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LEGISLATURES AND THE MODERNIZATION OF SOCIETIES

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The very prevalence of legislative institutions¹—in totalitarian and authoritarian polities no less than in liberal and social democracies and in developed and less-developed countries—may be construed as affording prima facie evidence of their relevance for inquiry. Further, their presence in societies with a variety of political arrangements and at various stages of social and economic development suggests, at the very least, that legislatures and legislature-like institutions are perceived by individuals and groups who aspire to power in a society, or by those who already have tasted it, as a force for persistence, as a necessary if not sufficient condition for maintaining not only their own favored positions, but also for sustaining a given political order regardless of form or objectives. Again, therefore, legislatures may be viewed as not only appropriate, but, indeed, required objects of study by social scientists concerned with the form and distribution of power within society. Finally, both their vitality and critical significance in the process of government and their more

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general importance as instruments of social control are illustrated by the phoenix-like ability of legislatures to be reconstituted. Observation indicates that, in virtually every instance in which legislatures or legislature-like institutions have been disbanded or dissolved in the course of revolutionary change, there has been insistent pressure to reestablish legislatures, if only for their instrumental value—legislatures apparently being regarded as symbols of the legitimacy and effectiveness of regimes.

Despite their special importance, legislatures in Third World countries have received only the most meager scholarly attention. In great part, their neglect is a consequence of the almost explosive increase in the number of new states since the end of World War II. This increase encouraged the abandonment of institutional analysis and the adoption of analytic formats adequate for the study of societies irrespective of culture or time. Macro approaches emphasized "systems," "functions," "patterns," and "models," rather than discrete institutional units.² Whatever the reasons, we shall contend that, rather than being neglected by social scientists studying Third World countries, institutions, especially legislative or legislature-like institutions, can become a major focus in the comparative study of "modernization," the most dynamic aspect of new states (and older nations).³

We realize that our interest in legislatures is contrary to a rather commonly held position that they are basically barriers to change and that they inhibit modernization. Even if this is the case, this would and should not preclude investigating the roles played by legislatures in modernization-development. Indeed, the possibility that legislatures and legislature-like institutions may be barriers to modernization actually increases the urgency and enhances the instrumental value of research in this area. Also, because Western legislative bodies historically have played varying but still important roles in the modernization of their societies, and since, despite the supposed "decline of parliaments," they continue to perform functions that affect and, in turn, are affected by the several processes involved in modernization, we shall argue that a series of comparative investigations focusing on the modernization of both newer and older states and utilizing legislative (and legislature-like) institutions as either the principal dependent or independent variables can make a notable contribution to our understanding of the development-modernization process.

Accordingly, in this paper, we shall first try to assess the utility of employing the concept of "modernization" rather than the alternative (and more frequently used) concepts of "development" or "growth."

Then we shall try to suggest how the grounding of modernization studies in systematic comparative analyses of the roles that legislative institutions play in facilitating or impeding the processes involved in modernization can engage social scientists employing a variety of conceptual and analytic approaches. The assumption is that both modernization and legislative studies could thereby be invigorated and given new relevance. Finally, to illustrate the scope that comparative legislative studies of modernization afford, we shall consider the types of questions that could inform such studies, propose a paradigmatic scheme for organizing them, and briefly describe a number of studies currently in progress that investigate various aspects of the legislative role in modernization.

DEVELOPMENT-MODERNIZATION STUDIES: AN OVERVIEW

The adjectives "confused," "ambiguous," and "discordant" quite properly describe the manner in which the concepts "development," "growth," and, to a lesser extent, "modernization" have been employed. A review of the literature in which these concepts have been utilized suggests great dissensus on operational definitions, although, as might be expected, there may be considerably greater consensus on nominal definitions.⁴

One consequence of lack of agreement on operational indicators is the development of an elaborate body of criticism. Six basic critical points seem to be reiterated throughout the literature:

- (1) Development studies are ethnocentric and reveal evolutionary, teleological, determinist, conservative, and static-equilibrium biases (Nisbet, 1969; Mazrui, 1965; Ilchmann and Uphoff, 1969: 3-25; Meadows, 1968).
- (2) Such studies are overly concerned with postulating general theories that, given the present limitations of the social sciences qua sciences, cannot be utilized in the foreseeable future (La Palombara, 1968; Chong-do-Hah and Schneider, 1968; Macridis, 1968; and Rustow, 1968).
- (3) Inquiries are not sufficiently concerned with power, with legal structures and processes, and with employing the political system as an independent variable (Tsurutani, 1969; Lasswell, 1965; Braibanti, 1968, 1969; Freidman, 1969; Rheinstein, 1963; Mendelson, 1970; Paige, 1966; Apter, 1965: 9, 65, 228-229; Pye, 1964: 8-9).

