic about the outcome as well as the time required for implementation, but you should be aware of the situation.

The next item on one Working Group's Agenda is the approval requirement for compensating foreign nationals. It is complicated by such things as the need for waivers for statutory coverage under Workman's Compensation but I think we can work that one out, too.

Thanks for your help and your patience on these issues.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Curtis H. Barker". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

Curtis H. Barker  
Special Assistant for University Relations

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

August 28, 1973

Professor Allan Kornberg  
Department of Political Science  
Duke University  
Durham, North Carolina 27706

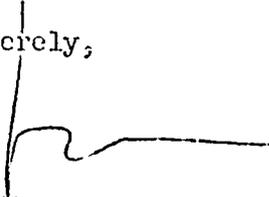
Dear Allan:

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, which is the center of my attention, calls for approaches to development assistance (as distinguished from security and military assistance) that assure maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of developing countries. For this purpose, U.S. bilateral economic development programs are supposed to recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the developing countries; encourage the use of the intellectual resources of those countries and the development of indigenous institutions that meet their particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress; support effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government; and encourage democratic, private, and local government institutions.

I have fallen victim to a growing sense of frustration, which I mumbled to some of the people at Montreal, in my effort to find the kind of ideas, concepts, methodologies, and information which are needed to make these policies operative for international development policy making and implementation. I enclose some immediate post-Montreal reflections of this mood, with specific regard to comparative legislative studies.

Please accept this letter as an invitation and plea for all participants in the Consortium, jointly and severally, informally and otherwise, to help me. Do not hesitate to give me your thoughts or suggestions because they are outside or may go beyond the specific focus of comparative legislative studies.

Sincerely,



Jonathan Silverstone  
Chief, Civic Participation Division  
Bureau for Program and Policy  
Coordination

Enclosure

cc: Professor Abdo Baaklini  
Professor George R. Boynton  
Professor Robert Cahill  
Professor John Grumma  
Professor James Heapney  
Professor Malcom Jewell  
Professor Allan Kornberg  
Professor Gerhard Loewenberg  
Professor Norman Meller  
Professor Michael Mezey  
Professor Lloyd Musolf  
Professor Samuel Patterson  
Professor Fred Riggs  
Professor Richard Sisson  
Professor Joel Smith

## COMPARATIVE LEGISLATIVE STUDIES CONSORTIUM

I should like to share with you, on an informal basis, some of my concerns about the legislative consortium's work (aside from SUNY's activity) and will appreciate any ideas or advice you might have for me.

The consortium appears to have had an impressive impact on comparative legislative studies. It has given the field legitimacy within the academic international political science and public administration communities. It has gained recognition among international development professionals and in some area studies groups of the possible value of studying legislatures. It has made legislative bodies and legislators in developing countries an attractive subject of study and research for young scholars and established academics, and it has recruited good talent for that endeavor.

I, for one, am awed by the vigor, dedication, and high performance of the people associated with the work of the consortium whom I have met--at our meetings and in the course of my visits to Iowa City, Honolulu, and Durham.

As time goes on, I hope to find that this work will help me perform my in-house roles as a participant in the work of AID's policy staff and lobbyist for the use in AID and other development agencies of social studies insights and knowledge that have not regularly fallen

within<sup>the</sup>/economics discipline and that will assist in the promotion of higher quality and more participatory economic development. For these purposes, I am anxious to find material in the legislative studies field that I can use and communicate and, where desirable, persuade with.

As the government officer with substantive responsibility for the consortium grants, it also is desirable for me to be able to show other participants in government processes the relevance and practical importance of the grant for U.S. foreign assistance policy and implementation. In addition, we have an obligation to show a direct and continuing relationship between the section 211(d) grants and the statutory purpose for which they were made. That is, the strengthening of institutional capacity to develop and carry out programs concerned with the economic and social development of less developed countries.

It would be wrong to suggest that academic researchers describe the precise policy applications of their work, or that they adhere to priorities based solely on passing statements of government interest, or that they translate their own work into language or forms that make its content and significance immediately understandable to administrators and their staffs. But relevance, communication outside the profession, and application of ideas and research should serve academic interests as well as the public interest (or my personal bureaucratic concern) where that is possible and consistent with the independence and initiative which must be essential elements of the grant program.

