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211(d) ANNUAL REPORT

November 19, 1973

Title: Comparative Legislative Studies

Grantee: The University of Iowa

Director: Gerhard Loewenberg

A. Statistical Summary:

Period of Grant: August, 1971 to August, 1976

Amount of Grant: \$265,000.00

Expenditure for Report Year: \$56,756.70

Accumulated: \$59,313.05

Anticipated for Next Year: \$65,369.10

B. Narrative Summary:

The second year of the five-year grant period was devoted to the formulation of a detailed research design for a collaborative cross-national study of the role of legislatures in the process of political development. A team of scholars from the University of Iowa and from universities in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey collaborated in every phase of research design, circulating working papers and draft questionnaires among themselves over a period of eight months and ultimately participating in an intensive three week research planning conference at which the final details of the project were worked out. In addition, documentary and bibliographical data needed for the research project were assembled in machine readable and distributable form, a publications series was initiated, and by the end of the year field work on the project was ready to begin.

## C. Detailed Report

### I. General Background and Purpose of the Grant

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

### II. Objectives of the Grant

#### 1. Objectives Restated

The principal purpose of the grant is to develop an understanding among both American scholars and scholars in less developed countries of the role which legislatures play in the process of political development. Previous research on legislatures has been largely limited to the study of this institution in the western world, has largely lacked a developmental perspective, and has largely been conducted by western social scientists. The aim in this project is to investigate legislatures in the non-western world, to assess the influence of the institution on processes of change rather than on momentary conditions, and to regard the relationship between the legislature and its environment as an important aspect of the relationship between political and socio-economic change. The project is significant not only because of its subject, but because of the manner in which it is being organized. It is being conducted as a collaborative enterprise between American social scientists who have specialized on legislative behavior research and social scientists at universities in the countries selected for study who are specialists on the particular political context in which their legislatures operate.

The research project therefore serves as a major educational experience for all participants. Its objective is to expand the knowledge of legislative behavior among University of Iowa faculty to include legislatures in the non-western world, and to expand the knowledge of the methodology of legislative behavior research among our overseas collaborators. The objectives of the project will be realized if it produces a new body of knowledge on legislatures which is both cross-national and cross-temporal, providing a developmental and a comparative perspective to our understanding of legislative behavior; if it provides a new fund of data on legislative institutions; if it enhances competence in legislative research at the University of Iowa and at universities in the countries participating in the project.

## 2. Review of Objectives

In developing our research project during the past year, we have been as attentive to the way we go about conducting our research as we have been to the substance of the research itself. We have been anxious to build on previous research, and therefore have taken great pains to assemble the most comprehensive possible bibliography of existing legislative studies. We have also compiled an index of all items employed in the principal interview studies of legislatures previously conducted, and are preparing a file of documentary data on legislatures in 135 countries. We have been careful, also, not to impose a research design on any of the scholars participating in the study. Instead, we have proceeded by deliberate stages, consulting with and circulating working papers among all collaborators, and eventually formulating the detailed research design in a conference of all participants. Finally, we have chosen our research sites after a thorough survey of possibilities, with a view not only to substantive theoretical interests, but with consideration of the willingness of faculty and graduate students in the potential research locations to participate in the enterprise. As a result of these concerns, which were particularly evident in the year just completed, we have been able to develop a research project which is not only of great substantive importance, but which will have the incidental effect of providing an inventory of previous research, and of offering an example of international scholarly cooperation.

### III. Accomplishments

#### 1. Research Planning: selection of sites

When the second year of the grant began, the Comparative Legislative Research Center had been established in the Department of Political Science at the University of Iowa, Professor Joel Barkan, a specialist on African politics, had been added to the faculty, and three graduate fellows had been appointed. In July and August, 1972, Professor C. L. Kim followed up an extensive correspondence with scholars in less developed countries by personally visiting universities in Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, and Turkey, to assess the feasibility of collaborative research in these countries. As a result of his consultations, we selected Korea and Turkey as two of three countries to be included in the study, and asked Dr. Seong-Tong Pai of Seoul National University and Dr. Ilter Turan of the University of Istanbul to serve as principal research associates in their respective countries.