- (4) The studies are not sufficiently concerned with institutions and with the processes through which institutions develop (Huntington, 1965; Esman, 1962a, 1962b; Eisenstadt, 1962-1963, 1964, 1966: vi).
- (5) Investigations have not explicitly articulated democratic norms and values (Bay, 1967; Freidrich, 1970; Goulet, 1968; Sibley, 1967, 1966; Steere, 1969; and Vickers, 1968).
- (6) Research has been ahistorical; studies have not been sufficiently concerned with the uniqueness, sequence, and timing of developmental processes and experiences and have especially neglected Western historical experiences associated with the development of Western democratic systems (Black, 1966: 111-159; Hirschman, 1970; Salamon, 1970; Nordlinger, 1968; and Lewy, 1968).

Insofar as the use of the concepts of development and growth is concerned, it also has been noted that such concepts have analogical, metaphorical, and metaphysical accoutrements. Perhaps more significantly, although these have important philosophical and methodological implications, they are rarely if ever spelled out (Landau, 1961; Nisbet, 1969; Deutsch, 1951). The growth process, for example, has been described in terms of organismic metaphors and through the use of analogues that tend to be deterministic; causation is ascribed almost entirely to endogenous factors. At times, there is also a mixing of metaphors in that growth and "nation-building" (Pye, 1962: 3-14)—a phenomenon frequently described in terms of mechanistic metaphors⁵—are used interchangeably. The possibility of purposive motivations underlying such potential conceptual bias also has been well explicated, though we shall only note it here.

In our view, the reiteration of such criticisms in the literature on development-modernization suggests: (a) that the systematic study of an institution that symbolically, at least, is tied to democratic norms and processes may be worth undertaking; (b) that, although it may be trite, it is nevertheless true that empirically grounded, middle-range theory is a prerequisite for the formulation of more general theory in the social sciences; and (c) that prior to the operationalization of a concept, some clarification and explanation of one's choices from among contending concepts is helpful.

With regard to the latter point, our present leaning is toward the use of the concept modernization, rather than those of development or growth. We prefer it not because it is totally free of the problems⁶ that attend to the use of the latter two concepts, but rather because it is *freer* of them, "less encumbered with accretions of meaning" (Black, 1966: 8), and

therefore more attractive. Modernization also seems preferable because it relates the several processes involved to a particular historical period in the West beginning at approximately the fifteenth century and continuing to the present (Black, 1966: 5 ff). Unlike the various developmental concepts, which are temporally more universal, modernization as a concept of worldly adaptability seems particularly necessitated and facilitated by the increasingly rapid technological and organizational developments of the last five centuries. Consequently, it would appear to be more useful for describing the context of events in contemporary societies and for focusing on the conflicting value patterns and goals as well as on the complex problems that are associated with their advanced technologies. As indicated, development and growth, in contrast, are not clearly associated with any historical period. Indeed, they could as easily be applied to Ancient Greece and Rome as to nations whose origins are in the post-World-War-II era (Rustow, 1967: 8-11). Further, and perhaps more important, development and growth are too clearly identified with the attainment of a final or mature "stage," the nature of which is ultimately a matter of personal preference and speculation (Goulet, 1968: 301).

Somewhat differently, modernization, as other scholars have noted, focuses on "adaptation," "transformation," and "adjustment,"⁷ terms that are consonant with our view of modernization 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*. In this regard, there appear to us to be three distinct aspects of change that are unique referents of modernization. One aspect is the purposeful and systematic articulation and sequencing of political, social, and economic change. Second, modernization involves the occurrence and increased acceptance of the view that change is normal and can be of value. A third aspect of modernization, one which Daniel Lerner (1958) asserts is critical in the transformation to modern society, is a human psychic transformation away from self-centeredness and toward an expanded world view. This shift requires, in Lerner's view, development and enlargement of man's empathic abilities. Although even the most cursory consideration of the crises in personal and intergroup relations in the modern world leads one to question whether men actually do increase their empathic ability or whether they simply are encouraged to behave as if they have the ability and are exercising it, what may mark the modern world is the belief that it is right to try to exercise empathy. Indeed, not only that it is right to try, but that one ought to keep trying irrespective of failure. In the rest of this

discussion, then, we shall use the term modernization when we wish to refer to any or all of these three phenomena.

