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211(d) Annual Report

October 26, 1973

1973/1973

Title: Comparative Legislative Studies Program

Grantee: University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii

Director: Norman Maller, Professor
Department of Political Science

Statistical Summary:

Period of Grant: August 11, 1971 to August 10, 1976

Amount of Grant: \$235,000

Expenditures for Report Year \$40,412 Accumulated \$50,544

Anticipated for next year \$63,690 (+\$6,720 incurred)

B. Narrative Summary

The Comparative Legislative Studies Program of the University of Hawaii is directed to an understanding of the legislative institution as a functioning political sub-system within a variety of national polities. The activities of the Program supported by the 211d grant (csd/3293) from the Agency for International Development for a five-year period, 1971-1976, are intended to achieve three major purposes: (1) strengthen the University of Hawaii's institutional capabilities in the conducting of instruction, research, and service relative to the legislative institution and its linkage with national development; (2) establish cooperative ties with counterpart colleagues in Asia and the Pacific, to the end of reinforcing and operationalizing their interest in the legislative institution and facilitating the continued enrichment of the University of Hawaii's Program from these sources; and (3) contribute to the growth of cross-polity knowledge, including dissemination thereof in ways that are useful to the nations studied as well as to the University.

Building upon the foundations laid during the initial year of the grant, Hawaii's efforts during the second "report year" were primarily directed to expanding legislative studies at the university with respect both to scheduling credit courses and less formalized academic activity; strengthening the recruitment process for the bringing to Hawaii of graduate students proposing to work toward advanced degrees emphasizing comparative legislative studies in those countries falling within the geographical regions emphasized in the Hawaii Program; facilitating the relevant research of faculty members furthering the commitments of the University under the grant; and laying the basis for the securing of supplementary financial support so as to attain

a greater diversity of activity in the Hawaii Program in Comparative Legislative Studies as well as guard against its marked contraction upon the termination of assistance under the A.I.D. grant.

As corollaries, efforts were continued to establish cooperative working relations with foreign scholars interested in comparative legislative studies overseas. To this end Hawaii faculty members participating in the Program have been aided to attend conferences outside of the United States where they could meet with foreign colleagues. Unforeseen political events in some countries within the Program's zone of interest--specifically, India, Korea, the Philippines and Thailand--forced the postponement of some planned undertakings. Direct service was rendered to several Pacific legislative bodies in the form of consultation. Consortium ties were strengthened with Duke University and the University of Iowa, and the Consortium was expanded with the admission of the State University of New York at Albany. The editing and publishing by Hawaii of the Consortium's quarterly Newsletter has brought the Hawaii Program into immediate contact with the bulk of scholars in the United States and around the world engaged in comparative legislative studies.

University library holdings have continued to be augmented through the giving of systematic attention to identifying lacunae in the collections, the obtaining from publishing and archival sources of materials not available through normal acquisition channels, and the purchasing of duplications of recent American doctoral theses on comparative legislative subjects. The preparation of bibliographies on materials pertinent to the Indonesian, Korean, and Thai national legislatures and of an international bibliography promises to provide valuable research tools for scholars in the subfield.

Central to all of this varied activity at the University of Hawaii continues to be the mustering of resources and the supporting of human effort directed to furthering understanding of the legislative institution and its role in national development.

C. Detailed Report

I. General Background and Purpose of the Grant

Lacking well defined theory and carefully conceived corroborative research formulating the legislature's functional role in development, the legislature today is generally ignored as an element significant to developmental change, this when it is not being popularly decried as constituting an obstacle. In contrast with the extensive academic literature on the functions and processes of American legislatures and their linkages with the American political system, comparable interest has not been turned to the legislatures of other nations, particularly to the legislative bodies of the less developed countries. Nevertheless, from the studies which have been made, there appears to be sufficient promise that the legislative institution possesses instrumental utility in aid of administrative, economic, and political development as to warrant encouraging systematic academic attention, especially when the legislature is viewed in comparative perspective.

Today in the United States, in some of the other modernized nations, and in a few of the less developed countries there are academics engaged in, or who can be attracted to, comparative legislative studies. Their numbers are relatively few, however, and require augmentation through the preparation of graduate students to work in this sub-field if the corpus of knowledge pertinent to the legislature is to be expanded meaningfully by

research data and insights gained from a range of polities. Concomitantly, there must be communication among the scholars engaged in a wide variety of cross-polity legislative inquiry for broad-gauge, general legislative theory to evolve. All this entails a greater effort than can be mounted by a single university, warranting the support of cooperation among a number of American institutions whose activities will be directed to encouraging interest among their own faculties and associated colleagues in the United States and overseas. The consortium formed by the University of Hawaii with Duke University and the University of Iowa, and now as enlarged by the State University of New York at Albany, has been designed to achieve that joining of effort, while permitting each institution a distinctiveness of institutional endeavor conducive to maximizing the impact of augmented attention to comparative legislative studies.

II. Objectives of the Grant

1. Objectives Restated. Briefly put, the grant to the University of Hawaii is designed to strengthen its institutional capabilities in cross-polity legislative studies, to encourage cooperating colleagues to operationalize their interest in the study of legislative institutions, and to contribute to the growth of knowledge on the linkage of the legislature with change. These purposes are to be achieved by the following major activities:

a. Increasing the faculty skills at the University of Hawaii, and redirecting the interests of other American and foreign scholars working with the University of Hawaii in the comparative legislative field.

b. Training an increased number of graduate students at the University of Hawaii in the design and execution of research on the role of legislatures in the development of Asian and Pacific island countries.

c. Expanding and revising the curricula of the University to include systematic study of legislative institutions.

d. Establishing cooperative relationships with academic and legislative personnel in Asia and the Pacific for the development of research and study programs, bibliography and library materials, and faculty exchange programs.

e. Development through research and dissemination of new information about the role of legislative institutions in nation-building in order to stimulate academic and policy-maker interest and to increase the quantum of knowledge in the field.

2. Review of Objectives. At the time the grant proposal was formulated, it was with the knowledge that the study of the legislative institution takes the researcher into a politically sensitive subject. As a consequence, it was planned to exercise due caution in all externally-directed efforts under the Program. What was not appreciated was the rapidity with which legislatures in a number of the areas selected for study--Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand--would be eclipsed or drastically modified. In addition, rising suspicion in India and some of the other Asian and Pacific polities toward American academics engaged in social science inquiry has in effect counterindicated our presently undertaking field work within their borders. All of these developments have also compounded the difficulties of nationals of these various polities in conducting probing research into their respective legislative institutions and, as is apparent, have contributed to slowing the Program's establishment of cooperative working relationships with colleagues across such national boundaries. However, even though all of this has discouraged the implementation of some of the planned externally-directed activities of the Hawaii Program, it has served

to reemphasize the importance of the Hawaii effort to launch and maintain a cross-national program of comparative legislative studies, for a re-formulated national assembly has already emerged in Korea, the staff of the Thai body has been kept in readiness for its reestablishment, now more imminent than distant, and in the Philippines a new national Congress has been promised--all testimony to the fundamental tenacity of the legislative institution and the importance which must be given to full comprehension of its manifold dimensions. Apart from necessary modification in the Hawaii Program's activities to accommodate these developments, nothing has occurred to challenge or require modifications in the objectives of the grant.

