

MEASUREMENT OF FITNESS FOR INDEPENDENCE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, in the Department of Political Science of the American University of Beirut.

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May 25, 1945.

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A B S T R A C T

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) 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 ~~xxx~~ 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.

+) Ritsher, W.H. "Criteria of Capacity for Independence", American University, Beirut, 1934, p.140.

I. The Hypothesis

The working hypothesis of the present study is that "fitness for independence can be measured".

First, "fitness for independence" will be defined in Section I by review of the Mandates System and the criteria for transition from dependence to independence as developed to date. Then, "measurement" will be defined in Section II in developing a theory of measurement. Upon this foundation, Section III will describe the construction of a scale of fitness for independence of which the incipient form is presented in Section IV. This is evaluated in Sections V and VI, in concluding the evidence bearing upon the hypothesis as far as such evidence has been developed by us in this study.

A. The Mandates System.

The Mandates System is the form of control established by the League of Nations Covenant for the non-European territories yielded by Germany and Turkey as a result of the first World War.

During the war the Allied Powers had occupied all the German colonies and overseas possessions in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, and all the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It was decided that these territories were not to be returned to Germany and Turkey, and pledges had been made to the native inhabitants that they will not be handed over to their previous masters. There was, however, great differences of opinion as to their future government. Imperialist parties in the Allied countries proposed that the German colonies should be annexed in the way that the colonies of the defeated enemy had been annexed after previous wars. They desired to retain the overseas territories, in the conquest of which they have in most cases made great sacrifices, and to exploit their natural resources according to the principles of the old colonial policy. On the other hand, declarations were made during the war that there should be no annexation and the leading spokesmen of the Allied were in favour of a definite change in the colonial administration. The pre-war policy of exploitation and rivalry for colonies on the part of European Powers were attacked by many people who saw in it the chief cause of international friction and wars. They stood for "self-determination", for the "consent of the governed" and insisted that these ideas be embodied in the terms of peace.

The dilemma between the desire of the imperialist nations to possess colonies, and the desire to improve the treatment of the native peoples and to adopt the principle that the benefit of the native should

be the sole guide in the colonial policy, became obvious.

The whole problem was further complicated by the fact that, at the same time, the countries which seemed to support the idea of a reform in the colonial administration, entered into a number of secret treaties and agreements, which affected directly or indirectly the future settlement of the colonies, and which were contrary to their official announcements and, very often, contradictory as between one another. When the Peace Conference came, the Allied plenipotentiaries came there bound, on the one hand, by inconsistent secret agreements, and on the other hand, by the ideal declarations and promises given by them to various peoples and races.

Since annexation was barred by the public pronouncements of war aims on the part of the Allied leaders, and restoration to the enemy states was equally barred by such pronouncements which had denounced German and Turkish colonial administration, the only solution was some kind of international control. Direct international administration had not proved a success in such cases as Samoa and New Hebrides. The other alternative was a delegated government, i.e. government by a Power acting as a delegate of the International Body and subject to the supervision of that body.

This system of government which is known as International Mandates was suggested by General Jan Smuts of South Africa, and was seized on as a means of conciliation between the conflicting aims. As Quincy Wright points out, it satisfied Allied occupants desiring annexation, because it was obvious that the administration of such territories will be entrusted to them. It pleased idealists, because it established supervision by the League of Nations. It was a consolation for the inhabitants of

such territories, because it emphasized the temporary nature of the mandatory regime and the eventual self-determination. It pleased even the Central Powers which preferred international control to direct annexations of their dependencies to the Allied countries.*

The original scheme was developed by General Smuts from suggestions of the British Round Table group, and elaborated in a pamphlet entitled "The League of Nations - a Practical Suggestion" which appeared on December 16, 1918. It was designated originally by its author not as a general plan of colonial government, but rather as a form of government of young national States in Europe. Nevertheless, it was accepted by the representatives of the Great Britain and by the President of the United States as applicable both to the German colonies and the Arab countries to be detached from Turkey, but not to the new European States. Some new provisions were added to General Smuts' plan by President Wilson and Philip Kerr, and the scheme in this application was adopted by the Council of Ten at the Peace Conference. It was transmitted by them to the Commission which was formulating the Covenant of the League of Nations, and finally embodied in the Covenant. It came legally into force on January 10, 1920, when the Treaty of Versailles was officially declared ratified.

The Mandates System constitutes a new conception and a novel political experiment. As a legal conception it comes down from the Roman Law and forms a part of the modern Civil Codes based on that law. In such codes the "mandate" is an instrument by which one person - the mandant - gives to another person - the mandatory - the power of doing something

* Wright, Q., Encyclopedia of the Social Science, The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1933, Vol. 10, Article on "Mandates". Pp. 87-93.

for the mandant and in his name. The International Mandate is similarly an instrument by which the League of Nations charges a state, the Mandatory, to exercise on its behalf and in its name certain definite powers in one or more territories.

The principle of mandate is expressed in the Article 22 of the Covenant by which the Mandates System was set up, by (1) the provision specifying that the Mandatory will exercise its powers "... on behalf of the League", and (2) by the provision imposing on the mandatory the duty to make annual reports to the Council of the League which has the right to supervise and to intervene.

The essential idea, however, of the International Mandates, is to be found not so much in the Roman conception of agency for administration of property as in concepts of a trust and guardianship which are also taken from the private law.

The principle that dependencies are a trust is expressed in the Covenant by (1) the provision reading: "... wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization" and "the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to the advanced nations."; (2) by the express terms of the government of each territory which in all cases involve the duty of promoting the interests of the native population; by the provision of equality of opportunity for the subjects of all states, i.e., free and equal treatment, in law and in fact, of commerce of all nations; by establishing a regular authority to which the governing state (the Mandatory) must render an account periodically ~~after~~ (this has been mentioned also with reference to the principle of mandate); and by providing that any dispute arising as to the application of these two ideas - mandate and trusteeship - may come before the Council of the League of

Nations through its special organ the Permanent Mandates Commission, and before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The principle of guardianship of backward communities is the third legal principle underlying the Mandates System. It is also explicitly stated in the Covenant: (1) "... peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" ... shall be given "... advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone". This provision stresses the temporary character of the mandate; the logical corollary of this statement is that when a people is able "to stand alone" it should be released from such tutelage as imposed by the Mandatory System.

The analysis of the three basic legal concepts of the Mandates System, i.e., of the mandate, the trusteeship, and the tutelage, shows that these ideas are embodied in (1) appropriate statements in the Covenant, and (2) specific duties, procedure, or institution responsible for supervision. The principle of tutelage only, expressed in the Article 22 by words: "... until such time as they are able to stand alone..." is not guaranteed by any institution, and it is not established how and by whom the "ability to stand alone" is to be determined.

Article 22 of the Covenant recognized that the territories to which the Mandates System is applied vary in nature and that the character of the mandate, that is, the degree of foreign control, must vary according to the level of the development of the people, its economic conditions, the geographical situation, and other such conditions. The territories are accordingly divided into three classes: the so-called "A", "B", and "C" Mandates, varying in respect to the powers of administration conferred upon the Mandatory. This division, based on the alleged varying degrees

of development, seems to imply that individual countries can be transferred from one category to another if they reach a sufficient stage of development. It seems also to imply that countries now under mandate "A" i.e., those which are more developed than either "B" or "C" Mandates, can reach the stage when they will be "able to stand by themselves" sooner. The evidence of such ability would mean the termination of the mandatory regime and the recognition of independence.

B. The Lack of Criteria for Termination

One of the outstanding defects of the Mandates System is that it is not specified what would be considered sufficient evidence of ability to govern itself, and that no machinery is set up to determine whether or not a country under mandate has reached a stage which would warrant the recognition of its independence.

Force, which was in the past the principle criterion of a people's fitness to stand by itself, is not recognized by the League. The Syrian uprising in 1925-1926 against the French control showed that the League supported the Mandatory and helped to suppress the revolt against its authority. This event made it clear that transition from dependence to independence was meant to be peaceful, without recourse to violence. But if recourse to violence and military prowess is not considered an evidence of ability to stand alone, some other criteria of fitness must be set up and some definite technic of measuring their degree of fulfillment must be elaborated. It is also important that some automatic or at least impartial machinery be established to initiate and conduct the whole operation when the dependency reaches a sufficient stage of development.

B. Qualitative Criteria of Fitness.

During the 20 years of its existence and activity, the League of Nations was obliged to specify more accurately what conditions must be fulfilled before a territory under mandate can be released from the mandatory regime and be accepted to the League as an independent member of the Family of Nations.

The importance of the question of how to terminate a mandate was realized for the first time in 1926, when Great Britain promised in the Iraq Treaty to consider the possibility of recommending Iraq for admission to the League in 4 years. Such recommendation and acceptance would put an end to the mandatory regime. The issue reappeared in 1928 with the conditional pledge of recommendation for 1932 and in 1929, when this pledge was made unconditional, and the question was definitely brought to the fore. The need for better definition "ability to stand alone under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" became obvious and on Jan. 13, 1930 the Council of the League asked the Permanent Mandates Commission to determine what general conditions must be fulfilled before Iraq can be recognized fit to govern itself. This subject was discussed in two next sessions of the Commission and it was decided that:

"Whether a people which has hitherto been under tutelage has become fit to stand alone without the advice and assistance of a mandatory is a question of fact and not of principle. It can only be settled by careful observation of the political, social and economic development of each territory. This observation must be continued over a sufficient period for the conclusion to be drawn that the spirit of civic responsibility and social conditions have so far progressed as to enable the essential machinery of a State to operate and to ensure political liberty.

There are, however, certain conditions the presence of which will in any case indicate the ability of a political community to stand alone and maintain its own existence as an independent State."

Here are listed the essential requirements grouped into two categories: (1) The existence in the territory concerned of de facto conditions which justify the presumption that the country has become able to stand alone, and (2) certain guarantees to be furnished by the territory to the satisfaction of the League of Nations.

To the first category the Commission recommended the following requirements:

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

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

- " a) The effective protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities;
- b) The privileges and immunities of foreigners (in the Near Eastern territories), including consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly practised 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;
- c) The interests of foreigners in judicial, civil, and criminal cases, in so far as these are not guaranteed by the capitulations;
- d) 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;

- e) The financial obligations regularly assumed by the former mandatory Power;
- f) Rights of every kind legally acquired under the mandate regime;
- g) 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." *

The conditions suggested by the Commission represent quite an advance over the vague requirements of the Article 22, but they are still indefinite. All of them are stated in qualitative form and do not specify what exactly constitutes requirements such as "settled government", "administration capable of maintaining the regular operation of government services", etc. They may be arbitrarily interpreted and cannot, therefore, be used as an instrument for objective testing of the achievements of dependent peoples.

In Jan. 1930, the British Government notified the Council of the League of Nations of its intention to recommend Iraq for admission to the League in 1932. In support to this recommendation the British Government prepared a "Special Report on the Progress of Iraq from 1920 to 1931" which gave evidence of accomplishment justifying such recommendation. No attempt was made in the Report to prove that the conditions set up by the Permanent Mandates Commission were fulfilled. It was based on the various declarations and proclamations which laid down the main lines of the British policy, and presented a mass of evidence that the requirements specified by those declarations of British statesmen had been met.

An examination of the standards advanced by both Permanent Mandates Commission and the British Government reveals a great similarity. Both

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

the Mandates Commission and H.M. Government are in substantial agreement as to the essential criteria of fitness for independence.

The similarity of requirements advanced by two different authorities -- the League of Nations and the Mandatory Power -- suggests that there are some universally valid standards for all states or would-be states. The Permanent Mandates Commission, however, did not feel competent to attack this problem which it considered was a purely theoretical piece of academic research, and which was left to the private initiative of political scientists.

In Jan. 1934, an attempt was made by Professor W.H. Ritscher, to establish a set of the criteria which have met the common acceptance and which might be considered valid tests of fitness for independence. After a thorough analysis of all requirements advanced and accepted on different occasions with regard to different countries demanding independence (to Iraq, Philippines; India and Manchuria), as well as of the criteria in recognition policy and for the League membership, Professor Ritscher reached the conclusion that there is practical unanimity in the standards advanced as tests of fitness for self-government. The marked similarity of those criteria agreed upon by both the controlling powers and the dependent peoples warrants, he found, the assumption that they represent common standards and that one set of requirements applicable to all states, can be established. The results of his study are summarized in his book "Criteria of Capacity for Independence" ^{American University of Beirut, /} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>Swedish, Copenhagen, Press, Janu-
xxxxxx</sup> 1934; his set of criteria is quoted in Section III of the present work.*

C. Quantitative Criteria of Fitness.

The first step towards defining what is meant by the "ability to

* Shortly after publication of the book it was reported by the late Prof. Ritscher that the Mandates Commission took some sort of official endorsing action in the nature of adopting or approving these criteria. The documentary evidences on this we were not able to find in any of the materials

stand alone" is done by setting up some universally applicable criteria of fitness, such as done by Professor W.H. Ritscher. But the qualitative statement of such criteria is only one part of the problem; the other is elaboration of technics for measuring the achievements of the subject peoples in each of the fields specified by those criteria. Qualitative statements need, therefore, to be converted into quantitative terms which would enable to express exactly how far the criteria required are fulfilled and whether or not the necessary minimum is reached.

Conditions such as e.g., "Capacity to maintain the territorial integrity and political independence of the state" * seems very reasonable, but needs some explanation. Against whom must the country be able to maintain its political independence? The most powerful nation could not successfully defend itself against a coalition of its enemies; certainly the smaller nations could not successfully defend themselves against the aggression of any of the Great Powers. Thus a new state cannot be expected to evidence its ability to defend itself successfully against all its possible enemies. Its ability to maintain its independence must depend not merely on its potential military power, but also upon its ability to maintain harmonious relations with its neighbors and to conduct its international relations in such a way as to insure the advantages of international guarantees and alliances. Similarly, all other criteria need to be more fully defined. The "Capacity to maintain public order and security" * is perhaps most universally recognized; but what degree of security is required before a country can be released from the foreign control; and what degree of disorder will be considered evidence of inability to maintain public peace?

* The Section III, A. above.

The above examples show how inadequate the qualitative standards cited above are. They are not fully objective measures of accomplishments, and do not provide sufficiently precise solutions for the question of when the mandatory regime should be terminated and how the readiness for transition from dependence to independence should be determined.

It is essential, therefore, to convert qualitative standards into quantitative terms; to select a point between fitness and unfitness for independence; and to establish a method for measuring how closely the country under consideration approaches it.

Some years ago this task would have been very difficult. But at the present time new technics have been elaborated and it becomes possible to measure phenomena which hitherto were considered intangible. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that even such a complex phenomenon as fitness of any people to stand by itself can be tested with considerable degree of objectivity and precision. Now the attempt is made to construct a scale by which the extent to which the requirements, as formulated by Professor Ritscher, can be numerically measured and expressed in a single score. Note that some authorities have to judge fitness; a scale simply makes the criteria determining this judgement explicit and exact. Also note that the desirability of making these criteria more exact as in a scale would probably be granted by all; the question is as to the probability of making such a scale. Parts II-IV seek to answer this question.