The development community--donors and developing countries, alike--are showing a greater interest in the extent of popular participation in development than was the case two and three years ago. There is widespread and explicit concern for participation in the benefits of economic development and in planning and implementation. There are a number of reasons for this new interest. Most important, I believe, is the awareness that the measurements which had generally been accepted for economic development, especially gross and per capital national product, did not tell anything about distribution and relative well being.

The interest in popular participation in economic development is now reflected in the talk and writing of the professional economic development establishment (as those of you who attended the recent San Jose International Development Conference observed), in the official declarations of donor and international organizations, and in the public discourse of developing country officials and political leaders. Amendments to the U.S. foreign assistance authorization law which were recently passed by the House of Representatives and are now pending in the Senate place a heavy emphasis on this point. The pertinent changes will be made in the operative as well as the precatory language of the statute and were drafted in the Congress on initiatives there.

Hunger and poverty are the major problems and issues of economic and politics and all life for most developing countries. They

necessarily dominate economic and political processes. And local research that is useful for the countries will necessarily relate to them.

At the same time, the governments are or will be more widely involved in the economic life of these countries, through attempts at economic planning, through direct involvement in and regulation of industry, commerce, and agriculture, and through the use of fiscal and tax policy for wide economic objectives. In addition, for many developing countries a large part of the decisions that are crucial for their economic life and objectives are made, or are perceived to be made, by persons and entities which are outside the country or whose financial or political power dwarfs that of the government and the local economy. In the case of many countries, geographic borders are the happenstance of colonial convenience or conflicts among imperial powers. Fundamental questions of ethnic and group relations and concord often remain to be worked out in circumstances where there may be interests and involvement of other stronger powers. And long term processes of change and institutional growth must take place while there is rapidly accelerating awareness among the people of living standards and life styles in the relatively wealthy countries and where there is international and domestic pressure for universal suffrage. A further condition, which may not have been present in Western experience, is the rapid world-wide communication of news about natural and man-made disasters and accompanying international

pressures and involvement.

Culture aside, these factors may make the situation confronted by political institutions in developing countries so different from the experience of the West as to make comparison far more difficult than the disparities in available information and the obvious data gathering problems already suggest. In any case, it may be necessary for consideration of developing country political institutions to start with an explicit understanding of the conditions of life that pervade politics and economics and with a clear recognition of the other major circumstances which now affect the growth and work of legislatures but may not parallel the milieu in which familiar Western models evolved.

In this frame of reference, one can find a number of institutional problems which are common to developing countries and with respect to which legislatures, or the functions associated with them in the legislative studies literature, may be relevant for policy purposes if better public participation and better program implementation are considered desirable.

The matters I have in mind--stated broadly--are these:

1. Formulation and implementation of national economic development plans that reflect country needs and realities, are equitable, and can gain popular allegiance.

2. Formation and implementation of agrarian programs which are equitable and can serve production and employment generation needs.
3. Adoption and implementation of fiscal and expenditure measures that encourage growth and also are equitable in terms of income distribution and generate employment.
4. Encouragement of adequate administrative organizations in state and private sectors whose managers and staffs do not come to dominate the community.
5. Availability in the government decision making process of adequate knowledge and attention to real world consequences of policies and projects for the groups and individuals who might be affected.
6. Performance of ombudsmanship and intermediary functions between people and state institutions.
7. Effective and fair participation in policy making and implementation of disparate ethnic, cultural, geographic groups and interests.
8. Control of state enterprises, with particular regard for their responsiveness to public needs, public complaints, and public social and economic policy.

9. Consideration and implementation of public works projects.
10. Representation of the poor and the disadvantaged.
11. Preservation of opportunities for decision making on a decentralized, local subnational basis.
12. Population policy and programs that effectively meet local, national, and international needs.

There are, in addition, recurring and troublesome constitutional questions of choice among foreign institutional <sup>models</sup> and construction of ~~united~~ legislative institutions that fit the needs, circumstances, and experience and capacities of the country.

A growing number of political scientists and economists are coming to recognize that purposeful economic development or change is, whatever else it may be, a political and social process and a matter of political and social consequences. Among the American political scientists working directly from this standpoint are Michael Cohen, whose academic work deals with African politics and who is now at the World Bank, and John Thomas, at Harvard. And among the economists is Carl Gotsch. Gotsch and Thomas have devoted much of their attention to Pakistan and Bangladesh.