III. Accomplishments

As one of the initial decisions in the first year under the A.I.D. grant, the strategy was adopted of encouraging full faculty involvement without restricting its scope to a single theoretical formulation of an inclusive developmental model, integrally incorporating the legislature. Rather, through such individual activity while working toward cooperative interaction and mutual assessment, an overarching, comparative legislative theory would evolve, representing the culmination logically derived from and supported by a diversity of individual research. To operationalize this strategy, it was not alone essential that a variety of research activities be undertaken, but also that participating faculty and students be brought together periodically for the subjecting of these on-going studies to constructive examination and theoretical evaluation. Activity designed to achieve the first objective was commenced with the first "report year," and during the second "report year" machinery for accomplishing the latter objective was established. In addition, building upon the foundation laid

during the initial year, the University's legislative-related academic studies have been materially expanded and where not limited by external constraints, efforts have continued to establish fruitful cooperative linkages overseas.

1. University of Hawaii instruction: With the addition of Professor Michael Mezey to the staff of the Political Science Department, the formal course offerings of the University relevant to the legislative institution and to examination of the legislature in comparative perspective were materially augmented. During the second "report year," Dr. Mezey taught two new undergraduate courses in American Legislative Behavior and on the President and Congress, and two new graduate courses specifically on Comparative Legislative Behavior and on Legislatures and Political Development. Approximately forty-five undergraduate and twelve graduate students enrolled in one or more of these courses; while Americans predominated, Afghanistan and Korean citizens and American Samoannationals were included among the graduate students. Professor Robert B. Stauffer incorporated comparative treatment of the legislative institution in his course on Comparative Political Analysis, in line with Hawaii's greater attention to legislative studies. Students in a new course on the Ombudsman, led by Professor Norman Meller, considered instruments of legislative oversight as viable political alternatives to the various Ombudsman forms being tested around the world. Professor Neal Milner included attention to the legislature as the initiating factor in his public law class's study of the new Hawaii state penal code and Professor Robert Cahil also directed student attention to the local state legislature in his course on Electoral Politics in Hawaii. In his course on the Sociology of Law, Professor Harry Ball specifically dealt with the

legislature as a problem-solving agent in American court systems. The overall impact of this expanded range of academic instruction was to expose students to greater opportunities for studying the legislative institution, both with reference to various aspects of comparative government and to developmental problems and processes.

Along with this formal instruction, non-credit tutorial assistance has been provided by faculty to graduate students who are engaged in writing theses on legislative subjects or are at the stage of framing proposals for their doctoral dissertations. Many hours have been devoted informally to discussing theories and procedures with these students relevant to comparative legislative behavior, and to reviewing dissertation drafts as the preparation of manuscript gets underway. (The subject interests of these doctoral projects is considered under Student assistance, following.)

Faculty and students sharing a joint interest in legislative studies have voluntarily come together periodically throughout the academic year in the newly initiated cross-campus Comparative Legislative Studies Project Colloquium. Faculty research, the underlying theory and research methodology of Hawaii faculty research proposals submitted for critiquing, and students' projected dissertation undertakings have all been subjected to constructive analysis and Colloquium consideration.

The sum of \$16,347 was expended from A.I.D. grant moneys for the salary and University perquisites of Professor Mezey during the second "report year." In addition, as a minimum, probably an amount at least equal to that sum represents the cost to the state of Hawaii for other faculty providing academic instruction and tutorial assistance to students on legislative-related matters.

2. Student assistance: During the second "report year," the graduate students already in the Program have continued with their legislative studies, and plans were completed for materially augmenting their numbers for the third year. Under the supervision of Professor Yasumasa Kuroda, the bio-data bank on Japanese Diet Members has been extended and its contents further "cleaned"; two doctoral candidates continued with their analyses of these data in the endeavor to identify the legislative recruitment and career paths which characterize the Japanese legislative system. Meanwhile, two other doctoral candidates with American-related thesis topics --one on executive-legislative leader communication patterns in all of the American states, and the other concerned with career patterns of Hawaii legislators during a crucial period of this area's economic and political development--completed their statistical inquiries and have embarked upon writing up their findings. A fifth student concluded his preparation for field research on legislative institutional adaptation in Indonesia and the role of the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR) with reference thereto. And a sixth student, during the second "report year," prepared to defend his doctoral thesis proposal treating the Korean national legislature as a study of conflict within a developmental perspective. All of these student endeavors directed toward non-American legislative institutions have been materially furthered by student access to the University's Asian language and area resources, so that they have received the guidance of faculty with field experience in the countries they are studying, made use of the University's extensive Asian language collections, and (where not native foreign language speakers) enrolled in Asian language classes.

Of all the students to whom reference was made, only the Korean national inquiring into his country's legislative system received fellowship support

under the A.I.D. grant. Through the cooperation of the University's East-West Center, a scholarship was awarded to the doctoral candidate shortly to go to Indonesia and his expenses while engaged in field research there will also be met from this source. To more than double the number of students so aided in pursuing legislative-related studies in the Hawaii Program, an extensive recruitment drive was directed to graduate schools on the mainland United States and to cooperating colleagues in Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand, soliciting them to interest qualified students to apply for E-W Center scholarships and A.I.D. funded grants under the Program. As a result of this effort there will be an additional three, financially-aided graduate students participating in the Hawaii Program during the third "report year." (Due to the E-W Center's inability to offer more than one new scholarship in aid of the Program, the projected recruitment goal of four such students could not be realized.) All of this was fully consonant with the Hawaii Program's objective of encouraging both Americans and foreign nationals to engage in comparative legislative studies, to the end that the latter will return to their home countries and become involved in legislative-related teaching, research, and service.

For the one graduate student under A.I.D. grant, direct financial aid in the sum of \$ 4,217 was provided during the second "report year." In addition, the incidental costs of assisting other graduate students' studies on legislative-related subjects from A.I.D. funds were absorbed within Administrative expenses.

3. Supportive library and data resources: Through all faculty cooperating in Hawaii's Comparative Legislative Studies Program identifying lacunae they encounter in the University's legislative-related holdings, and through the preparation of bibliographies of regional legislative materials which are

then systematically compared with the holdings in the University of Hawaii's libraries, the Program has been engaged in the long-range undertaking of searching out publications useful for cross-polity legislative research and teaching, and then setting in motion the University's normal acquisition machinery. Thus a bibliography on materials (in English and Korean) pertinent to the Korean national legislature was compiled, and steps initiated to acquire copies of those publications not in Hawaii. A similar operation was directed to materials on the Indonesian legislature published in English and Bahasa Indonesian, and to English-language publications on the Thai legislature. The task of amassing in Hawaii a complete collection of Pacific Islands legislative materials was initiated in the first "report year" by attempting to construct a definitive list of each polity's publications, and checking them against sources within the respective island areas to confirm their accuracy. Identification of missing Islands material in Hawaii's Pacific collection, and their acquisition was continued through the second "report year." A field trip into the Pacific during the Summer of 1973 resulted both in bringing back a number of such publications from these island polities and confirming that the existence of only a remaining single archival copy in others would necessitate field duplication through use of microfilm camera. The recourse to normal University of Hawaii library ordering procedures obtained most of the identified legislative-related materials so that acquisition costs charged to the A.I.D. grant have been minor.

Listings of American doctoral theses in the political science literature have also been systematically searched, and copies of those treating comparatively with legislative institutions, or otherwise pertinent to cross-polity study of the legislature and its role in development, have been

acquired from the University Microfilms at Ann Arbor, Michigan. For all library acquisitions, including reproductions of doctoral theses, only \$216 was expended from A.I.D. funds in the second "report year."

Supplementary to this supportive library effort, an extensive international bibliography of materials bearing on comparative legislative research published in English since World War II, numbering approximately 900 items, has been compiled, and is undergoing editing in anticipation of reproduction. Once published, it promises to become an indispensable research tool for scholars in the field of comparative legislative studies.