II. The Theory of Measurement

A. Analysis to Dimensions - Items.

Social phenomena are complex. This is a well known fact and, it is often urged, that this is the chief obstacle to the development of the science of society.

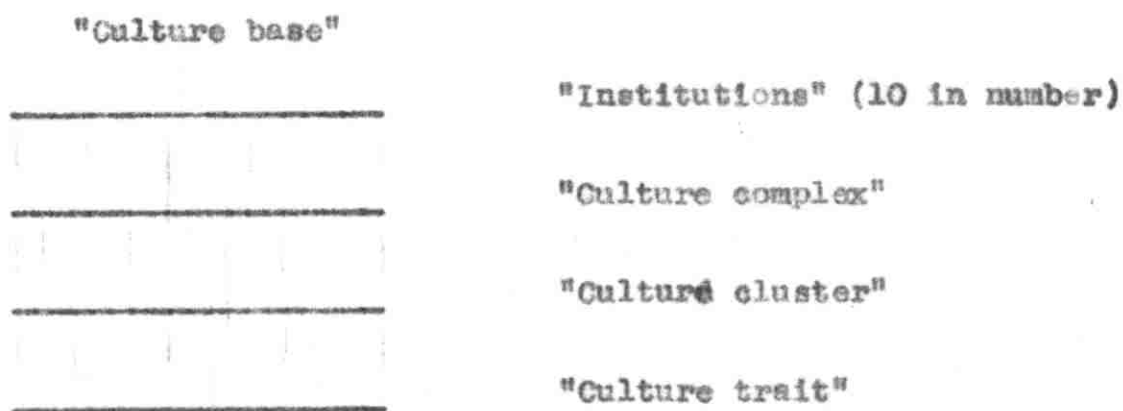
"Complex" means that they are formed by a great number of different factors; some of the factors are known, some unknown; some are observable, some "intangible" but still very important. All factors are interrelated, and make the situation intricate, and that is why many people believe that scientific methods cannot be applied to sociology and cannot yield prediction and control - which is the essence of any science.

But, viewed from another point, the same "complexity" enables the social scientists to study social phenomena. Since they are composed of a number of different factors, they can be decomposed and each of the constituent parts can be studied alone. The procedure is analogous to the chemical analysis of a compound: first, it is established what its components are, and then each of them is further studied separately, and their properties, structure, functioning, etc., are examined. The components are then resynthesized in new ways according as man may desire to control them. In social science complex phenomena can also be broken into their components for specialized study of each. A phenomenon can be considered a "continuum" formed of a number of single items, or "dimensions". A "dimension" can be defined as any item of observation or thought. A dimension is an amount of some kind, a quantity of some quality. It is observable and measurable in varying degrees of precision. Some are easily observable, for instance percent of electorate actually voting; number of freshmen in a school; death rate during some period, etc.

Some are difficult to observe directly and, therefore, are called "intangible". But it must be remembered that even the most intangible conceptions, such as "customs", "patriotism", "feeling", etc., stand for observable human behaviour and that observable manifestations can be recorded, compared, and therefore, with research, may be measured.

The accuracy of measurement depends, of course, on the accuracy of the tools and technics used. Primitive tools give only very inexact approach to the real measure; refined and calibrated instruments enable us to measure exactly and with an increasing degree of precision. To take another example from the methods used by the natural sciences, a primitive yardstick measured very inaccurately, while the microscope enables the bacteriologist to determine precisely the size of microbes which are invisible to the naked eye. Social sciences have not yet developed measuring instruments which could be compared to those used by the natural sciences. That is why many social phenomena cannot be adequately examined, and why many people claim there is no "science" of society. Sociologists are now in the position of physical scientists before the accurate measures of weight, length, speed, etc., were elaborated. Elaboration of such instrument was the chief factor which contributed to the development of the natural sciences and which enabled the scientists to measure and predict natural phenomena. This study is based on the hypothesis that social phenomena are measurable and that their apparent intangibility is due to the lack of appropriate tools for measuring; difficulties, which appear to preclude or largely invalidate the employment of the scientific methods and a true science of society, derive from our undeveloped technics and methodology of study and the consequent unfamiliarity with the data, rather than from inherent differences in the physical and social data themselves.

The complexity of social phenomena is not denied; on the contrary it is strongly emphasized that they are composed of a number of factors which we called "dimensions". Dimensions constituting one continuum are grouped in different levels. This will be clearly seen by an example: one of the most complex social phenomena is "culture". The term is vague and indefinite, it must be first defined what this word means, in other words, it must be broken down into observable dimensions. The example is taken from S.C.Dodd's study entitled "Systematic Sociology" *. He distinguishes 4 levels in his analysis of "culture"; the "cultural base" is formed of (1) 'institutions', each institution is formed of (2) 'culture complexes', each complex of (3) 'culture clusters', and each cluster of (4) 'culture traits' which are the elementary dimensions of culture and are ~~an~~ not further subdivided. Graphically, it is represented as follows:



Culture, then, is a continuum formed of institutional dimensions, which in turn fork into "complexes" of an unknown number; "complex-dimensions" fork further into "cluster-dimensions" and these again into "trait-dimensions".

* A.U.B. - 1941.

Each aspect of the social life can be studied within the scheme quoted above. It can be very well applied to the analysis of "fitness for independence": fitness for independence refers to the (1) political institution, (2) mandatory complex; (3) terminating cluster, (4) traits of fitness (indices of fitness).

The first phase of our hypothesis is that any social phenomenon, even a most complex one, can be analysed to elementary dimensions, such as "culture traits" or "indices of fitness for independence" in our study.

B. Measurement of Dimensions - Units.

Measurement can be defined as determining the degree of precision in observing and expressing the quantity of some quality. More colloquially, measuring is determining the amount of something. There are four degrees of precision in observing* :

- (a) Presence or absence,
- (b) Ordinal series,
- (c) Cardinal units,
- (d) Calibrated units.

(a) Presence or absence is the first step in observing; something is or is not in the situation observed. There is no notion of degree of quantity, but only of the existence or non-existence of an item of observation, or, in other words, an "all-or-none" quantity. Measurement in

* Formulated by Dodd, S.C., in "Systematic Sociology", A.U.B. 1941. Chap. 5

All-or-none units is the most primitive and the least precise method of expressing qualities in quantitative terms. It is always possible to distinguish the presence or absence of an entity if the entity is identifiable at all. By assigning "presence" the value "1" and "absence" the value "0", any all-or-none variable becomes a two-category variable, $X = 1, 0$.

(b) A more advanced method of measurement is represented by ranking different amounts according to their magnitude. Such measurement is relative to some basic amount; other amounts are designated by words such as "some", "more", "most" or "less", "least", etc. They form ordinal series, that is to say, the order of magnitude is established, but the intervals between each of them are arbitrarily chosen, and may not be equal. All ranks and percentiles are such ordinal series. $X = 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th... ..Nth$. First differences $d_1 \geq d_2 \geq d_3$ may be equal or unequal.

(c) Cardinal amounts differ from ordinal series in that only points whose scale positions are at equal intervals are selected. Cardinal the best example of cardinal amounts are points on a metrical scale/ amounts are multiples of equal and interchangeable scale; monetary units, percents, etc. Cardinal numbers are the most used units of measurement. $X = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,Nth$. First differences $d_1 = d_2 = d_3 = d_4 = d$ are all equal

(d) The most exact are the calibrated units. They can be defined as cardinal units whose degree of precision or amount of error, e , has been measured, and the limits, reliability, and validity have been determined. $X_N - X_{N-1} = d \pm e$

Limits refer to the range of the scale, the minimum and maximum points for the units adopted, or for the data studied.

Reliability refers to the ability of the scale to measure consistent: i.e., repeatedly and in the hands of different investigators,

whatever it purports to measure. To be reliable any measuring instrument must give the same results when reapplied to the same phenomena. Discrepancies in results are due to the unreliability of the scale itself and the errors of measurement. If these errors tend to be in one direction they are "constant errors" and can be measured by differences between the average score of one measurement and the average score of a second measurement. This difference when divided by its standard deviation becomes the significance ratio; if this ratio is more than 3. The scale is considered reliable. The constant errors may be analyzed into the following categories, classified by sources: sampling error; seasonal error; informant error; interviewer error; scorer error; schedule error.) A reliable scale should reduce all errors to a minimum and then measure the amount of the minimal residual error. Variable errors are those which tend to be sometimes in one direction and sometimes in the other; they may be measured by the correlation coefficients between ~~coefficients of correlation~~

~~the two measurements.~~ the two measurements. The coefficient of correlation is a statistical device by which the degree of correspondence between 2 indices is quantitatively determined and expressed by a number. The maximum correl. equals 1.00 means perfect similarity (reliability), and the lack of any relation equals .00 means perfect dissimilarity (unreliability).

Validity refers to the fidelity with which a measuring instrument measures what it claims to measure. The readings of the measuring instrument must correlate with the findings otherwise objectively defined and measured. A scale claiming to measure something should agree with a criterion variable which is some other accepted and established index of the phenomenon. For instance, a valid school achievement test should yield low scores for children who are otherwise known to be lazy and unintelligent and high grades for children who are known to be good students. Similarly, a valid scale for socio-economic status should yield low scores for beggars and for people on relief, and high scores for the bankers and factory owners.

*
 *Dodd's S.C. " ~~As~~ A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria," American Press. Beirut, 1934 (p. 4-5)

One method of determining validity of a scale in agreement with the common sense judgement; it is a very useful method, but not entirely reliable, and often inaccurate. A better method of determining validity is the agreement with a combined opinion of expert judges. Their average opinion is regarded as the criterion and the scores on the scale are compared with that criterion. The relationship between these two measures is expressed by the coefficient of correlation.

1.00 meaning perfect validity, and .00 meaning no validity. There may be different criteria of validity besides the opinion of competent judges; a criterion variable is any established and accepted index of what is to be measured and in terms of which the value of the scale is estimated and judged. The method of measuring their relationship is the same as explained above. A high correlation between the scale and its criterion variable is the evidence of validity of the scale, provided both the scale and the criterion variable are reliable.

A good example of how validity of a scale is measured through correlation with an external criterion variable is to be found in S.C. Dodd's "Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria"^x A scale was constructed to measure hygiene of families in Syrian villages.

"To prove that the scale measures hygiene, its scores must correlate with some index of health.... Therefore the agreement of medical experts that certain practices are "hygienic" ones and their correlation with health indices will be considered a necessary and sufficient proof of the validity of the scale".

^xDodd S.C. "A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria," American Press, Beirut, 1954 (p. 4-5).

The following health indices were studied:

Mortality-

Percent of children surviving in families of 5 or more.

Morbidity-

Laboratory examination of stools for intestinal parasites.

Doctor's diagnosis of common diseases.

Family's report of sickness in the past year.

Family's report of days spent in bed in the past year.

Family's report of days spent in bed in the past month.

Longevity-

Age at death.

The coefficients of correlation between the items on the scale and the above criteria of hygienic practices determine the validity of the scale.

There are also some indirect methods of measuring validity: the most common one is to combine the score on a number of scales of the same general function and to judge as best (the most valid for the function) that scale which correlates highest with the average of all. Another indirect method is to find the correlation between a given test and other tests and in this way to discover some of the facts which the test does, and does not , measure.

Only when the scale is calibrated, that is when its limits and the accuracy of the scale are determined can data yielded by it be of scientific value.

All measurement is done in terms of one of the four types of units described above. Some quantities can be expressed only in "all-or-none" units, i.e. their presence or absence only can be determined because they are indivisible or not yet measurable; some appear in different amounts and can be roughly expressed in ordinal units,

i.e., their relative amount can be stated approximately. This is due to the lack of devices for more exact defining of quantity rather than to any obstacles inherent in the nature of the item measured. If their amount can be expressed in terms such as "some", "more", "a little", "most", etc., there is no reason why they could not be converted into cardinal units. It was proved by Thurstone * that even attitudes which are considered by many people as most intangible, can be converted into cardinal units and measured on a scale. Such a scale was constructed by them, the points on it were laid off at equal intervals, and it was proved by controlled experiments to be a reliable and valid instrument of measurement.

It should be the aim of social scientists to elaborate methods of measuring any social phenomenon in terms of cardinal and, if possible, calibrated units.

Thurstone E.L. and . Chave, E.J. " The measurement of Attitude",
Univ. Of Chicago Press, 1929. PP. 90.

G. Synthesis of Dimensions.- Weights

Analysis to dimensions and studying each one separately is a means to an end, i.e., to the knowledge of the original phenomenon. The next step is synthesis of all items, as analyzed and measured, in order to reconstruct the whole. That is the essence of the dimensional study of any social situation.

Analysis is adequate only when all elements are examined and measured, and if put together form a total equal to the original entity. In chemistry it is possible to decompose a compound, to determine what its components are, and to produce the same compound in the laboratory. It is not sufficient, however, to know what elements form the compound in what conditions. The chemist must know also what amounts of each are necessary, and in what proportion, and the procedures to combine them. The same applies to the social phenomena.

Scientifically the act of determining the relative significance of each dimension in the continuum is called "weighting", and the index of its "significance" is referred to as its "weight".

Weighting enables us to express the different amounts of different dimensions in uniform, comparable units, without which no measurement could be possible. For instance, the American Public Health Association constructed scales for measuring the excellence of the health in urban and rural areas.

The scale include a mass of items grouped in a number of

*American Public Health Asso.

"Appraisal Form for City Health Work" and "Appraisal Form for Rural Health work" PP. 100. PP. 133 New York, 1932.

Sections. In the Form for Rural Health Work these sections are as follows:

- I. Vital Statistics,
- II. Preventable Disease Activities,
- III. Activities for the Promotion of Hygiene of the Individual,
- IV. Sanitation Activities.

Items are of various nature and are expressed in different kinds of units; e.g., "Number of lectures given", "Number of nurses' visits made per case registered", "Percent of first grade school children vaccinated against smallpox", etc. Numbers alone would not give any idea of how good or inadequate the health work is. They have to be converted into comparable quantities and scored on the scale. Converting items into comparable units is essential for any integrating them into one scale. The aspect of weighting i.e. determining how significant an item is and what relative value it should be given in the scale, is equally important. It depends upon two considerations: On the actual share in causation of the item in the social situation studied and upon our desire to stress the desirability of such a factor. For example, it is desired to construct a scale for measuring the goodness of cities as good places to live in. The first task is to select items which are considered of major significance from this point of view. Selection should be made by "general judges" and weights should be assigned to each item according to its relative importance. It is desirable to determine also the criteria of efficiency of the functioning of each special item selected by the general judges.

This should be done by special judges who, contrary to the general judges, should be experts in each field which is selected as the factor to be measured. These judges will be guided in their assignment of weights by the consideration of what aspect of the situation it is desired to stress.

In appraising the health work, if it is desired to emphasize the preventive rather than curative aspects of a health department, public sanitation will be weighted more heavily than, say, the number of clinical visits or hospital facilities. Likewise, in a scale for measuring the fitness of a people to govern itself, the efficiency of its administration and its ability to maintain public order will be probably emphasized, that is, weighted, more than its capacity to defend its integrity against all possible aggressors. The assignment of weights, therefore, will be largely governed by our purposes and considerations as the desirability of the factor.

