

# Fitness for Self-Government

Self-government

# Fitness for Self-Government

By

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and  
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Self-government

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## Self-government

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### **Dodd Memorial Library Editor Note**

I met Stuart C Dodd during the founding of the World Future Society Evergreen Chapter in Seattle, Washington in the early 70s. We enjoyed discussing comprehensive multileveled models of reality. In 1974, he asked for my assistance in writing up some of his material for a general audience. He was a very warm, cordial, intelligent and witty man. I enjoyed our association very much. Dr. Dodd passed away in 1975 but his work was ahead of his time and is very relevant today. After his death, all his papers were given to the University of Washington and still reside in the archive there. Access is restricted and the papers were never cataloged. It is very difficult for anyone interested in his ideas to access his writings.

I also met Dick Spady at the WFS Evergreen Chapter meetings. We had many lively conversations about futurist subjects. In the late 1990's, Dick approached me and asked for my assistance in bringing Stuart's work to a new audience. I was glad to have the opportunity to assist in this project. Due to the generous support and encouragement of his friend, Dick Spady, the valuable work of Stuart C. Dodd will now be available to scholars everywhere who wish to explore his legacy.

Stuart had produced 6 books, thousands of research papers and hundreds of journal articles during his 50 year career. The material occupied over 110 feet of files. Over the past two years, I have managed to obtain copies of his books and over 700 articles and papers. During his life, he created a number of collections of articles and tables of contents for a number of new books. I found these tables of contents and proceeded to collect all the articles mentioned. I am now in the process of creating a 24 volume set of books covering the life's work of Stuart C Dodd. This prospectus contains tables of contents for 24 books

This series will be made available thru the Stuart C. Dodd Institute for Social Innovation. Inquiries about the series should be referred to the following contacts:

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## **Editor's Introduction to this volume**

During my research on Dodd's materials, I came across a short article titled "**Establishing Criteria For Self-Government**". The article gave a brief overview of Dodd's work over several decades to create a set of criteria that could be used by colonial and occupying powers to judge when their charges were ready to be independent. I remember thinking that this subject is as relevant today as it was in the Thirties and Forties when Dr. Dodd was working on it. I was especially interested in tracking down the complete set of 350 criteria that was developed by one of his graduate students at the American University of Beirut in 1946. I contacted that school but they did not have a copy or any record of the article. Dodd mentioned an archive in the US where people could suggest important documents that should be preserved. I tried to track down that organization but could not find that it still existed. After more research, I was able to establish that it had changed its name and was still functioning. Unfortunately, they could not provide a copy of the paper. But they were able to give me a reference at the US Library of Congress and I was able to get the full article. I contacted the Library and ordered the document. All that they had was an abstract, scoring sheets, table of contents and the section that contained the list.

There have been a number of international projects aimed at evaluating the excellence of governments and societies. As I read over the criteria for self government, it occurred to me that with minor alterations, it would be useful in evaluating any society, not just occupied countries seeking independence. It would be interesting to compare the different models that are currently in use for this purpose with the work of Stuart C Dodd and Felicia Fedorovicz detailed in this volume.

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### Establishing Criteria For Self-Government

By Stuart C Dodd

*Excerpted from Autobiographical Notes by SC Dodd for use in writing the introduction to the proposed volume on Human Value Systems to be published by the Vantage Press in 1969-1970.*

In 1927, when I went out to Beirut, Lebanon was a recently created mandate. President Wilson's treaty of Versailles had provisions to start ending the colonial system and provide a way whereby dependent peoples could gradually become, through a mandate period of tutelage, independent and self-governing states. But, the question was, just when and to what degree were they ready for it? It was settled usually by the up-start groups appealing to bloodshed and force. If successful, they thereby developed and demonstrated a cohesive ability to stand on their own feet, as an independent nation. We proposed that the Mandate Commission operate with definite criteria for the termination of the mandate. These criteria could be earned by the subject people and not leave them with recourse to violence and force as their only way of getting their freedom. I proposed this a chairman of a delegation of students to Geneva in 1926 where Sir Austin Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, was our guest speaker. We gave him a bad hour and a half of questioning as to how Britain was going to know when it was time to give up these mandates without their having to go to war over it. He told us to develop our criteria and then to come back to apply them when we had a good set of criteria developed.

So we set to work. I got the head of our Political Sciences Department in Beirut to take it as his PhD Thesis. We found for the literature on India, the Philippines, Egypt, and other colonial dependencies, that there were 11 criteria highly agreed upon by both the subject people and the imperial power as necessary pre-conditions for self-government. These were conditions like there being public opinion wanting self-government. If there was not, of course, there would be no problem. The degree of that public opinion could be determined in part by polls and plebiscites. We published these 11 criteria and within two years the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations had adopted them in toto as their official criteria for colonies or mandates being declared ready for self-government. Since then, the United Nations' Trusteeship Council has taken over those criteria and the 350 indices that I developed (with the aid of a Polish graduate student who got her M.A. with me in Beirut on it.) They have become, in large part, worked into the scales of the Trusteeship Council. This now requires that the United States and Okinawa (and other Trustee countries) report annually on what progress they're making in preparing the subject people for independence. Thus I feel that we have definitely contributed through social science research to building in the operating international system the transition criteria for going from dependence to independence. Today the old colonial system, which seemed to be a permanent fixture of human society back in my childhood in 1910, is now well on its way out. I think Behavioral Science research has been a definite factor amongst many others, in making that transition from violence to a peaceful rational preparation for self-government go on increasingly. Of course, it doesn't always work – Note places like Belgium turning over the Congo though unprepared for self-government, compare with England turning over more of her colonies when much further along the road toward readiness for self-government. But at least, it maps out the major criteria for such massive social change in the modern world society. Our textbooks dealing with social change in sociology don't have to deal with the minor little think of fads and fashions and voluntary,

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individualistic mass-changes. Then can deal also with organized changes of whole nations and systems of international government that make major wars less likely—as far as the winning of independence is concerned. I would put this research on criteria for self-government as one of the evidences that Behavioral Sciences are making contributions to world society.