Professor Barkan consulted extensively among African scholars in the United States, and in November attended the meetings of the African Studies Association. His explorations led us to the decision to include Kenya as the third country in our study, and we asked Dr. John Okumu, former chairman of the Department of Government at the University of Nairobi, to serve as a principal research associate in the project.

#### 2. Research Planning: project design

With the selection of three countries as research sites, and the appointment of scholars in these countries as research associates, we were ready to begin the design of the research project. At the University of Iowa, Professors Barkan, Kim, Loewenberg, Patterson and Wahlke met weekly to discuss the basic conceptualization of the research, the principal variables and relationships to be studied, and the chief sources of data which would be needed. The task was approached systematically, one faculty member addressing one aspect of the problem in a working paper each week. These working papers were circulated to our overseas collaborators for their comments, and they in turn prepared working papers on the context of legislative politics in their

countries. In December, in connection with his attendance at a meeting in Cyprus of the Research Committee on Legislative Development of the International Political Science Association, Professor Loewenberg visited Dr. Ilter Turan and Dr. Ahmet Yücekök at the University of Ankara and exchanged ideas with them about the Turkish part of the cross-national study. In the spring semester, Dr. Okumu, who was spending the academic year in the United States, participated frequently in the deliberations of the Iowa faculty, bringing to bear his thorough acquaintance with Kenyan politics. Professor Malcolm Jewell of the University of Kentucky, a research associate in the project with special interest in the effect of ethnic cleavages on legislative politics, also received the working papers; he presented a paper on "The Individual Legislator: A Focus for Research in Studying the Effect of Legislatures on Political Development" at a meeting of the Iowa faculty planning group in March. In this way the collaborators in the project maintained close contact with each other.

### 3. Research Planning: data archiving

The three graduate fellows worked on three data gathering projects during the year.

William Meszaros compiled an index of 1500 survey items used in previous legislative research. The items were organized under major concepts of legislative behavior, and each item was listed with a reference to the research project in which it was used, the format in which it was administered, and the publication in which the results can be found. This index was an important research tool in the formulation of questionnaires for our project.

Robert Wang up-dated and extended the comprehensive bibliography of legislative research, which we had begun the previous year. It now contains references to over two-thousand articles in the major journals of political science, and to the principal books on legislative behavior. Recent entries include abbreviated abstracts of the contents of each publication. Routine up-dating of the bibliography continues.

James Gibson created a file of basic documentary data on approximately 135 legislatures in all parts of the world. These data include information on the membership and organizational structure of each legislature, the electoral system used in the selection of members, the powers of the legislature and its relationship to other political institutions. Work on this file continues, in order to fill in missing information for some legislatures.

Through the facilities of the Laboratory for Political Research, each of these three data sets was coded, punched, and stored on magnetic tape using the TRIAL information retrieval system. By this system, the files can be searched with various key words, in order to obtain information under particular topical or analytical headings, or by author. These searches can be conducted at the cost of the necessary computer time for any interested scholars, and the entire files are available for distribution as well.

#### 4. Curriculum Innovations

Parallel with the meetings of the faculty planning group and the work of the graduate fellows, the Department offered a new comparative legislative research seminar throughout the year. It was directed by Professor Loewenberg during the first semester and by Professor Kim during the second semester, and included not only the graduate fellows working on the project, but other graduate students in the Department, and other faculty members participating in the project. During the first semester students read extensively in the literature of legislative research, and prepared abstracts of their readings, while in the second semester they worked on problems of legislative research design related to the principal project. Professor Loewenberg also taught an undergraduate course on the legislative process, which for the first time contained some material on legislatures in developing countries, and included student projects employing a new method of computer assisted instruction.

## 5. Consultation with Other Scholars

In December, 1972 Professor Loewenberg participated in the first meeting of the Research Committee on Legislative Development of the International Political Science Association in Nicosia, Cyprus. This meeting, which included scholars from Belgium, Brazil, Cyprus, Ireland, Israel, Korea, Luxembourg, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and the United States, provided a valuable opportunity to exchange ideas on comparative legislative research. On his return trip, Professor Loewenberg consulted with Professor Henry Kerr of the University of Geneva about a possible extension of the research project to include an equal number of legislatures in developed countries. A proposal for this extension is now under study by the Ford Foundation.