In weighting, the question arises how to treat apparently incompatible indices. This difficulty is realized by G.A. Lundberg who says:

"...A high rate of taxation is burdensome, and from one point of view should operate unfavorably in the score of a community. Yet high taxation may be the means whereby exceptionally good schools, playgrounds, and health activities are maintained. ~~and~~ Accordingly the numerical score will be largely determined by the relative weight we assign to these two aspects. In a case of this kind, both indices should be included as direct measures without reference to each other. Each will then offset the other as far as the facts justify. If the tax rate is above the average, the score of the community will be lowered. But if it is getting full value for the expenditure of its public funds, its unfavorable score on taxation will be offset by its favorable score in other respects, to the extent that these are above the average."

In many cases the optimum quantity of the item must be determined and score should be assigned accordingly to how much it approaches or surpasses the optimum point.

Once the relative importance of an item is determined, weighting is done by multiplying the quantity of the item measured by the assigned "weighting coefficient". "Weighting coefficients" for each item are invariable and express numerically what proportion of each different factors is necessary. To make it clearer, another example from American Public Health Association's Appraisal Form for Rural Health Work will be helpful: All items, it has been already said, are grouped in four sections. The maximum score for each section is 100 points. Since each has different relative importance in building what may be called a perfect health work (which is assigned a total of 1000 points) different weighting coefficients are established for each section. The section score, regardless of its amount, must be multiplied by its weighting coefficient, and then all weighted scores, summed up, constitute the measure of the excellence of the health work in the community under consideration. Synthesis of dimensions is adequate if the following conditions are fulfilled:

(1) The continuum must be adequately analysed, i.e., all dimensions must be measured. If some are still intangible and cannot be studied by an atomistic analysis; the inadequacy should be measured (by the coefficient of alienation) and the result would be thus corrected.

(2) The relative significance of items and their weighting coefficients should be determined. Thus the societal situation, broken into its components, will be reconstructed and the sum total of all dimensions measured will constitute the numerical index of the whole continuum.

Synthesis of dimensions is forming an index number from many items.

Index numbers are widely used in Economics, which is the most precise and quantified of the social sciences; now we are trying to do likewise in Political Science.

*

Lundberg, G.A. "Social Research", Longmans, Green, and Co. New York

1942. p. 412.

III. The Construction of the Scale.

A. "Itemizing" Fitness.

Up till now we were dealing with the theory of dimensional analysis and synthesis; now we shall see how the principles discussed in Section II can be applied to a political phenomenon and how measurement can be done in practice.

The political phenomenon we are interested in is fitness for national independence. Following the steps outlined previously, the first thing to be done is to define fitness for independence, or in other words, to break it down into what constitutes ability for self-government according to generally accepted standards in the modern world.

The analysis of the components of fitness for independence shows that they are grouped in several levels: each of the main components can be defined by a number of subcomponents which break again into several classes of items. The simplest indices of fitness are manifestations of items which can be observed and objectively measured. The sum total of indices properly weighted will, therefore, show to what degree the people at issue is fit to govern itself.

"Fitness for independence" involves two fundamental requirements:

- I. The existence of a stable government, and
- II. The existence of a clear intention to fulfill the international obligations pertaining to the membership in the Family of Nations.

These two basic conditions of fitness to ~~stand~~ stand alone are too vague and need be operationally defined. Operational definition is

"a definition which consists as far as possible of words clearly designating performable and observable operations subject to corroboration"). An operational definition states what to do and with what materials to create or identify the thing defined.

"Stable government" is thus defined by 6 criteria designated in the scale by capital letters from A to F. These criteria, as formulated by Mr. Ritscher and endorsed, we believe, ^{by/} the Mandates Commission, are as follows:

- A. An administration capable of maintaining the regular operation of essential government services;
- B. Capacity to maintain territorial integrity and political independence of the State;
- C. The maintenance of public order and security throughout the whole territory;
- D. Adequate financial resources to provide regularly for normal government requirements;
- E. Laws and judicial organization which will afford equal and regular justice to all;
- F. A united public opinion supporting the demand for independent status.

Similarly, the second fundamental criterion of fitness to stand alone- the intention to fulfill the international obligations- is defined by five criteria, designated in the scale by capital letters from A to E, which specify those obligations. These criteria are as follows:

+) Lundberg, G.A., "Social Research", Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1942, p. 89.

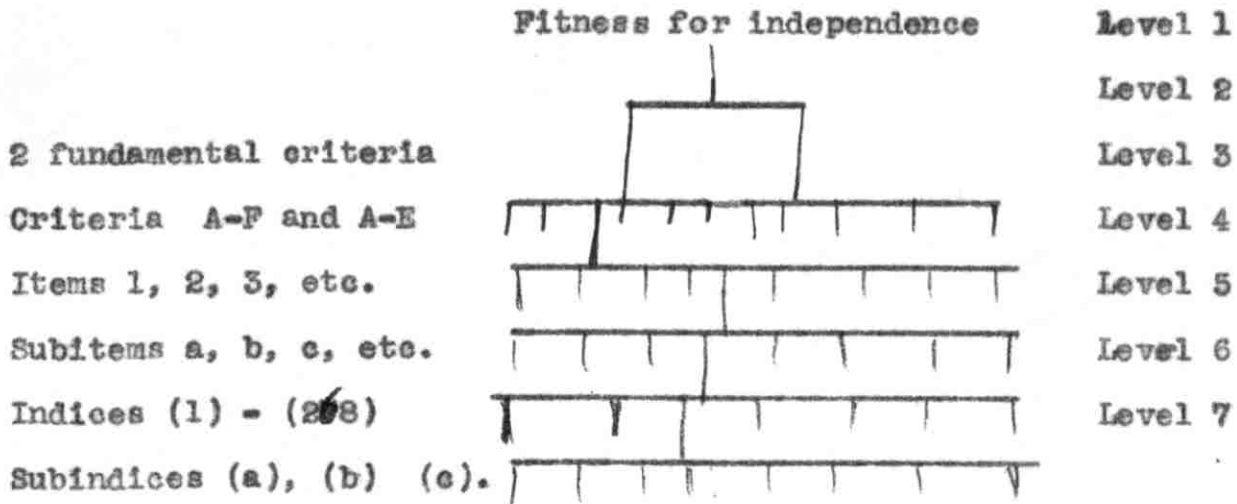
- A. The effective protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities;
- B. The effective protection of foreigners in judicial, civil, and criminal cases;
- C. Freedom of conscience and public worship and the free exercise of the religious, educational, and medical activities of religious missions of all denominations, subject to such measures as may be indispensable for maintenance of public order, morality, and effective administration;
- D. The financial obligations regularly assumed for the benefit of the territory by the former administration;
- E. The rights of every kind legally acquired under the former administration.

For clarity of analysis let "fitness" be called the first level of criteria for independence; let "stability" and "international obligations" be called the second level; let the six criteria ^{A-F} under "stability" and the five criteria A-E under "obligations" be called the third level of criteria.

On examination, we see that the above criteria do not adequately define the conditions to be fulfilled before a country can be regarded as fit for independence. They are general topics rather than clear-cut requirements, and need be further broken down into observable and measurable items, i.e., into a fourth and further levels.

In the scale, items of the fourth level are designated by numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., and are ~~again~~ again defined by subitems a, b, c, etc. in the fifth level. The simplest items of observation, which form the sixth level, are numbered from (1) to (26); they are often divided into subindices (a), (b), (c), etc., in the 7th level.

Graphically the components of "fitness for independence" may be represented as follows:



As already mentioned, the "criteria" down to level 3 were formulated by Mr. Ritsher after a thorough analysis of all requirements advanced for different countries and accepted by both the country striving for independence and the controlling power, and endorsed by the League of Nations. They form the basis of the present study. All other lower levels indices which are supposed to evidence that the principal requirements of level 3 are fulfilled, are newly selected by us. It is essential, therefore, to examine how good they are and how well they evidence what they claim to evidence. This can be determined by measuring their validity.

E. Rating Validity of Items.

Validity is the fidelity with which a measuring instrument measures what it claims to measure; it was discussed fully in Section II.B. Validity of a measuring instrument/ Validity/is determined through the correlation between the readings of that instrument and some other accepted measure of the same phenomenon objectively determined. This correspondence is ~~expressed~~ expressed numerically by the coefficient of correlation which is a statistical device

Opus Cited, Ritsher, W.H. P 133.

for measuring the degree of similarity between the two measures: the score on the measuring instrument and the criterion variable.

The best criterion variable for the scale of "fitness for independence" is the fact of independence or dependence. The score on the scale should be correlated against that criterion variable and the degree of agreement between the score and the status of the country at issue would measure the validity of the scale: If it is valid, the scale should yield low scores for dependencies, and high scores for the states actually independent. Numerically, the validity would be expressed by the coefficient of correlation, r , between the score on the scale (let us call it 'X') and the ideal criterion variable "dependent vs. independent states" (let us call it 'Y').

We were not able to determine the validity of the scale and of each item of the scale in that way. The scale has never been field-tested, the achievements of no country were measured on it, and no scores were available to be correlated against the 'Y' criterion (the factual dependence or independence).

For the time being, the validity of items of our incipient scale of fitness for independence is measured by the correlation with the opinion of competent judges. 10 presumably competent people were asked to rate each item and thus to determine which ones evidence the fitness for independence and which ones are irrelevant. The purpose of rating was to eliminate only those items which were regarded as good indices of fitness for self-government, no matter to what extent. Rating was done in 5 degrees representing the following judgements:

1. Retain, emphatically good;
2. Retain, probably a good item on the whole, but with reservations;
3. Retain, doubtful value, explore further;
4. Reject, probably a bad, or useless, or unimportant item;
5. Reject, emphatically bad, or useless, item.

Judges were asked to rate each item in its present wording; if they believed their rating would be higher if items were better expressed or redefined, a special column (Column "B") was provided for such ratings. Another column (Column "C") was provided for rating each item, if the judges considered their ratings would be higher if the data for such items were collectable and measurable. ~~and~~ Column "D" was the "No opinion" column.

The average ratings determine the validity of each item. The items (X') are correlated against the raters' subjective idea of a criterion variable, i.e., his notion of "fitness for independence". Their judgement was expressed by rating from 1 to 5, which can easily be converted into an estimated coefficient of correlation: Rating 1 means perfect agreement between the item and the judgement of the rater of what is an index of the fitness for independence, (i.e., coefficient of correlation $r = 1.00$) rating 5 means the complete lack of such agreement (i.e. coefficient of correlation $r = .00$). Other ratings correspond to varying degree of correlation:

Rating 1	=	1.00	correlation between X and estimated Y
" 2	=	.75	" " " " " "
" 3	=	.50	" " " " " "
" 4	=	.25	" " " " " "
" 5	=	.00	" " " " " "

Rating is, then, an estimated r_{XY} , where X = the scale item, and Y = the rater's notion of fitness for independence.

It is realized that this is a very crude method of determining the validity of the scale; it is the first step towards it rather than final validation. That limitation of the scale will be fuller discussed in Section V.1.

ANALYSIS

The validity of items of the incipient scale of fitness, as measured through the correlation with the opinion of 10 judges, is as follows:

Item	Estimated "r"	Item	Estimated "r"	Item	Estimated "r"	Item	Estimated "r"
(1)	.95	(37)	.72	(59)	.90	(89)	.98
(2)	.70	(38)	.92	(a)	.90	(90)	.92
(3)	.88	(a)	.92	(b)	.90	(91)	1.00
(4)	.80	(b)	.90	(c)	.88	(92)	.98
(5)	.90	(c)	.90	(d)	.88	(93)	.90
(6)	.70	(d)	.78	(60)	.90	(94)	.83
(7)	1.00	(39)	.90	(a)	.82	(95)	.85
(8)	.85	(a)	.90	(b)	.82	(96)	.85
(9)	.78	(b)	.85	(c)	.86	(97)	.79
(10)	.95	(c)	.88	(d)	.90		
(a)	.93	(d)	.88	(e)	.90	(a)	.89
(b)	.93	(e)	.68	(f)	.85	(b)	.78
(c)	.88	(40)	.82	(61)	.98	(c)	.82
(d)	.84	(41)	.88	(a)	.50	(89)	.93
(e)	.72	(42)	1.00	(62)	.65	(100)	.90
(11)	.77	(43)	.95	(63)	.83	(101)	.93
(12)	.92	(44)	.92	(64)	.95	(102)	.97
(a)	.89	(a)	1.00	(65)	.88	(103)	.88
(b)	.89	(b)	.98	(66)	.80	(104)	.88
(c)	.80	(c)	.95	(67)	.89	(105)	.85
(d)	.75	(d)	.77	(68)	.92	(106)	.90
(e)	.81	(45)	.90	(69)	.72	(a)	.96
(13)	.98	(46)	.95	(70)	.78	(b)	.93
(14)	.67	(a)	1.00	(71)	.90	(c)	1.00
(15)	.75	(b)	.98	(72)	.95	(d)	.98
(16)	.95	(c)	.88	(73)	.89	(107)	.90
(17)	.81	(d)	1.00	(74)	.88	(a)	.80
(18)	.72	(47)	.67	(75)	.95	(b)	.95
(19)	.95	(48)	.75	(76)	.90	(c)	.90
(20)	.97	(a)	.82	(77)	.90	(108)	.65
(21)	.72	(b)	.82	(78)	.90	(109)	.90
(22)	.87	(c)	.88	(a)	.89	(110)	.95
(23)	.63	(d)	.92	(b)	.80	(111)	.95
(24)	.83	(e)	.92	(c)	.84	(112)	.93
(25)	.70	(f)	.92	(d)	.84	(113)	.78
(26)	.75	(49)	.68	(e)	.98	(114)	.78
(27)	.82	(50)	.90	(f)	1.00	(a)	.78
(28)	.80	(51)	.90	(g)	.98	(b)	.78
(29)	.78	(a)	.86	(h)	.92	(c)	.75
(30)	1.00	(b)	.92	(i)	.66	(d)	.67
(a)	.92	(52)	.88	(79)	.86	(115)	.75
(b)	.98	(53)	.98	(80)	.90	(116)	.78
(c)	.96	(54)	.98	(81)	.72	(117)	.83
(d)	.98	(55)	.85	(82)	.90	(118)	.72
(31)	1.00	(56)	.92	(83)	.75	(119)	.78
(32)	.72	(57)	.92	(84)	.85	(120)	.95
(33)	.93	(58)	.92	(85)	.75	(121)	.93
(34)	.90	(a)	.98	(86)	.78	(122)	.93
(35)	.93	(b)	1.00	(87)	.78	(123)	.93
(36)	.95	(c)	1.00	(88)	.67	(124)	.93