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# The Scientific Measurement of Fitness for Self-Government

By Stuart C Dodd

*Reprinted from Scientific Monthly Volume LXXVII, No. 2, February, 1954.*

WHEN is a dependent people fit for self-government or independence? The League of Nations mandate system and now the United Nations trusteeship system are intended to give a dependency either self-government or independence in the course of time, increasingly because of the fitness of the dependency and decreasingly because of international power politics or imperial interests of the controlling power. To carry out this policy of democratic concern for the welfare of the inhabitants requires that fitness be so specified that the inhabitants know what efforts or achievements by them will result in specified advances toward full self-government. There is need for a procedure to make this transition from dependence to independence a pacific and constructive one and to provide an alternative to the appeal to force that was the sole resource of the dependency in the past. If fitness can be defined and measured and degrees of it set as goals, the trusteeship system is likely to work with less friction and probability of bloodshed in the future.

### The Facts to Date

The officially declared purpose in the United Nations Charter and Trusteeship Agreements is that the dependency shall be developed toward eventual self-government or independence. Scholars have taken cognizance of this problem and have suggested its solution. The outlook for its solution is made more hopeful by the increased willingness, occasionally evident in the modern world, of some nations under certain circumstances to give up their dependencies and sincerely work toward developing them, not for exploitation, but for the welfare of the inhabitants.

The first step toward the achievement of self-government for dependencies is to set up criteria for measuring their fitness. We analyzed<sup>1</sup> this question to find the criteria that had been agreed upon by both the dependency and the controlling power in the cases of the Philippines, India, and Iraq. There resulted agreement on some eleven criteria, five dealing with internal affairs and six with international obligations of the dependency. These criteria included such requirements as the ability of the dependency to maintain (a) its civil government, (b) its territorial integrity, (c) its financial solvency, (d) a competent judiciary, and (e) a public opinion wanting self-government; and to guarantee the rights of foreigners and minorities and other international obligations of debts, treaties, and so forth as legally contracted. These criteria thus analyzed was the identical set that was later adopted by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. This official declaration of the criteria of fitness for independence is the first step in working toward a solution of the problem of peaceful transition from dependency to self-government.

The analysis was materially aided by techniques developed by the social sciences in the last two decades for measuring such complex and qualitative phenomena. From these facts, a scheme for furthering self-government peacefully may be developed which is the purpose of this paper.

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### **A Proposed Measuring Instrument for Self-Government**

#### **(a) How to measure the criteria for self-government.**

The instrument here described for measuring fitness for self-government is based on several assumptions which it is well to state clearly at the start. It assumes that: (1) self-government is often a desired goal; (2) measuring fitness can be a useful step toward self-government; (3) this step can reduce conflicts; and (4) fitness can be measured by suitable statistical indices. This paper is mostly concerned with giving evidence in support of the last assumption -- that fitness can be measured.

Before describing the indices for measuring fitness a review of the theory of measurement on which they are based may be useful for political scientists.

Our theory of measurement\*, which is applicable to any social phenomena and is not limited to dependencies nor even to governmental phenomena, may be described in three cycles: the qualitative, the quantitative, and the correlative. This dimensional theory of measurement and the other statistical technics in this paper are more fully developed in the author's *Dimensions Of Society* (Macmillan, 1942, 944 pp.) and *Systematic Social Science* (Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, 1947, 785 pp.)

For the qualitative cycle, one begins by naming classes of phenomena and their subclasses in a classification scheme. A sub-classification may be carried to as many levels or degrees of fineness as may be needed.

For the quantitative cycle one begins by observing whether a given qualitative class is present or absent in a particular situation. This makes it an all-or-none variable which may be assigned the numerical values of one or zero and then may be weighted later as desired in combining with the other variables. Wherever possible such all-or-none variables should be observed more exactly in an ordinal series, or ranks, such as in stating whether there is none, some, more, or most of that variable in a given situation. This ordinal variable in turn should be still more exactly observed wherever possible by converting it to a cardinal variable which is a multiple of equal and standardized units. Ordinal variables are designated "first, second, third. . .," while cardinal variables are designated "one, two, three. . . ." When the cardinal variable has been calibrated, that is, when its limits, reliability, validity, and so on, have themselves been measured, it becomes the most exact type of variable and is the ideal in the quantitative cycle.

For the correlative cycle the indices of the quantitative cycle, whether all-or-none, ordinal or cardinal, have all their intercorrelations calculated by appropriate technics. This determines the structure or pattern of the indices or classes of phenomena that are involved in the total situation under study. In proportion as the determinant of the table of intercorrelations vanishes, the system of observed variables can be considered a closed system, since any one variable within it can be completely predicted from the other variables, that is, its multiple correlation with the others is unity. This serves to measure how completely or adequately, for the predictive function of science, the variables in the situation have been observed. '

Now apply this theory of measurement which, in its broad outlines, can be shown to subsume all measurement that exists in any science, to the problem of measuring fitness for self-government. The eleven criteria adopted by the Mandates Commission were subclassified through seven levels into a resulting 350 subclasses, or items, of objectively observable phenomena (Table 1). These 350 items were then converted into quantitative indices by observing them either as present or absent or present in ordinal degrees or present in cardinal amounts. Consider, for example, three sample indices at these stages of precision. These three indices measure, for instance, the three major internal criteria of a competent judiciary, a favorable public opinion, and financial solvency. These items were developed by Felicia

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Fedorovicz in a Masters thesis under the author's direction at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon in 1946.

