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October 16, 1972

Title: Comparative Legislative Studies Program
Grantee: University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii
Director: Norman Meller, Professor
Department of Political Science

A. Statistical Summary:

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

Amount of Grant: \$235,000

Expenditures for Report Year \$10,130.45 Accumulated \$10,130.45

Anticipated for next year \$58,242.00

E. Narrative Summary

The Comparative Legislative 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 a 211d grant (csd/5293 - authorized August 11, 1971) from the Agency for International Development for a five year period 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.

As Hawaii's grant became effective on October 15, 1971, after the academic year had commenced, efforts during the initial "report year" were primarily directed to laying sound foundations for expanding the University's legislative studies and establishing cooperative relations with scholars and organizations overseas. University academic offerings were reviewed and provision made for adding courses designed to build interest in comparative legislative analysis. To implement decisions reached, a nation-wide search resulted in the recruitment of a political scientist with field experience in a Southeast Asian LDC who is committed to teaching and research in this subfield. University of Hawaii faculty

in disciplines pertinent to legislative studies were surveyed, and a number co-opted into the Program. The University's library holdings were examined and orders placed to fill lacunae; in addition, efforts were initiated to compile checklists and bibliographies of materials in the University's special area and language collections useful for comparative legislative studies. Steps were taken to facilitate relevant faculty research, and the first financial assistance granted to graduate students with legislative-related theses. Also commenced was the identification of scholars in Asia and the Pacific Islands whose interests lay in or could be redirected to legislative studies, and cooperative linkages were established with colleagues in the Philippines and several island polities. Similarly, discussions with the staff of parliamentary organizations in Asia and Europe resulted in their firm pledges of cooperation for cross-polity undertakings. Consortium ties with Duke University and the University of Iowa were further developed through joint planning for launching a publication program, organizing of conferences, and undertaking other multi-university sponsored activity. And particularly important for the growth of the Hawaii Program was the successful exploration of external sources of supplementary funding. Central to this varied activity has been the mustering of resources and the facilitating of human effort directed to a better understanding of the legislative institution and its role in national development, a purpose fully consonant with the objectives of the Agency for International 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 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 in-

clude 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 and proposal was formulated, it was with the knowledge that the study of the legislative institution takes the field researcher into potentially politically sensitive subjects. This must now be supplemented with the rising suspicion in Asia and the Pacific toward American academics engaged in social science inquiry. While it was always intended to exercise due caution in all externally-directed efforts under the Program, it is now evident that all such activity must be couched very carefully. (This even extends to such mundane matters as communications with foreign legislative staff in seeking to obtain back issues of legislative publications for the purpose of completing library holdings.) As a consequence, the time span necessary to encourage colleagues overseas to cooperate in the study of the legislative institution, and also, to make arrangements for field research of Hawaii faculty and students will be greater than originally anticipated. In addition, some participant-observer activities originally contemplated may not prove possible of implementation.

It is still too early to determine whether the specific country focus of the Hawaii Program on Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand must be minimized because of recent political events occurring in these nations. Apart from such necessary modifications in activities, nothing has developed to challenge or require modifications in the objectives of the grant.

III. Accomplishments

In devising a strategy for operationalizing the grant, it was necessary to assign priorities in the undertaking of the various major activities marked for attention as well as resolve the "chicken and egg" dilemma of whether the formulation of an inclusive developmental model, integrally incorporating the legislature, should precede and determine the facilitating of individual faculty effort, or is to be regarded as a product thereof, representing the culmination logically derived from and supported by a diversity of individual research. Given the inadequacy of the developmental literature on the role of the legislature, it was decided to encourage faculty involvement without restricting its scope to a single theoretical formulation of legislative role, while working toward cooperative interaction and mutual assessment which would permit the evolving and testing of overarching, comparative legislative theory. And with regard to priorities, since a dysfunctional element would be introduced by ignoring the university tempo attuned to the academic year (grant funding was uncertain and actually not received until October 15, 1971, after the start of the school year), the course followed was to emphasize those activities which would lay a

sound foundation for expanding the University's legislative studies and establishing cooperative relations with scholars and organizations overseas.

1. Grant Administration. To maximize efficiency and accountability while optimizing University faculty involvement in the development of legislative studies on the Manoa campus, attention was initially turned to administration of the A.I.D. grant. In lieu of employing a separate support staff paid from grant funds, provision has been made for all necessary services to be furnished by the staff of the Social Science Research Institute, on a reimbursed cost basis. In addition to minimizing administrative expense, this arrangement provides immediate access to accounting, computer programming, duplicating, key-punching, media layout, typing, and general clerical services buttressed by the requisite supporting hardware. A faculty committee, technically advisory to the Program Director, considers policy for expanding the University's legislative studies and screens applications for financial assistance. Currently 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 E-W Center Technology & 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 Stauffer, Professor of Political Science. As one of the functions of membership on the Program Committee is to encourage the broadest of faculty participation in the University's

legislative studies program, it is anticipated that the composition of this Committee will be expanded over time. Meanwhile, the initial task of erecting an administrative structure has been successfully hurdled.