Item	Estimated r
(125)	.82
(126)	.82
(127)	.82
(128)	.85
(129)	.75
(130)	.90
(131)	.95
(132)	.93
(133)	.93
(134)	.90
(135)	.90
(136)	.65
(137)	.72
(138)	.97
(139)	.97
(140)	.95
(141)	.62
(142)	.80
(143)	.78
(144)	.78
(145)	.93
(146)	.47
(147)	.70
(148)	.67
(149)	.60
(150)	.93
(151)	.88
(152)	.75
(153)	.67
(154)	.90
(155)	.45
(156)	.70
(157)	.85
(158)	.65
(159)	.90
(160)	.93
(161)	.45
(162)	.77
(163)	.98
(164)	.55
(165)	.78
(166)	.93
(167)	.93
(168)	.93
(169)	.90
(170)	.52
(171)	.82

Item	Estimated r
(172)	.80
(173)	.65
(174)	.90
(175)	.95
(176)	.64
(177)	.56
(178)	.80
(179)	.80
(180)	.80
(181)	.78
(182)	.68
(183)	.65
(184)	.65
(185)	.65
(186)	.60
(187)	.70
(188)	.88
(189)	.88
(190)	.88
(191)	.98
(192)	.93
(193)	.62
(194)	.82
(195)	.82
(196)	.95
(197)	.94
(198)	.89
(199)	.93
(200)	.85
(201)	.90
(202)	.90
(203)	.85
(204)	.82
(205)	.91
(206)	.72
(207)	.93
(208)	.93
(209)	.93
(210)	.88
(211)	.91
(212)	.85
(213)	.85
(214)	.85
(215)	.90
(216)	.90
(217)	.93
(218)	.82
(219)	.95
(220)	.80

Item	Estimated r
(221)	.98
(222)	.93
(223)	.98
(224)	.89
(225)	.94
(226)	.93
(227)	.81
(228)	.81
(229)	.85
(230)	.88
(b)	.88
(c)	.65
(d)	.93
(231)	.80
(232)	.80
(233)	.88
(234)	.93
(235)	.93
(236)	.88
(237)	.88
(238)	.96
(239)	.93
(b)	.93
(c)	.95
(240)	.88
(241)	.78
(242)	.80
(243)	.77
(244)	.85
(245)	.90
(246)	.90
(247)	.82
(248)	.88
(249)	.95
(a)	.92
(b)	.92
(c)	.92
(250)	.82
(251)	.82
(252)	.80
(253)	.75
(254)	.88
(255)	.80
(256)	.77
(257)	.88
(258)	.82
(259)	.80
(260)	.90
(261)	.98
(262)	.86
(263)	.89
(264)	.88
(265)	.81
(266)	.83
(267)	1.00
(268)	.97

Items with ratings worse than 2 ($r = .74$ to $.00$) will have to be rejected as least valid indices of fitness for national independence. The rest of the items, rated 2 or better ($r = .75$ to 1.00) will be retained and further refined before their correlation with the final criterion of fitness 'Y' ("independence-dependence") will be determined.

Out of 268 indices 48 are rated worse than 2 ($r = .74$ to $.45$). 28 can be improved, as showed by higher "B" or "C" ratings; 20 items only are definitely inferior indices of fitness, and their ratings in all three columns ("A", "B", and "C")-are worse than 2.

On analysis it was discovered that these 48 items with lower ratings can be grouped into 2 classes: (1) items which are stated with insufficient accuracy and expressed by words such as "clear", "stable", "sufficient", etc., which are relative and can be subjectively interpreted; and (2) items which refer to the public opinion polls.

Low ratings of items in the first group will be probably improved by redefinition; low ratings of the items in the second group are due mainly to the judges' insufficient knowledge of the technics of the public opinion polls and the accuracy which which they measure the mean opinion.

C. Quantifying Each Item.

The incipient scale in its present form contains 208 various indices of fitness for independence . But at the first glance we discover that the item differs enormously in their nature : some call for a " Yes " or " No " answer ; some for alternative , ranked answers; some can be measured in terms of simple numbers ; some in percentages or ratios . These different answers correspond to the three types of units discussed in Section II. B above : " all-or -none " units , ordinal units , and cardinal units. For instance item " (I) Is there a well established constitution? " is ~~to be answered positively or negatively by a "Yes " or " No " , or more conveniently by a "I " meaning existence (or agreement with the statement)~~ such measurement is done in terms of " all-or -none " units. on the other hand , item such as " (72) What is per capita number of:

- doctors ?
- nurses ?
- midwives ?
- sanitary inspectors ?
- pharmacists ? "

will be answered by specific numbers expressing the ratio of sanitary personnel (in a broad sense) to the total population , that is to say, in terms of cardinal units .

D. Weighting of Items.

All these units , are of course , incomparable and their sum total would yield a meaningless score . It is obvious that , before they can be added , they must be converted in some sort of uniform units which could be expressed on a single quantitative scale . This can done by assigning credit points to each item corresponding to their relative contribution toward the fitness for independence. This process is called "weighting" and was described: previously in Section II.C.

Weighting is done by establishing a "weighting coefficient" for each item and multiplying the "raw data " for that item by its weighting coefficient . The product obtained is called the "weighted score" for the item and is put down on the scale . "Weighted scores" are then added up and the "Total Weighted Score" will show the degree of fitness of the country measured. Each weight is fixed such that the product of it and the maximum raw score of that item gives the items its due share of the 1000 points of the total scale. This due share should ultimately be fixed by multiple regression weights with the criterion variable of "independence -dependency" . For a first approximation , however , the due share may be fixed by the average of the weights assigned by a panel of competent judges.

It is important to fix the limits of the scale, i. e. to determine the minimum and the maximum points . For measurement of fitness for independence it is considered that a 1000 points scale provides ample discrimination . The complete lack of ability to form a self-governing state sets the zero point on the scale , and the model state and the best administration which can be achieved with present standards , sets the other extreme of the scale . Let this scale running from 0 to 1000 be called the "Weighted Scale". Scores on it can be interpreted as percents of the perfect or model independent state.

The achievements which evidence the ability of a nation to stand by itself can be measured on such scale and its degree of attainment, expressed by a single number from 0 to 1000 , can be compared directly with the attainment of any other nation tested on the same scale , due to the uniformity in which the "Total Weighted Score" is stated.

E. Norms from IO "Para-Nations".

The construction of scale for testing the excellence of any government is a very helpful device but not sufficient for determining whether or not a country should be released from the foreign control. The essential condition of a good scale is to fix a critical point . It is not enough to be able to compare quantitatively the new country with another country, or with other countries ; it must be decided what countries or what point on the scale it is to exceed before the determination of its independence is to be proved.

Before Iraq's independence was recognized , the British High Commissioner Sir Francis Humphrys , declared:

If such controversy is to be avoided in future - and that is the purpose of the objective measurement of fitness - a critical point , or the method of selection of such point , should be decided upon a priori. necessary condition either of the termination of the Mandatory regime or of the admission of Iraq to membership in the League of Nations . Nor has it been their (His Majesty's Government's) conception that Iraq should from the first be able to challenge comparison with the most highly developed and civilized nations of the modern world" *

While Great Britain stressed the relative nature of the standards to be applied to Iraq , a part of the American public opinion emphasized the need for absolute standards of achievements in the Philippines question . The Republican Party insisted that the standards be set in terms of the level attainments of the most advanced nations and has consistently adopted an interpretation of the criteria of fitness for self-determination in terms of such a high level as to postpone indefinitely the consideration of independence .

If such controversy is to be avoided in future - and that is the purpose of the objective measurement of fitness - a critical point , or the method of selection of such point , should be decided upon a priori.

*Special Report on the progress of Iraq , p. 11.

The minimum necessary for independent national life should be fixed ,and the termination of the mandatory status should be considered with reference to that minimum.

It would be extremely difficult to select one fixed critical point¹ for all nations . Fitness for self-governement - as measured by the score on the scale - will be relative to the size of the territory , the number of inhabitants , and the economic situation. Consequently ,the turning point between dependence and independence should be also relative.

It is proposed, therefore, to determine whether or not a country is fit for independence , by comparing the degree of its accomplishments with the degree of accomplishments of ten "para-nations" . This term is used to designate the ten most similar nations as far as (1) the number of population ,(2) the size of the territory ,and (3) the economic situation are concerned , in the order accepted above . Size of population and territory can easily be established . The economic conditions (which are to some small extent the result of these two factors) cannot be directly compared ; we need ,therefore , some sort of index of the "economic conditions" with which to measure and compare the economic development of different countries . Probably the best index for such purpose would be the degree of industrialization of the country . This varies from nomadic through agricultural and commercial to industrial productive cultures. It is proposed ,therefore , to chose the "para-nations" partly on the basis of their industrialization which would be determined by the formula elaborated by J.H. Kelley ,Jr. :

$$\frac{E + O}{2} = I$$

Where E = energy , O = organization ,and I = industrialization.

* Kelley J.H. Jr. " A Scale for Measuring the Industrial Development of any Country " Dept. of Sociology Year Book ,A.U.B. 1929-1930

This formula needs some explanation : it must be explained what is meant by "Energy" and what by "Organization".

Energy formula:

$$\frac{\text{Machine Horsepower}}{\text{Biological Hp.} + \text{Mechanical Hp.}} = E$$

Organization formula :

$$\frac{\text{Employed population}}{\text{Total population}} = O \text{ , or more refined}$$

$$\frac{\text{Employed population X number of hrs. spent per day in any plant , school or other organization activity}}{\text{Total population X 24 hours.}} = O$$

Size of population and territory and the degree of industrialization can be combined into "index number " which will constitute the basis for the selection of the most similar nations , i . e . the "para-nations" *

Once the 10 "para-nations" are chosen , testing of the fitness for independence will involve several distinct operations:

- 1. The fitness of the country asking for independence is to be measured on the "Weighted Scale of Fitness", i.e. the 1000 points scale .
- 2. The fitness of each of ten "para-nations" is to be measured on the "Weighted ~~of~~ ^{of} Scale Fitness", and the scale position of each of them separately is to be established .
- 3. The median of the scores of the ten "para-nations" is to be computed. The median score is to be considered the critical point between fitness and unfitness , and is to be set equal to the maximum point, i.e.,

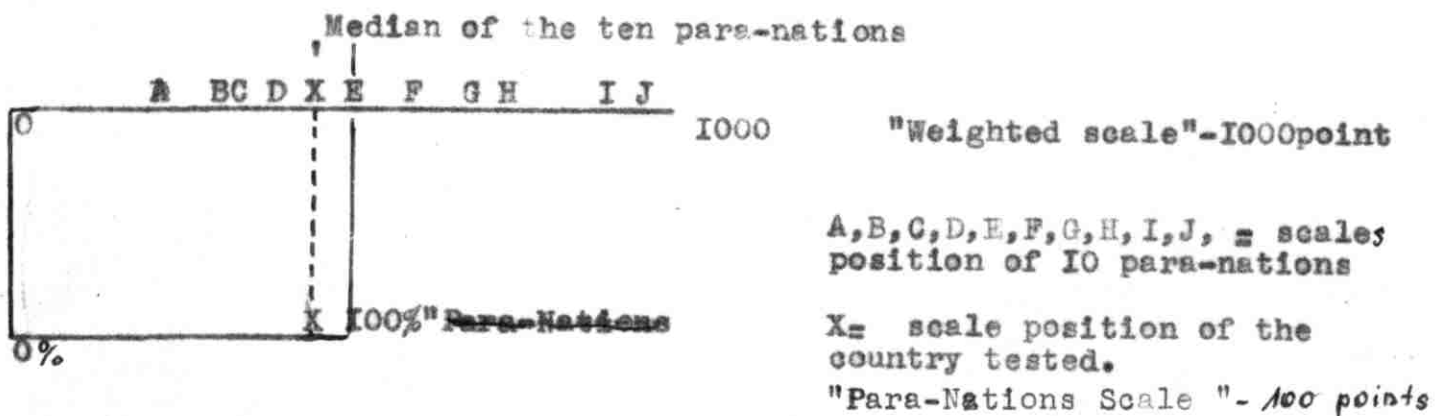
*The method of combining the population , territory and industrialization data is not yet determined.

100% on the new "Para-National Scale". The zero point of the new scale is the absolute zero or, if there is no absolute zero, the score of the worst of the 10 "para-nations".

4. The degree of fitness of the country tested, as expressed by the score on the 1000 point "Weighted of Scale of Fitness" is to be converted into the "Para-Nations" score and measured on the 100 point "Para-Nations Scale".

Thus a dependent nation will be considered 100% fit for independence when it reaches the median score of its ten "para-nations" on the 1000 point "Weighted Scale". On the "Para-Nations Scale" any dependent country can be measured and stated at that date to be X% fit for independence. The "Para-Nations Scale" is the 1000 point "Weighted Scale" converted into a decile scale where the first to the fifth decile is the range from unfitness to full fitness for independence.

The two scales and their relation to each other can be represented graphically as follows:



As soon as the country ~~to~~ ~~asked~~ demanding independence reaches the median score of its 10 para-nations, i.e. the 100% point of the "Para Nations Scale", it should be fully released from the foreign control.

If its scale position is still lower than the mean score of the ten para-nations it should be kept under control, and its degree of autonomy should correspond to its fitness for self-government as expressed on the scale; stages of increasing autonomy should parallel from 0% to 100% on "Para-Nations Scale".

Below is the list of all states which may serve for comparison as paranaions +). Size of population and area are given for each state; the economic conditions are to be measured by J.H. Kelley's formula explained in Section III.E Since the compound index "population-area-industrialization" is not yet elaborated, the states are listed in the order of magnitude of their population.

<u>State</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area, Square miles</u>	<u>Industrialization</u>
China (all)	457,835,457	4,314,097	
U.S.S.R.	192,695,210	8,819,791	
U.S.A. (Continental)	131,699,275	3,022,387	
Germany (Dec. 1939)	79,375,281	225,256	
Japan (Proper)	72,875,800	184,756	
United Kingdom	47,888,958	94,279	
Italy	45,801,000	119,800	
Brazil	41,356,605	3,275,510	
France	38,000,000	212,659	
Poland	34,775,698	150,470	
Spain	26,251,188	196,607	
Mexico	19,473,741	763,944	
Turkey	17,869,901	294,416	
Yugoslavia	16,200,000	95,558	
Egypt	15,920,703	283,000	
Siam	15,718,000	200,148	
Czechoslovakia	15,247,000	52,244	
Iran	15,055,115	628,000	
Hungary	14,733,000	66,409	
Argentina	13,518,239	1,078,278	
Rumania	13,291,000	74,214	
Afghanistan	12,000,000	250,000	
Canada	11,506,655	3,694,863	
Union of South Africa	10,708,500	472,550	
Colombia	9,523,200	448,794	
Netherlands	8,728,569	12,704	
Belgium	8,386,553	11,750	
Portugal	7,380,906	35,582	
Australia	7,177,590	2,974,587	
Greece	7,108,814	50,257	
Peru	7,023,111	532,000	
Austria	7,009,014	34,064	
Bulgaria	6,549,664	42,808	
Sweden	6,458,221	173,347	
Nepal	5,600,000	54,000	

+) All states which were independent between 1920 and the present time are listed here. Source: "The World Almanac for 1945" New York World-Telegram, p. 284-287.