Although originally scheduled for the second "report year," the acquisition of computer tapes of pertinent data sets in the custody of Consortium members, to be used in Hawaii as teaching and research aids, was deferred. The preparation of the NSF proposal (infra) for massive identification, classification, and indexing of legislative-related materials pointed up a number of methodological problems with respect to the utilization of a single computer program for legislative materials compatible with the various potential uses to which they might be put. It was therefore concluded that it would be to the best interests of the Hawaii Program to delay acquisition of such sets and the attendant computer programs employed for the data retrieval until the major problems encountered could be resolved. Other than expenditures of A.I.D. funds for research, which sometimes involved the "cleaning" of data in computer banks already in Hawaii, no expense was incurred for the acquiring of copies of computerized data banks for the purpose of building the Program's supportive resources.

4. Faculty research: As indicated in the first annual report, most of the faculty interested in subjects relevant to furthering the understanding of the legislative institution were already engaged in on-going research at

the time the A.I.D. grant was received, so that for them the Hawaii Comparative Legislative Studies Program has mainly provided a sense of programmatic identification, rather than the initiating or directing factor for guiding their scholarly studies. This in part has followed from the fact that the Hawaii Program's budget has not been designed to employ faculty members to engage in full-time, specific research, but rather to encourage and facilitate full-time teaching faculty to undertake research by such means as meeting necessary expenses and providing stimulation through limited summer overload salary supplementation. As a consequence, the inquiry conducted in the second "report year" in the main constitutes a continuation of the interest originally reported, in part clustered roughly around several foci of attention central to the legislature and its relation with development, and the balance more generally identified as being of potential significance thereto. One concentration continues to be on longitudinal studies of legislative membership, this in the attempt to establish dimensions of legislative recruitment, career paths, socialization, etc., and their linkages with legislative institutionalization and political development. Another concentrates more directly on the functions of the legislature and their relation to development, and still a third by focusing attention on legislative service agencies, is inquiring into their contribution to the institutionalization of the legislature. While research emphasis remains directed mainly to the legislatures of Asia and Oceania, the inquiries of some of the faculty are concerned with American and European legislative institutions. The research efforts of faculty members associated with the University pertinent to comparative legislative studies include:

Dr. George Akita, Professor of History, who originally amassed the data bank on which Professor Kuroda and several graduate students are now working

(see Kuroda, infra), continues to be engaged in his study of the political history of selected regions of Japan. Integral thereto is the examination of the political socialization and career paths of Diet Members elected from these regions, treated in comparative perspective (Japan)

Dr. Harry V. Ball, Professor of Sociology, has directed his attention during the second "report year" to the interface of the legislature with the judiciary in several of the developing areas of the Pacific Basin. Using as an analog the early development of the legal order in Hawaii, he participated in the 1973 Waigani Seminar at the University of Papua New Guinea which was concerned with the establishment of a judicial system in Papua New Guinea and the role of the legislature with respect thereto. (Oceania)

Dr. Robert M. Kamins, Professor of Economics, reports that work with Professor Agustin Kintanar, University of the Philippines, on their joint study of Philippine public finance has been temporarily suspended due to political events within that country. Since Professor Kintanar was to be the major contributor to that portion of the study concerned with the legislative input to national fiscal planning, further effort on this phase must wait upon the resumption of their collaboration. (Philippines)

Dr. Yasumasa Kuroda, Professor of Political Science, has continued with the "cleaning" and supplementation of the data bank on the more than 5,000 Diet members of the Japanese House of Representatives elected since the Meiji Constitution, this as prelude to preparing the manuscript for a data book which will publish the information collected on all of the legislators chosen from 1890 through the 3rd election in 1969. (Japan)

Dr. Herbert F. Margulies, Professor of History, has now extended his biography of the Honorable Irvine J. Lenroot of Wisconsin to encompass the period when he commenced service in the United States Senate. When this

study of the Congressional leader of Republican Party insurgents is completed, it promises to constitute a useful measure for comparable historical studies of the careers of legislative leaders in other countries. (United States)

Dr. Norman Meller, Director of the Pacific Islands Program, completed his cross-polity study of the Congressional Research Service of the United States Library of Congress compared with the Research and Legislative Reference Department of the Japanese National Diet Library, detailing the nature of the functional and administrative adaptation which occurs in the cross-national transference of legislative reference institutions. In addition, during the Summer of 1973 he engaged in field research in the Cook Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Niue, the two Samoas, and Tonga, gathering data on the institutionalization of their respective legislatures and their roles in initiating and shaping political development. (Japan, Oceania, and United States)

Dr. Michael Mezey, Assistant Professor of Political Science, worked on three distinct research projects during the second "report year." One effort represented a comparative study of support for and attitudes toward the legislative institution among students from several developing countries now attending the University of Hawaii, this as a pilot for a comparable undertaking in a non-Hawaii setting. A second involved the Hawaii state legislature to the end of using it as a laboratory for testing hypotheses and research instruments of relevance and utility for the study of non-American legislative bodies. And the third was a book-length treatment of national legislatures, providing a framework for the comparative analysis of the legislatures of the world. (United States and general theory)

Dr. Neal Milner, Associate Professor of Political Science, has been investigating into the patterns of and reasons for innovations in criminal law. As part of this research, he has been inquiring into differential effects on policies and patterns of conflict arising from the legislature serving as the source of policy initiative in this area. (United States and general theory)

Dr. Lloyd D. Musolf, Director of the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Davis, and Research Associate of the University of Hawaii's Social Science Research Institute, during the second "report year" worked on information amassed in British Columbia during the Summer of 1972 with respect to activities of the Provincial legislature in environmental matters, and on comparable California data, in the endeavor to establish a developed-country basing point for use in the analyzing of economic regulation through legislative action in selected LDC's. However, due to recent political changes in Southeast Asia, he deferred a planned reconnoitering trip into Asia, and proposes to reconsider both the countries previously identified for bibliographical and field research, and the regulatory activity singled out for specific inquiry. (Canada and the United States)

Dr. Glenn D. Paige, Professor of Political Science, continued with his study of political leadership, interviewing legislative and executive leaders in Hawaii in the endeavor to identify and analyze factors having an effect on political leadership in its performance of duties as related to behavior in electoral situations. In addition to the potential applications of this research to political leadership, generically, he also gave attention to the fit of such research based on Hawaii data for a divided Korea, the latter including but not limited to its legislative relevant aspects. (Korea and United States)

Dr. Fred W. Riggs, Director of the Social Science Research Institute, undertook the preparation of a massive proposal for designing and testing an information retrieval system for comparative legislative materials, involving the formulation of comprehensive indexing categories, followed by the conducting of pilot cross-national data analyses, primarily of Asian and Pacific countries within the Hawaii Program's geographic scope of interest. During the course of the second "report year," there was extensive consultation with University of Hawaii colleagues and associates, Consortium participants, Raoul Naroll and others from the Human Relations Area Files, Carl Beck with respect to the Information Utilization Laboratory and the APSA Thesaurus project, and Kenneth Janda from Northwestern University. The extensive research design formulated, and the carefully conceived plans for its execution, were embodied in a proposal for funding submitted to the National Science Foundation, but unfortunately, did not receive funding.

(general theory)

Dr. Michael J. Shapiro, Professor of Political Science, spent his 1972-73 sabbatical year in Norway studying coherence in the pattern of Norwegian social control ideologies, operationalizing his research through the interviewing of legislators, social scientists, and criminologists on drug abuse.