THE ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN MODERNIZATION

That a society's institutions usually have a critical role in structuring the actions and interactions of its citizens would appear so obvious a point as to require no elucidation. In fact, in some respects, institutions can be said to occupy the kind of position of centrality in the research of social scientists as natural and physical phenomena occupy in the investigations of physical and biological scientists. Nonetheless, as Sisson (forthcoming) notes, one casualty in the study of newer societies has been institutional analysis. Although the frequent claim that earlier institutional studies had been excessively formalistic, legalistic, and sterile has merit, so also has the more recent counterclaim that, in failing to utilize institutions as analytic objects, we are "in danger of throwing out the political baby with the institutional bath water" (Rustow, 1958: 39). Thus, one merit of comparing the role of legislative bodies in facilitating or impeding modernization is that, of necessity, it would direct attention to "political" variables.

However, studies of institutions in general and of legislative institutions in particular have merits other than a greater concern for overtly political matters to recommend them. Most specifically, such studies permit a more inclusive yet more focused approach to the comparative analysis of modernization than has heretofore been the case. By way of illustration, they enable organizational theorists to focus on what Huntington (1965) and others have termed institutionalization, a concept that tries to reconcile conflicting pressures for stability and change within modernizing societies;⁸ phenomenologists and normative theorists can concern themselves with purposive human behavior and values;⁹ historians and legal scholars can trace structural and constitutional changes over time;¹⁰ and empirically oriented social scientists can bring a variety of conceptual and methodological tools to the systematic analyses of the timing, sequence, and interrelatedness of the events and processes involved in modernization.¹¹

In addition to these foregoing considerations, legislatures are especially appropriate institutions to consider for enhancing understanding of the modernization process because of their affinity to aspects of moderniza-

tion itself. Thus, for example, to the extent that members of the polity participate in a legislator-selection process, the development and exercise of empathic skills is encouraged. In addition, legislatures are usually microcosmic arenas of participation for their members which, because of their central and public character, can also serve as models of participation for the ordinary man. Moreover, many legislative actions inevitably stimulate change and, inasmuch as change processes may need to be controlled and articulated, legislatures often become involved in the process of coordination of control. Although it is possible to see the direct relevance of legislatures for modernization, for the various reasons cited above, many more questions can be raised than answered.

These questions range from the precursors of legislative development and organization to the consequences of legislative outputs. They bear upon membership recruitment, role conceptions, and performance, as these interact with organization and relate to output, and on the feedback consequences of output for further legislative development include, of course, both general conditions and events, as well as the nation's level of social and economic development. The consequences of legislative output and performance have their location not only in both the legislature itself and on the legislators themselves (as well as in support for them), but in various sectors and aspects of the society at large. These outputs, similarly, may be conservative, reflective, or innovative. The reader can create his own specific questions for inquiry simply by considering various combinations and specifications of the above.¹²

The reader will recall that two of the major criticisms that have been made of development studies are that they tend to be ahistorical and to neglect Western historical experiences in particular. Assuming the criticisms are valid, studies focusing only on Western legislative bodies and informed by the following questions would have special merit.

- (1) Under what conditions did ruling elites feel constrained to establish legislature-like structures?
- (2) Was the willingness of Western elites to establish legislature-like structures related to the level of economic development within their respective societies?
- (3) Under what conditions were legislatures able to establish their autonomy from the environments from which they emerged?
- (4) Was there a pattern to the development of institutional autonomy in Western legislatures?¹³
- (5) Under what conditions did the "loyal opposition" emerge in Western legislatures, and how was such opposition institutionalized?

- (6) Were changes in the social and economic composition of Western societies reflected in changed patterns of recruitment to legislative positions?¹⁴

Until very recently, of course, most empirical studies of Western legislative bodies have been directed toward the systematic consideration of the internal operations of legislatures and the interactions of legislators and significant "others" in their role set (e.g., an executive, administrative bureaucracy, a party organization, an interest group). Robert Packenham (1970), although conceding the importance and utility of such scholarship, argues that students of Western legislatures persistently have refused "to take seriously or answer with relevant data questions about the functions of legislatures in the political system" (Packenham, 1970: 548). Presumably, studies of operation and interaction would enlighten these latter questions only accidentally and indirectly.