2. U.H. Instruction. A survey of University teaching assignments and on-going research activities confirmed the view that while a number of faculty members are interested in legislative studies, lacking was a member committed primarily to teaching and research on the legislative institution who commands behavioral tools of data collection, reduction, and analysis. Possibly due to this hiatus, it was found that insufficient academic courses were being offered in comparative legislative studies. As a consequence, a nation-wide search was launched for the recruitment of a political scientist combining both a commitment to comparative legislative studies and field experience pertinent to one or more of the Asian legislatures falling within the geographic arc of the University of Hawaii concern. This led to the employment of Dr. Michael Mezey, formerly Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Virginia. Starting with the 1972 Fall Semester, Dr. Mezey has commenced conducting what is planned to be an on-going series of undergraduate and graduate courses on the legislative institution viewed from American, comparative, and developmental perspectives. He will also work closely with all graduate students in the University's comparative legislative program, bringing to bear his scholarly interests in theory formulation and practical insights obtained from his tour in Thailand under Rockefeller Foundation funding.

3. Student Training. One of the key components of the University of Hawaii Program is facilitating the education of graduate students,

to the end of preparing them to devote part of their life's work to the teaching of comparative legislative studies and the conducting of research in this sub-field. The money tentatively budgeted for student fellowships under the A.I.D. grant (\$32,000), at current University rates for half-time graduate assistants, represents the equivalent of only about eight student years. Plans therefore call for obtaining augmented funding, so that more than minimal impact possible under the grant may be realized. (See following, under efforts for obtaining supplementary assistance.) Meanwhile, commensurate with the funds presently available, one student received a fellowship during the first year, and a terminating East-West Center grantee will be financed during the second year under the A.I.D. grant. Illustrative of the wealth of area and language resources available in Hawaii, in the summer of 1972 the initial student financed by the Program completed an intensive, crash course in the Indonesian language and will continue with his language instruction as preparation for his field research in Indonesia.

During the first year of the grant, four graduate students already admitted to candidacy in Political Science, worked on theses related to the legislature under faculty associated with the Hawaii Program. Two are engaged in subjecting bio-data on Japanese Diet Members to rigorous analysis. A third student is researching the career patterns of Hawaii legislators during the Islands' major development period bracketing World War II and the grant of statehood. The fourth student, after questionnairing the legislative leaders and governors in all states and territories of the United States, and coding their replies, is writing his doctoral dissertation on the disclosed executive-legislative leader

communication patterns in the American state political system. Once these patterns are delineated, they may become bench mark measures for comparable studies of executive-legislative communication networks in other political systems.

Of these four students presently at the dissertation writing stage, two are foreign citizens who will return to their home country (Japan) prepared to teach legislative studies. One of the two students who will be under Program-related scholarship during the second grant year is also a foreign, non-resident. The latter two will focus their attention and write their dissertations, respectively, on the Indonesian and Korean national legislatures. This emphasis on the involvement of both American and foreign graduate students will continue to characterize the Hawaii Program so long as funding permits and qualified applicants present themselves. Similarly, their academic preparation will emphasize the geographic areas in Asia and the Pacific which constitute the center of attention for the Hawaii Program.

4. Library Resources. The teaching and research components of the University's comparative legislative program will rely heavily upon the University's library resources. Upon that premise, attention was early turned to determining the adequacy and completeness of the pertinent library holdings, and arranging for the acquisition of necessary materials. With respect to general works on legislative subjects, publications not slated for automatic accession by the University libraries were identified and obtained. Similarly, copies of recent doctoral theses in American universities on comparative legislative subjects have been ordered. In anticipation of faculty and student attention to the role of the legislature in Korea, Indonesia, and selected island areas of the Pacific, the related holdings of the University's libraries have been surveyed. A

preliminary annotated check list has been prepared on Southeast Asian literature published in English which is pertinent to the legislative institution and development. With respect to special collections, the publications of all Pacific island legislatures contained in the Pacific Collection of the University's Sinclair Library have been itemized, and communications sent to each of the fifteen island areas encompassed with a request for confirmation on the completeness of the listed holdings. Where gaps exist, arrangements are being made for the purchase or micro-filming of missing materials, and upon the conclusion of this project, the University will house the world's only complete collection of Pacific islands legislative publications, a valuable base for the Program's studies in this developing area of the world. In another of the University's special collections--the Korean language holdings of the Sinclair Library's Asian Collection-- a preliminary report has been prepared on catalogued books in the vernacular pertinent to Korean legislative studies; upon its refinement and supplementation with entries of articles in Korean language journals, another of the University's unique resources will have been made available for use by faculty and student scholars.