<u>State</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area, Square miles</u>	<u>Industrialization</u>
Saudi Arabia	5,250,000	350,000	
Chile	5,000,782	296,717	
Iraq	5,000,000	140,000	
Switzerland	4,265,703	15,737	
Cuba	4,199,952	44,164	
Venezuela	3,839,747	358,170	
Finland	3,887,217	134,588	
Denmark	3,805,000	16,575	
Syria	3,267,188	51,300	
Yemen	3,500,000	75,000	
Bolivia	3,426,296	537,792	
Guatemala	3,284,269	45,452	
Ecuador	3,085,871	275,936	
Nejd, The	3,000,000	175,000	
Haiti	3,000,000	10,204	
Norway	2,937,000	124,556	
Lithuania	2,879,070	22,959	
Uruguay	2,149,545	72,153	
Latvia	1,950,502	25,402	
Salvador	1,829,816	13,176	
Dominican Republic	1,761,163	19,322	
New Zealand	1,631,414	113,315	
Liberia	1,500,000	45,000	
Estonia	1,134,000	18,353	
Honduras	1,105,504	44,275	
Paraguay	1,040,420	174,854	
Nicaragua	1,013,946	60,000	
Costa Rica	656,129	23,000	
Panama	635,836	33,667	
Lebanon	592,812	3,600	
Oman and Muscat	500,000	83,000	
Luxemburg	301,000	999	
Iceland	121,618	39,709	
Bahrein Islands	120,000	250	
Kuwait	60,000	1,950	
Monaco	23,973	799	
San Marino	14,545	38	
Lichtenstein	11,218	65	

CANDIDATE ITEMS FOR A SCALE OF FITNESS FOR INDEPENDENCE

1. STABLE GOVERNMENT AS EVIDENCED BY:

A. ADMINISTRATION

AN ADMINISTRATION CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING THE REGULAR OPERATION OF ESSENTIAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES.

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 ?
 - Independent audit ?
 - Administrative Court ?
 - Impeachment organ ?
 - Others

c. Legislators

- (11) Is the number of legislators appropriate for the needs of the country ?
- (12) How are the legislators chosen ?

Directly ?	What proportion ?
Indirectly ?	" "
Appointed by Executive ?	" "
Hereditary ?	" "
By only part of the adults	

3. Executive

a. Law

- (13) Is there an administrative law ?
- (14) Is it clear ?
- (15) Is it accessible ?
- (16) Is the administrative procedure (routine) regulated by law or special supplementary regulations ?
- (17) Are the civil servants adequately acquainted with the and the administrative organization ?
- (18) Is there a clear-cut line of authority and responsibility ?
- (19) Is the responsibility of the civil servant 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 ?
 - Less than 2 ?
 - Between 2 & 5 ?
 - Between 5 & 10 ?
 - 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 servant is it applicable ?
- (35) Are the standards for admission to each category defined ?
- (36) Are salary scales for each category established ?
- (37) Are they actually applied ?

c. Recruitment, Promotion, Retirement

- (38) Is the recruitment made on the basis of:
 - Competitive examinations ?
 - Party allegiance ?
 - Arbitrary decision of the appointing officer ?
 - Other considerations ?
- (39) Is promotion made on the basis of:
 - Examination ?
 - Party allegiance ?
 - Seniority ?
 - Arbitrary decision of the appointing officer ?
 - Other considerations ?
- (40) Is there a well established retirement system ?
- (41) Are the pensions defined ?

d. Civil Servants

- (42) What is the percent of native officials holding administrative positions ?
- (43) What is the percent 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 ?
 - In general administration ?
 - In financial administration ?
 - In diplomatic and consular corps ?
 - Technical personnel ?
- (45) Is civil service permanent ?
- (46) What is the average educational level of civil servants ?
 - What is the percent of primary school graduates ?
 - What is the percent of secondary school graduates ?

- What is the percent of technical school graduate ?
- (47) What is the percent of college graduates ?
What is the average personnel efficiency rating ?
- (48) What is the mean confidence of the public
in the native civil servants ?

% of people voting	Degree of confidence
	Emphatically trustworthy and efficient
	Trustworthy and efficient
	Doubtful
	Untrustworthy or inefficient
	Emphatically untrustworthy & Inefficient
	No opinion, or refused answers

(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 a machinery for improving quality of civil service ?
 - (a) Pre entry training ? What is the percentage of people trained ?
 - (b) In-service training ? What is the percentage of people trained ?
- (52) Is there any agency for acquainting each department with the wishes of the public and the criticisms ?

6. Police administration.

a. Law

- (53) Is there a written statute for the police forces ?
- (54) Is the routine regulated by special regulations ?

b. Personnel

- (55) Is the number of police sufficient for the country ?
- (56) What is the percent of native senior officers ?
- (57) " " " " " " Junior "

- (58) Is there a sufficient number of trained personnel to replace mandatory personnel as soon as they withdraw ?
 - Senior-officers ?
 - Junior-officers ?
 - Other ranks ?
- (59) What is the educational level of the police forces ?
 - What % of primary school graduates ?
 - " % of a secondary school graduates ?
 - " % of technical school graduates ?
 - " % of college graduates
- (60) What is the mean confidence of the public in the native police force ?

% of people: voting	Statement
	Emphatically trustworthy & efficient
	Trustworthy and efficient
	Doubtful
	Untrustworthy or inefficient
	Emphatically untrustworthy or Unefficient
	No opinion

(60a) What is the mean personnel efficiency rating ?

7. Justice

a. Law

- (61) Is there a body of codified or well established law ?
 - (a) Civil ?
 - (b) Penal ?
 - (c) Procedural ?
- (62) Is it simple ?
- (63) Is it accessible to all alike ?

b. Organization

- (64) Is there a well established judiciary system and hierarchy ?
 - (a) Civil and criminal courts ?
 - (b) Local, district, and supreme courts ?
- (65) Is there any arbitration machinery for industrial and labour problems ?
- (66) For encouraging settlement before trial, in general .

c. Judges

- (67) Are the judges irrevocable ?

- (68) Are there any specified requisite qualifications ?
- (69) Are the judges believed to be honest by the public
- (70) Is the number of judges and lawyers sufficient for the country ?

8. Health and Sanitation

a. Health Work

- (71) What is the total score on the
 - (a) Appraisal Form for City Health Work ?
 - (b) Appraisal Form for Rural Health Work ?(Published by the Committee on Administrative, practice, American Public Health Association, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.W. 1932)

b. Personnel

- (72) Per capita number of:
 - (a) Doctors;
 - (b) Nurses;
 - (c) midwives;
 - (d) sanitary inspectors;
 - (e) pharmacists
- (73) Are there sufficient training facilities ?
 - (a) School of Medicine ?
 - (b) Nursing schools ?
 - (c) Courses for midwives ?
 - (d) Schools of Pharmacy ?
- (74) Is hygiene taught in schools ?

c. Hospitals, Pharmacies, Institutes.

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

d. Legislation

- (80) Is there any health legislation ?
- (81) Is it sufficient ?
(as compared with other similar nations)
- (82) Has the country acceded to any international sanitary conventions ?

9. Educational

a. Schools

(83) 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 ?

(84) What is the number of teachers (proportion to students)

- (a) in primary schools ?
- (b) in secondary schools ?
- (c) in technical schools ?
- (d) in universities ?

(85) Is the school equipment sufficient :

Schools	Labs	Libraries	Gyms & sport facilities	other
primary	:	:	:	:
secondary	:	:	:	:
technical	:	:	:	:
universities	:	:	:	:

(86) Is the amount of textbooks sufficient ?

Schools	Published	Actually used
primary		
secondary		
technical		
universities		

(87) Are there any night schools ?

(88) What is the proportion of the nights-schools attendants to the total population ?

b. Accessibility of schools

(89) What proportion of the total amount of children between the age of 6 - 22 years attends schools

- (a) primary schools ?
- (b) secondary schools ?
- (c) technical schools ?
- (d) universities ?

(90) 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 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 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 high income group to the total number of inhabitants ?

(91) What is the percent of illiterates ?

(92) Is primary education compulsory ?

c. Libraries, museums

(93) Are there any public libraries ?

(94) Are there any museums ?

d. Native schools and teachers

(95) In what percent of the total number of schools are courses given in the native language ?

(96) What percent of the total number of students attend such schools ?

(97) What is the opinion of the public on native schools ?

(97) (a)

Statement	% of people voting
1. They are good	:
2. They are preferable to foreign schools in spite of all	:
3. Doubtful	:
4. Good, but foreign schools are preferable	:
5. They are bad	:
6. No opinion	:

(b)

Do you prefer to send your children to	% of people voting
1. Native schools ?	:
2. Foreign schools ?	:
3. Indifferent ?	:
4. No opinion	:

(98) Are the native teachers generally believed to be:

Statement	% of people voting
1. Emphatically trustworthy & Capable	:
2. Trustworthy and capable ?	:
3. Doubtful	:
4. Untrustworthy or incapable ?	:
5. Emphatically untrustworthy and incapable ?	:
6. No opinion	:

10. Administration of Finance

a. Budget-making

- (99) Is there any central agency for budget-making ?
- (100) Does the electorate exercise any control over the budget-making
- (101) Does the electorate exercise any control over government expenditures ?
- (102) What is the proportion of:
 - (a) Budget estimates to actual receipts ?
 - (b) Budget estimates to actual expenditures ?

b. Taxation

- (103) Is there a well established taxation system ?
- (104) Is the taxation (direct taxes) progressive ?
- (105) What is the proportion of direct taxes to indirect ?
- (106) What is the proportion of the taxes to the total national income ?
 - (a) What proportion of taxes is spent on debts ?
 - (b) on administration and defence purposes ?
 - (c) on social services ?
 - (d) on productive investments ?

c. Currency

- (107) Is it possible to create a National Bank ?
 - (a) Is a scheme prepared
 - (b) Is trained personnel available (native or foreign?)
 - (c) Are there any guarantees for the currency (gold, foreign assets accumulated during mandatory administ) ?

d. Personnel

- (108) What is the average personnel efficiency rating (Use probat rating scale) ?
- (109) What is the average public opinion on the native personnel of the Finance Department ?

Statement	% of people voting
1. Emphatically trustworthy and capable	
2. Trustworthy and capable	
3. Doubtful	
4. Untrustworthy and incapable	
5. Emphatically untrustworthy and incapable	
7. No opinion	

11. Communication and Public Works.

a. Administration.

- (110) Is there a Department of Communication and Public Works?
- (111) Is there a Post Department?
- (112) Is there a Telephone and Telegraph Department?

b. Constructions.

- (113) What is the per capita value of public works:
 - (a) roads, railways, bridges, canals, dams, factories, etc.?
 - (b) buildings?
- (114) What is the length of:
 - (a) roads? Km/Km²; Km/1000 inhabitants;
 - (b) railways?
 - (c) telephone lines?
 - (d) navigable rivers?
- (115) Are there any regular air lines?
- (116) Are there any regular shipping routes?
- (117) Are there any broadcasting stations?
- (118) What is the per capita number of:
 - (a) motor vehicles?
 - (b) telephones?
 - (c) wireless sets?

12. Commerce, Industry and Agriculture.

a. Legislation.

- (119) Is there any social legislation?
- (120) Are the hours and conditions of work regulated by law?
- (121) Are there special regulations for women?
- (122) Are there special regulations for child labour?
- (123) Are there obligatory social insurances?
- (124) Are there any provisions for unemployment relief?

b. Organizations?

- (125) Are there any commercial organizations? (such as Chamber of Commerce, etc.)?
 - (a) state-wide?
 - (b) local?
- (126) Are there any industrial organizations?
 - (a) state-wide?
 - (b) local?
- (127) Are there any labour organizations (Trade Un.)?

- (128) Are there any agricultural organizations?
(a) state wide?
(b) local?

c. Special Institutions.

- (129) Is there any special agency for planning the industrial development and the exploitation of national resources?
- (130) Is there any agency for improving the agricultural production?
- (131) Is there any agency for planning and improving irrigation?
- (132) What are the expenditures on agricultural education per capita agricultural population as compared to per capita national income?
- (133) Is there a Veterinary Department?
- (134) What is the number of technical personnel employed by the government and municipalities:
(a) agricultural instructors per capita agricultural population?
(b) irrigation personnel per capita agricultural population?
(c) veterinary department personnel per capita agricultural population?
- (135) Are there any banks giving special loans and encouraging the development of:
(a) commerce?
(b) industry?
(c) agriculture?

B. DEFENSE
CAPACITY TO MAINTAIN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL
INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE Items 136-153.

1. General Conditions

a. Territory

- (136) What is the proportion of the length of frontiers to the length of the circumference of a circle, the surface of which is equal to the surface of the country?
- (137) What is the proportion of the length of natural frontiers to the total length?

b. Controversial territories.

- (138) Are there any "irridenta" territories?
- (139) What is the proportion of inhabitants of such territories to:
- (a) the inhabitants of the whole country?
 - (b) the inhabitants of the neighbor country?
- (140) What is the proportion of the size of such territories to:
- (a) the size of the country?
 - (b) the size of the neighbor country?

2. Military Power.

a. Personnel.

- (141) What is per capita number of service personnel?
- (142) What is the percent of native personnel:
- (a) senior officers?
 - (b) junior officers?
 - (c) line officers?
 - (d) staff officers?

b. Training.

- (143) Are there any staff schools?
- (144) Are there any military colleges for cadets?
- (145) Training centers for other ranks?
- (146) Other training facilities?

c. Willingness to serve in the Forces.

- (147) What is the proportion of the volunteers to the total number of men able to serve?
(If such an issue presents itself)
- (148) What is the mean intensity of the desire to serve?

1. I should be very glad to serve if necessary:	% of
2. I am ready to serve in the Forces if "	:people
3. Doubtful	: aged 18
4. I would rather not serve in the Forces	:to 45
5. I should hate to serve in the Forces	:voting
6. No opinion	:

(149) What is the mean intensity of the desire to have a national army?

Degree of Opinion	:Yes/No:	% of people voting
1. Do you think there should be a national army?	:	:
2. Would you be willing to pay greater taxes if necessary, to increase the expenditures on the army?	:	:
3. Would you vote to make the service in the army compulsory?	:	:
4. Would you be willing to serve in the army, if necessary?	:	:
5. No opinion. (put a checkmark only)	:	:

d. Semi-military organizations and civil defence.

(150) Are there any such organizations?

(151) What percent of population underwent such training?

(152) What is the mean intensity of the desire to participate in the defence of the country?

Statements of Opinion re Defense	: % of people voting
1. I am willing to participate in the defence of the country	:
2. I am willing to have traffic restrictions and rationing system to aid in national defence	:
3. I am willing to have longer hours of work in my employment	:
4. I am willing to work an average of 1 hour daily for the defence	:
5. I am willing to do half-time work for defence	:
6. I am willing to do full-time work for defence	:
7. No opinion	:

e. International guarantees.

- (153) Should the independence of the country be guaranteed:
 (a) by neighbour countries?
 (b) by other countries?
 (c) by the international body? (United Nations?)

c. ORDER

THE MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE TERRITORY. Items 154-177.