(Europe)

Dr. J. Richard Sisson, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Research Associate of the University of Hawaii's Social Science Research Institute, continued his research on legislative development and recruitment in India and Pakistan, working on development data on Indian legislatures collected during the 1972 summer period. Also, under his supervision research was conducted on the political culture of elites in the lower house of the Indian Parliament

(Lok Sabha) and its linkage with selected regional issue areas in foreign policy. In view of current attitudes within India toward American academic inquiry, it was necessary to postpone the planned cooperative field research into legislative institutionalization within two Indian states having different traditions of legislative development--Bihar and Rajasthan--and possibly then expanding the study to include two other states in non-Hindi speaking regions. (South Asia)

Dr. Robert B. Stauffer, Professor of Political Science, continued with his long-term research on the Philippine Congress, subjecting data on input/output measures for all sittings of the 1970 session to preliminary analysis, and tabulating background data on the 1970 legislators in form to permit comparison with measures from earlier Philippine Congresses of 1946, 1954, and 1962. In view of recent events in the Philippines, he has largely centered his work on inquiry into the reasons for the breakdown in the existing Philippine political system as marked by the overthrow of the legislature, the outlawing of political parties, etc., upon the premise that further study of the Philippine Congress must ultimately depend upon identification of the issues underlying the nation's system change. (Philippines)

Papers presented and research published by these faculty members during the 1972-73 "report year" pertinent to the legislative institution include the following:

Kuroda, Yasumasa

"Historical Data and Computer: The Japanese Diet, 1890-1970," First USA-Japan Computer Conference, October, 1972.

Meller, Norman

"The Congress of Micronesia: A Unifying and Modernizing Force," Micronesica, 8:1-2 (December, 1972).

"Legislative Staff in Oceania as a Focus for Research" in Allan Kornberg, ed., Legislatures in Comparative Perspective. New York: David McKay, 1973.

Meller, Norman (continued)

"The Pacific Legislature: Spearhead for Political Change," Association for Social Anthropology, March, 1973.

"Organization for Legislative Reference Servicing: Cross-Polity Lessons from Japan and the United States," American Society for Public Administration, April, 1973.

Mezey, Michael

"Parties and Legislatures: An Explication," Southern Political Science Association, November, 1972.

"The Functions of a Minimal Legislature: Role Perceptions of Thai Legislators," Western Political Quarterly, XXV:4 (December, 1972).

"The 1971 Coup in Thailand: Understanding Why the Legislature Fails," Asian Survey, XIII:3 (March, 1973).

Riggs, Fred W.

"Legislative Structures: Some Thoughts on Elected National Assemblies" in Allan Hornberg, ed., Legislatures in Comparative Perspective. New York: David McKay, 1973.

"Parties and Legislatures: Some Definitional Exercises," IPSA Congress, August, 1973.

"Comparative Legislatures Project," proposal submitted to N.S.F., 1973.

Stauffer, Robert B.

"The Political Economy of a Coup: Transnational Linkages and Philippine Political Response," International Studies Association, March, 1973.

"The Marcos Coup in the Philippines," Monthly Review, 24 (April, 1973).

From A.I.D. grant funds, the sum of \$15,538 was expended and committed during the second "report year" for faculty overload payments in aid of summer research activities, \$3,931 for student assistance and other support services, and \$3,467 for travel and related expenses, in all \$ 22,836.

5. Conferences on comparative aspects of the legislature: Considerable attention was expended by the Hawaii Program during the second "report year" to encourage the giving of greater emphasis to the legislature in comparative

perspective--including treatment of the relation of the legislative institution to development--at a number of academic conferences held both within and outside of the United States. In some cases, the Hawaii effort concentrated on influencing the shape of the conference agenda, while in most cases, persons participating in the Hawaii Program submitted papers on comparative legislative subjects for consideration at the conferences, attended in order to actively take part in the informal discussions which followed the reading of such papers, or both.

In November of 1972, Professor Michael Hesse delivered a paper on "Parties and Legislatures: An Explication" at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association held in Atlanta, Georgia. Copies of the paper have been forwarded to A.I.D. Dealing with legislatures in developing political systems, it brought emphasis on the legislature to a comparative politics panel. (University funding met the costs of attending the meeting.)

Mr. Richard Earber, an advanced graduate student in Political Science at the University of Hawaii, and a participant in the Hawaii Comparative Legislative Studies Project Colloquium, attended the Society for International Development Conference in Costa Rica held in February, 1973. Subsequently, he reported in Hawaii on the papers presented and the attendant discussions at the SID roundtable on "Legislative Change: Role of National Legislatures in Development." (External funding was obtained to finance his travel, at no expense to the A.I.D. grant.)

As part of his research on Philippine political changes immediately preceding the September 1972 coup and the system modifications enforced by the martial law authorities during the early months of the new regime, Professor Robert B. Stauffer prepared a paper on "The Political Economy of a Coup: Transitional

Linkages and Philippine Political Response," which was presented at the International Studies Association meeting in San Francisco, March 22-24, 1973. The paper is now being considered for publication; meanwhile, a shorter, "popular" version of some of the ideas contained in the more scholarly presentation have been published in the Monthly Review. Copies of both have been separately submitted to A.I.D. (No expense chargeable to the A.I.D. grant was incurred.)

Professor Norman Meller was successful in encouraging the second annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, held at Orcas Island, State of Washington, over the period March 21-25, 1973, to include systematic treatment of the legislative institution as a factor influencing political change in the Pacific on the portion of its program devoted to Political and Economic Issues of Change in Oceania. Copies of the paper prepared for this meeting, "The Pacific Legislature: Spearhead or Political Change," have been submitted separately to A.I.D. (No cost chargeable to the A.I.D. grant was incurred.)

In the following month, the American Society for Public Administration at its annual conference in Los Angeles scheduled a panel on Legislative Staffing, under the general rubric of Development Administration. Professor Meller submitted a paper for this panel, entitled "Organization for Legislative Reference Servicing: Cross-Polity Lessons from Japan and the United States," copies of which have been sent separately to A.I.D. (Travel expenses to attend this conference in Los Angeles were reimbursed from the A.I.D. grant.)

An exchange of communications with social scientists at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, with respect to their proposed conference on "Economic and Political Development in the Pacific" originally scheduled for July of 1973, succeeded in obtaining their concurrence for inclusion of

at least one panel on the role of the legislature in effecting political and economic change in the Pacific Islands. Fiji personnel later decided to postpone this conference for at least one year, but assured Hawaii of their intention to retain consideration of the legislative institution on the agenda of the rescheduled conference. As this meeting will elicit active participation of indigenous residents from a number of the Pacific polities, it promises the formulation of Island viewpoints not previously published.

At the International Political Science Association Congress held in Montreal in August, 1973, two panels on comparative legislative studies were attended by four faculty members involved in the Hawaii Program, with Professor Michael Morcy serving as rapporteur of one of the panels. The original negotiations leading to the decision to place these panels on the program of the Congress resulted from communications exchanged between Professor Fred Riggs and Dr. Stjepan Polkan, president of IPSA. Professor Riggs also submitted a paper on "Parties and Legislatures: Some Definitional Exercises" to COCPA (Research Committee on Conceptual and Terminological Analysis) of IPSA, copies of which have been submitted to A.I.D. (Expenses to attend the Congress, participate in the associated Consortium meeting, and collaborate on the NSF Cooperative Legislatures Proposal were met from the A.I.D. grant.)

The proposed conference in Honolulu on the origins, development, and institutionalization of legislatures, premised in part upon the experience of Japan, was deferred until the Spring of the third "report year." Meanwhile, plans were made to secure Consortium cooperation in sponsoring the conference.

During the second "report year," the sum of \$2,473 was expended and committed out of A.I.D. grant and for attending conferences.

6. Foreign linkages: The Hawaii Program continued with its efforts to establish ties with colleagues in foreign countries engaged in, or whose interests could be redirected to, comparative legislative studies. Communications with such scholars in Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand have been maintained despite the internal political modifications which have occurred in all of these countries. Attempts to establish a collegial linkage with scholars in Indonesia who have published works on the legislative institution have not been as fruitful, but hopefully this will be rectified shortly when one of the Program's doctoral candidates commences his dissertation field research in Indonesia with the cooperation of Professor Juwono Sudarsono, chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of Indonesia.