5. Faculty Research. Most of the faculty interested in subjects relevant to an understanding of the legislative institution were already engaged in on-going research at the time the A.I.D. grant was received. For them the immediate influence of the grant was to be felt more in the structuring of a sense of programmatic identification than in the initiating of or immediately imposing a new direction on the course of such research. The work undertaken during this first year of the grant may in part be 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. One concentration was on longitudinal studies of legislative membership, this in the attempt to link legislative recruitment, career paths, socialization, etc. Another concentrated on the functions of the legislature and their relation to development, while a third focus of attention was on legislative service agencies, and their linkage to the institutionalization of the legislature. With respect to geographical identification, legislative institutions in Australia, Europe, Japan, Oceania, Philippines, South and Southeast Asia, and the United States all served as the situs for academic inquiry. University of Hawaii associated faculty with research interests relevant to comparative legislative studies include:

Dr. George Akita, Professor of History, who has been engaged in a long-term, major project tracing the political history of selected regions of Japan. An integral part of the study is a treatment of the Diet Members elected therefrom, their political socialization and career paths, and a comparison with Members elected from the balance of the country (here see Kuroda). (Japan)

Dr. Harry V. Ball, Professor of Sociology, has as his major professional concern the sociology of law. As a result of participation in the Hawaii comparative legislative program, he has become interested in the interface of the legislature with the judiciary in developing areas of the Pacific and Asia. For the most part, the courts have been downplayed in the study of development, so that this addition of attention to the judiciary promises to complement nicely the expressed interests of several faculty members in legislature-bureaucrat linkages, and their relevance to development. (Japan, Korea, Oceania, Southeast Asia.)

Dr. Robert M. Kamins, Professor of Economics, jointly with Professor Agustin Kintanar, University of the Philippines, is undertaking a study of Philippine public finance. An important part of the survey is concerned with national fiscal planning, and the role of the Philippine Congress in influencing its course and final shape. In its concern for macro-regulation of economic development, it complements the work of Dr. Musolf. Consultation and bibliographic research in Hawaii were supplemented by field interviews in the Philippines in the Summer of 1972. (Philippines)

Dr. Yasumasa Kuroda, Professor of Political Science who has been long interested in various aspects of Japanese government and politics, is engaged in research on the Japanese Diet composition since the Meiji Constitution (1890-1970). Central to this effort is a data bank originally assembled by Dr. George Akita, and "cleaned" and up-dated with contemporary information by Dr. Kuroda on over 5,000 Members of the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet. Papers on patterns and dimensions of recruitment of Diet Members have been read before annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the International Congress of Orientalists, and the Association for Asian Studies; during the grant year, a paper on "Historical Data and Computer: The Japanese Diet, 1890-1970" was prepared for the USA-Japan Computer Conference, to be held in Japan in October, 1972. (Japan)

Dr. Herbert F. Margulies, Chairman of the Department of History, is writing a biography of the Honorable Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin state legislator and United States Congressman (Representative: 1909-1918; Senator: 1918-1927). Besides identifying his contribution to the shaping of both the state and national legislative process, it will include treatment of his role as a leader of the Republican Party insurgents, and

constitute a transitional study of the Progressives in American legislatures. This study potentially has basing point value for comparable historical studies of legislative leaders in other countries. (United States)

Dr. Norman Meller, Director of Pacific Islands Program, has had a long-time interest in the role of legislative service agencies in the institutionalizing of their parent bodies. In the summer of 1971 he conducted interviews in Washington with key personnel of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, duplicating the research conducted in 1970 in the Research and Legislative Reference Department of the Japanese Diet Library in Tokyo; during the course of the grant year these data have been analyzed and several cross-polity studies drafted. Also during the 1971-72 period, interviews have been conducted in, and materials on on-going activities obtained from, research and reference agencies servicing the national legislatures in Australia, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland in an effort to determine the nature of the functions performed by such agencies in parliamentary systems, as contrasted with those servicing legislatures in presidential systems of government. The legislatures of the emerging island polities of Oceania have also continued to be studied to identify their contribution to national development, and in the December, 1972, issue of Micronesica a paper will be published on "The Congress of Micronesia- A Unifying and Modernizing Force." (Australia, Canada, Europe, Japan, Oceania)

Dr. Lloyd D. Musolf, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Davis, and Research Associate University of Hawaii SSRI, is concerned with economic regulation through legislative action, and its relation to development. This effort will tie in with the conference of de-

veloping nations tentatively proposed by the U.N. Public Administration Division for 1973 to deal with the subject of regulating administration in relation to economic and social development. In the past year he undertook to establish a basing point derived from developed country data in both presidential and parliamentary systems. Narrowing was achieved by concentrating on a single regulatory topic-- protection of the natural environment-- and identifying two provincial legislatures for study, those of California and British Columbia. Graduate students at the University of California, Davis, conducted the California research, and Dr. Musolf interviewed legislators, cabinet ministers, bureaucrats, and scholars in British Columbia during the summer of 1972. (United States and Canada)

Dr. Glenn D. Paige, Professor of Political Science, is engaged in the study of political leadership as manifested in the observed behavior of American state legislators and city councilmen while performing their respective duties and in seeking elective office. Currently this is at the stage of refining instruments for measurement, with Hawaii observations completed in 1971-72 providing the data therefor. (Hawaii)

Dr. Fred W. Riggs, Director of the Social Science Research Institute, has turned his attention to general theory treating forms of legislative structure and the definition and interrelation of key concepts used in such formulation. The former will appear as a revision of an essay first presented at a 1970 conference, under the title of "Legislative Structures: Some thoughts on Elected National Assemblies" in a book edited by Allan Kornberg entitled Legislatures in Comparative Perspective. The related conceptual treatment will be a paper to be read at the 1973 Congress of the International Political Science Association. (General)