In addition to these consultations overseas, faculty members at the University of Iowa had the opportunity to exchange views on problems of legislative research with several visiting scholars. Professor Jerzy Wiatr of the University of Warsaw gave a seminar on problems of cross-national research in April, 1973, and Professor Kenneth Prewitt of the University of Chicago, who had just returned from two years of research and teaching at the University of Nairobi, presented a seminar on African political elites in May.

## 6. Research Planning Conference

The research planning process which had been underway throughout the year culminated in an intensive three weeks' conference in Iowa City from June 4 to June 22. The participants were Joel Barkan, University of Iowa, Malcolm Jewell, University of Kentucky, Chong Lim Kim, University of Iowa, Gerhard Loewenberg, University of Iowa, John Okumu, University of Dar es Salaam, Seong-Tong Pai, Seoul National University, Samuel Patterson, University of Iowa, John Wahlke, University of Iowa, Ahmet Yücekök, University of Ankara. On the basis of the working papers, and the deliberations and the consultation of the preceding months, the conference was well prepared in advance. Meeting every morning and afternoon, and most evenings, the participants began with a discussion of the general theoretical orientations of the research project, then considered the political context specific to each of the countries being studied,

explored the basic concepts underlying the research design, and made an inventory of the data to be collected. The participants then proceeded to draw up four detailed survey questionnaires, one for the mass public, one for legislators, one for local elites, and one for higher civil servants, agreed upon the sampling procedures to be employed in administering the surveys, and discussed timetable and budget for the fieldwork. Before the end of the conference, each of the research associates had translated the questionnaires into their own languages, and made arrangements to check these translations through a back-translation procedure employing others with the relevant native language competence. The conference was successful not only in accomplishing its heavy agenda, but in generating an esprit de corps among the participants.

#### 7. Research Design and Research Instruments

The design for the comparative study which has grown out of this year of planning identifies four legislative activities as theoretically most important for the process of development: representation, integration, resource allocation and legitimation. The activity of legislators in linking constituents to government, in obtaining resources for their constituencies, and in seeking public compliance for government policy will therefore be the focal point of our observations. To that end, survey questionnaires have been drawn up to measure the attitudes and perceptions of the mass public in approximately twelve representative constituencies, of local elites in these constituencies, of members of the legislature, and of higher civil servants. Drafts of the questionnaires were agreed on at the research planning conference, translated into the relevant languages, and readied for pre-testing. The attitudes, perceptions, and actions of the four groups to be surveyed with these instruments will be related to the stability of the regime, its style of authority, and its development capabilities.

Recognizing that the political context in which the legislature works is crucial to an understanding of the actions of its members, extensive data will also be gathered on the political ecology of each country, the socio-economic background of its political elites, and the structural characteristics of the legislature. A summary of the research design was prepared by Professor Kim as a paper delivered at the meetings of the Southern Political Science Association, and is attached as Appendix I to this report.

## 8. Publications

Plans to publish the results of comparative legislative research undertaken in connection with the project at the University of Iowa, and the related projects at Duke, the University of Hawaii, and the State University of New York at Albany, have taken three forms. A contract has been signed with Sage Publications for a series of monographs, papers, and conference volumes under the general editorship of Malcolm E. Jewell of the University of Kentucky, a research associate to the project. The Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies has begun a Newsletter reporting on research in progress, which is under the editorship of Professor Michael Mezey of the University of Hawaii. Finally, the comparative legislative work of members of the faculty of the University of Iowa will be distributed in a new reprint series, the first three numbers of which appeared in the fall of 1973.

