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# Legislatures in Development

*Dynamics of Change  
in New and Old States*

*Edited by*  
Joel Smith  
Lloyd D. Musolf

Publication of the Consortium for  
Comparative Legislative Studies

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**LEGISLATURES IN DEVELOPMENT:  
DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN  
NEW AND OLD STATES**

**Edited by  
JOEL SMITH and LLOYD D. MUSOLF**

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## **LEGISLATURES IN DEVELOPMENT**

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONSORTIUM  
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*For Barbara and Berdyne*  
*Two very patient and tolerant people*

## FOREWORD

Perhaps the fundamental question faced by legislative scholars is simply: What difference does the legislature make? The question can be expanded: How does the legislature affect the decisions made by government and the impact of government on the lives of citizens? Do the activities of the legislature promote or obstruct the economic, social, and political development of a country, and do they improve the welfare of the ordinary citizen? Because the effects of legislative activity differ from country to country, we want to know: What factors cause these differences and determine what kinds of impact the legislature will have on development?

Too often in the past the limited number of legislative studies that have been undertaken have focused on the internal operation of the legislature and have ignored the consequences of its actions as well as its interaction with other components of the political and economic system. Students engaged in comparative legislative analysis have, however, become increasingly interested in these issues, and public officials, including those who have sponsored comparative legislative research, have persistently raised questions such as these. The sponsors of the Carmel Conference set out deliberately to encourage legislative students to confront these questions. This book, based on the revised papers presented at that conference, is the result.

The reader will quickly discover that it is easier to raise these

questions than it is to answer them. It is also easier to compare legislative institutions or procedures or the characteristics of legislators than it is to compare legislative impacts on policy and on development. The most thorough method of analysis would be to examine, in a single legislative body, one policy area, perhaps even one bill at a time—a case study approach. But the task of constructing theories of legislatures and development from the cumulation of such case studies is prohibitively slow and difficult. Obviously one must engage in comparative analysis and risk losing the descriptive and analytical detail that is possible in case studies. Even if a legislature handles different policies in different ways, one must look for the commonalities that will make possible some generalizations. Some of the studies in this volume examine one legislature's impact on several aspects of development. One deals with a single policy area (population control) in a number of legislatures. Others seek to explain the factors affecting the viability of legislatures; in some cases the conclusion is that a legislature seeking to expand the scope of its influence on development becomes more vulnerable to suspension or abolition.

Perhaps the greatest value of a volume such as this is that it illustrates a variety of approaches to the study of legislatures and development. It is reasonable to expect that other scholars will find some of these approaches useful to their work. It also illustrates the variety of factors that affect how the legislature copes with developmental issues, and it proves that the questions we have asked will have no easy or uniform answers. This volume illustrates the vulnerability of legislative institutions, for example in Thailand, Chile, and several African nations; but it also shows the resilience of the legislature in countries as diverse as Malaysia, Kenya, India, and Spain.

*Malcolm E. Jewell*, General Editor  
Comparative Legislative Studies Series



## **PREFACE**

This book is about legislatures in developing countries throughout the world. It is concerned with the efforts of these legislatures to achieve changes that will help provide their constituents with a better life. It has been common practice to call most such efforts development, but not as common to raise questions about the existence of legislatures or about the roles they might play in the developmental process. Why is it that there are such governmental institutions as legislatures? Why do they exist only in some countries? Why do they often cease to function in many of those developing countries that have them? Why, after they are discontinued, are they often reconstituted? Moreover, since they obviously are not like the U.S. Congress or the British Parliament, what are they like? And, finally, what is it in their actions, inaction, and very being that relates to or interacts with development? To begin to answer these questions our contributors have taken a variety of approaches to an array of specific issues. Some survey the world, others survey regions, and still others report on single nations. They draw upon materials and experiences from first-hand research and from familiarity with a broad spectrum of literature. Many of them, perhaps the majority, work with developing countries that are new nations, and the special character of such situations is a theme of the volume.

The chapters are grouped in three sections after an introductory

essay by the editors, and they may be divided between two types. There are those that are concerned primarily with features of larger systems that influence whether legislatures exist, and, if they exist, constrain or promote participation in developmental activities. The first section of this volume contains five chapters that fall primarily into this category. In contrast the remaining seven chapters emphasize the consequences of legislative action and inaction. While they all deal with this second issue, these seven can be divided between those that primarily emphasize the consequences of action by legislatures as a whole and those that focus on consequences of the activities of individual members. Hence the second section deals with the roles of legislatures as institutions and collective bodies, and the third with their members' roles. Since no thorough analysis can avoid calling upon a range of data, however, the assignment of chapters to the different sections reflects our judgment as to the arrangement that heightens the primary value of each chapter.

A word is in order concerning the introductory essay. From the beginning of this enterprise we were concerned with avoiding the lack of focus that besets so many ventures in collective scholarship. Moreover, because of the nascent state of inquiry on this topic, we found it difficult to communicate with potential contributors to get them to bring their experience and data to bear on an unfamiliar issue not in the forefront of their attention. To counteract this communication difficulty and to coordinate individual efforts, we drafted a review essay almost twice the length of the version now included as the Introduction. We felt it would be helpful to the reader to see at least a version of the statement that provided the first stimulus to the contributors' efforts. Since it preceded their preparation, it contains no specific references to the essays, but when the reader finishes the volume, the connections among the chapters should be obvious.

We believe this to be the first work to relate legislatures to efforts for change in developing nations. We trust that the reader also will find it refreshing to see in a new light an old familiar institution that usually is perceived from the perspective of our own. Indeed, the novelty of this perspective extends to what our contributors find these legislative members to have done in their national offices. The nature and meaning of the activities stray far from Western experience and convention. We hope that we have succeeded in conveying our enhanced awareness, derived from this research, of how important are value judgments in any assertions about the centrality, importance, and direction of legislative actions in developmental efforts.

Most of the papers that make up the chapters of this book were prepared for and presented at a Conference on Legislatures and Development held from August 11 to 15th, 1975, at the Highlands Inn at Carmel, California. They subsequently were revised and then edited extensively on the basis of the discussions at the conference. Two other papers eventually were invited to fill certain gaps. For all these efforts we want to express our deepest gratitude to our contributors as well as to other colleagues too numerous to mention who either attended the conference or subsequently rendered service. They will know who they are and the full extent of our debt to them.

Our sincere thanks also go to Meri Gibb, Valerie Hawkins, David Jackson, Alfreda Kaplan, Andrea L. Kawai, and Joel King, without whose help this volume would still be a dusty pile of undecipherable, half-referenced, and half-indexed manuscripts. Reynolds Smith of the Duke University Press eased the last pains of creating a book with a most efficient and professional editorial assist. Finally, we must pay special note to the contribution of Allan Kornberg, a founding father of the field of comparative legislative studies and a primary force in the creation of the Inter-University Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies, as well as a valued friend and colleague. In addition to encouraging us to organize the Carmel conference and, subsequently, to prepare these materials for publication, he willingly offered invaluable aid as an editor of our own work when we were no longer sure we would be able to face our own manuscripts again. Support for our work has been provided by both the Duke University Program in Comparative Legislative Studies and the Inter-University Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies with funds provided by a grant from the Agency for International Development. While the choices for contributions to the conference and the editorial decisions for this volume were ours, we do wish to express our deep appreciation for this encouragement and support.

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