Dr. Richard Sisson, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Research Associate University of Hawaii SSRI is interested generally in the part that public institutions, particularly legislative bodies, play in the encouragement and ordered continuity of processes of economic development and social change in South Asia. In furtherance thereof he is addressing himself to the functional role of state legislatures in Bangladesh, Indian, and Pakistani political systems. The University of California Press has recently published his work on The Congress Party in Rajasthani Political Integration and Institution - Building in an Indian State. During the summer of 1972 he continued with the operationalizing of this research through bibliographic search and collaboration with Dr. Ramashray Roy, Head of the Data Archival Program of the Indian Social Science Research Council, who at the time was in residence at the University of California, Berkeley. (South Asia)

Professor Robert B. Stauffer, Professor of Political Science, while a visiting professor in the College of Public Administration at the University of the Philippines, 1971-72, completed research on a number of papers considering aspects of development: that treating the interface between the literature on political change and the body of theory on multinational corporations in development will appear under the title of "Nation-building in a Global Economy: The Role of the Multinational Corporation" in the Philippine Journal of Public Administration; the piece on the strategies of investigating the consequences of investment in the Philippines will also appear in the Journal entitled "The Political Economy of Development." In addition, during the year in the Philippines, Dr. Stauffer collected the background data on the 1970 Philippine Congress necessary to supplement his longitudinal, octamerous study (Congresses of 1946, 1954, 1964, and 1970)

correlating attributes of Congressmen with the process and product of the Philippine Congress. (Philippines)

6. Foreign Linkages. Concurrently with faculty and student recruiting, steps were taken to establish cooperative ties with recognized scholars in Asia and the Pacific Islands whose interests lay or could be redirected to comparative legislative studies. Since publications in this field are minimal-- indeed, a basic reason for forming these collegial relations is to encourage such research-- the search has depended upon personal knowledge and the following up of discrete inquiry. Several such scholars have now been identified in the Philippines, and also in the Pacific Islands; the search in Korea, Malaysia, and Thailand is still in the inquiry stage; and it has not commenced in Indonesia. The actual undertaking of cross-polity legislative research under the aegis of the Program had not begun during the first year of the grant.

These linkages have already been of assistance to the Hawaii Program. They permitted communicating information concerning the University's program for recruiting foreign graduate students. Via Pacific satellite, Professor John Chick of the University of the South Pacific in Suva also addressed a University of Hawaii class on Fiji's national legislature and the significance of the 1972 legislative elections, just then being concluded. With the completion of the ground installations in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and in Papua New Guinea, it is hoped to bring significant developments concerning their legislative institutions directly to classroom attention as they occur.

7. Supplementary Funding. Extensive efforts have been made during the first year of the grant to cultivate associations with sources of potential assistance, both financial and facilitative. While in the Philippines,

Dr. Robert B. Stauffer secured assurance of full cooperation from the Asian Parliamentarians Union in any research activity the Hawaii Program might wish to undertake. This was followed by the Secretary General of the Philippine National Group duplicating and sending to Hawaii complete summaries of the General Assembly of the APU for the period 1965-69, and of the Preparatory and Council Meetings for the period 1965-70. Dr. Fred Riggs has held fruitful talks with the International Development Research Center in Ottawa, Canada, concerning their funding of the research of third country Asian scholars as well as facilitating the meetings of these scholars with American counterparts. Similarly, in the summer of 1972, Dr. Norman Meller visited the headquarters of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Geneva, Switzerland, and discussed in great detail with their staff the manner in which the Union's resources might be optimally applied to the objectives of the Duke-Hawaii-Iowa legislative studies consortium, and the ways in which the participating universities might be of assistance to the Union. This followed up a preliminary meeting of Dr. Fred Riggs with the Secretary of the IPU, and resulted in a firm offer by the Secretariat of cooperation with the Consortium; the offer of reciprocal exchange has already seen Hawaii furnishing the IPU with legislative election data on Fiji which they had been unable to obtain. Dr. Fred Riggs also originally explored with Professor Jean Blondel, the executive officer of the European Consortium for Political Research, the possibilities for cooperation between the ECPR and the Duke-Hawaii-Iowa Consortium.

On another tack, meetings with the staff of the East-West Center have disclosed considerable interest on the part of the Technology & Development Institute and the Communications Institute in the Hawaii comparative legislative studies program. For academic year 1972-73, a graduate student has been awarded an East-West Center scholarship (maximum 48 months), including funding

for field research under the Program, and comparable arrangements are being made for several more students to be so assisted each succeeding year. Discussions are continuing with the East-West Center staff regarding other forms of cooperation, such as sponsorship of conferences on legislative-related subjects and the inviting of senior specialists engaged in comparative legislative research for periods of residence at the Center.

8. Consortium Relationships. Along with Duke University and the University of Iowa, the University of Hawaii has given considerable attention to the development of the tri-university consortium. In cooperation with representatives from the other two institutions on the Executive Committee, plans have been made to exchange information and coordinate endeavors of the individual institutions. Hawaii has given full support to establishing a publication program for comparative legislative studies, and to further the dissemination of information on comparative legislative matters and has taken the lead in working up cost data on the preparation of a consortium newsletter, which will probably be published and distributed by Hawaii. The cooperation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union has already been secured, so that with the publication of the newsletter it will have an international circulation among scholars and officials interested in cross-polity legislative matters. Representatives from Hawaii have also participated in the informal discussions and the exchanges of correspondence necessary for the establishing of panels and sections on comparative legislative studies in national and international conferences, all as more fully reported in the first annual accounting of Duke University. (For additional details on the consortium activity in which Hawaii participated as a co-member, please see Duke University report.)