\*

TABLE 1

Fifteen Illustrative Types Of Indices Selected From The Set Of 350 Such Items\*

### I. Civil Government (indices 1 to 135)

#### 5. Personnel Administration

##### (b) Classification

33. Is there a uniform job classification? 34 To what percentage of the civil servants is it applicable?

35. Are the standards of admission to each category defined?

36. Are salary scales for each category established?

37. Are they actually applied?

#### 8. Health and Sanitation

##### (a) Health Work

71. What is the total score on the "Appraisal Form for City (and Rural) Health Work"? (Adapted from the American Public Health Association's scale)

##### (b) Personnel

72. What are the per capita numbers of doctors, of nurses, of midwives, of sanitary inspectors, of pharmacists?

### II. Military

#### 2. Military Power

##### (a) Personnel

141. What is the per capita number of military personnel?

142. What is the percentage of native personnel (senior officers; line officers; junior officers; staff officers)

### III. Order and Security

#### 1. Crime

##### (b) Public opinion on security

161. How many times in the last month have you heard of the following crimes in this community (village, tribe, etc.)

% hearing in sample	Mean number of rumored crimes
---------------------	-------------------------------

Theft	_____
Cattle theft	_____
Burglary	_____
Rape	_____
Murder	_____

### IV. Financing

#### 4. International Obligations

##### (a) Debt

196. What is the proportion of per capita foreign debts to per capita yearly national income?

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### V. Judiciary

#### 1. Impartiality

##### (a) Fairness

201. Are there any special privileges for religious, , racial, economic, or other groups?

202. Are there any foreign concessions?

203. Are the court fees reasonable or are the costs prohibitive for the poor?

### VI. Public Opinion

#### 3. Political maturity

##### (a) Activities

281 What percentage of the electorate voted in the last national election?  
Municipal election?

For a qualitative index converted into an all-or-none quantitative index, we shall consider the criterion that the dependency must possess a judiciary commanding the confidence of the people. Alongside the courts of the controlling power, let parallel native courts be set up with alternative jurisdiction as formerly was the case in various Near Eastern states. Let the native courts try those cases where both litigants agreed to take their case there. At the end of each year, the percentage of all the cases in the court that went to their own native' courts could be calculated and judges appointed for the next period, such that the native judges would be that percentage of all the judges. Thus, as people gained or lost confidence in their native courts, the percentage of native judges in the country would increase or decrease. When they attained full confidence in their own judiciary, all judges would automatically become nationals; and the dependency would have achieved complete control of its judiciary by demonstrated confidence in it. The action of taking the case to the native court is a qualitative item of behavior. Coupled with its absence, the not-taking- the-case-to-a-native-court becomes an all-or-none item of behavior. The arithmetic mean of such items is the percentage of cases taken to the national court. (Every percentage is the arithmetic mean of an all-or-none frequency variable.)

For an illustration of an ordinal variable, consider a public opinion poll determining the criterion that there shall be a predominant public opinion in favor of self-government or independence. Here, instead of asking the question, "Do you approve or disapprove?" the question could be asked more exactly in ordinal degrees specifying the degree of self-government that is favored or as the degree of intensity of approval or disapproval of self-government. Of course, such a question should be carefully phrased in alternative forms and penetratingly analyzed by supplementary questioning to make sure that the opinion expressed on the question at issue is adequately reflected in all its complications and is independent of the particular phrasing of the question. The questions should elicit the "give/get" ratios or price of independence which the citizens are willing to pay. This cost of what they want can be measured in eight types of indices that we have developed.<sup>2</sup> Thus indices of willingness to pay higher taxes, have military service, and put up with possible specified degrees of lowered efficiency in government services, can gauge the strength of the public opinion in terms of what the people will give for what they want to get.

For a third illustration, this time a cardinal variable, the financial solvency of the budget can be determined in cardinal units of money.

For the correlative cycle, the 350 indices need to be combined in successive stages until eventually they yield a single index or scale of total fitness. This combination is usually made additively with some kind of weights. Ideally, the weights should be regression weights determined by multiple correlation, which is calculated by correlating the indices against some accepted measure' of dependence-independence such as the difference between a set of

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dependent areas and another comparable set of independent areas. As a first approximation, these weights may be secured as ratings by a panel of competent specialists.

For this weighting, a decimal system has been developed that distributes 100 points among the subclasses of each class wherever it may fall in the hierarchy of classification which breaks "fitness" down into subclasses and sub-subclasses in successive levels. The number of percentage points given to each subclass is according to the judge's estimate of its relative importance among the other subclasses of its class in contributing toward fitness for self-government. In this way the weights of all the subclasses of any one class add up to 100. Provision may be made for an extra unidentified subclass in the event the judges feel that the given specified subclasses are an inadequate analysis of their class. The weight assigned by the judges to the unidentified subclass measures the degrees of inadequacy of the other subclasses. With this decimal weighting of them, the net weight of any class, anywhere in the hierarchy on any of the seven levels, towards total fitness is simply the product of its percentage and the percentage of all classes above it in the hierarchy. This yields indices for every item or combination of items up to the total fitness so that the whole, as well as any of its parts, is measurable. This decimal weighting system is flexible in permitting the insertion or removal of any items above or below it, with consequent shift of weighting only in the subclasses.