Assuming Packenham is correct, less attention could be directed toward internal structure and interaction analyses of Western legislative bodies and more emphasis given to delineating and evaluating functional performance and to the role of legislatures vis-à-vis other political institutions. However, in our view, matters such as internal structure could not and should not be ignored in studies of legislative roles in the modernization of new nations;¹⁵ our assumption is that both the organizational qualities of a legislature and the personal characteristics of legislators at least can be important "intervening" factors that affect markedly the range of issues considered, the legislative resolutions of these issues, and the acceptability of these decisions to a larger public. Parenthetically, in this regard, it may also be noted that the very form and function of many national and local legislatures in both older and newer countries are often deeply affected by the diffusion processes that have been such a major focal point for anthropological investigation.

Our discussion to this point has assumed: (a) that legislatures have played an important part in the modernization of societies in the West; and (b) that legislatures have played a variable but nonetheless real role in the assessment of needs and in the determination of actions that affect modernization in at least *some* of the newer states. The first assumption is not as likely to trouble many readers as is the second. Therefore, in support of this latter assumption we may note the recently reported research of Agor, Stauffer, Valenzuela, and Grossholtz. According to Agor (1970) and Stauffer (1970), the legislatures of both Chile and the Philippines play a significant role in the policy process. Arturo Valenzuela

(1972) and Jean Grossholtz (1970) feel that the legislatures of these two countries also perform other important integrative functions. Further, even those legislatures in newer states, that are regarded as relatively impotent insofar as the initiation and the evaluation of public policy are concerned, nevertheless, have had ascribed to them such important political functions as ratification (Helgerson, 1970), legitimation (Crow, 1970; Hudson, 1969), and communication (Stultz, 1969) of decisions made by modernizing elites located elsewhere in the political structures of these systems. This varied language in fact may reflect important core functions performed by legislative bodies in non-Western societies, widely perceived but differently articulated.

More important than the roles that they currently play is the role that legislative bodies *can play* in the future.¹⁶ According to Sisson (forthcoming):

the legislature might be an institution for future use in developing political systems—a sensing apparatus for the detection and perhaps accommodation of new patterns of public conflict and demand upon the state. Institutions, having existed, having been publicized, having become a part of the public consciousness, might assume new functions and powers more easily than institutions created with immediacy—either in anticipation of or as a reaction to a particular crisis or functional need.

He seems to be suggesting that legislatures can facilitate the passage of modernizing societies through what have been termed the “six crises” of development: legitimacy, integration, identity, penetration, participation, and distribution.¹⁷ In this regard, it seems likely that, as societies have modernized, their legislatures have passed from performing essentially legitimating and integrating functions to performing functions that facilitate participation and distribution.

Although we have suggested that the role of legislatures in facilitating or impeding the processes involved in modernization is both an appropriate and needed focus of empirical investigation, until now we have emphasized only the facilitative aspect. Let us consider instead the possibility that legislatures, especially in Third World countries, impede modernization. In a thoughtful and provocative essay, Robert Packenham (1970) has argued *against* strengthening legislative bodies in new states precisely because they are likely to have deleterious consequences for their modernization.¹⁸ He claims that

legislatures tend to represent, all over the world, more conservative and parochial interests than executives, even in democratic polities.

This seems especially to be the case in presidential, as contrasted with parliamentary, political systems. In societies that need and want change, and where political modernization may be defined as the will and capacity to cope with and to generate continuing transformation, it may not make much sense to strengthen the decision-making power of an institution that is likely to resist change.

He concedes that there is a considerable variation in the degree to which his remarks are relevant for different Third World countries. Also, he does not deny that in *some* countries and under some conditions, strengthened legislative decision-making *may contribute* to political modernization. He seems to feel that this may be the case or it may not, but in any case we simply do not have enough relevant knowledge to make a decision.

Knowledge of the relationship of legislatures to political development is very poor relative to what is known about other institutions . . . and about the relationship of political culture, economic development, social structures, and other variables of political development. Even in these areas too little is known, but it is more than we know about legislatures [Packenham, 1970: 579-580].

We feel that Packenham is correct in asserting that we do not know enough about the relationship of legislatures to modernization ("development" is the term he prefers) although we already know more today than when Packenham was writing his essay. We also agree with him that, in certain newer states, a legislature can have a deleterious effect on modernization or be an inappropriate political institution for other reasons. This still would not obviate the desirability of a comprehensive program of systematic comparative research on the legislative role in modernization. Indeed, the possibility that legislatures are barriers to modernization actually increases the urgency and enhances the instrumental value of research in this area. For, if a research program could make clear the conditions under which a legislature is a barrier to modernization in newer (and older) countries (if, for example, research can delineate the motives of individual legislators opposed to modernization or make clear to which aspects of the process they most object), then, at the same time, it also will provide knowledge that ultimately could help legislatures to help themselves become facilitative. In this way, such research, even if it does so indirectly, still could make a singular contribution to the modernization of those countries.