1. Order and Security

a. Offences.

(per year per population)

- (154) What is the rate of thefts reported?
 (155) " " " " " cattle thieving reported?
 (156) " " " " " burglaries reported?
 (157) " " " " " highway robberies reported?
 (158) " " " " " rape reported?
 (159) " " " " " murders reported?
 (160) " " " " " riots (with police interference)?

b. Public opinion on security.

(161) What is the mean opinion on frequency of crimes?

How many times during the past month have you heard of the listed crimes:

Crimes	% of people voting	10	50	100	Mean number of rumored crimes
Theft	:	:	:	:	:
Cattle thieving	:	:	:	:	:
Burglaries	:	:	:	:	:
Highway robberies	:	:	:	:	:
Rape	:	:	:	:	:
Murders	:	:	:	:	:

(162) What is the mean opinion on security?

Is it safe to circulate by day or night?

By day	% of people voting	very dangerous	doubtful	very safe	Mean degree of safety
		0	50	100	
1. In the streets of your own town?	:	:	:	:	:
2. In the suburbs of your town?	:	:	:	:	:
3. In open country?	:	:	:	:	:
<u>By night</u>					
1. In the streets of your own town?	:	:	:	:	:
2. In the suburbs of your town?	:	:	:	:	:
3. In open country?	:	:	:	:	:

2. Efficiency in maintaining order.

a. Arrests

- (163) What is the proportion of arrests for thefts to thefts reported?
- (164) What is the proportion of arrests for cattle thieving to cattle thieving reported?
- (165) What is the proportion of arrests for burglaries to burglaries reported?
- (166) What is the proportion of arrests for highway robberies to highway robberies reported?
- (167) What is the proportion of arrests for rape to rapes reported?
- (168) What is the proportion of arrests for murder to murders reported?

b. Convictions

- (169) What is the proportion of conviction to arrests for theft?
- (170) " " " " " " " " for cattle thieving?
- (171) What is the proportion of conviction to arrests for burglary?
- (172) What is the proportion of conviction to arrests for highway robberies?
- (173) What is the proportion of conviction to arrests for rape?
- (174) " " " " " " " " " murder?
- (175) " " " " " " " " " rioting?

c. Confidence of the public.

- (176) What is the proportion of crimes reported to native authorities to the number of crimes reported to the mandatory authorities? (If the public is free to choose)
- (177) What proportion of crimes occurring is alleged to be reported to the police authorities? (Public opinion poll)

Alleged percent of crimes reported	: Percent of people voting
1. Between 100% and 75%	:
2. " 75% " 50%	:
3. " 50% " 25%	:
4. Less than 25%	:

D. FINANCING

ADEQUATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO PROVIDE REGULARLY FOR NORMAL GOVERNMENT REQUIREMENTS. Items 178-198

1. National resources

a. Value of human resources.

- (178) What percent of population is employed in agriculture?
- (179) " " " " " " " industry?
- (180) " " " " " " " commerce?
- (181) " " " " " " " other jobs, such as government positions, defence, communication, education, etc.?

b. Value of natural resources.

- (182) What is per capita value of water power?
- (183) " " " " " " coal?
- (184) " " " " " " oil?
- (185) " " " " " " minerals?
- (186) " " " " " " timber?
- (187) " " " " " " arable land?

c. Value of production.

- (188) What is per capita value of production: industrial?
 (a) Producers' goods?
 (b) Consumers' goods?
- (189) What is per capita value of production: mines?
- (190) " " " " " " (agricultural, timber & fisheries?)

2. National income

- (191) What is per capita national income (yearly)?

3. Government Revenues and Expenditures.

- (192) Is the budget balanced?
- (193) Is the budget elastic?
- (194) What is the proportion of fixed expenditures ("over-head") to expenditures on public work and other investments?
- (195) What is the proportion of taxes to other government revenues (fees)?

4. International obligations.

- (196) What is the proportion of per capita foreign debts to per capita yearly national income?
- (197) What is the proportion of annuities to the government revenues per year?
- (198) What is the proportion of annuities to the value of yearly export?

E. JUDICIARY

LAW AND JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION WHICH WILL AFFORD EQUAL AND REGULAR JUSTICE TO ALL Items 199-206 (See A.6)

1. Impartiality

- (199) Is equality before law guaranteed by law?
- (200) Is everyone allowed to seek justice in courts?
- (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?

2. Confidence in native judges.

a. Cases tried, appeals.

- (204) What percent of cases are tried in native courts? (Before native judges?) (If the public is free to choose).
- (205) What is the proportion of appeals to cases tried in national courts (before native judges) - as compared to the proportion of appeals to cases tried before foreign judges?

b. Confidence of the public. (Public opinion poll)

- (206) What is the mean intensity of the confidence?

Are the native judges:	: % of people voting
1. Emphatically trustworthy and efficient?	:
2. Trustworthy and efficient?	:
3. Doubtful?	:
4. Untrustworthy or inefficient?	:
5. Emphatically untrustworthy or inefficient?	:

Native vs Mixed Courts Test

F. PUBLIC OPINION

A UNITED PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTING THE DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENT STATUS. Items 207-230

1. Degree of unity (in general).

a. Structure of population - racial

- (207) What is the percent of racial majority?
- (208) " " " " " religious " ?
- (209) " " " " " linguistic " ?

b. Attitude towards minorities.

(210) What is the mean friendliness towards minorities?

Which statement(s) correspond best to your attitude to the following minorities?	Min.A	Min.B	Min.C
	% of people voting	% of people voting	% of people voting
1. If I wanted to marry, I would marry one of them.	:	:	:
2. I would be willing to have as a guest for a meal.	:	:	:
3. I prefer to have merely as an acquaintance to whom one talks on meeting in the street.	:	:	:
4. I do not enjoy the companionship of these people.	:	:	:
5. I wish someone would kill all these individuals.	:	:	:
6. I have no opinion.	:	:	:

c. Minorities' attitude towards the majority group.

(211) What is the mean friendliness of each minority group towards the majority group?

(Measured on a scale analogous to (200))

(If there are no distinct majority vs. minority groups, the attitude of different racial, religious, and linguistic groups towards each other should be tested, without specifying which group forms the majority.)

2. Tradition.

- (212) How old is the desire to become independent?
- (213) Has the country ever been independent before?

- (214) Is the history of the country known to the public?
Are there any history textbooks in schools?
- (215) Are there any well known national heroes?
- (216) Are there any universally celebrated national feast days?

3. Political Maturity

a. Activities.

- (217) Are there any political parties?
- (218) Are there any social associations?
- (219) Are there any welfare organizations?
- (220) What is the percent of population belonging to and supporting such organizations:
 - (a) political parties?
 - (b) social associations?
 - (c) welfare organizations?
- (221) What percent of electorate takes part in elections (last elections, or any number of elections):
 - (a) national?
 - (b) municipal?

b. Press

- (222) Does the country possess its own press?
 - (a) political?
 - (b) economica?
 - (c) other?

c. Willingness to bear burdens. (Citizens of the country only)

- (223) What is the proportion of the taxes collected to the taxes assessed?
- (224) What is the proportion of fines to tariffs collected?

4. Desire to become independent.

- (225) What is the mean intensity of the desire for independence?

Do you think your country alternatively defined by regions or nationalities A, B, or C.

Statement	: For A:For B: For C:			% of people : Voting
	:	:	:	
1. Should become entirely independent now?	:	:	:	:
2. Should be given more autonomy now?	:	:	:	:
3. Should remain as it is?	:	:	:	:
4. Should be put under a stronger control?	:	:	:	:

- (226) How much is the average person prepared to do for independence?

Statement	% of people voting
1. I will do anything to prevent the granting of independence.	:
2. I will do nothing for independence.	:
3. I am prepared to work average 1 hour weekly for the cause of independence.	:
4. I am prepared to contribute 1 month's income.	:
5. I am prepared to go to prison.	:
6. I am prepared to die for it.	:
7. I have no opinion.	:

(227) What is the mean desire to fulfill the obligations pertaining to the citizenship of an independent country?

Are you prepared to:	% of people voting	Yes	No
1. Pay taxes, even if they are raised?	:	:	:
2. Participate in elections?	:	:	:
3. Participate in municipal elections?	:	:	:
4. Work for the national government?	:	:	:
5. Work for the local government?	:	:	:
6. Defend the country?	:	:	:

5. Confidence in native leaders and authorities.

(228) What is the mean opinion about actual native authorities?

Authorities	% of people voting				Better than foreigners in spite of all.	No opinion
	Honest	Capable	Yes	No		
1. Cabinet Ministers.	:	:	:	:	:	:
2. Revenue authorities.	:	:	:	:	:	:
3. Police.	:	:	:	:	:	:
4. Judges.	:	:	:	:	:	:
5. Mayor.	:	:	:	:	:	:

(229) What does the public think about native dishonest and inefficient authorities? Should they be

- (a) replaced by more competent natives? % of
- (b) replaced by foreigners? people
- (c) no opinion. voting

(230) Should the natives be: :Yes:No: No opinion

- (a) appointed to all kinds of government positions and substituted for foreigners? :Yes: : : : : : :
- (b) appointed to all kinds of government positions, as well as foreigners? : : : : : : :
- (c) appointed only to some positions and trusted less than foreigners? : : : : : : :
- (d) replaced by foreigners; cannot be trusted. : : : : : : :

INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

THE EXISTENCE OF A CLEAR INTENTION TO FULFILL THE INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS PERTAINING TO THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS, INCLUDING:

A. MINORITIES

THE EFFECTIVE PROTECTION OF RACIAL, LINGUISTIC, AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
Items 231-241

1. Guarantees

- a. International treaties
(231) Has the country signed any international treaties guaranteeing the effective protection of minorities ?
- b. State Laws
(232) Are the provisions of the international minorities treaties included in and guaranteed by the state laws ?
(233) Are there any state laws guaranteeing the protection of minorities ?

2. Legal Status

- (234) Are the minority groups who are citizens of the country allowed to use their own minority language ?
(235) Are the minority groups allowed to maintain schools ?
(236) Are the minority groups allowed to have minority associations ?
(237) Are the minority groups allowed to have their press ?
(238) Are the government per capita services equal in areas inhabited by majority group and in areas inhabited by minorities
(a) on schooling ?
(b) medical facilities ?
(c) recreation ?
(d) philanthropic work ?
(239) Is the proportional participation in governing guaranteed
(a) representatives in the legislative body ?
(b) government positions ?
(c) municipal positions ?

3. Public opinion on the protection of minorities ?

- (240) What is the mean public opinion on their protection ?

Statement	% of people voting
1. Minorities should have equal legal status and equal opportunities ?	
2. Their life and property should be protected but they should not have equal rights	
3. Doubtful	
4. As many restrictions as possible should be imposed on them	
5. They ought to be excluded from the country	
6. No opinion	

(241) What is the mean intensity of the public opinion on fulfilling obligations pertaining to the protection of minorities ?

Statement	% of people voting
1. They should be always fulfilled	:
2. Fulfilled as far as possible	:
3. Doubtful	:
4. Should not be binding	:
5. Should be repudiated	:
6. No opinion	:

B. FOREIGNERS

THE EFFECTIVE PROTECTION OF FOREIGNERS IN JUDICIAL, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES. Items 242-251

1. Guarantees.

a. International guarantees.

(242) Has the country signed any international treaties guaranteeing an efficient protection of foreigners?

b. State laws.

(243) Are the provisions of the international treaties embodied in and guaranteed by the state laws?

(244) Are there any state laws guaranteeing the protection of foreigners?

2. Equal legal status.

(245) Is equality in courts guaranteed by the law?

(246) Is there no discriminatory administration?

(247) Are the fees equal for the citizens of the country and foreigners (or are they higher for foreigners)?

(248) Are taxes equal (or are the foreigners assessed higher taxes)?

(249) Do the foreigners have civil rights:

(a) the same as the citizens of the country they live in as in their country of origin (reciprocity)?

(b) more rights? any special privileges?

(c) less rights? any special restrictions?

3. Public opinion on the protection of foreigners.

(250) What is the mean intensity of the public opinion on the protection of foreigners?

(Public opinion poll; use the questionnaire (240)

(251) What is the mean intensity of public opinion on fulfilling the obligations pertaining to the protection of foreigners? (Use the questionnaire (241) above)

C. FREEDOMS

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. Items 252-259

1. Guarantees.

a. International.

(252) Has the country signed any international treaties guaranteeing freedom of conscience and of worship?

b. State laws.

(253) Are the provisions of such treaties embodied in and guaranteed by the state laws?

- (254) Are there any state laws guaranteeing freedom of conscience and worship?
- (255) Are there any state laws guaranteeing free exercise of religious, educational, and medical activities of religious missions of all denominations?
- (256) If there are no explicit guarantees of freedoms of religious missions, are they guaranteed by any court decisions, or by current practice and lack of restrictions of any kind?

2. Freedoms.

- (257) Are the religious minorities allowed to form religious communities?
- (258) Are all denominations allowed to found missions?
- (259) Are all missions allowed to maintain:
 - Schools?
 - Orphanages?
 - Hospitals?
 - Dispensaries?

D. DEBTS.

THE FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS REGULARLY ASSUMED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE TERRITORY BY THE FORMER ADMINISTRATION? Items 260-263

1. Discharging obligations.

- (260) Is there a mechanism for discharging obligations?
 - (a) established agency?
 - (b) established procedure?
 - (c) negotiated scheme?
- (261) Are the financial obligations being fulfilled up till now?
 - (a) regularly?
 - (b) with delay?
 - (c) with law suits and conflicts?
 - (d) not at all?

2. Opinion of honoring financial obligations?

- (262) What is the mean intensity of the public opinion on honoring such obligations? (questionnaire 263)
- (263) What is the mean intensity of the legislators' opinion on honoring such obligations?

Statement	: % of people : v o t i n g
1. Should be always fulfilled.	:
2. Should be fulfilled as far as possible.	:
3. Doubtful.	:
4. Should not be binding.	:
5. Should be repudiated.	:
6. No opinion.	:

E. RIGHTS.
THE RIGHTS OF EVERY KIND LEGALLY ACQUIRED UNDER FORMER
ADMINISTRATION. Items 264-268

1. Guarantees.

a. Legal guarantees.

(264) Are there any laws guaranteeing that rights of every kind legally acquired under former administration will be honored after the country gets its independence?

b. Courts decisions.

(265) Do the court decisions evidence the respect for such rights?
What is the proportion of rights acquired under the former administration which are enforced to the rights which are repudiated - by the court decision?

2. Opinion on honoring rights legally acquired under the former administration.

- (266) What is the mean intensity of public opinion?
- (267) What is the mean intensity of legislators' opinion?
- (268) What is the mean intensity of judges' opinion?