It remains to be seen whether the ratings would transcend the raters, that is, to what extent the ratings assigned by different panels of judges with different ideologies would differ from each other or give a constant result. Thus, in constructing attitude tests it has been found by Thurstone that panels of judges with very different attitudes themselves will yet agree on rating the meanings or scale positions of statements of attitude so that the attitude scales they construct transcend or are independent of the attitudes of the judges who constructed them. If it should be found that the ratings do not transcend the ideologies of the raters and that they yield significant differences, then the scale could still be applied but with specified weighting systems, for example, Communist weightings, Republican weightings, or a UN Trusteeship Council weightings system.

The reliability of this weighting system has been experimentally measured. Shannon<sup>3</sup> secured weightings from social science faculty and student groups. He found no significant differences in mean weights when he subclassified his data into expert raters and inexpert raters. They correlated 0.9 together ( $\pm 0.008$ ). The ratings differed significantly from chance, which would assign equal weights in every subclass in a class. On repeating the ratings, correlations of ratings of individuals between first and second ratings ran as low as 0.41, but correlations of the mean first ratings and the mean second ratings ran up to 0.997 ( $\pm 0.002$ ). The split-half correlation of odd versus even items was 0.93 ( $\pm 0.006$ ). These studies proved that the weights could be highly reliable if they are the mean weights of a panel of judges.

### **(b) Reliability, validity, and norms.**

The next steps still to be taken in constructing the scale of fitness are to determine its reliability, validity, and norms. Reliability can be determined for one index of it as the correlation coefficient between one determination of the scale and a second determination of it on presumably the same phenomena, as when one set of a person's determination of the indices is correlated against another set's determination of the same indices. The more the two sets of observers represent different viewpoints or cultures, the more their degree of agreement will establish the objectivity or rerating reliability of the scale, of course.

To the extent that this correlation is high, say above 0.9, the scale is judged reliable; that is, it is free of errors of observation due to the observer. Many of the indices are fixed by censuses, school, tax, budget, and other statistics that would not vary much if reobserved. But

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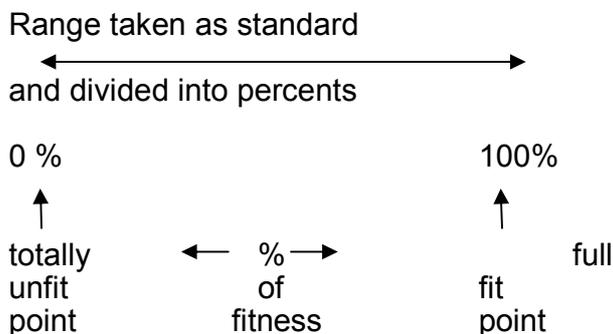
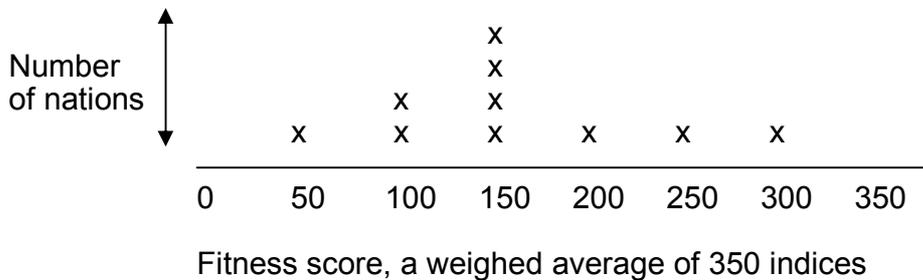
other indices which are mean ratings by experts or polls of samples of the population might vary more on reobserving them. Hence their degree of reliability must be experimentally isolated and measured.

Validity is definable as the correlation coefficient between the scale and an accepted index of dependence-independence. How high does the scale, when applied to a group of independent and a group of comparable dependent areas, correlate with the all-or-none variable of independence or lack of it? The higher this correlation, the more valid the scale, that is, the more closely it is proved to measure what it claims to measure in society. At present the validity of only a few indices has been explored. Shannon<sup>4</sup> has found correlation scattergrams with correlations in the 0.2 to 0.5 range between dependent or independent states as the one criterion variable to be predicted and illiteracy, gold reserves, and other factors as independent or predictor variables. These preliminary findings suggest that by multiple

For this purpose of determining the norms, a "para-nation technique" is proposed. It may be sketched here in oversimplified summary; eventually the Trusteeship Council might work out the details. Let the degree of fitness demanded of a candidate dependency, in order for it to qualify for full self-government or independence, be some pre-assigned amount such as the average degree of fitness of ten para-nations, which are nations comparable in as many respects as possible to the candidate area. Let these nations be measured by the scale, and their arithmetic mean determined. Call this point "100 percent fitness" for the candidate nation (Table 2). This means that the dependencies must be more fit than the less competent independent nations of its class, yet need not measure up to the most competent, but only attain the average.

TABLE 2

A Schematic Distribution of Nations by Fitness Scores



With this 100 percent point on the scale of fitness determined for a given nation, subdivisions of it, when reached, could determine when that candidate would reach specified

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increments of autonomy Thus, it could progress gradually toward self-government by peaceful, rational, and pre-determined steps.