At the present time, AID is sponsoring two research projects on income distribution in which economists and political scientists will, we hope, be working in close collaboration. A group at Rice University is investigating the income distribution effects of various kinds of public expenditures and taxes and the effect on public expenditures and taxes of existing income distribution patterns. Special attention is now being given by the Rice researchers to Colombia, Malaysia, and Turkey. As one aspect of this project, Fred von der Mehden, a political scientist, and Charles McClure, an economist, are studying how conflicting objectives of different regional, ethnic, familial, and religious groups and competing elites influence development planning and implementation policies.

The second project is a collaboration between Brookings and Princeton. They hope to develop measures of income distribution and will also investigate the income distribution effects of selected fiscal and development policies and their implementation.

In addition, the Yale Law School is seeking to relate its work on law and legal institutions under its section 211(d) grant to the policy problems associated with development and change. Stanford's Law School has similar objectives focussing on Latin America. And an AID contract with Harvard University's Development Advisory Service brings economists, political scientists, and lawyers together to consider how law and the legal environment can best be perceived and

considered by experts employed to advise on economic development policy.

The Rice and Princeton-Brookings studies, and so far as I am aware, the other work, are not at present giving close or creative attention to the legislative function, except perhaps for the substance of policy which might be legislated, the problems of obtaining assent from legislatures, and the obstructions and perversities which may be attributed to legislatures and their members.

I have the feeling that it could be productive, and may even be essential, for developing countries and aid donor organizations to go beyond this perspective when they consider legislative functions and their performance.

We need guidance and better ways of thinking about legislative and representative functions, their performance, and their relevance to development consequences. We also need guidance and better ways to assess the effects of the changes in formal legislative arrangements which recur in developing countries.

Perhaps this guidance will come from the efforts which the consortium has initiated. But I wonder if it will happen unless standards are applied to the choice of budget priorities or research strategies which have an explicit focus on the problems of development, or developing countries. As a layman with respect to the academic

profession, I worry that perhaps the guiding principle is solely to add developing country locales and scholars to a field whose interests and concerns and methods are defined solely in terms of the circumstances and needs of the rich countries. From an imperial or a narrow missionary standpoint this might be worthwhile, but will it help to meet developing country needs?

If I understand and remember what they said at the IPSA session, Sam Patterson and the young graduate student from the University of Toronto suggested possible needs for the whole field of comparative legislative studies that I have wondered about with specific reference to developing countries. Patterson, I think, urged the desirability of some stated objectives and conceptual standards to guide research, to the extent that can be done without being prescriptive. The graduate student's point may be subsumed in the Patterson comment. She expressed concern that data gathering on individual legislators' attitudes and background, and the attitudes of members of the public about legislators, can be an endless and infinitely expensive endeavor and wondered if it should not be justified on an opportunity cost basis. Her point is particularly appealing given the shortage of financial and trained human resources in developing countries, other more pressing needs to which money and talent might be devoted, and the difficulty of obtaining data.

It is possible that I am seeking something that I have no business to expect unless I make the effort, at least, to get to you whatever

Project Proposal Summary  
Title: Title IX Research

1. Purpose: Contribution to knowledge about critical areas of the development process, and, in particular, to provide support for Congressional directives that all A.I.D. Development Assistance activities be designed and implemented so as to fit the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the developing countries; encourage the use of the intellectual resources of these countries and the development of indigenous institutions that meet their particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress; support effective participation of the people in the benefits, implementation, and decision making related to development; and encourage democratic private and local government institutions; and also to respond to the requirement of section 281(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act that in the allocation of funds for research under A.I.D.'s central research program (Title V), emphasis must be given to research designed to examine the political, social, and related obstacles to development and to research designed to increase understanding of the ways in which development assistance can support democratic social and political trends.

2. Project Justification

a. State of Knowledge

Development research in the social sciences has been largely concentrated in economics and on specific technical or physical problems in the concentration areas of agriculture, health, nutrition, population and education. While the social and cultural setting was recognized in the statute governing A.I.D. to have an important bearing on the analysis of problems and the desirability of interdisciplinary approaches was, therefore, stressed, A.I.D. has failed to deal adequately with the socio-cultural problems of development. Our current lack of relevant knowledge and the need for research in these regards has been highlighted by A.I.D.'s and other donors' and recipients' attempts to move forward, on the one hand, in the new directions for development programs enunciated by Dr. Hannah and other statesmen and leaders, with specific regard for the actual participation of the people in development, and, on the other hand, to minimize or stop inflicting the social damage which has accompanied some traditional aid techniques. The research must also support techniques of analysis and implementation that are free of the notions of "social engineering" and dominance which President Nixon has sought to eliminate from U.S. bilateral aid doctrine and must also help us to develop insights and knowledge of social and political processes in developing countries that will permit us to avoid aid policies and approaches that create unintended resentments and consequences. This "umbrella" project seeking to address selected critical areas of A.I.D. concerns seeks to address this need and relates to (and builds on) work

carried out previously under contracts with Harvard University and capabilities developed under 211(d) grants to Yale University, the Iowa/Hawaii/Duke consortium and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University.