During the initial report period, the Hawaii Program expended \$10,130.45 of the A.I.D. grant funds. By virtue of funding derived from other sources, of the total faculty research effort (5), only that of Professors Musolf and Sisson was assisted by salary supplementation and that of Professor Stauffer by the services of a research assistant from A.I.D. grant moneys, in all totalling approximately \$6,579. The fellowship awarded a graduate student during the first year (3) accounted for another \$2,076 during the report year. Travel expense incurred in recruitment of faculty for the University Program (2), in arranging supplemental facilitating and funding linkages (7), and in attending consortium meetings (8) amounted to \$1,090. Personnel services for the surveying of University library resources (4) required an additional \$264 of expenditures. Due to the furnishing of supplies and performance of a wide range of services gratuitously by the University, total administrative costs (1) for the first year were kept to around \$121.

IV. Impact of Grant Supported Activities in Developing Institutional Capabilities.

The evolving of a separate social science sub-discipline, with its distinctive body of theory and adherent scholars, sometimes can be traced to a truly original thinker whose seminal works sparked the breakthrough from (then) conventional knowledge. Other times, a more incremental effort, ungraced by such intellectual scintillation, and representing the conscious application of scholarly attention to an identified need, has resulted in the gradual shaping of a well-defined sub-field of academic concern. The latter course characterizes the strategy adopted for directing political inquiry centering around comparative legislative studies. From the contributions of the tri-university consortium and the separate efforts of each of the three A.I.D.-assisted institutions will come the focus and

scholarly momentum necessary for initially stimulating interest in cross-polity legislative studies. The establishing of linkages with collegial counterparts, the recruitment and training of foreign graduate students, the entering into symbiotic assistance relationships with parliamentary associations, and the issuance of a newsletter with international circulation all have been conceived as means for expanding that interest so as to assume world-wide dimensions. The inclusion of panels at scholarly conventions and the mounting of a multi-form publication program are designed to encourage breadth and diversity in comparative legislative studies. It is thus difficult to consider the grant-supported activities of the Hawaii Program as all being directed to the immediate development of University institutional capabilities. Rather, given the external impact of some of these activities, it is more meaningful to refer to them all within the rubric of developing institutional readiness. In some cases, the capabilities of the University in teaching, research and service have been directly enhanced, as by the recruiting of new faculty and the inclusion of additional courses in the curriculum. And in others, as structuring panels into scholarly conventions and mounting an ambitious consortium publication program, the University faculty has been prepared to welcome these innovations and to anticipate utilizing the scholarly products which will be disseminated therefrom, this regardless of whether individual Hawaii faculty members present papers at the conventions or submit manuscript for publication.

While a number of faculty at the University of Hawaii are engaged in research and teaching relevant to the legislative institution, the interests of some are bounded by a single political system. It is part of the function of the comparative legislative studies program to encourage them to review their

interests from a comparative perspective. Similarly, some of the University faculty have concentrated their attention on administrative, economic, political and social development, while ignoring the relevance thereto of the legislature. Here the function of the Hawaii Program is to sensitize such faculty to the overlap of legislative studies with substantive, subject-matter concerns, so that they will be encouraged to expand their horizons. In both situations, the grant will have a direct but delayed impact upon institutional capabilities.

V. Utilization of Institutional Resources in Development

While in the Philippines on sabbatical, and in addition to teaching courses in the College of Public Administration of the University of the Philippines, Dr. Robert B. Stauffer participated in three in-service training programs, two at a training site maintained by the National Irrigation Administration for its own personnel, and the third at Cagayan de Oro, for a group of local government officials. Subsequently, while in Seoul, Korea, he also worked with the students of the social science faculties at Kyung Hee University, and gave a seminar for faculty members of the university's political science department. In Thailand, at different times during the year, Drs. Young-Whan Hahn, Fred W. Riggs, and Robert B. Stauffer consulted with the personnel of the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA). To operationalize the East-West Center Technology & Development Institute's interest in institutional development, Dr. Hahn traveled extensively through Southeast Asia, as well as participated in development conferences held in Hawaii. Dr. Norman Meller on a number of occasions served as consultant to the Speakers of the American Samoan House of Representatives and the Truk District Legislature, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and as a member

of the planning group, assisted in structuring the subject matter content of the American Pacific Legislators Conference held in Honolulu in the Spring of 1972. Legislators from American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands participated in the conference.

VI. Other Resources for Grant-Related Activities

State of Hawaii appropriated funds and research funds derived from a number of sources have in many ways augmented the A.I.D. grant in developing institutional capacity in legislature-related studies. For the most part their dollar value may only be grossly approximated, as these studies have been treated as an integral part of University academic interest rather than as a program apart for which a money accounting is kept of all inputs. Given the fact that the University's normal over-head requirement -- currently 47 percent of personnel costs -- is being absorbed by the University of Hawaii out of state-appropriated funds, and the supplemental funding from other sources both already received and anticipated, it appears that the contribution from non-A.I.D. sources toward supporting comparative legislative studies during the five-year period covered by A.I.D. grant csd/3293 will more than equal the funds provided under the grant. Data available for the first report year help substantiate this generalization.