### **Application of the Measuring Instrument**

#### **(a) Possible administration of testing.**

In order to try out the extent to which a measuring instrument can contribute to the peaceful evolution of a dependency toward self-government, the instrument must be applied and developed further under field conditions. Administrators of dependent areas must become more interested in applying social science techniques to their practical problems. It is to be expected that such interest will grow sporadically but may be encouraged by clear statement of the goal and available means. The goal here would be a controlled experiment for testing the hypothesis implied in the second and third assumption above. The proposals here may seem a little naive to some political realists. The author recalls, however, proposing Geneva in 1927 that criteria for terminating a mandate should be specified. Sir Austen Chamberlain replied that that was a job for the academic people before political administrators could move. The fact that when criteria were then worked out with a fellow academician (Professor Ritscher) these were the ones adopted by the Mandates Commission, gives hope that now in measuring these criteria, the states-men may again find the social scientists' techniques useful. This fitness scale hypothesis might be stated as: It is expected that in proportion (1) as a people's fitness for self-government is well measured; (2) increments in fitness are pre-announced as the precondition for increments in self-government; and (3) increments in fitness are at least partly attainable by the people's own efforts then, self-government is likely to be achieved sooner, with less conflict, and with more satisfaction to most people; than without this measurement and motivation plan.

In order to test this hypothesis scientifically, controlled experiments would be designed, ideally, but in practice only crude approximations may be possible. These may be less crude, however, if the administrators have the plan of a controlled experiment in mind, even though they may lack the power to execute it cleanly. A controlled testing of the hypothesis implies finding two similar or matched dependencies. One of them would then have the aforementioned measurement and motivation plan applied to it while the other would not (or at least would get much less of it.) In a few decades the satisfactory and peaceful progress of the former toward self-government should be visibly greater than in the latter, if the hypothesis holds.

\*

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### **(b) Possible administrators of testing.**

There are four types of authorities, each of whom could contribute a part to the full testing of the hypothesis. These authorities are the United Nations Trustees, national colonial offices, bureaus for research on government, and political scientists with statistical training.

(1) Trustees of United Nations trusteeships should be the first to apply the hypothesis and its implementing scale to their trustee lands. Thus a technique is offered that can help fulfill the official purpose of trusteeships -- to prepare the trustee lands for self-government or independence. It offers a substitute for agitation, rebellion, and the appeal to force which have all too often in the past been the only course open to a dependent people wanting their freedom. It offers an evolutionary method of gradual growth toward self-government in place of revolution. It provides a definite constructive procedure which can motivate the inhabitants to those efforts and achievements that fit them best for taking over the management of their own affairs. In short, it offers a way to make the trustee's task easier. Of course, this fitness is not the only consideration in granting self-government or independence. Considerations of strategic defense and other self-interests of the trustee may still play a part, but the measuring and isolating of fitness removes the question of fitness from the realm of controversy and makes it less possible for any trustee to rationalize imperialistic policy by the claim that the trustee land is not yet fit for autonomy. Above all, the scheme would stimulate the development of fitness as a consciously implemented goal.

This is a bit of the scientific method applied to administration, namely, the isolating of factors so that, with the causes and effects of each factor separately known, any one factor can be controlled, even when other factors are still uncontrolled.

Trusteeships should begin this process of planned, peaceful transition to self-government by writing an article to this effect into the charter that set them up. The principle of measured and motivated fitting of oneself for self-government could be established by some such article as the following:

“In order that the inhabitants may be constructively guided in their efforts to fit themselves for self-government by peaceful steps and without recourse to force, the Trusteeship Council shall advise and recommend to the Administrative Authorities as to the procedure for determining:

1. the inhabitants' current degree of fitness for self-government,
2. the required efforts or achievement by them,
3. and other necessary conditions

that are considered prerequisite to specified increments in self-government”

(2) Farsighted colonial administrators can use the fitness yardstick to simplify their problems. Nationalistic agitation tending toward demonstrations involving bloodshed can be headed off by agreement, at an early stage, upon fitness goals with the representatives of the inhabitants when such agreement is more possible than later when nationalist emotions and demands go to the extreme. With political, economic, educational, and social development mapped out in definite detail and the energies of the nationalists harnessed to cooperate in achieving them, the colonial administrator will have intelligently solved his future problems in large part by preventive action.

Considerable progress in this direction has been made. The Trusteeship Council has prepared elaborate and searching questionnaires for securing detailed information from the trustees. But the motivating of effort by the nationals is little developed, since what they must achieve to earn specified increments in autonomy is not stated definitely and in advance.

(3) Bureaus for research on government and governing could test the hypothesis and

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also expand it. They should research to refine the scale of fitness toward making it a more realistic and exact instrument for prediction and control -- the functions of science, whether political science or any other. Further, they could expand the scale from government of dependencies to any governmental unit as many of the indices would be equally pertinent in a self-governing or a non-self-governing area. By appropriate choice of indices, variant versions of the scale could measure the excellence of functioning of any governmental unit.

Indices of municipal political functioning could be developed and synthesized into a scale for the efficiency of municipal government. Indices, of county or provincial or state governing could be collected more systematically than hitherto by the techniques developed here to form scales for county or state government. Appropriate indices of national or international government could eventually yield scales for measuring the excellence of national and world governing. The method of scale construction, based in part on our theory of measurement, is applicable to any size of governmental unit. It may well be that self-government is best developed on a local scale first and later extended to larger units.

This method of scaling is also applicable to any department or function of government for which separate diagnosis and treatment may be wanted. Subscales for administrative, legislative, judicial, or party functioning, or any of their sub-functions, can be progressively developed by research. Bureaus for research on the government process can greatly improve that process in the long systematic research to measure it, so that degree of excellence can be factually determined without controversy and with less frustration of the voter.

( 4) Political scientists, authorities on governing more than in government, also should help in proving this hypothesis. They should get beyond description of government and achieve that prediction and control that science manages. Toward this, more exact generalizations of laws of political behavior are required, more exact observing involves a precision in measurement such as our scales of government. To the extent that political scientists expand the indices for self-government to measure the excellence of any government, the resulting governance can help to make political science an exact science.