Through the assistance of cooperating colleagues in the Philippines, the Program succeeded in identifying a promising graduate student there, with experience both in tertiary level teaching and service to the Philippine Congress, to whom a grant was made to enable her to enroll in comparative legislative studies at the University of Hawaii. Several inquiries of colleagues from Korea and Thailand regarding sources of financial assistance for their on-going research have preliminarily been referred to the Consortium; however, if the Consortium or alternative sources of funding suggested prove available, these requests may be reopened. The program still plans to provide what minor assistance is possible within its budget for assisting the research of foreign colleagues whose projects are of direct relevancy to the aims and objectives of the Hawaii Program.

During the second "report year" personnel from Korea, Malaysia, Sweden, and Thailand interested in the legislative institution met with faculty and

students in the Hawaii Program. Cumulatively they reinforced the Program's desire to strengthen cooperative relations with foreign colleagues.

During October of 1972, Mr. Goh Hok Guan, Member of the Malaysian Parliament met for a day with faculty and students in the Hawaii Program, and in an informal seminar reviewed Malaysian politics and the role of the Parliament in the political and administrative development of Malaysia. In addition, he also considered the general state of politics in Southeast Asia and the legislative institution as a factor contributing to the political changes occurring in the larger area.

In July of 1973, eleven members of the Korean National Assembly enroute to Washington, D.C., at the invitation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, visited Hawaii. Two meetings were held between Hawaii personnel and these Korean legislators. In the first, the head of the Opposition Party, Mr. Chin-san Yu, together with three members of his party, discussed the role of the Opposition in the Korean political system newly created last October under martial law. In response to Hawaii's interest in the Korean legislative situation, a second meeting was then held with four active members of the Ruling Party in the delegation, all of whom had been political scientists in major universities of Korea before their entry into the National Assembly. This session treated extensively the role of the Korean Congressman in decision-making, the legitimization function of the Korean National Assembly, and the significance of converting one third of the Assembly membership to selection through Presidential appointment. The Korean delegation demonstrated marked interest in the comparative legislative studies on-going in Hawaii.

In April, Professor Jorgen Westerstahl of the University of Gotteboard addressed the Comparative Legislative Studies Colloquium on aspects of his

research in Sweden which directly concern legislative attitudes, communication patterns, and behavior. While Scandinavia is outside of the geographical zone of the A.I.D. funded interest of the Hawaii Program, the visit to Hawaii of one of Sweden's most distinguished political scientists provided an excellent opportunity for Hawaii's faculty and students to discuss developments with him regarding comparative legislative studies in Sweden.

Also in April of the "report year," Dr. Chai-Anan Samudavanija, on the staff of NIDA, Bangkok, and Secretary of the Thai University Research Associates visited with faculty members of the Hawaii Comparative Legislative Studies Program. His presence in Hawaii contributed to the strengthening of ties between the Hawaii Program and other Thai academics interested in legislative research and training. (See "Service," infra, for treatment of supportive services rendered Dr. Chai-Anan.)

Except for incidental administrative costs, and these not specifically earmarked, no funds were expended during the "report year" from the Hawaii developmental grant on the establishing of foreign linkages, the assisting of foreign colleagues in the undertaking of comparative legislative research, or the bringing of scholars to Hawaii to participate in on-going activity at the University.

7. Service: The Hawaii Program contemplates the providing of servicing for legislators and legislative staff in Asia and the Pacific under the A.I.D. grant as primarily correlative to the development of institutional competence in comparative legislative studies and the encouragement of related research conducted both by Hawaii staff and by cooperating colleagues, rather than as a separate, distinct division of endeavor funded as such by the grant. While activity carried on under the development grant will provide a greater potential within the University for the performance of such

legislative servicing, for the most part the rendering of services--except for spin-offs--will await outside involvement for its inception and funding. This is well illustrated by activities of the Hawaii Program during the second "report year."

In the Summer of 1972, during the conducting of field research in American Samoa, Dr. Norman Meller consulted with legislative personnel regarding the reorganizing and financing of the American Pacific Legislators Conference, and on the program content for the annual meeting scheduled to be held in Pago Pago in the Fall of 1973. He also had occasion, when meeting with the clerks of the legislatures of the Cook Islands, Niue, and Western Samoa, to consult with them on technical matters of internal legislative services, legislative procedural reforms, and other matters pertinent to legislative administration. For the period of a month, spanning July-August of 1973, he served as consultant to the Truk District Legislature, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, assisting a special commission of Trukese legislators in focusing both legislative and public attention upon functional-structural relationships, and redefinition of the role of the district legislature in line with political changes occurring in the Trust Territory. A novel, legislative-directed effort was launched to evaluate and (potentially) restructure the district government so as to be more compatible with indigenous (traditional) and introduced political institutions and processes.

When Dr. Chai-Anan Samudavanija of Thailand visited Hawaii, appointments were arranged for him to interview personnel of the Hawaii Legislative Auditor, Legislative Reapportionment Commission, Legislative Reference Bureau, and the Statute Revisor, and to obtain pertinent materials issued by these offices. As the Hawaii State Legislature was meeting, he also had

occasion to observe it in plenary session; unfortunately, the hectic pace attendant on the closing days of the State legislature did not permit more than a cursory coverage of the legislature's internal administration--e.g., the procedures followed in the preparation of the legislature's computerized indexes and status tables of all measures introduced, facsimile duplication and bill room distribution of legislative materials, procedural devices adopted to facilitate the mechanics of floor action, etc. However, all of these visitations, together with faculty discussions, provided him with sufficient data to permit his refining the proposal formulated by TURA (Thai University Research Associates) for the restructuring of the staff of the Thai Parliament, and the training of its members for their new supportive duties.

Through personal visitation and mail correspondence, arrangements have been completed for use of PEACESAT to mount a periodic radio roundtable meeting of Pacific legislative staff from American Samoa, Fiji, Hawaii, Papua New Guinea, and the Trust Territory as soon as this is technically feasible. During the year the Saipan ground station was successfully tested, but while awaiting the installation of additional booster equipment at Lae, New Guinea, and the setting up of a ground station at Port Moresby, Papua, the last links in the projected network, notice was received of the impending cancellation of the University's permit to use this Pacific satellite. As a consequence, although all the necessary assurances of cooperation were obtained during the "report year," use of the radio roundtable device via satellite for facilitating the servicing of Pacific island legislatures depends upon the resolution of external factors. These and other service-related activities of the Hawaii Program, such as the Newsletter which goes to interested parliamentarians, legislative service personnel, and related institutions

in 15 countries (see Consortium relationships, following), were all undertaken as incidental to Hawaii's on-going programs, and without separate itemized expenditures chargeable to Hawaii's A.I.D. grant.

8. Consortium relationships: In consort with Duke University and the University of Iowa, it was agreed to expand the membership of the Consortium to include SUNY (State University of New York) at Albany. Together with the three other institutions, Hawaii has given considerable attention to the formal structuring of the Consortium, the administrative details of the Consortium's printing agreement with Sage Publications, and delineating dimensions and priorities of the various programmatic interests of the Consortium. Members of the Hawaii Program have participated fully in all Consortium meetings on the mainland, and during the second "report year" prepared the minutes of those meetings.