In teaching the courses offered during the first grant year which included a cross-legislative element (as Political Science 345, Government and Politics in Oceania), funding was wholly provided by the University. Apportioning of costs is not possible. (During the second and succeeding grant years, additional courses will be specifically offered by staff receiving A.I.D. funding.)

The tuition fees of all students receiving grants from the Program are absorbed by the University. Similarly, the full educational costs of the

students under East-West Center scholarship engaged in legislative studies are met by the Center. In all, approximately \$2,850. was so contributed during the first grant year. Also with relation to students engaged in legislature-related research, it is estimated that some \$3,000 in research assistance was contributed, based upon a \$1,492. itemization for one student and \$400. computer time for another.

During the course of the grant year it is estimated that approximately \$250. in legislature-related publications pertinent to the Program were acquired by the University libraries and an equal amount of money committed for orders placed. As these were all obtained through standing University orders or were charged to the library allocation of the Department of Political Science, no separate accounting was made.

Beside maintenance of the salaries of all faculty members engaged in studies relating to the legislative institution, a number received supplemental funding to permit them to engage in research both inside and outside the United States. A conservative estimate of the portion of the foreign travel costs and per diem payments which can appropriately be allocated to comparative legislative studies during the grant year -- including research, the developing of foreign linkages, etc. -- would be at least \$2,500. In addition, duplication services, payments for student research assistants, programming assistance, and computer time on University equipment would represent the further contribution of at least an equally sized sum.

While no records have been kept, and it obviously would be uneconomic to attempt to compute the labor and materiel costs for the various services provided with respect to legislature-related activities by the departmental secretaries of associated faculty members and the typists of the Social

Science Research Institute, it is manifest that they far exceeded the approximately \$121. for which the Program was billed as administrative costs during the initial year under the grant.

In short, while the dollar value of "other resources for grant-related activities" can only be estimated in very gross terms, there is no question but that during the first grant year they exceeded the A.I.D. moneys utilized by the University of Hawaii Program.

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

1. U.H. instruction and academic discourse: With the recruitment of Dr. Michael Mczey by the Political Science Department, four new courses on the legislature will be added to the curriculum for the academic year 1972-73. In addition, instructors in other courses with subjects related to the interests of the U.H. Program are being encouraged to include attention to the legislative institution both in development and cross-polity perspective. With this greater breadth and depth of concern for the legislature, graduate students will be enabled to concentrate attention on comparative legislative studies, and write theses thereon. Sociology students interested in institution building, and Asian studies students whose geographical foci bracket the areas selected for the U.H. Program's regional attention will also be encouraged to enroll in these courses.

Beside formal course work, it is planned to launch an informal, cross-campus seminar series, bringing a wide range of graduate students, faculty, and towns people together periodically for scholarly discourse on the legislative institution. The seminar participants will be concerned with the reporting of on-going, cross-polity research, and the placing within comparative perspective of legislative events occurring both within Hawaii and in Asia

and the Pacific. It is hoped that the quality of preparation will produce some publishable papers, but this will be secondary to the primary objective of encouraging greater interest in comparative legislative subjects. Approximately \$18,014 will be budgeted for this formal and informal instruction.

2. Students: In the second year of the grant, two graduate students will participate in the U.H. Program under financial awards, one funded by A.I.D. grant and the other by East-West Center scholarship. Beside these two receiving direct financial aid, other graduate students writing theses on legislative subjects will be assisted as necessary in meeting incidental costs related to their research, as computer time costs, typing, supplies, etc. In all cases, such supplemental assistance will be provided only after other avenues for funding have been exhausted. In addition to the East-West Center funding, the sum of \$4,500 has been allocated from the A.I.D. grant for students in the second year.

With the assistance of East-West Center scholarships, it is planned to recruit four new students into the comparative legislative studies program for 1973-74. The aid of cooperating colleagues in Asia (Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand) has been solicited for locating promising candidates. An extensive recruitment drive has also been launched on the mainland United States. Depending upon qualified applicants presenting themselves, preferably two Americans and two foreign graduate students from the countries named will be selected, in line with the Program's policy of encouraging the growth of legislative studies in foreign countries.

3. Supportive library and data resources: The Program will continue to search out published materials useful for cross-polity research and teaching, and assure their acquisition for Program use. The Program will also continue with the task of acquiring Pacific Islands legislative materials

to the end of establishing a unique research collection as part of the University's Pacific holdings. Similarly, the University's Korean language collection will continue to be the object of review and supplementation, and a bibliography of legislative-related Korean language holdings will be prepared.

Tapes of sets in the custody of the tri-university consortium will be duplicated and stored in Hawaii, so that they may be available as teaching aids. The University of Iowa's computerized index of publications on the American legislatures will also be acquired for teaching and research use by faculty and students in Hawaii. To cover the costs of purchasing materials, duplicating through Xeroxing and microfilming materials not otherwise obtainable, and acquiring data sets, an amount of \$1,000. has been allotted for the second grant year.