With such ends in view, this paper is intended to do more than report on the construct scale of fitness for self-government. It is also a blueprint for further quantitative research political science. It is an invitation to any political scientists to cooperative research in further developing the government scale and a more exact science of government.

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Self-government

**Measurement of Fitness for Independence**

By Felicia Fedorovicz and Stuart C Dodd

*From Master's Thesis, May 15, 1945, American University of Beirut*

# Self-government

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### ABSTRACT

The lack of objective criteria for the termination of mandates (see Art. 22 of the League of Nations' Covenant and the qualitative conditions to be fulfilled in Ritscher, W. H. "Criteria of Capacity for Independence," American University, Beirut, 1934, p. 140.) proved a great defect of the Mandates System; it is proposed to set up quantitative standards of achievement the attainment of which would be regarded as evidence of fitness for national independence.

An incipient scale for measuring fitness was constructed from 268 observable indices of fitness whose validity was roughly determined through correlation against the mean opinion of 10 competent judges. Further research was mapped out as follows:

1. Weights should be assigned by competent judges to each item to get the Total Weighted Score (1000 points maximum). Multiple regression weights with the criterion variable "independence-dependence" should ultimately replace these estimated weights,
2. The validity of the scale and of its items should be determined through correlation against the two-category criterion variable "independence-dependence."
3. The reliability of the scale should be determined through the self-correlation between the "split halves."
4. The best indices of fitness should be ultimately selected for a Brief Scale.
5. A critical point between dependence and independence should be the median fitness (in terms of the Weighted Score) of the 10 nations most similar in defined respects to the candidate.

Uses of the scale may be:

1. Fitness is factually measured and controversy is reduced.
2. Dependent peoples are motivated to earn independence by constructive effort.
3. Increments in autonomy in the candidate country could be made to correspond to the degree of its fitness.
4. Any independent government can measure its own excellence and diagnose weaknesses.

The Mandates Commission recommended the following qualitative criteria of fitness of a mandated people for independence:

1. It must have a settled Government and an administration capable of maintaining the regular operation of essential Government services;
2. It must be capable of maintaining its territorial integrity and political independence;
3. It must be able to maintain the public peace throughout the whole country;
4. It must have at its disposal adequate financial resources to provide regularly for normal Government requirements;
5. It must possess laws and a judicial organization which will afford equal and regular justice to all."

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As to the second category the Commission suggested that the new State should ensure and guarantee:

1. The effective protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities;
2. The privileges and immunities of foreigners (in the Near Eastern territories), including consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly practiced in the Ottoman Empire in virtue of the capitulations and usages, unless any other arrangement of this subject has been previously approved by the Council in concert with the Powers concerned;
3. The interests of foreigners in judicial, civil, and criminal cases, in so far as these are not guaranteed by the capitulations;
4. Freedom of conscience and public worship and the free exercise of the religious, educational, and medical activities of religious missions of all denominations, subject to such measures as may be indispensable for the maintenance of public order, morality and effective administration;
5. The financial obligations regularly assumed by the former mandatory Power;
6. Rights of every kind legally acquired under the mandate regime;
7. The maintenance in force for their respective durations and subject to the right of denunciation by the parties concerned of the international conventions, both general and special, to which, during the mandate, the mandatory Power acceded on behalf of the mandated territory." \*

\* Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes, XX, 123-124.

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## The Indices Toward a Scale - List

by Felicia Fedorowicz

An administration capable of maintaining the regular operation of essential government services.

### I. Stable Government as Evidenced by:

#### A. Administration

##### 1. Law

###### a. Constitution

- (1) Is there a well-established constitution?
- (2) Is it clear?
- (3) Is it accessible to all alike?
- (4) Is it stable? (Is amendment easier than, as easy as, or more difficult than a simple law?)
- (5) Is there a special organ to interpret the constitution?

###### b. Separation of powers

- (6) Is there any separation between the legislative, the executive and the judicial power?

##### 2. The Legislature

###### a. Existence

- (7) Is there a national legislative body?

###### b. Power

- (8) Is there a clear distinction between legislation and administration?
- (9) Does the legislative control the executive?
- (10) Are there any permanent controlling institutions?
  - (a) Independent audit agency?
  - (b) Administrative court?
  - (c) Impeachment organ?
  - (d) Others?

###### c. Legislators

- (11) Is the number of legislators appropriate for the needs of the country?
- (12) How are the legislators chosen?
  - (a) What proportion is chosen directly?
  - (b) What proportion is chosen indirectly?
  - (c) What proportion is appointed by the Executive?
  - (d) What proportion by hereditary appointment?
  - (e) What proportion by chosen by only part of adults?

##### 3. Executive

###### a. Law

- (13) Is there an administrative law?
- (14) Is it clear?
- (15) Is it accessible

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- (16) Is the administrative procedure (routine) regulated by law or special supplemental regulations?
- (17) Are the civil servants adequately acquainted with the procedure and the administrative organization?
- (18) Is there a clear-cut line of authority and responsibility?
- (19) Is the responsibility for the civil service regulated by law?
- (20) Is it forbidden to receive payment for work beside the regular salary?
- (21) Is the law enforced?

### **b. Division**

- (22) Is there a clear division of administrative areas?
- (23) Is the administration sufficiently centralized if the country is small?
- (24) Is the administration sufficiently decentralized and integrated if the country is large.
- (25) Is it adequately coordinated?

### **c. Procedure**

- (26) Is the administrative action swift?
- (27) Is there a regular public reporting in each department?
- (28) Is the organization clear to the public?
- (29) Are there sufficient sources of information available for the public?