AN ORGANIZATIONAL PARADIGM

Figure 1 is a schematic representation of a paradigm that could be employed to organize the sort of comparative series of studies that has been proposed. It is obvious that the diagram is only an attempt to depict for easier communication a schema that is, at this point, relatively crude. In this schema, for many purposes, the qualities of legislatures (e.g., their bases for representation, their forms of organization, their procedural rules, the political and social characteristics of their members, their prestige in their own societies, and their public's image of them) are represented as critical intervening variables in the relation between the circumstances of where a society is and how it may modernize. Basically, the paradigm suggests that such characteristics of a society as its distinctive culture, its linguistic unity or differences, its political system, its location, and its known resources provide a context within which needs and problems are recognized and defined and efforts made to address them. Legislatures, as has been indicated, play a variable rather than a fixed role in the assessment of needs and in the determination of actions calculated to deal with them. Thus, they may define a problem, propose alternative solutions for it, select from among alternatives, and make provision for the implementation of their decision. Even while they play such full roles, they may vary in their definitions of problems and alternative solutions, as well as in their choices for attention from among these. Alternatively, they merely may ratify decisions made elsewhere in the system, or they may play no part whatsoever in meeting the perceived needs of a society.

Outcomes of this process that are modernizing may be identified openly as such by decision makers or, for reasons of local custom or because of the political climate or cultural norms, may be justified in other terms.¹⁹ The diagram indicates that, once a decision is reached, there typically is an output in the form of a law or decree which, in turn, usually requires provision of some mechanisms for its implementation.²⁰ On the right of the diagram is a list of output areas that commonly are conceived of as central to modernization. The legislative outputs may involve such diverse programs as building new cities, providing new housing, moving population from country to city, redistributing land holdings, lengthening the life span, lowering infant mortality, modifying the birth rate, creating new factories, introducing new products, increasing literacy, building new schools, changing relationships among social institutions, or outright restructuring of values. Finally, the paradigm recognizes explicitly the fact that efforts to instigate change may produce consequences *other* than