## 9. New Projects

In order to interpret the results of the comparative study of legislatures in developing countries, faculty members at the University of Iowa had been convinced from the beginning of the project that it would be desirable to be able to extend it to include legislatures in three highly industrialized countries. Such an expansion of the project would permit us to compare the function of legislatures in developing and developed countries. During the past year, a proposal was made to the Ford Foundation requesting support for such a further study, and, at the Foundation's request, Professor Loewenberg and Professor Wahlke conferred with potential European collaborators in May, 1973. As a result of these consultations a specific proposal was made to the Ford Foundation for a study of the role of legislatures in managing social conflict in Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. It is presently under consideration.

With a view to expanding the exchange of scholars in connection with our project, Professor Joel Barkan proposed to the Rockefeller Foundation Institutional Development Program that it support an appointment he had been offered at the University of Dar es Salaam. The request for a grant of

\$39,768 was approved by the Foundation, enabling Professor Barkan to take up his appointment, and to be on the scene in East Africa supervising field work for our project in Kenya together with Dr. Okumu. As a result of his first visit to Nairobi, Professor Barkan interviewed Mr. Paul Achola, who has since become a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at Iowa, as we indicate in section V. below.

During the year, Professor Loewenberg together with Professor Allan Kornberg of Duke University organized a panel on comparative legislative research to be held at the 9th Congress of the International Political Science Association in Montreal in August, 1973. They selected eight paper givers from a large number of proposals. This was one of several activities undertaken by the Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies to stimulate legislative research and to compare the findings of individual investigators. The work of the Consortium is being reported by Duke University.

IV. Impact of Grant Activities in Developing Institutional Capabilities

The second year of the grant has further contributed to the capacity of the University of Iowa to engage in cross-national legislative research. It has permitted the Department of Political Science to add a faculty member specializing in African politics, has enabled the Department to attract graduate students interested in this field of research from both the United States and overseas, has supported the Comparative Legislative Research Center, which has coordinated the research project, and has led to the addition of a legislative research seminar to the Department's graduate offerings. The collection of legislative data by the Laboratory for Political Research has further strengthened the archival capability of that organization, and helped it to maintain an expert staff.

V. Utilization of Institutional Resources in Development

The research planning conference at Iowa City in June, 1973, brought Korean, Turkish and Kenyan scholars to the campus of the University of Iowa for the purpose of deciding on the design for the research project. In

the process, these scholars became familiar with the methodology of American legislative research, and with the data-analytic procedures employed at the Laboratory for Political Research. The conference was therefore both a research planning and a research training session.

At the end of the second year of the grant, Paul Achola, a student from the University of Nairobi, was awarded a fellowship under the program, and entered graduate work at the University of Iowa as a Ph.D. candidate in September, 1973. During the third year of the grant, when the field research is fully underway, we expect that the full significance of the research project will become evident in the countries in which it is being carried on, as a larger number of scholars and students participate in carrying it out.

#### VI. Other Resources for Grant-Related Activities

The University of Iowa made major contributions to grant related activities. Iowa faculty members worked on the research project during the regular academic year on their own time. The Comparative Legislative Research Center relied heavily on the library resources of the University and of the Department of Political Science, received some secretarial support from the Department, and had support from the University of Iowa Graduate College to pay travel expenses of visiting scholars, . . . expenses in connection with Professor Barkan's attendance at the meetings of the African Studies Association and expenses in connection with the formulation of the application to the Ford Foundation. The University provided an office and a conference room for the Comparative Legislative Research Center. The substantial amounts of computer time needed to create the legislative data archives were also provided by the University.

Over half of the expense of Professor Kim's trip to Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Turkey was paid by the University of Washington, which sponsored a conference on political leadership in Seoul in which Professor Kim participated and to which he gave a paper. Over 80 percent of Professor Loewenberg's trip to Cyprus and Turkey was paid by the State University of New York at Albany, which financed the meeting of the IPSA Research Committee on Legislative Development which Professor Loewenberg attended as vice-chairman.

Professor Barkan obtained a grant of \$39,768 from the Rockefeller Foundation Institutional Development Program, as we noted above, to support an 18 months appointment he has accepted at the University of Dar es Salaam. He took up the appointment on July 1, 1973.