b. Relevance to A.I.D. objectives

The proposed research is highly relevant to A.I.D. objectives because (i) it supports compliance with the explicit mandates described above; (ii) it will explore the policy implications of the findings of research on a broad range of technical development problems; and (iii) it will develop methodological insights for dealing with the development process as distinct from the mere promotion of economic growth.

3. Summary Research Plan

It is proposed to identify one or several institutions and researchers with capabilities in the social sciences (sociology, political science, public administration, anthropology and law) to undertake the following investigations, as separate studies or in a broader integrated effort.

i. Methodologies for identifying and incorporating necessary social insights into development planning and implementation.

The primary purpose of this study will be to investigate ways in which current non-economic, primarily anthropological, insights and knowledge can be brought to bear in economic development activities. The subject has been given attention with respect to microanalysis of development and with respect to the transfer of technical knowledge and techniques in technical assistance work. There is also a great deal of anecdotal information and experience incorporated in the mental equipment of people who have worked in technical assistance. This project is for an initial exploration of the possibilities for practical approaches to a methodology that will permit systematic and timely application of social analysis (insofar as such analysis may be relevant and useful) in development planning and program analysis phases of development work, with particular regard for the accomplishment of health, nutrition, education, employment, and population objectives.

ii. Cultural aspects of work relevant to employment programs and techniques for integrating data about them into economic and program planning and analysis.

Extensive studies in the United States, including the pioneering work at the Harvard Business School and the current interest in the automobile assembly plant at Lordstown, Ohio, demonstrate that concepts

of jobs and the dynamics of groups in particular societies exercise significant consequences on the economic and political consequences of projects which provide employment. We understand that there is a large literature on the sociology of work in other countries but are not at the moment familiar with it. Strategies and programs aimed at maximizing employment, at the same time that efficiency appropriate to the relative scarcity of factors of production is maintained and improved, must deal with this subject. But there do not appear to be practical approaches now in use which will permit adequate consideration at program planning, project design, and analysis stages of development work.

iii. The effect of ethnic and language differences on program and project accomplishment.

At one time, it was customary to believe that ethnic and language differences would be wiped out or minimized as a significant factor affecting the political and economic development of a country. It is clear that this expectation was false, at least insofar as it related to a meaningful time period, and there have been suggestions that development aggravates problems related to such differences. The section 211(d) comparative legislative studies consortium is sponsoring a conference on a very limited aspect of the subject: multilingualism in relation to the development and functioning of representative legislative bodies. It is important to start work as soon as possible which will lead us to concepts and approaches for the broader subject that will be useful at all stages of development work with particular regard for A.I.D.'s major sector emphases.

iv. The consequences of foreign study with respect to role perception and role performance related to social responsibility, ability to deal with the social and economic circumstances in the country of origin, and the factors which affect these matters.

The subject is of particular concern in relation to the training of participants in the United States. With the Office of International Training, we have been considering the use of seminars and other devices to deal with aspects of the American academic experience that might be counter productive in these regards. Some preliminary work needs to be done, however, to bring together what is known on the subject and to develop operational concepts.

v. Relationship of technical innovation and transfer and technology choice on the centralization of power.

Under Title IX, we are to protect and promote pluralism and local government and voluntary action to the maximum extent practicable.