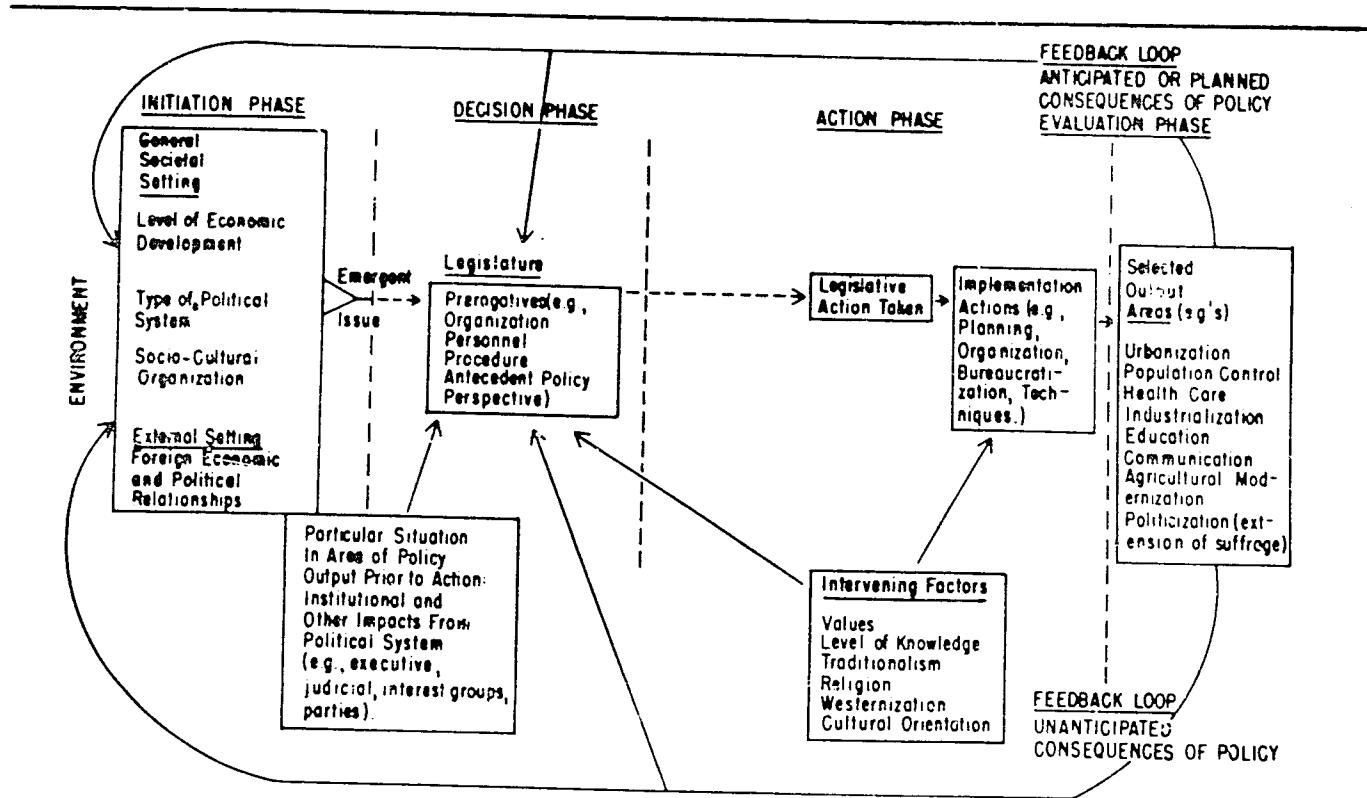


Figure 1: A PARADIGM FOR STUDIES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ROLE IN MODERNIZING SOCIETIES

those initially contemplated, often in areas that would not have seemed accessible to purposeful manipulation and change. Thus, for example, legislation intended to increase national cohesion and to facilitate effective and orderly public reaction to changing conditions through the vehicles of the development of a national radio network could, in addition, have the unintended and unanticipated effect of changing and homogenizing public tastes and preferences for consumer items.

Designating the various factors depicted in the diagram at a high level of abstraction inadvertently may create the impression that such varied matters as urban policy, population policy, and educational policy (as parts of the modernizing process), are all to be understood as products of exactly the same preceding forces. This is, of course, not the case. The diagram serves only as a paradigm. For example, it indicates that research on urbanization policy must be concerned with the apparatus created between the passage of a bill in a legislature, or some other mechanism for making a committing decision, and the construction of a new capital city. Again, for example, it indicates that the level of knowledge is something that needs to be considered in such an investigation. That level of knowledge is probably a much more important variable in understanding differences between initial responses to family planning or health care programs on the one hand and decisions to build a city or a radio network on the other, for example, is a conclusion that only research can support. The paradigm simply defines the variables in such an inquiry.

To begin implementing the research suggested by this paradigm, three U.S. universities recently established separate but coordinated multidisciplinary programs of comparative legislative studies (Political Science, 1971). Also associated with the programs of the three universities are individual scholars in other U.S. and foreign universities with an interest in either the comparative study of legislatures or the legislature's place in the modernization-development process. At the most general level, the University of Iowa's program will concentrate on the explication of the roles played by legislative bodies in the establishment of regime stability and the expansion of governmental capability, as well as the delineation of the conditions under which legislatures contribute or are barriers to the creation of democratic styles of authority. The University of Hawaii program will systematically explore the relationship of legislative bodies to the economic aspect of modernization among Pacific Basin countries, whereas the Duke University program will focus on the roles played by legislatures in facilitating or impeding several aspects of the integration of societies at varying levels of modernization.

More specifically, multidisciplinary research (primarily by political scientists, sociologists, historians, and anthropologists) already has been initiated on a variety of topics. By way of illustration, research currently is in progress or in preparation on the conditions under which Western legislative bodies arose in modern nation-states; on changes in the policy initiation and evaluation functions of legislators in British-model parliamentary systems; on the roles played by subnational legislative units in the economic development of certain African states; on the varying roles played by legislative bodies in the implementation of population programs; on the location of countries with specific urbanization policies and then the assessment of the legislative role in the formulation, evaluation, and implementation of these policies; on the role played by language in the politics of three multilingual societies; on the integration of ethnic and racial groups by legislative bodies in the generation following the establishment of new nations; and on the relationship of structural and constitutional changes in legislative bodies to their outputs in specific policy areas. These essentially eclectic, but still systematic, multidisciplinary, and comparative series of investigations constitutes a modest, but, hopefully, a promising beginning to the mapping of the major processes and the delineation of the relevant roles of legislative bodies in the modernization of societies.