#### VII. Next Year's Work and Anticipated Expenditures

As a result of the first two years of work under the grant, the comparative study was ready to go into the field. Pretests were being undertaken in Korea during the summer of 1973, and were planned soon thereafter in Kenya and Turkey. Clearance was obtained to carry the project out in Kenya during 1973-74, and interviewing in Turkey was scheduled for spring, 1974.

During the third year of the grant, therefore, field work will be fully underway. This involves the training of students as interviewers, the supervision of data collection by the research associates, and the coding of data and creation of data files.

The anticipated expenditure for next year is \$65,369.70. The largest proportion of this total, 38 percent, is to cover field research expenses, and the work of the research associates directing surveys in their own countries. Data analysis in the Laboratory for Political Research will require 22 percent of the budget in the coming year, 11 percent is for fellowships for one African and one American graduate student, 8 percent is for secretarial expenses, another 8 percent is for summer released time for American faculty members, 4 percent is for anticipated travel expenses and the remainder is for fringe benefits and miscellaneous items detailed in Table 2. The budget for the third year therefore clearly reflects the emphasis on field research which will be the dominant activity during the year.

#### VIII. Report of Expenditures

Since the second year of the project was primarily devoted to research planning, the total budget expenditure of \$56,756.70 was largely for faculty salaries and for data archiving. The total was

approximately \$13,000 less than had been anticipated, largely because of lower expenditures for the work of the Laboratory for Political Research and for faculty released time. A very large proportion of faculty effort on the project was made during the normal academic year, on faculty members' own time.

Of the amount expended, 28 percent was for data archiving, 22 percent was for the salary of the new faculty member added to the Department (whose salary will be taken over by the University in subsequent years), 19 percent was for graduate fellowships, 8 percent was for faculty released time, 8 percent was for travel and lodging expenses in connection with the research planning conference in Iowa City, 5 percent was for secretarial expenses, and the remainder was for miscellaneous items detailed in Table 2.

Table 1

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

Review Period July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973

Grant Related Activities	Period Under Review	211(d) Expenditures Cumulative Total	Projected Next Year	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
<u>Research</u>				
secretary	\$ 2,784.59	\$ 4,686.39	\$ 5,049.00	
faculty released time (J. C. Wahlke and C. L. Kim)	4,444.50	4,444.50	3,033.39	
graduate student assistants	10,800.00	10,800.00	7,200.00	
language instruction and translation assistance	275.00	275.00	100.00	
Laboratory for Political Research equipment and services	15,723.00 469.58	15,723.00 808.94	14,276.00 900.00	
U. S. research associate (M. E. Jewell)			2,428.78	
overseas research associates			11,199.98	
field research expenses			13,332.00	
<u>Teaching &amp; Research</u>				
new faculty position (Joel D. Barkan)	12,500.01	12,500.01	0	
<u>Publication</u>				
Comparative Legislative Research Center Reprint Series			300.00	

Table 1

(cont.)

Grant Related Activities	Period Under Review	211(d) Expenditures		Projected Next Year	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
			Cumulative Total		
<u>Consultation</u>					
foreign travel				\$ 2,797.00	
Kim's trip to Korea, Turkey, Singapore, and Malaysia, August 1972	\$ 1,133.00	\$ 1,133.00			\$1,212.00
Loewenberg's trip to Turkey, December 1972	174.58	174.58			942.00
domestic travel				600.00	
Barkan's attendance at African Studies Association meeting, November 1972	30.04	30.04			200.00
meeting of Consortium Executive Committee, January 1973	98.19	98.19			
AID review of 211(d) grants program to universities, June 1973	14.45	14.45		51.27	
consultant travel and lodging				470.00	
Malcolm E. Jewell	140.00	140.00			
Young W. Kihl	12.36	12.36			
Gilbert Kulick	32.25	32.25			
Kenneth Prewitt	50.00	50.00			
other travel	74.35	74.35			97.95
honoraria for visiting scholars				160.00	
John J. Okumu	25.00	25.00			75.00
Jerzy Wiacr	35.00	35.00			40.00
Kenneth Prewitt	100.00	100.00			
faculty recruitment	0	141.78		0	