4. Research: The on-going research of the various faculty members associated with the U.H. Program detailed in Section III (5), supra, will continue, with Program assistance through the providing of supportive services or supplementary funding where necessary for advancing the projects to completion. For the 1972-73 grant year, Dr. Harry V. Ball's inquiry into courts and legislatures as they interrelate with social change and development in Asia and Oceania will be expanded by field research in the Pacific during his sabbatical year, and will be funded to the extent of facilitating his participation in the Seventh Waigani Seminar in Port Moresby on "Law and Development in Melanesia." It is estimated that Dr. Yasumasa Kuroda's Japan Diet studies will require funding for obtaining source materials for bio-data and student assistance in supplementing and analyzing the Diet Member data bank. Dr. Norman Meller will receive summer funding to enable him to

continue his examination of the role legislatures play in national development and integration in the Pacific island polities. In furtherance of his study of economic regulation through legislative action, Dr. Lloyd D. Musolf during the summer of 1973 will receive financial assistance to undertake a reconnoitering trip to several LDC's in Asia to gather materials, make preliminary interviews, and establish contacts preparatory to his longer stay in them in 1974-75 during his sabbatical year. Dr. Richard Sisson will be assisted to continue his formulation of a research design for studying legislative institutionalization in India and the amassing of supportive background data - initially for the states of Bihar and Rajasthan, to be followed by two states in a non-Hindi speaking region. In the 1972-73 grant year, Dr. Robert B. Stauffer will require student research assistance to gather supporting materials and code data on Philippine legislative input and output for the four sessions since Philippine independence, this in aid of his testing the hypothesis that the Philippine legislature, rather than the bureaucracy, has been the vehicle through which the elite in that nation have maintained their status.

Dr. Michael Mezey, Political Science, plans to concentrate his attention on legislative-bureaucratic relations, more particularly the cross-group perceptions and expectations of bureaucrats and legislators. He will research the hypothesis that at varying stages of development, political systems are characterized by different configurations of such bureaucratic and legislative held views. A cross-polity paper on "Parties and Legislatures: An Explication" will be read at the Southern Political Science Association meeting in November. During this grant year, research instruments will be developed and tested in Hawaii, with the Hawaii legislative data also serving as illustration of

a developed system. Student assistance during the academic year and 1973 summer research overload will be budgeted for Dr. Mezey's research.

Under the direction of Dr. Fred W. Riggs, the U.H. Program will explore the feasibility of designing an information retrieval system for comparative legislative materials, and upon the formulation of substantive and identifying coding categories, undertaking cross-national data analysis. It is proposed to obtain the consultative services of Dr. Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University, and with the methodology he developed in utilizing Eastman Kodak MIRACODE microfilm retrieval, plan and test a pilot project limited to one or more of the Asian and Pacific countries within the U.H. Program's area of geographic focus. If work on the project is sufficiently encouraging, the 1973 Montreal meeting of the IPSA will be used to gather a group of scholars interested in comparative legislative studies to evaluate the adequacy of the conceptual framework proposed for undertaking the comparative data analysis. A.I.D. grant moneys will be used to set up the pilot project, with outside funding to be sought for completing the comprehensive retrieval system and undertaking the cross-national analysis.

Dr. Michael Shapiro, Professor of Political Science, will study "social control ideologies" in Norway during his 1972-73 sabbatical year. His research will include interviewing legislators in the Norwegian Parliament, as part of the inquiry to be conducted within a variety of social control agencies, to determine the extent of coherence in the pattern of social control ideologies throughout Norwegian society. This research is being funded by a University trust fund and sabbatical salary, and not with A.I.D. grant moneys.

The sum of \$25,398. has been budgeted for the 1972-73 grant year to assist the research of faculty associated with the U.H. Program.

5. Conferences and scholarly meetings: Under tri-university consortium auspices, the University of Hawaii Program will host a conference in the late Spring, 1973, on the conditions under which legislatures arise and become institutionalized. It is planned that Professor Fred W. Riggs, University of Hawaii, Professor Bernard Silberman, Duke University, and several others yet to be confirmed, will submit basic theory papers to which the other conference participants will relate their more specific contributions. To the extent that consortium funding requires supplementation for preparatory and wind-up work, up to \$1,000 has been earmarked for this purpose.

The U.H. Program is currently attempting to convince the sponsors of three separate meetings on Pacific Islands related subjects to include treatment of the legislative institution as an integral element. Since in each case the linkage of the legislative institution to development is obviously relevant to the purposes of these meetings, at least partial success is anticipated in the endeavor. One, with the title of "Regional Development Planning Workshop for Pacific Islanders" will be held in New Caledonia in February, 1973, under the auspices of the East-West Center Technology and Development Institute. The Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania will hold its annual meeting near Seattle, Washington, in the early Spring, 1973, on the theme "Colonialism and Political Change in Oceania." And in July, the University of the South Pacific in Fiji is calling a week-long conference which will address itself to "Political and Economic Decolonization in the Pacific." To assure the participation in the last of academics and legislators on panels treating the significance of the legislature, and to assist in the publication of their contributions, it may be necessary to provide monetary supplementation to the University of the South Pacific, and for this purpose up to \$2,000 has been tentatively allocated.