NOTES

1. By way of illustration, the Inter-Parliamentary Union currently includes some 67 members.

2. In a recent essay, Sisson (forthcoming) offers four other reasons for the lack of attention to legislatures: (1) because of interest in the nonpolitical determinants (i.e., the social and economic bases) of political behavior; (2) because of the view that much of the real stuff of politics rests outside governmental institutions and in nationalistic movements; (3) because concern for the maintenance of order and for the planning and execution of rapid change led to a study of (civil and military) bureaucracies, political parties, and charismatic leaders; and (4) because an intellectual stress on studying legislative institutions in developing countries would appear to smack of (American) ethnocentrism and democratic bias in an age of decolonization. Our own review of development-modernization literature certainly supports Sisson's contention. Neither Almond (1969), Rustow (1968), Weiner (1957), Apter (1965, Apter and Adrian, 1968), nor even Huntington (1968) have given more than passing attention to legislatures (or, for that matter, judiciaries) as institutions, or to the institutionalization of legislative processes. In fact, in a number of other major works, the word "legislature" does not even appear in the index, suggesting, perhaps that, for these scholars, legislatures are not important enough to reference. Eisenstadt's (1966) germinal comments concerning the roles of legislatures in the various stages of development are a rare exception.

3. Our interest, as individuals, in both modernization and in the varying role that legislatures can play in modernization, derives, quite frankly, from an underlying personal belief that strengthening legislative institutions and facilitating the processes involved in modernization will help to establish or maintain other democratic institutions and processes at the appropriate time within a society. As social scientists, however, we recognize (and as critics of legislatures in Third World countries have observed in remarking on their impedimentary qualities) that this need not be the case!

4. Compare the ten "definitions" of "development" presented by Lucian Pye (1966: 33-48). Many other works could be cited in support of this point. Those noted on the following pages are ones we have found particularly informative.

5. Mechanistic models and their analogues, it should be noted, also imply endogenous causation but differ from organismic models in that the former, in systemic terms, are essentially closed, whereas the latter presume open-endedness.

6. The most important of these suggests that, by distinguishing "modern" from "traditional" societies by a strict dichotomy and by associating the former with Western societies, modernization studies also have become "developmental" or evolutionary and succeed in eliminating the racist overtones of earlier social Darwinism only to exchange them for ethnocentrism. For a recent review of these criticisms, see Huntington (1971); Mazrui (1965); Weiner (1965).

7. See Black (1966: 7), Halpern (1966: 179), Apter (1965: 67), Rustow (1967: 3), and Rostow (1971: 19) among others, who have utilized these and related terms in their definitions of modernization. Black and Rostow in particular emphasize the need for institutions to adapt, transform, and adjust.

8. Institutional analysis, in our opinion, can at least effectively complement and perhaps temporarily replace the larger endeavor of creating "general organizational theory" that has been the concern of numerous scholars. Organizational theory is inherently concerned with the problem of social order. For this reason, attempts to accommodate variations of organizational theory to the study of social change are consistently criticized for being "static," hence inadequate. See Paul Meadows (1967: 95 ff.). On the other hand, "Institutionalization," as conceived by Huntington (1965); Braibanti (1969), and Eisenstadt (1965) places emphasis on the adjustability of institutions, their ability to sustain innovation.

9. The fundamental insight that human intentional action is an important element in the determination of behavior owes much to the recent work of phenomenological and structural sociologists. See Edward Tiryakian (1970). See further, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1967) and Gerald A. Gutenschwager (1970). Tiryakian cites the work of Alfred Schutz (1962-1964) and Garfinkel (1967) as exemplary of phenomenological sociology. As early as 1956, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (1956) recognized certain inadequacies in socioeconomic deterministic explanations of political behavior and suggested that an additional focus on "strategic thinking" was necessary. Psychologists, in reaching the same conclusion, have all but rejected the earlier S-R (stimulus-response) model of behavior for a S-O-R (stimulus-organism-response) model which "reflects the growing recognition that the 'organism' must be considered at the very least, as a mediating influence on behavior" (Corning, 1971: 322, n. 4). The work of normative theorists is closely related to the efforts mentioned above. The evaluation of policy and strategy in terms of moral and ethical criteria continues to be a necessary and important complement to capability analysis.

10. A considerable body of literature by historians and legal scholars already exists but has not been utilized to any great extent by empirically oriented social scientists. See, for example, Joseph La Palombara (1969). Such research could provide greater insight into the patterns of modernization in the West (compare Brown, 1969).