All four institutions are cooperating in the Consortium's publication program. Hawaii has assumed responsibility for the compilation, duplication, and dissemination of the Consortium's Newsletter, the first two issues of which were published during the second "report year." Professor Michael Mezey serves as editor of the Newsletter, and the facilities of the Social Science Research Institute are used for its duplication and distribution so as to minimize Consortium expenditures. After corresponding with social scientists all over the world known to be interested in legislative behavior, with heads of various national political science associations, and with international parliamentary organizations, a mailing list was assembled which has continued to grow with self-nominated applicants until it today numbers over 300. Today, a majority of the Newsletter's addresses are in countries outside of the United States (Europe - 15 countries; Africa, Asia,

Middle East, and Oceania including Australia, 6 countries, each; 3 countries in South America; and Canada in North America). Responses received have been very favorable, tending to indicate achievement of the Consortium's objective to establish an international communication linkage for the dissemination of information on pertinent publications, meetings, and research underway, all to the end of encouraging the growth of interest in comparative legislative studies.

Expenditures of the Hawaii Program related to the Consortium were limited to those expenses incurred in attending Consortium meetings which were not borne out of the Consortium budget. They are included as part of the cost of administering the Hawaii Program.

9. Administrative activities: Hawaii's administrative structure remains unchanged from that established initially for directing the conduct of the Hawaii Program: a committee, technically advisory to the Program Director, considers policy for expanding the University's legislative studies and screens applications for financial assistance. As necessary, sub-committees assume responsibility for short-term assignments, as screening of applications for grant awards or planning for the holding of the comparative legislative studies conference in Hawaii. Still comprising the Program Committee are Dr. Harry V. Ball, Professor of Sociology; Dr. Robert S. Cahill, Chairman of the Department of Political Science; Dr. Young-Whan Hahn, Researcher in the East-West Center Technology and Development Institute; Dr. Norman Meller, Director of the Pacific Islands Program; Dr. Michael Mezey, Assistant Professor of Political Science; Dr. Fred Riggs, Director of the Social Science Research Institute; and Dr. Robert B. Stauffer, Professor of Political Science. Students receiving grants under the Program participate fully in the meetings of the Program Committee.

All necessary services continue to be furnished by the staff of the Social Science Research Institute on a reimbursed cost basis, thus minimizing administrative expense while providing immediate access to specialized accounting, computer programming, and media-layout personnel, as well as staff furnishing typing, key-punching, duplicating, and general clerical services, all buttressed by the requisite supporting hardware. No stipend is granted for administrative supervision provided by the Program Director. A total of \$1,045 for administrative expenses were spent and committed from A.I.D. grant funds in the second "report year."

IV. Impact of Grant Supported Activities in Developing Institutional Capabilities

It is proposed to shape a well-defined sub-field of comparative legislative studies through the strategy of incremental, multiform effort of many persons, to the end of ultimately building a distinctive body of theory and adherent scholars. From the contributions of the Consortium and the separate efforts of the four institutions which comprise that Consortium will come the focus and scholarly momentum necessary for initially stimulating interest in cross-polity legislative studies. The establishment of linkages with collegial counterparts both in the United States and abroad, the recruitment and training of foreign graduate students, the issuance of a newsletter with international circulation, the inclusion of panels at scholarly conventions, and the mounting of an aggressive publication program are all conceived as means for expanding world-wide interest with respect to and breadth and diversity in comparative legislative studies. The grant-supported activities of the Hawaii Program are all part

of that grand strategy, so that they cannot be considered as directed solely to the immediate development of the University's institutional capabilities. Rather, given the external impact of some of these activities, it is more meaningful to consider them as all encompassed within the developing of an institutional readiness. The addition of a grant-supported faculty member to permit greater emphasis on comparative legislative studies, and the consequent increase in the number of credit courses dealing with the legislature in cross-polity perspective have directly enhanced the capabilities of the University of Hawaii. More removed, encouraging participation in scholarly conventions concerned with, and the establishing of a publication outlet for comparative legislature research findings both provide an opportunity for direct involvement of Hawaii faculty and, even if not availed of, prepare faculty and graduate students to anticipate utilizing the scholarly products that will be disseminated therefrom. The effects from externally-oriented grant activities can therefore have material, even if indirect, impact on Hawaii's institutional development.

Another function of the comparative legislative studies program is to expand the horizons of faculty members at the University. Thus it seeks to encourage faculty whose interests in the legislature are bounded by a single political system to view the legislature from broader, comparative perspective. Similarly, with respect to the University faculty concentrating their attention on various aspects of development--administrative, economic, political--the Program endeavors to encourage them to include treatment of the relevance of the legislative institution to development. This, too, represents a long-run influence shaping institutional capabilities, for the most part evidenced more in attitude and scholarly approach than in published product containing express acknowledgment.

V. Utilization of Institutional Resources in Development

To respond adequately to the general involvement of the University of Hawaii in developmental activities and programs in LDC's requires more comprehensive knowledge of the University's and its faculties' involvement than is presently available. For example, not alone does the University's E-WC Technology & Development Institute have various thematic developmental interests--as the contributions of three non-metropolitan, regional universities (Yeung Nam in Korea, Mindanao State in the Philippines, and Hasanuddin in Indonesia) to social and economic development; public leadership strategies in Asia and the Pacific; and indigenous entrepreneurs in evolving economies--but the activities of the E-WC Population Institute, the E-WC Communications Institute, and the School of Public Health, also have an impact upon development insofar as they have relevance to the relation of the debilitating demands placed upon the resources of LDC's by fast expanding populations. Similarly, the University has contracted for its faculty to assist in the institutionalization of technical education in LDC's, just as personnel of the School of Public Health are engaged in the improvement of public health delivery systems in such less developed areas. Or to approach this matter from the perspective of activity occurring solely on the University's Manoa campus, students from most of the countries of East, South, and Southeast Asia as well as Oceania are enrolled in University courses dealing with development conducted by the Agricultural Economics, Business Administration, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology Departments, not to mention many subject-specific courses having relevance to development. For the purposes of this report, it therefore becomes necessary to limit the response on utilization of institutional resources to the faculty directly involved in the Hawaii Comparative Legislative Studies Program.

During the second "report year," in contrast to the first, there was relatively little general activity pertinent to LDC development which was performed by faculty involved in the Hawaii Program. While engaged in research in Polynesia and engaged in consulting service in Micronesia during the summer of 1973, Dr. Norman Meller had occasion to meet with prime ministers of self-governing areas (Cook, Tonga, Western Samoa), governors of territories (American Samoa, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Niue, and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands), and with cabinet members/department heads of all of these Pacific island areas under circumstances in which he informally acted in an advisory role in outlining administrative and political developments in other areas of Oceania and analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of parallel institutions and processes of the respective country. Dr. Young-Whan Hahn, to operationalize the E-WC Technology & Development Institute's interest in institutional development and public leadership study has had repeated contact with local and regional leaders, i.e., mayors, governors, and development agency directors in Asian and Pacific countries. With the American Section of ILCORK (International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea) headquartered at the University of Hawaii, Dr. Fred Riggs as Secretary of the Section has been active throughout the "report year" in operationalizing ties with the Korean Section and facilitating cooperative activity relative to Korean inquiry. By invitation he also participated in a research seminar sponsored by the Vienna Institute for Development Studies held in New York in February of 1973. And in "students" and "services" under "III. Accomplishments" (supra), reference is made to foreign students studying in Hawaii and interacting with faculty in the Hawaii Program, and also to visitations to the Manoa campus by persons from Korea, Malaysia and Thailand.

VI. Other Resources for Grant-Related Activities

Experience during the second "report year" continues to substantiate the generalization that State of Hawaii appropriated funds and moneys obtained from a variety of non-governmental sources for supporting legislature-related studies at the University over the life of the A.I.D. grant will more than equal the money received from the grant for developing institutional capacity in comparative legislative studies. In part this derives from the funding continuing to be provided by the University for the offering of academic courses which include a cross-national legislative content, from pertinent University library acquisitions, and from the fact that the University is absorbing from state appropriated funds the normal over-head requirement, computed as close to 50 per cent of the personnel costs shown in the annual grant accounting. But besides this, support for legislature-related activities derived from numerous other sources contributed approximately an additional \$24,000 during the second "report year."