(Use the questionnaire as (263) above)



V. The Limitations of the Scale .

The list of candidate items for the scale presented in Section IV above is the first step in constructing the scale of fitness for independence . The analysis of what makes a country able to stand alone , and its development into a scale for measuring the degree of such ability , applicable to all countries , is a topic which needs more research than could be done in one academic year. The present incipient scale is the statement of a program for further scientific work rather than an accomplished scale. Its limitations are known to us , and they are discussed below in order first, to point out the imperfections of the scale and, secondly, to show how far the work has been carried out and what still remains to be done . These limitations are as follows:

A. Further Operational Definitions Needed

We have said before that each social phenomenon is measurable if it is broken down into the simplest dimensions , the observable manifestations of which can be measured and compared . We tried , therefore , to analyze "fitness for independence" into simple items which can be objectively observed and measured either in primitive all-or-none units, or with greater degree of precision , i.e. in numbers. It is realized that the indices of the scale are not all stated in quantitative form , and may, therefore have to be subjectively appraised . What is necessary , then is to define them operationally , that is , express them in terms of manifestations which could be objectively observed , in order to measure them, and thus the whole item. There are some items which cannot be measured except what people think about them (either the public in general , or competent judges).

In such cases a better method of measuring the opinion must be elaborated . For instance , items such as (2) "Is the constitution clear?" or (18) "Is there a clear-cut line of authority and responsibility?" (in Civil Service) are still in qualitative form ; there is no yardstick as yet for measuring the clarity of constitutional law or the excellence of the organization of the executive body. These items are to be judged by the combined opinion of the experts in public law, after examination of the constitution in the country in consideration and in the ten parations , and the organization charts of the executive , respectively. In order to qualify the opinion of judges it must be specified first :

1. who is competent to judge and how many judges should rate the item.
2. how ^{the} rating is to be done ;
3. how the mean opinion is to be calculated
- and 4. how the items is to be scored.

Most of the items on our incipient scale need to be elaborated in this way. Even a great deal of those which are already quantified need further explanation as to how the data are to be collected and measured. The additional explanation and instructions should be collected in a Manual of instruction to go with the scale. It should be written in final draft after the scale in its final version is constructed.

The wording of all items need also to be examined in order to determine their clarity. Ambiguously worded questions need to be redefined . The ratings in Column B of the Appendix indicate the ambiguous questions and the degree of the need of each for redefining.

B. Validity Correlations Unknown As Yet:

Validity has been defined as the correlation between a candidate scale and what it claims to measure .

It has been said that the best method of determining validity is to correlate the score on the scale against some external criterion of the fitness for independence.

The validity of our incipient scale has been determined in a ~~very~~ very primitive way by the average opinion on each of the 268 items of ten presumably competent judges (Section III.B.) . As already has been mentioned above, the final test of the validity of the scale of fitness for independence should be its correlation with the fact of dependence - or- independence . This criterion variable which we have called 'Y' is a two category variable : complete independence which presumes a high degree of fitness for it ,and dependence which presumes little fitness. The amount of fitness ,as measured on the scale and expressed numerically by a score , should tend to be proportional to the amount of independence actually enjoyed by the country in consideration .

At present we are unable to tell whether our incipient scale meets this requirement. Correlation between the scale and the criterion variable 'y' has not been determined as yet. The scale has never been actually applied to any set of nations , and therefore its validity is more of an estimate than a fact at present.

Not only should the validity of the whole scale be determined ; it is important that the validity of each item be measured by its correlation with a criterion. Again , the best criterion for all indices of fitness for independence is the actual independence or dependence , that is , the criterion 'Y' . Items which are valid indices of fitness will tend to be found in independent states in greater amounts , or more often , than in countries regarded as unable to govern themselves.

Correlation between each item and the criterion 'Y' has not been determined as yet.

Another method of determining the validity of items is correlation of each against the total score. Items which are valid correlate highly with the total score ;items which are invalid show little correlation . This,also , has not been done as yet.

To sum up ,then, three kinds of coefficients of correlation which have not been determined as yet because we do not have any scores on our incipien scale ,remain to be calculated:

1. Coefficient of correlation between the total score and the criterion 'Y' ,i.e., the factual dependence -or-independence ;
2. Coefficient of correlation between each item and sets of items on one hand and the criterion 'Y' on the other hand;
3. Coefficients of correlation between each item and the total score on the scale.

These validity correlations, when available ,should replace our present validity ratings (Appendix I)as a second and better approximation to their true validity replacing our present primitive first approximation

G. Reliability Correlations Unknown as Yet.

Reliability has been defined as agreement on repetition(Section II.B. Reliability is determined through correlation between the scores of repeated tests . High correlation indicated great reliability ,low correlation -unreliability, provided the conditions under which the tests were performed remained unchanged .

Reliability of the Scale of fitness for independence should be, then, determined by correlating the scores obtained on the first measurement

against the scores obtained on the same scale some time later, say 6 months after the first measurement. It is reasonable, however, to expect that in a country whose fitness is to be appraised, a strong propaganda may change the opinion of the people; also other items of measurement may change in the period between the first and the second test. It will be extremely difficult to determine how much of this discrepancy is due to the changed conditions and how much to the unreliability of the scale itself. It may be more desirable, therefore, to determine reliability by the method of "split halves". This method consists in measuring the coefficient of correlation between the two halves of the test. First, the scale must be divided into 2 equal parts containing items which are presumably matched. Usually it is done by the summing the odd numbered items and summing the even numbered items separately. Self-correlation is determined then by the coefficient of correlation between the "odds" sum and the "even" sum in a population of N nations to whom the scale has been applied.

The reliability coefficients of each item and of the whole scale are unknown as yet, chiefly because no scores are available. What remains to be done, then, after the validity correlations are determined, is to measure the reliability self-correlations of each item, if measurement can be repeated, and of the scale either between the scores of the repeated tests or of the "split halves".

D. Regression Weightings Unknown as Yet.

Weighting was discussed in Section II.C. and was defined as assignment of relative value to items. It was said also that weights depend upon both the actual relative significance of the item, and the arbitrary opinion of the judges who may assign more value to the item which they

consider it is desired to stress.

The first method is essential for each scale, and the real share of each item should be exactly known.

Weighting can be accurately calculated from the regression equation. The regression equation expresses the relation between a single criterion variable 'Y' and a set of independent variables, when 'Y' is to be estimated from all of this in combination. In other words, it expresses the relation between the criterion variable 'Y' (dependence-or-independence) and the scores on each item, or set of items, of the scale. We can tell from the regression equation just what part each item plays in determining the total score on the scale. "The regression coefficients" of the equation indicate numerically the contribution of each independent variable (each item), exclusive of the influence of the other variables, i.e., give the "weight" to be assigned to each item. The weight is directly proportional to the correlation of each item with the criterion variable, and inversely proportional to the intercorrelation of that item with other items. Correlation may be thought of as a device indicating the extent to which the elements determining one item overlap those in another item. Much overlapping means that the two items measure practically the same thing, and therefore, the weight which is to be assigned to that thing is to be distributed between them.

Regression weightings have not been determined as yet, and the relative validity of items by this technic is ^{un}known. ₁

These are the principal limitations of the scale. They can be corrected only after a thorough revision of each item and of the whole scale, and after a field-test. Ambiguity and other defects of questions can best be discovered "in the field", i.e. when actually applied, and actual data and score are needed for determining the validity and reliability corre-

lations and for regression weightings . Without practical trial and real data the scale cannot be fully calibrated.

E. Norms Unknown As Yet .

One more important limitation is to be mentioned : the lack of norms for determining the fitness for independence .It has been said that ability to stand alone will be measured finally on a relative scale of fitness on which the average score of ten "para-nations" sets the 100% of fitness . The fitness of "para-nations " has never been measured on the scale, and therefore, the norms are not yet available. Before they can be established the scale must be refined ,and a great deal of scientific research is to be done. The scale must comprise a few items only,which best measure fitness for independence,that is, which are most valid and reliable . After such items are finally selected,they must be properly weighted ,and then the scale is to be calibrated . Only after all academic research is done , should the scale be adopted officially by the International Trusteeship Council and used as an instrument measuring the ability of nations to govern themselves. A special Commission should be appointed then for examining the accomplishments of dependent countries which desire independence , and their fitness for self-government as evidenced by such accomplishments . It is possible that the official agency will introduce some changes in the scale and will stress some aspects which it will consider desirable in a new country . Most probably , also a special International Bureau of Statistics will be set up to provide accurate statistical data because the present sources may prove insufficient for the scale.

VI. The Uses of the Scale.

A. Earning Autonomy in Dependencies.

The desirability of having an objective test of fitness for independence to be applied to countries which are only temporarily under a foreign control and are to be released from it as soon as they evidence their ability to govern themselves will be clearly understood when we realize the bad effects of the lack of it .

The failure to define the standards and the procedure for termination of dependence is the source of much discontent and unrest which characterizes territories controlled by the civilized powers . This unrest is due to the uncertainty and to the conviction that independence will never be achieved because no matter how much the country develops the mandatory Power will never admit that the requirements are fulfilled. The subject people do not see any other possibility of achieving independence but force and, by organizing riots and revolts , seek to make the cost of maintaining political control greater than the controlling Power could bear . On the other hand , the controlling power cannot cooperate with people who only wait for a convenient moment to rise against its authority and to shake off the foreign control . It must be distrustful and cautious , and such an approach can have but bad effects, and is likely to result in the misuse of power . The tragic events in Syria in 1925 - 1926 where a number of both French and Arabs were killed and wounded and towns were bombed ; the unrest in Iraq before its independence was finally recognized ; as well as the unsatisfactory relations between Great Britain and India and other controlling Powers and the dependent people , are the best examples of the evil caused by the failure to define exactly on what conditions a country to whom independence was

once promised will be ultimately recognized as independent .

The establishment of unmistakable objective criteria of fitness for self-government would have many advantages : They would constitute a goal as well as a yardstick for measurement . Once some positive standards of achievement, which are regarded as evidence of fitness , are fixed, the subject people will understand that their future does not depend on the good will of the mandatory , on the general political situation , or on the support of some other powerful states, but on their own accomplishments , and that independence will be granted as soon as they reach the required level of development . The existence of a clear-cut set of requirements emphasizes the idea that independence is to be earned by the own efforts of the subject nation , and is not given free by the Powers. It would motivate the inhabitants of mandated territories to increase their efforts and to evidence their fitness by actual achievements . It would encourage them to work constructively and , by providing qualitatively and quantitatively specified standards, will show a definite goal toward which the efforts should be directed.

The effect of establishment of positive standards would be the dissipation of the mutual distrust between the subject people and the controlling Power . Riots and revolts would tend to disappear , and both the inhabitants of the dependency and the mandatory would tend to trust each other and to cooperate in promoting the interests of the country . On the ^{one}~~other~~ hand , the inhabitants would be sure that their subjection will come to an end automatically when they fulfill the necessary conditions , and -if they really wish to be independent - they will seek to give evidence of their fitness as soon as possible. On the other hand, the establishment of those conditions will help the Mandatory to understand his role of guardian whose duty it is to give advice and assistance to the subject people.

As long as Mandatories do not understand the idea of trusteeship there is no hope for a satisfactory working of the Mandate System; the explicit statement of immediate objectives will specify better the duties of the Mandatory and will make it easier for the International Body, on whose behalf the mandate is exercised, to check the efforts of the Mandatory to help the people under its control to achieve these objectives and the final goal - the national independence.

Another advantage of clear-cut criteria is that independence will not be granted prematurely. Terminations of the mandate before the evidence is given of real ability to govern itself is as great a violation of the "sacred trust of civilization" as the postponement of the recognition of independence long after the people under mandate are able to stand alone. Independence should come as a result of the actual achievements of definite objectives and evidence of willingness to be cooperating member of the Family of Nations, and not merely from the political exigencies of the situation, expedience; or other such considerations.

B. Improving Government in Nations.

One more of the uses of the scale must be mentioned. It is meant to be an instrument for testing the fitness for independence of peoples under mandates or trusteeship. But it can be applied as well to any independent country to test the excellence or inadequacy of its own government and hence to increase efficiency of governing.

The para-nations will yield norms and quantitative facts for inducing principles of actual government and hence a more "exact science" of Political Science.

Political research agencies, governments , and the United Nations might develop this scale as a research program first, and then as a yardstick to raise standards of government throughout the nations.

APPENDIX I
Table I.
VALIDITY ANALYSIS^{o)}

Item No.)	Judges										Summary			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5 mean "A"	as "r" mean "A"	Improvement +)	
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC			If re-defined Mean "A- B"	If collectable Mean "A- C"
(1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31	1	1	1.2	.95	.2	
(2)	21	21	21	43	211	211	321	1	201	2	2.2	.70	.7	.4
(3)	21	32	1	0	211	1	321	1	2	0	1.5	.88	.4	.3
(4)				1	1		3		2	2	1.8	.80		
(5)	1	3	21	1	1	5	1	1	1	(2++)	1.6	.80	.1	
(6)	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	32	3	43	2.2	.70	.2	
(7)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.0	1.00		
(8)	21	1	1	1	211	1	1	21	2	32	1.6	.85	.4	.1
(9)	2	21	1	1	211	1	21	21	21	4 3	1.9	.78	.6	.1
(10)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	32	1.2	.95	.1	
(a)	1	1		0	1	1	1	1	1	32	1.3	.93	.11	
(b)	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.5	.93		
(c)	1	2		3	1	1	1	1	1	32	1.56	.88	.11	
(d)	1	5		0	1	1	1	1	1	43	1.64	.84	.11	
(e)	31				5	0	1	5	4	1	2.11	.72	.29	
(11)	1	1	1	3	311	5	1	32	201	1	1.9	.77	.3	.3
(12)	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1.3	.92		
(a)	2	1		1	3	1	2	1	2	1	1.44	.89		
(b)	2	1		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1.44	.89		
(c)	2	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1.8	.80		
(d)	2	4		1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2.2	.75		
(e)	2	1		1	2	1	2	1	2	4	1.78	.81		
(13)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(14)	21	321	21	4	211	1	321	1	1	4	2.3	.67	.4	.3
(15)	21	1	21		211	1	321	1	1	52	2.0	.75	.78	.22
(16)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(17)	21	1	1	1	21		1 2 1 0	2 1 32			1.75	.81	.3	.2
(18)	1	211	1	2	211	211	2 1 21	211 5			2.1	.72	.5	.5
(19)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(20)	1	1	1	1	1		1 1 21	11 1			1.11	.97	.1	
(21)	2 1	211	1	1	2 1		1 3 1 42		1 2		2.12	.72	.2	.5
(22)	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	3 2	1.5	.87		.1
(23)	21	2 1 1	3	3	3 1 1	4 1 1	3 1 532				2.5	.83	.3	1.1
(24)	21	2 1 1	3	3	3 1 1	4 1 1	3 1 3 1				1.7	.83	.1	1.0
(25)	21	321	1	2	211	1	4 1 21	3 1 2 1			2.2	.70	.4	.9

^{o)} See Section III.B. p.32.

+) Where "B" rating is not stated, rating "A" is used for the calculation of the Mean "B".

Where "C" rating is not stated, rating "A" is used for the calculation of the Mean "C".

++) Where "A" rating is not stated, the amount of improvement for this judge is not calculated.