The consortium and members associated with its three universities have been instrumental in establishing panels on comparative legislative studies at the membership meetings of the International Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration. In support thereof, several University of Hawaii faculty will plan on attending the IPSA meeting in Canada in August, 1973, with at least one paper being offered from the U.H. delegation. Attendance at the ASPA meeting in Los Angeles in the Spring of 1973 will be encouraged for the same reason. To the extent that funding may not be obtained from other sources to meet transportation costs, up to \$2,000. has been set aside for this purpose.

6. Foreign linkages: In addition to foreign activity detailed under conferences and meetings, supra, steps will be taken to assist in operationalizing the legislative-related research efforts of academic colleagues in the Philippines and in the Pacific islands. For encouraging the latter, the holding of seminars by simultaneous satellite communication with Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, and with Suva, Fiji, is now being investigated. The identification of Indonesian, Korean, Malaysian, and Thai colleagues interested in legislative studies and establishing cooperative ties with them will also be explored during the second grant year. This element of the U.H. Program depends heavily upon convincing foreign area colleagues to assign priority to their legislative inquiries. Until material supplemental funding can be obtained to finance their research or to bring them physically into contact with faculty associated with the U.H. Program, it is anticipated that this will be a relatively slow growing component of the Program. Up to \$2,000 has been allocated for this function.

The Program will continue its efforts to establish new and maintain existing linkages with international organizations which can assist in

furthering cross-national legislative studies. To that end, services will be performed by the Program on request of the staffs of these associations where costs may be absorbed in the administration of the U.H. Program.

7. Service: Upon the completion of arrangements now the subject of negotiations, Dr. Norman Meller will provide consultation service to the Truk District Legislature, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Serving as adviser to a Commission established by the Legislature to review district structure of government, he will aid 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. Through short visitations, supplemented by communication via PEACESAT ground stations and mail correspondence, it is proposed to assist in mounting a novel legislative-directed effort to evaluate and restructure a system of government so as to be more compatible with both indigenous (traditional) and introduced political institutions and processes. Out-of-pocket costs of the consultation are to be met by the Truk District Legislature, while Dr. Meller's salary will be continued by the University.

Also awaiting finalization are the plans of the tri-institution consortium to publish a newsletter, preparation and distribution of which will become a major responsibility of the Hawaii Program. Communication networks will be maintained with international organizations as well as scholars throughout the world interested in cross-polity legislative studies. While the editorial and duplication costs will be borne by the consortium, it is anticipated that the additional contribution for correspondence, and services allied to publication of the newsletter will increase the Program's administrative costs by at least \$500. during the grant year. (This is accounted for under Administration.)

8. Administration and miscellaneous: The membership of the Faculty Program Committee undoubtedly will be expanded during the second grant year as additional faculty evidence a desire to be included in the planning and implementation of the Program's activities. Ultimately, a small executive group may have to be chosen to permit more rapid resolution of problems which cannot await the slower deliberations of a larger body, but it is doubtful that this stage will be reached during the second grant year.

The expenses incurred in servicing the Program will increase due to the greater demands for supplies, typing services, duplication, etc., the cost of which will have to be met by the Program rather than absorbed by the University as occurred during the first year under the grant. In addition, there will also be programmatic charges, as those supplemental to publishing the proposed newsletter, the cost of a trip to meet with other members of the Consortium, etc. It is estimated that \$2,330. will be expended for activities thus related to the administration of the U.H. Program.

TABLE I

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

Review Period August 11, 1971 to August 10, 1972

	211(d) Expenditures			Projected to End of Grant	Non 211(d) Funding Amount
	Period Under Review	Cumulative Total	Projected Next Year		
Instruction and Academic Discourse	484	484	18,014	71,500	?
Student Assistance	2,076	2,076	4,500	38,000	5,850
Library and Data Collection	264	264	1,000	4,000	250
Research	6,579	6,579	25,398	90,000	5,000
Conferences and Meetings	-0-	-0-	5,000	13,500	?
Foreign Linkages	135	135	2,000	12,000	?
Service*	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	?
Administrative and Miscellaneous	592	592	2,330	6,000	?
TOTAL	\$10,130	\$10,130	\$58,242	\$235,000	\$11,100

*Except for administration, will be funded separately

TABLE II
Expenditure Report

(Actual and Projected)

Under Institutional Grant #AID/csd - 3293
Review Period August 11, 1971 to August 10, 1972

	Expenditures to Date		Projected Expenditures				Total
	Period Under Review	Cumulative	Year				
Faculty	5,790*	5,790*	35,112	40,000	36,000	35,000	152,000
Students	2,385*	2,385*	4,500	8,000 (+)	8,000 (+)	8,000 (+)	32,000
Travel and Per Diem	1,389	1,389	8,700	7,000	6,000	6,000	29,000
Supplies, etc.**	566	566	9,930	5,000 (+)	3,000 (+)	3,000 (+)	22,000
TOTAL	10,130	10,130	58,242	60,000 (+)	53,000 (+)	52,000 (+)	235,000

*\$2,076, assistance to graduate student shown under University classification as "Faculty"; will be corrected in University Annual Report (financial)

** Includes student-rendered services