Excluding computer and related hardware rentals as well as programmer services, and referring only to itemized computer time and supplies, \$2,500 was contributed from University funds toward the research of faculty and students in the Hawaii Program. For funding attendance at some of the conferences referred to previously in this report, \$1,075 was received from a variety of non-grant sources. For financing the travel attendant on the reported research and service, an additional \$3,900 augmented grant-supplied funds. Not counting such supplemental assistance of a general nature as the year's sabbatical pay received by Dr. Michael Shapiro while researching in Norway, or his small grant for delivering five talks there on foreign policy

decision-making which contributed toward financing his stay in Norway, a total of \$11,050 was contributed from state and non-governmental sources for financing research. The East-West Center contribution of a year's scholarship for one of the pre-doctoral students in the Hawaii Program added another \$4,500, and the waiver of tuition and fees by the University, and the contribution toward insurance for the other grantee an additional \$500 plus. And finally, reference to the small direct administrative costs borne by the A.I.D. grant, which represent reimbursement to the Social Science Research Institute for its out of pocket expenses, clearly demonstrate that considerable labor and material costs relevant to the legislature-related activities or faculty are being supported by the University funds allocated to teaching department secretarial and office costs.

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

1. U.H. instruction and academic discourse: The greater breadth and depth of academic attention to the legislative institution both in developmental and cross-polity perspective instituted in the second "report year" will continue unabated. The new courses added are scheduled to be again offered during the academic year, and the Comparative Legislative Studies Colloquia will continue to meet periodically during the Fall and Spring semesters to encourage cross-campus graduate student and faculty interest in comparative legislative subjects. Similarly, informal student-faculty interaction designed to enrich structured course offerings will be expanded with the increase in number of advanced graduate students in the Hawaii Program, and student offices will be assigned so as thereby to facilitate inter-student contact.

For the academic year, classroom legislative simulation will be employed as a pedagogical teaching device in several disciplines. Economics Professor Robert Kamins will utilize the format and viewpoint of the state legislative committee as an approach to learning public finance, with the students taking legislative roles and the executive budget and revenue bills introduced before the 1973 Hawaii Legislature used as resource materials. Political Science Professor Michael Mezey, after submitting a preliminary proposal to the Exxon Foundation, received an invitation to submit an expanded proposal which, if funded, will utilize classroom simulation techniques for the study of comparative legislative behavior.

The salary of Dr. Mezey will remain chargeable to the A.I.D. grant as part of funding Hawaii's academic attention to legislative studies. In all, \$17,765 has been budgeted for these costs of formal and informal instruction.

2. Students: Graduate student participation under financial assistance received through the Hawaii Program will more than double during the third "report year." In addition to the American doctoral candidate under East-West Center scholarship who will travel to Indonesia to conduct his thesis field research, his expenses funded under the terms of the award, a Marshallese graduate student with extended experience as staff member for the Congress of Micronesia will commence his studies in the Hawaii Program under an East-West Center scholarship. The Korean national who received financial assistance from A.I.D. grant monies during the second "report year" will continue working on his doctorate aided by a renewal of such assistance. Two additional graduate students have been recruited for the Hawaii Program, each receiving an initial one year grant from A.I.D. funds. One of these new students is a Philippine citizen who had prior experience as a staff member of the recent

Philippine Congress; her academic training will be planned to prepare her to write a doctoral thesis related to the legislative process in the Philippines, and to return there to engage in comparative legislative teaching and legislative service. The other new recruit to the Hawaii Program, a former American grantee of the East-West Center, brings field experience in South and Southeast Asia; she will undertake doctoral studies with geographical emphasis pointed to this region, and return there for further field research on the legislature, most likely Afghanistan if conditions there permit.

This augmentation of the number of graduate students receiving financial assistance has been fully consonant with the Hawaii policy of bringing foreign students into the Program so as to facilitate the growth of legislative studies in their homelands upon the students' return. Also, the distribution of geographical interest of these five financially-aided students coincides with the area identified as within the concern of the Hawaii Program.

Beside these five students receiving direct financial aid, other graduate students writing theses on legislative subjects will be assisted as necessary in meeting incidental costs incurred. Such supplemental assistance will be provided only after it is demonstrated that other sources are unavailable, and such aid would be relevant to the interests of the Program.

The total amount of \$14,000 has been budgeted from A.I.D. grant funds for the three students under A.J.D. awards, and for the providing of incidental, general facilitating assistance to graduate students.

3. Supportive library and data resources: With the curtailment of state appropriated funds for the administration of the University in the 1973-74 fiscal year, it is anticipated that the University libraries will not be able to continue meeting the cost of acquiring as many volumes of published materials useful for cross-polity research and teaching, so that the Program

will be called upon to bear a greater portion of the financial burden. In addition, the Program will also continue with the task of acquiring Pacific Islands legislative materials and adding legislative-related materials to the University's Korean language collection. Now that American scholarly interest in comparative legislative studies is growing, a larger number of theses pertinent to the interests of the Hawaii Program may be expected to be offered and copies of these will be obtained for use by students in Hawaii. To cover the costs of purchasing and otherwise acquiring these materials, duplicating through Xeroxing and microfilming materials not directly obtainable in printed form, and the acquisition of data sets determined to be useful for furthering the objectives of the Hawaii Program, an amount of \$750 has been allotted for the third "report year."

4. Research: The various faculty members associated with the Hawaii Program will, in the main, continue with their respective research interests treated more fully previously in considering action during the second "report year." Professors Harry L. Ball and Neal Milner will conduct further inquiry into the linkage between courts and legislatures as they relate to social change, Dr. Ball adopting Oceania as a broader area of reference and probably using land control for his focus, while Dr. Milner will concentrate his attention upon criminal law reform in Hawaii and the difference made by legislative involvement. Dr. Yasumasa Kuroda plans to complete his manuscript for his first book, describing the nature of the collected data on Japanese Diet members, and commence on the second book statistically manipulating that data to establish linkages between the Japanese Diet as revealed by the characteristics of its membership and political development in Japan over the past eighty years.

Dr. Norman Meller will order and analyze the data on Pacific island legislatures he collected during his field research in the Summer of 1973 in the attempt both to test the hypothesis that there is a common pattern of legislative integration in Oceania, and also to identify the role which these legislatures play in national development and integration. Dr. Michael Mezey will occupy his research and writing time on continuing two projects: (i) a monograph on comparative legislatures; and (ii) cross-group legislative-bureaucratic perceptions and expectations, with a pilot study in Hawaii to assist in refining the research instrument which in subsequent years will permit replication of the study in one or more Asian nations. During the Fall semester, Dr. Fred Riggs will be on sabbatical, giving lectures in a number of Asian and African countries as he travels around the world; during the remainder of the academic year he will inquire into whether some variant of the NSF-rejected Comparative Legislatures Project may obtain funding from another granting source, and will devote a considerable part of his time to work on a book manuscript broadly treating social change in an ecological perspective, which will include attention to the legislatures and their impact on change. Dr. Michael J. Shapiro will work up his Norwegian field data, writing a study on social control ideologies.

Dr. Lloyd D. Musolf proposes to shift his general focus of research interest from the role of the legislature in the linkage between economic regulation and concepts of national development, pointing now more specifically to the involvement of the legislature in economic planning. Dr. J. Richard Sisson still hopes to be able to reinstate his planned cooperative field research into state legislative institutionalization in India, but should this still be counterindicated, will continue with the analysis of South Asian legislative development data available to him in California. Dr.