## **4. Parties**

- (30) Are there any political parties?
  - (a) Less than 2?
  - (b) Between 2 & 5?
  - (c) Between 5 & 10?
  - (d) More than 10?

## **5. Personnel administration**

### **a. Law**

- (31) Is the personnel administration regulated by a civil service law?
- (32) Is it clear?

### **b. Classification**

- (33) Is there a uniform job classification system?
- (34) To what percent of the civil servants is it applicable?
- (35) Are the standards for admission to each category defined?
- (36) Are the salary scales for each category established?
- (37) Are they actually applied?

### **c. Recruitment, promotion and retirement**

- (38) Is the recruitment made on basis of:
  - (a) competitive examinations?
  - (b) party allegiances?
  - (c) arbitrary decisions of the appointing officer?
  - (d) other considerations?
- (39) Is the promotion made on basis of:
  - (a) competitive examinations?
  - (b) party allegiances?
  - (c) seniority

## Self-government

- (d) arbitrary decisions of the appointing officer?
  - (e) other considerations?
  - (40) Is there a well established retirement system?
  - (41) Are the pensions defined?
  - d. Civil servants**
    - (42) What is the percentage of native officials holding administrative positions?
    - (43) What is the percentage of native officials holding staff positions (advisory)?
    - (44) Is the number of eligibles for the civil service sufficient to replace the mandatory administration as soon as the country gets its independence?
      - (a) In general administration?
      - (b) In financial administration?
      - (c) In diplomatic and consular corps?
      - (d) In technical personnel?
    - (45) Is the civil service permanent?
    - (46) What is the average educational level of civil servants?
      - (a) What is the percentage of primary school graduates?
      - (b) What is the percentage of secondary school graduates?
      - (c) What is the percentage of technical school graduates?
      - (d) What is the percentage of college graduates?
    - (47) What is the average personnel efficiency rating?
    - (48) What is the mean confidence of the public in the native civil servants?
      - (a) Percent saying that native civil servants are emphatically trustworthy and efficient?
      - (b) Percent saying that native civil servants are trustworthy and efficient?
      - (c) Percent saying who have no opinion or refuse to answer?
      - (d) Percent saying that native civil servants are untrustworthy or inefficient?
      - (e) Percent saying that native civil servants are emphatically untrustworthy and inefficient?
    - (49) What is the proportion of complaints or appeals to the total number of cases?
  - e. Special institutions**
    - (50) Is there a specialized agency for personnel experts to handle personnel problems?
    - (51) Is there machinery for improving quality of civil service?
    - (52) What is the percentage trained before entry into service?
    - (53) What is the percentage trained while in service?
    - (54) Is there any agency for acquainting each department with the wished of the public and the criticisms?
- 6. Police administration**
- a. Law**

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(55) Is there a written statute for the police forces?

(56) Is the routine regulated by special regulations?

### **b. Personnel**

(57) Is the number of police sufficient for the country?

(58) What is the percentage of native senior officers?

(59) What is the percentage of native junior officers?

(60) Is there a sufficient number of trained personnel to replace mandatory personnel as soon as they withdraw?

(61) What is the educational level of the police forces?

(a) What is the percentage of primary school graduates?

(b) What is the percentage of secondary school graduates?

(c) What is the percentage of technical school graduates?

(d) What is the percentage of college graduates?

(62) What is the mean confidence of the public in the native police force?

(a) Percent saying that native police force are emphatically trustworthy and efficient?

(b) Percent saying that native police force are trustworthy and efficient?

(c) Percent saying who have no opinion or refuse to answer?

(d) Percent saying that native police force are untrustworthy or inefficient?

(e) Percent saying that native police force are emphatically untrustworthy and inefficient?

(63) What is the mean personnel efficiency rating?

## **7. Justice**

### **a. Law**

(64) Is there a body of codified or well established law?

(a) Civil?

(b) Penal?

(c) Procedural?

(65) Is it simple?

(66) Is it accessible to all alike?

### **b. Organization**

(67) Is there a well established judiciary system and hierarchy?

(a) Civil and criminal courts?

(b) Local, district, and supreme courts?

(68) Is there any arbitration machinery for industrial and labour problems?

(69) For encouraging settlement before trial, in general?

### **c. Judges**

(70) Are the judges irrevocable?

(71) Are there any specified requisite qualifications?

(72) Are the judges believed to be honest by the public?

(a) What percent voted for emphatically honest?

(b) What percent voted for honest?

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- (c) What percent had no opinion or refused to answer
- (d) What percent voted for dishonest?
- (e) What percent voted for emphatically dishonest?
- (73) Is the number of judges and lawyers sufficient for the country?

### 8. Health and Sanitation

#### a. Health Work

- (74) What is the total score on the:
    - (a) The State Public Health System Performance Assessment Instrument?
    - (b) The Local Public Health System Performance Assessment Instrument?
    - (c) The Local Public Health Governance Performance Assessment Instrument
- (American Public Health Association, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.W. 1932)

#### b. Personnel

- (75) Per capita number of:
  - (a) Doctors?
  - (b) Nurses?
  - (c) Midwives?
  - (d) Sanitary inspectors?
  - (e) Pharmacists?
- (76) Are there sufficient training facilities?
  - (a) School of Medicine?
  - (b) Nursing schools?
  - (c) Courses for midwives?
  - (d) Courses for pharmacists?
- (77) Is hygiene taught in schools?