11. Recent efforts by Gabriel Almond (1969-1970) and Dankwart Rustow (1970) involve the extensive use of historical rather than contemporary data to examine the timing, sequence, and interrelatedness of the events and processes associated with the modernization of societies. See also Eric Nordlinger (1968) and the recent application of computer simulation by Ronald Brunner and Gerry Brewer (1971).

12. Some examples that specifically interest us include: (1) Under what conditions will legislatures enhance or retard the institutionalization process within the political system, including political parties, public bureaucracies, interest groups, and other political processes (e.g., elections)? (2) What is the relative impact of "professionalism" and of institutionalization of legislative procedures as opposed to that of economic constraints on the policy outputs of legislatures? (3) Under what conditions will the policy outputs of a legislature serve either conservative or innovative functions within a society, or alternatively, when will they simply mirror already existing trends? (4) Will variations in the internal organization of a legislature be reflected in quantitative and qualitative changes in outputs? Under what conditions will such a relationship be manifested? (5) Under what conditions will changes in the social composition of legislative elites be reflected in the consequences of legislative output? (6) What is the relationship between legislative performance, as reflected in policy outputs, and the development of "diffuse" and ongoing, as opposed to "specific" and selective, public support for a legislature? (7) Under what conditions will major groups voluntarily comply with legislative decisions? Do the "zones of compliance" vary with: (a) the level of societal economic development and (b) the existence and the state of development of other institutions (e.g., the military, public bureaucracy)? (8) What is the relationship of variations in legislative structure and function to: (a) the establishment of formal and informal behavioral norms for legislators; and (b) to their pre- and postincumbency socialization experience? (9) What are the determinants of legislators' role perceptions, and do these vary with differences in the levels of social and economic development within the society? (10) Under what conditions will their individual role cognitions affect legislators' overt behavior?

13. Peter Gerlich (forthcoming) has begun to consider this question.

14. This question was considered in a week-long conference that brought together scholars from Western Europe, the Americas, Japan, and New Zealand at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, in August 1970. The revised versions of papers that were prepared for this conference will be published late in 1972 under the editorship of Mattei Dogan, Lewis Edinger, and Juan Linz.

15. See the recent attempts (Hopkins, 1971; Jackson, 1971) to study the internal processes within the legislatures of newer states with concepts and analytic techniques that have been utilized in the study of various Western legislative bodies.

16. One function that legislatures in newer states might assume is "bureaucratic restraint" or oversight. See Fred Riggs (1963) on this question. Joseph La Palombara (1963) and L. M. Singhvi (1969) also treat this question. All these scholars have

stressed the need for the exercise of such controls within a modern society. Thus, for example, Braibanti has called for "more powerful and more rational control over bureaucracy and the gradual infusion into administrative decision-making of the basic policy reflected in the legislature." With regard to a legislature's role in the modernization process, he feels that strengthening legislatures in new states, and raising their status as a political institution vis-a-vis other political institutions "provide a means for the absorption of skills and attitudes from other institutions and sectors which may be conducive to bureaucratic innovation. Such skills and attitudes if strategically articulated structurally to the bureaucracy may be able to force innovation which is difficult to generate internally." Others, however, have suggested that close legislative surveillance of the bureaucracy may undermine the initiative and morale of the civil service, may make civil servants afraid to innovate, and may thereby slacken the pace of modernization.

17. These crises were identified by the Social Science Research Council, Committee on Comparative Politics. See Pye (1968) and La Palombara (1966: 98-114). A recent volume in the Princeton Political Development Series is devoted to these crises: Binder (1971). Dankwart Rustow (1967: 35-120) has reduced these crises to three: authority, identity, and equality.

18. Other arguments that have been made against legislatures in the Third World countries are that they tend to become cesspools of graft and corruption, they inhibit effective and rational decision-making, they divide rather than integrate, and their poor overall performance actually encourages military coups and other forms of instability.

19. An example of the latter case might be an amendment to income tax laws that would raise tax rates rather than give deductions for each child in a family, the purpose being to implement a population control policy without ever having to reveal, debate, or explain this purpose.

20. These mechanisms vary in many respects. They may be more or less bureaucratic, they may involve expanded or redirected activities on the part of already existing functionaries, or they may only entail instigation of more-diffused and less-focused efforts at planning and change. The actual implementation of a program may be affected considerably by a host of intervening factors (e.g., general social and cultural values, the distribution of knowledge and skills in the population, the availability of necessary resources) that may or may not be consonant with the policy output and the methods adopted for its implementation.

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