Robert B. Stauffer will also continue with the analysis of the data he has amassed on the Philippine Congress, pursuing the research question of the developmental consequences which occur when the legislature is the vehicle through which a national political elite maintains its status rather than through the bureaucracy.

Only Dr. Stauffer is budgeted to receive a salary supplement, 2/9 of academic salary as an overload payment from the A.I.D. grant for research over the 1974 summer period. Money has also been tentatively allocated for Drs. Musolf and Sisson for comparable purpose, should their research plans mature sufficiently to warrant their similarly devoting the full summer period to comparative legislative research. A total of \$12,500 has been set aside for these summer supplements, and \$8,165 for incidental assistance to the various faculty members named for student assistance, travel, typing, supplies, and comparable facilitative aid.

5. Conferences and scholarly meetings: The University of Hawaii proposes to host a conference in the Spring of 1974 which will focus on how legislatures become institutionalized, their origins, development and attaining of a distinctive and effective role. Historical or longitudinal dimensions will be emphasized, with the objective of understanding their implications for the future development of legislatures in LDC's where they are now weak or embryonic. Participants will come from the faculties of the other three Consortium universities, their nominees, Consortium associates, and other invitees. Critiques of the five papers proposed to be commissioned will be submitted by scholars outside of the United States, and hopefully supplemental funding may be obtained to permit some or all of these cooperating foreign colleagues to attend the conference. The Hawaii Program

has budgeted \$4,010 for this "origins" conference, with \$2,250 for various honoraria, \$760 for reimbursing travel, and \$1,000 to cover supplies, duplication, equipment rental, and comparable other costs incurred in conducting the conference. In addition, the Consortium has agreed to contribute \$2,500 toward meeting travel and per diem costs of conference participants not covered by the Consortium or the three Consortium institutions for representatives attending the Consortium meeting in Hawaii which will be held preceding the conference.

In the Summer of 1974, the social science faculty of the University of the South Pacific propose to hold the Fiji conference postponed from 1973 on "Political and Economic Decolonization in the Pacific." If these plans are implemented, to assure the participation of academics and legislators on panels treating the significance of the legislature, and to assist in the publication of their contributions, a monetary supplementation may be provided, and for this purpose up to \$1,000 has been tentatively allocated in the Hawaii budget.

Attendance of Hawaii faculty at scholarly meetings to present papers on comparative legislative subjects, or otherwise meaningfully participate in these sessions, will continue to be aided when funding may not be obtained from other sources. For this purpose, \$2,000 has been budgeted for the third "report year."

6. Foreign linkages: In addition to the foreign-related activity detailed previously, effort will continue to be made to assist in the operationalizing of the research efforts of academic colleagues in the countries of Asia and the Pacific within the ken of the Hawaii Program. For Fiji, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand, this will entail strengthening the collegial ties

already explored; for Indonesia and Malaysia it will require the establishing of cooperative ties directed to encouraging comparative legislative studies. As previously indicated, the foreign linkage element of the Hawaii Program depends heavily upon convincing foreign area colleagues to assign priority to their legislative inquiries, and this, in turn is materially effected by the politics of the respective country. Also, lacking material supplemental funding which will finance their research and bring them physically into contact with faculty in Hawaii, these foreign colleagues are dependent upon resources which limit such involvement, so that it is anticipated that there will be only a slow but steady growth in this element of the Hawaii Program. If warranted by the promise of the research activity desired to be undertaken, up to \$2,000 has been budgeted for assistance to foreign colleagues.

The Program will also continue to render miscellaneous assistance to international organizations furthering cross-national legislative studies where these expenses may be met within the budget allocated for administration.

7. Service: The Hawaii Program will continue its efforts to enlarge the comprehensiveness of the Consortium Newsletter's coverage and through expansion of its distribution to further the Consortium's purpose of encouraging world-wide interest in comparative legislative studies. To this end, the communication network with international organizations as well as scholars throughout the world interested in cross-polity legislative studies which was established to facilitate the founding of the Newsletter will be maintained and strengthened.

The Hawaii Program will also continue with its efforts to establish a periodic roundtable of Pacific Islands legislative staff personnel via PIRACESAF, so as to assist the servicing of the Pacific legislatures. As only completion of the installation of necessary equipment, and waiver of

technical objections stand in the way of inauguration of this service, it is hoped that at long last it will shortly be possible to put the initial round-table on the air.

Upon Dr. Norman Meller's return to Hawaii from providing consultation service to the Truk District Legislature during the Summer of 1973 on restructuring the district government, the Truk Commission commenced hearings both in the Truk lagoon area and on the outlying island groups within the district. Upon their completion, and the preparation of a hearing record, Dr. Meller will consult further with the Truk District Legislature on the preparation of a report making recommendations for modifying the district government, including redefining the role of the district legislature in line with political changes occurring in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In line with previous arrangements, these services will be provided without cost other than reimbursement for travel.

No separate funds have been budgeted for the service activities of the Hawaii Program. Those of incidental nature will continue to be absorbed in the administration of the Program; major expenditures will be met through direct financing of the agency requesting services.

Administration and miscellany: It is anticipated that the administrative costs of the Hawaii Program charged to the A.I.D. grant will materially increase during the third "grant year" due both to expansion in the activities of the Program and because budgetary constraints on the University will preclude it from absorbing as much of the true costs engendered by the Program for supplies, typing services, duplication, etc., as has occurred in previous years. In addition, reduction in the staff of the Social Science Research Institute will have the correlative effect of requiring the employment of staff

necessary for performing Program-related services, instead of their being provided by SFRI personnel as incidental to their other duties. This, too, carries the potential of increasing the administrative expenses borne by the grant.

For purposes of cooperating in Consortia activities, one mainland meeting is anticipated in addition to the Consortia meeting which will be held in Hawaii in conjunction with the "origins" conference. To meet the costs of travel attendant, and the expenses related to the administration of the Hawaii Program, it is estimated that \$1,500 will be expended.

Table I

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

Review Period August 11, 1972 to August 15, 1973

	211(c) Expenditures			Projected to end of Grant	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total	Projected Next Year		
Instruction and academic discourse	16,347	15,801	17,765	75,000	?
Support assistance	4,216	6,292	14,000	36,000	5,000
Library and data collections	210	480	750	3,000	300
Research	18,353 (+4,433)*	24,932 (+4,483)*	20,665	90,000	17,450
Conferences and Meetings	235 (+2,237)*	371 (+2,237)*	7,010	13,000	1,075
Foreign linkages	-0-	-0-	2,000	10,000	-
Service**	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	?
Administrative and miscellaneous	1,045	1,637	1,500	6,000	?
TOTAL	\$40,413	\$50,544	\$63,690 (+6,720)*	\$235,000	

* Incurred

** Except for administration, will be funded separately

Table II

Expenditure Report

(Actual and Projected)

Under Institutional Grant #AID/csd - 3293

Review Period August 11, 1972 to August 15, 1973

	Expenditures to date		Projected expenditures			Total
	Period under Review	Cumulative Total	Year			
Faculty	29,002 +2,893)*	34,793 (+2,693)*	34,515	30,500	38,300	149,000
Students	4,216	6,602	13,300	13,000	4,300	37,200
Travel and per diem	3,047 (+3,237)*	5,036 (+3,237)*	6,250	6,500	6,000	27,000
Supplies, etc.**	3,517 (+ 600)*	4,113 (+ 600)*	9,615	4,500	3,000	21,800
TOTAL	\$40,413***	\$50,544	\$63,680 (+6,720)*	\$62,500	\$51,600	\$235,000

- * Incurred
- ** Includes services rendered, as by students
- *** Fractions round to extra \$1.00