We do not know about the consequences in these regards of technologies, techniques, and organization concepts introduced or supported through aid programs--including those related to communications and transport, industry and commerce, economic planning, and education--and whether there are approaches in these regards which are equal to each other in terms of efficiency or other major objectives but which may have differential consequences for the organization of society. A substantial initial effort is needed for conceptualization, which, if that is done well, might be followed by detailed, empirical study.

vi. The transformation of national policy into personal decision making by members of the public and feedback which affects policy making, with particular regard for the communication of policy to the individuals to be benefitted, their access to relevant institutions, the control and effectiveness of those institutions and their procedures, and the transmission through this system on the implementation or consequences of policy which leads to adjustment of the policy. In the population field, A.I.D. has funded a substantial effort to collect the formal statutes and legal decisions which may affect individual decisions relevant to a country's demographic situation. A significant dimension of the question is not being treated, in part because there has not been adequate conceptualization and testing in relation to it. That is, the communication of policy to the individuals whose decisions are to be affected and their effective access to institutions which implement the law. The matter is of particular significance in the area of land reform, where many development workers have become aware of discrepancies between policy stated in formal statute, decision, or decree, and the actual flow or distribution of benefits to classes and individuals. While the problems are becoming increasingly apparent, and some thought has been given to them in the domestic United States context, we have not begun to develop operationally useful ways of looking at them with respect to different societies and different situations.

vii. Program and Project Design

To what extent is participation by the clientele or the people to be affected by a program necessary in the decision making process, with specific regard for program design and project design, if the project or program is to meet its objectives; and what kinds of participation are possible and effective.

This research will be done with specific reference to A.I.D.'s sector emphases: Health, nutrition, education, agriculture, and population control.

#### viii. Indigenous Institutions

Our planning and programming has not given attention to the possible positive contributions which indigenous institutions (including rotating credit groups and extended families, for example) may make toward development objectives, on the one hand, and the negative effects (including consequential costs) of policies and programs which disrupt them. Insofar as we have thought about these institutions, it has been as "obstacles", or, in Soviet terminology, "dangerous remnants of a tribal way of life". Research on this subject will focus on specific sector interests, particularly health, nutrition, education, agriculture, and population, and on employment and income distribution. At our suggestion, a start was made on the study of traditional rural credit institutions in the current Spring Review.

#### ix. Migration

There are three aspects of rural-urban migration which are significant for development policy, with particular regard for A.I.D.'s new strategies:

1. What are the forces which push people out of the countryside and from one size city to another and how do they make decisions on where to migrate?
2. What are the forces that pull people to cities and how do they affect decisions on when and where to migrate?
3. What are the options as to policy and methods which are left by the answers to the first two questions?

Much work has been done on these questions from an economics point of view. Some work has been done by anthropologists and sociologists. But there is very little of an integrative nature that is useful for the third question in a development policy and implementation context, with particular regard for policies and projects related to health, nutrition, education, agriculture, and population control, which will provide the foci for this cross-disciplinary research.

#### x. Urban Settlers

We have done some work on the political socialization of migrants to the cities under the Harvard Patterns of Participation project. We need to build on this work not to look at the extent to which migrants place new demands on local government structures for services, the extent to which such services are or can be provided

through non-formal or non-official structures (such as neighborhood groups, including the kind of grouping which McCabe identified in Kinshasa, tribal groups, beneficial associations, groups based on place of origin or on ethnicity) and the extent to which development projects and development policy disrupts or supports institutions of that kind, placing additional burdens on government structures that do not have the capacity to meet the demands. Particular attention would be placed on these questions in relation to the accomplishment of health, nutrition, education, employment, population, migration control and population objectives:

#### 4. Integration

The detailed work plans will be worked out in close coordination with the A.I.D. technical offices concerned, particularly TA/UDS, TA/EMR, TA/H, and TA/N and will, of course, also be closely related to ongoing and proposed economic research projects in PPC. Preliminary explorations indicate that some of the proposed research is of considerable interest to the World Bank and is intended to stay in close touch with them in order to determine joint approaches wherever possible. It is obvious that the whole Title IX approach requires close working relations with social scientists in the developing countries. It is envisaged, therefore, to seek, as appropriate, to associate LDC institutions with known competence in the relevant social sciences not merely in the execution of studies, but in the formulation of detailed plans. These would include institutions such as the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research, the National Institute of Development Administration in Thailand, El Colegio de Mexico and others. The proposed budget reflects this concern for a network approach.

#### 5. Utilization Potential

We believe that concern with problems of fitting technical solutions to the cultural setting is a requisite for the utilization of all development research and therefore look to this project as the catalyst stimulating the more effective use of all Agency research in the development process. The proposed close collaboration with other institutions, especially in the LDCs themselves will not merely strengthen the awareness of the social dimensions of the development process, but also the professional and intellectual networks required to sustain this awareness and to provide the technical knowhow to make them effective.