#### c. Hospitals, Pharmacies, Institutes.

- (78) Per capita hospital beds?
- (79) Per capita dispensaries?
- (80) Per capita pharmacies?
- (81) Are there any special institutions, such as:
  - (a) Ophthalmic institutes?
  - (b) X-ray Institutes?
  - (c) Anti-Rabic Institutes
  - (d) Vaccinate Lymph Institutes?
  - (e) Maternity and Child Welfare institutes?
  - (f) Municipal Health Dept. in each large town.
  - (g) Port Health Dept. in each port town.
  - (h) Quarantine Stations?
  - (i) Others?
- (82) What is the proportion of per capita health expenditures by government to per capita income?

#### d. Legislation

- (83) Is there any health legislation?

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- (84) Is it sufficient (as compared with other countries)?
- (85) Has the country acceded to any international sanitary conventions?
- (86) What percentage of the population has access to potable water from public sources?
- (87) What percentage of the population has access to public sewage service?

### 9. Educational

#### a. Schools

- (88) What is the average number of students in a class-room:
  - (a) In primary schools?
  - (b) In secondary schools?
  - (c) In technical schools?
  - (d) In universities?
- (89) What is the number of teachers (proportion to students):
  - (a) in primary schools?
  - (b) in secondary schools?
  - (c) in technical schools?
  - (d) in universities?
- (90) Is the school equipment sufficient in:
  - (a) primary school:
    - (i) labs?
    - (ii) libraries?
    - (iii) gyms and sports facilities?
    - (iv) other?
  - (b) Secondary schools:
    - (i) labs?
    - (ii) libraries?
    - (iii) gyms and sports facilities?
    - (iv) other?
  - (c) Technical schools:
    - (i) labs?
    - (ii) libraries?
    - (iii) gyms and sports facilities?
    - (iv) other?
  - (d) Universities:
    - (i) labs?
    - (ii) libraries?
    - (iii) gyms and sports facilities?
    - (iv) other?
- (91) Is the number of textbooks sufficient:
  - (a) In primary schools:
    - (i) published?
    - (ii) actually used?
  - (b) In secondary schools:
    - (i) published?
    - (ii) actually used?
  - (c) In technical schools:
    - (i) published?

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- (ii) actually used?
- (d) In universities:
  - (i) published?
  - (ii) actually used?
- (92) Are there any night schools?
- (93) What is the proportion of the night school attendees to the total population?

### **b. Accessibility of schools**

- (94) What proportion of the total amount of children between the ages of 6 and 22 years who attend :
  - (a) primary schools?
  - (b) secondary schools?
  - (c) technical schools?
  - (d) universities?
- (95) Is education a privilege of the rich or is it accessible to all, especially primary and technical education?
  - (a) What is the proportion of students with low income to the total amount of students as compared to the proportion of the low income group to the total number of inhabitants?
  - (b) What is the proportion of students with middle income to the total amount of students as compared to the proportion of the middle income group to the total number of inhabitants?
  - (c) What is the proportion of students with high income to the total amount of students as compared to the proportion of the high income group to the total number of inhabitants?
- (96) What is the percent of literacy?
- (97) Is primary education compulsory?

### **c. Libraries and museums**

- (98) Are there any public libraries?
- (99) Are there any museums?

### **d. Native schools and teachers**

- (100) In what percent of the total number of schools are courses given in the native language?
- (101) What percent of the total number of students attend such schools?
- (102) What is the opinion of the public on native schools?
  - (a) Quality of native schools?
    - (i) What is the percent who say they are good?
    - (ii) What is the percent who say they are preferable to foreign schools in spite of all?
    - (iii) What is the percent who are doubtful?
    - (iv) What is the percent who say they are good but foreign schools are preferable?
    - (v) What is the percent who say they are bad?
    - (vi) What is the percent who have no opinion or refuse to answer?
  - (b) What percent say that they prefer to send their children to:
    - (i) native schools?
    - (ii) foreign schools?
    - (iii) Either type of schools?

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- (iv) What is the percent who have no opinion or refuse to answer?
- (103) Are the native teachers generally believed to be:
  - (a) Percent saying that native personnel are emphatically trustworthy & capable?
  - (b) Percent saying that native personnel are trustworthy and capable?
  - (c) Percent saying who have no opinion or refuse to answer?
  - (d) Percent saying that native personnel are untrustworthy or incapable?
  - (e) Percent saying that native personnel are emphatically untrustworthy and incapable?

### 10. Administration of Finance

#### a. Budget-making

- (104) Is there any central agency for budget-making?
- (105) Does the electorate exercise any control over the budget-making?
- (106) Does the electorate exercise any control over government expenditures?
- (107) What is the proportion of:
  - (a) budget estimates to actual receipts?
  - (b) budget estimates to actual expenditures?

#### b. Taxation

- (108) Is there a well established taxation system?
- (109) Is the taxation (direct taxes) progressive?
- (110) What is the proportion of direct taxes to indirect taxes?
- (111) What is the proportion of the taxes to the total national income?
  - (a) What proportion of taxes is spent on debts?
  - (b) What proportion of taxes is spent on administration?
  - (c) What proportion of taxes is spent on social service?
  - (d) What proportion of taxes is spent on productive investments?

#### c. Currency

- (112) Is it possible to create a National bank?
  - (a) Is there a plan?
  - (b) Are trained personnel available (native or foreign)?
  - (c) Are there any guarantees for the currency (gold, foreign assets accumulated during mandatory administration)?

#### d. Personnel

- (113) What is the average personnel efficiency rating (Use probat rating scale)?
- (114) What is the average public opinion on the native personnel of the Finance Department?
  - (a) Percent saying that native personnel are emphatically trustworthy & capable?
  - (b) Percent saying that native personnel are trustworthy and capable?
  - (c) Percent who are doubtful?
  - (d) Percent saying that native personnel are untrustworthy or incapable?