Numbers 1,2,3,4,5, (meaning "very good" to "very bad") stand for the validity ratings by 10 judges: under (A)- the item in its present wording, under (B)- if redefined, under (C)- if collectable, 0- No opinion. Difference between "Mean A" and "Mean B" and between "Mean A" and "Mean C" represent the amount of improve-

Item No.	Judges										Summary			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5	as "r"	Improvement +) 1 to 5	
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "A - B"	If col-lectable Mean "A - C"
(26)	21	21	21	2	211	1	3.1	21	211	2 1	2	.75	.6	.5
(27)	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	21	21	1	1.7	.82	.2	
(28)	2 1	1	21	3	211	1	2.1	1	1	2	1.78	.80	.2	.3
(29)	21	2	1	2	211	1	2 1	31	2 1	2	1.9	.78	.3	.3
(30)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(a)	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.11	.97		
(b)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(c)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(d)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(31)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.00		
(32)	21	211	21	4	211	1	321	1	1	3	2.1	.72	.4	.4
(33)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1.3	.93		
(34)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.4	.90		
(35)	21	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(36)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	1.22	.95	.1	
(37)	2 1	2 1	1	1	321	1	2	31	211	4	2.1	.72	.3	.5
(38)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.3	.92		
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.3	.92		
(b)	1	2 1	1	1	1	1	2	21	2	2	1.4	.90	.1	.1
(c)	1	211	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.4	.90	.1	.1
(d)	21	5	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	1.9	.78	.1	
(39)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.4	.90		
(a)	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.4	.90		
(b)	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1.6	.85		.1
(c)	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.5	.88		
(d)	2	211	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.5	.88	.1	.1
(e)	21	5	1	2	3	1	3	1	2	3	2.3	.68	.1	.1
(40)	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	31	1	3	1.7	.82	.1	
(41)	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	1.5	.88		
(42)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(45)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.2	.95		
(44)	1	2	1	1	21	1	1	1	1	2 1	1.3	.92	.1	.2
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(b)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(c)	1	2	1	2	1	1	21	1	1	1	1.2	.95		
(d)	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	21	21	2	1.9	.77	.2	
(45)	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.4	.90		
(46)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	321	1	1	1.2	.95	.1	.2
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(b)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(c)	21	1	2	1	21	1	21	1	21	1	1.5	.88	.4	
(d)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(47)	211	2 1	1	1	1	0	0	4.1	0	5	2.29	.67		.5
(48)	1	321	1	2	1	5	0	4.1	0	1 2	2.	.75	.1	.5
(a)	1	2	1	32	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.67	.82	.1	
(b)	1	2	1	32	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.67	.82	.1	
(c)	1	2	1	21	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.5	.88	.1	
(d)	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.53	.92		
(e)	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.53	.92		
(f)	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.53	.92		

Item No.	Judges										Summary		Improvement +)	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5	as "r"	1 to 5	
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "A - B"	If collectable Mean "A - C"
(49)	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2.25	.68	.4	.4
(50)	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(51)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1.4	.90	.2	.2
(a)	1	1		2	1	1	2	3	1	2	1.56	.86	.22	.22
(b)	1	1		1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1.33	.92	.22	.22
(52)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	1.5	.88	.1	
(53)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(54)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(55)	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1.6	.85	.2	.5
(56)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1.3	.92		
(57)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.3	.92		
(58)	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1.3	.92	.1	.2
(a)	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(b)	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(c)	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(59)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1.4	.90		
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1.4	.90		
(b)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1.4	.90		
(c)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	2	1.5	.88	.1	
(d)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1.5	.88		
(60)	1	3	2	1	2	1	5	1	0	3	1.87	.80	.1	.8
(a)	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	3	1.71	.82	.11	.22
(b)	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	3	1.71	.82	.11	.22
(c)	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	3	1.67	.86	.12	.25
(d)	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	1.43	.90		.22
(e)	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	1.43	.90		.22
(f)	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	1.6	.85		.5
(61)	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	1	0	4	3.	.50	.2	.1
(62)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(63)	2	1	4	3	4	2	1	2	2	1	2.4	.65	.4	.2
(64)	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	1.7	.83	.33	.44
(65)	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1.2	.95	.1	.1
(66)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.5	.88		
(67)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	5	1	4	1.8	.80		
(68)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.44	.89	.1	
(69)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.33	.92	.11	
(70)	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	2	1	2.12	.72	.4	.7
(71)	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1.89	.78	.5	.2
(72)	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1.4	.90		
(73)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(74)	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.44	.89	.11	
(75)	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1.5	.88	.1	
(76)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(77)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.4	.90		
(78)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.4	.90		
(a)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1.44	.89		
(b)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	1.78	.80		
(c)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	3	1.64	.84		
(d)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1.64	.84		
(e)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.11	.98		
(f)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(g)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.11	.98		

Item No.	Judges										Summary			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5	as "r"	Improvement +) 1 to 5	
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "A-B"	If col-lectable Mean "A-C"
(h)	2	1	1		1	1	2	1	2	1	1.33	.92		
(i)	2	5			4	1	1	1	31	2	2.37	.66	.12	
(79)	1	1		2 2	1	1	1	4	1	2	1.56	.86		
(80)	1	1	1	3	1	1	21	21	1	1	1.4	.90	.2	
(81)	21	2	1 2	3	321	1	1	31	21	2	2.1	.72	.4	.3
(82)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	21	2	1.4	.90	.1	
(83)	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	4	1	3	2.	.75		
(84)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	3	1.6	.85		
(85)	21	211	2	1	211	1	2 1	4	11	3	2.	.75	.3	.3
(86)	21	211	2	2	211	1	21	3 1	11	2	1.9	.78	.4	.4
(87)	1	1	3	3	211	1	2	1	21	3	1.9	.78	.2	.1
(88)	1	1	3	3	211	1	2	43	31	3	2.3	.67	.4	.1
(89)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(90)	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	21	1	1	1.3	.92	.1	
(91)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(92)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(93)	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1.5	.90		
(94)	2	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	2	1.7	.83		
(95)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	3	1.6	.85		
(96)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	3	1.6	.85		
(97)	1	2 1	2	1	1	1	0	4 2	1	3	1.85	.79		
(a)	1	21	1	1	1		0	1	0	3	1.43	.89	.11	
(b)	1	1	2	1	1		0	4	0	3	1.86	.78		
(98)	1	1	1	32	1		0	2	0	3	1.71	.82	.11	
(99)	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(100)	1	21	1	1	1	1	1	31	1	2	1.4	.90	.3	
(101)	1	21	1	1	1	1	1	31	1	1	1.3	.93	.3	
(102)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1.12	.97		
(103)	21	1	1	2	211	1	1	31	1	1	1.5	.88	.4	.1
(104)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.5	.88		
(105)	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	1.6	.85		
(106)	1	1	1	2	1	1	21	1	21	2	1.4	.90	.2	
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
(b)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	31	1	2	1.3	.93	.2	
(c)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.	1.00		
(d)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.1	.98		
(107)	2	2	1	1	2 1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		.1
(a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	2	4	1.8	.80		
(b)	1	2 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		.1
(c)	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	31	211	1	1.4	.90	.2	.1
(108)	2 1	1	2 2	2	211	0	0	0	0	5	2.4	.65	.1	.2
(109)	1	21	311	2	1	1	0	0	1	2	1.43	.90	.3	.2
(110)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	32	1.2	.95		.1
(111)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	32	1.2	.95		.1
(112)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	1	32	1.3	.93	.2	
(113)	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	52	1	2	1.9	.78	.3	
(114)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	1.9	.78		

Item No.	Judges										Summary			
											1 to 5 as "r"		Improvement +) 1 to 5	
	1) ABC	2) ABC	3) ABC	4) ABC	5) ABC	6) ABC	7) ABC	8) ABC	9) ABC	10) ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "E-A"	If collec- table Mean "C - A"
(a)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	1.9	.78		
(b)	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	1.9	.78		
(c)	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	2.	.75		
(d)	4	1	4	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	2.3	.67		
(115)	2	1	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2.	.75		
(116)	2	1	3	3	2	1	2	3	1	3	1.9	.78	.2	
(117)	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	3	1.7	.83		
(118)	3	1	3	3	2	1	3	1	2	2	2.1	.72		
(119)	2 1 1	2 1	1	2	2 1 1	1	2 1	3 1	2 1	2	1.9	.78	.7	.5
(120)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(121)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.5	.83		
(122)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.3	.93		
(123)	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(124)	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(125)	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	1.7	.82		
(126)	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	1.7	.82		
(127)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2 1	1	4 3	1.7	.82	.3	
(128)	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2 1	1	3	1.6	.85	.1	
(129)	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	4	2 1	1	2.	.75	.1	
(130)	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2 1	1	1	1.4	.90	.1	
(131)	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.2	.95		
(132)	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(133)	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(134)	2 1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(135)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(136)	1	1	3	1	1	5	1	5	3	3	2.4	.65		
(137)	1	2 1	3	1	1	5	1	2	3	2	2.1	.72	.1	
(138)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1.1 1	.97		
(139)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1.1 1	.97		
(140)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	3	1.2 2	.95		
(141)	1	1	3	2	1	5	2	1	4	5	2.5	.62		
(142)	1	1	2 1	3	2 1	1	1	1	1	5 2	1.8	.80	.5	
(143)	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	2 1	1	3	1.9	.78	.1	
(144)	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	3 1	1	2	1.9	.78	.3	
(145)	1	1	2	3	2	1	2	5 1	1	2	1.3	.93	.3	
(146)	3 1	5	2	4	4	1	3	3 1	2 1	4	3.1	.47	.5	
(147)	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	5	1	5	2.2	.70		
(148)	1	2 1 1	1	4	1	2	1	2 1	1	5	2.2 2	.67	.1	.1
(149)	1	3 2 1	0	0	3 2	2	2	1 2 1	1	4	2.6	.60	.2	.3
(150)	1	2 1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1.2 5	.93	.1	
(151)	1	1	0	3	2 1	1	1	0	1	2	1.5	.88	.1	
(152)	1	3 2 1	0	1	1	2	1	2 1	1	4	2.	.75	.1	.3
(153)	1	1	2 1	2	1	5	2	1	3	5 2 1	2.3	.67	.4	.4
(154)	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(155)	2	3	4	2	3	1	3 1	5	4 1	5	3.2	.45	.5	
(156)	2	1	2	2	1	1	3 1	2	4 1	4	2.2	.70	.5	
(157)	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1.6	.85		
(158)	2	2	2	3	2	1	3 1	2	4 1	3	2.4	.65	.5	
(159)	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(160)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4 2	1.3	.93	.2	
(161)	1	3 2 1	2	3	1	5	2	5	4	5	3.2 2	.45	.1	.2
(162)	1	3 2 1	1	3 1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1.8 7	.77	.2	.3

Item No.	Judges										Summary			
											1 to 5 as "2"		Improvement +) 1 to 5	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "B - A"	If collectable Mean "C - A"
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC					
(163)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98			
(164)	1	3	3	1	2	1	31	5	41	5	2.8	.56	.5	
(165)	1	1	1	1	1	1	31	2	41	4	1.9	.78	.5	
(166)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1.3	.93		
(167)	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.3	.93		
(168)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
(169)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(170)	1	3	2	3	2	1	31	5	41	5	2.9	.52	.5	
(171)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	1.7	.82		
(172)	1	1	2	1	1	1	31	2	41	2	1.8	.80	.5	
(173)	1	2	2	3	2	1	31	3	41	3	2.4	.65	.5	
(174)	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
(175)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
(176)	21	4	0	2	21	1	1	32	21	53	2.44	.64	.6	
(177)	1	4	0	0	1	5	1	2	3	5	2.75	.56		
(178)	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.8	.80		
(179)	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.8	.80		
(180)	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.8	.80		
(181)	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.9	.78		
(182)	2	21	2	41	2	31	2	1	21	32	2.3	.68	.3	
(183)	2	21	2	41	2	31	2	2	21	32	2.4	.65	.3	
(184)	2	21	2	41	2	31	2	2	21	32	2.4	.65	.3	
(185)	2	21	2	41	2	31	2	2	21	32	2.4	.65	.3	
(186)	2	2	2	41	2	31	2	4		32	2.6	.60	.7	
(187)	2	1	2	41	2	31	2	1		32	2.2	.70	.7	
(188)	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1		2	1.5	.88		
(189)	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1		2	1.5	.88		
(190)	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1		2	1.5	.88		
(191)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1.1	.98		
(192)	1	21	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.3	.93	.1	
(193)	21	321	21	3	31	1	21	31	21	42	2.5	.62	1.1	.2
(194)	1	21	2	42	2	1	1	1	1	2	1.7	.82	.3	
(195)	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	52	1.7	.62	.3	
(196)	21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95	.1	
(197)	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1.25	.94		
(198)	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1.45	.89		
(199)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1.3	.93	.2	
(200)	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	4 2	1.6	.85		.2
(201)	1	211	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3 2	1.4	.90	.1	.2
(202)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.4	.90		
(203)	21	1	2	1	211	1	1	1	21	3	1.6	.85	.3	.1
(204)	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.7	.82		
(205)	1	3	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1.37	.91		
(206)	1	321	1	4	2	1	1	2	1	0 1 3	2.12	.72	.1	.3
(207)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.5	.93		
(208)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
(209)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
(210)	1	321	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0 1 32	1.5	.88	.2	.2
(211)	1	321	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0 1 2	1.37	.91	.1	.2
(212)	1	211	1	1	21	1	1	411	1	2	1.6	.85	.5	.4
(213)	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	311	1	4	1.6	.85	.2	.2
(214)	1	3	2	1	21	1	1	1	1	3	1.6	.85	.1	
(215)	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1.4	.90		.1

Item No.	Judges										Summary			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5	as "P"	Improvement +)	
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "B-A"	If collectable Mean "C-A"
216	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4 3	1.4	.90		.1
217	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.3	.93		
218	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	21	1	45	1.7	.88	.2	
219	2	1	2	3	1	1	1	21	1	3	1.2	.95	.1	
220	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	31	21	3	1.8	.80	.2	
221	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
222	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
223	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.98		
224	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.44	.89		
225	1	321	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1 1	1.25	.94	.1	.2
226	1	0	1	1	21	1	1	1	0	1 2	1.28	.93	.1	
227	1	321	1	1	1	1	1	21	0	1 4	1.75	.81	.2	.2
228	1	321	1	2	21	1	1	1	0	1 3	1.75	.81	.2	.2
229	1	211	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1 53	1.62	.85	.3	.1
230	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	21	0	2 3	1.5	.88	.1	
(b)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	0	2 3	1.5	.88	.1	
(c)	1	21	1	0	1	1	1	21	0	2 3	1.57	.85	.2	
(d)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	2 3	1.28	.93		
231	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	4	1.8	.90		
232	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	52	1.8	.80	.3	
233	21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.5	.92	.1	
234	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
235	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.3	.93		
236	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	2	4	1.5	.88	.1	
237	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1.5	.88		
238	1	21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.2	.95	.1	
239	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(b)	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1.3	.93		
(c)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1.2	.95		
240	1	211	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	0 2 3	1.5	.88	.1	.1
241	1	322	1	0	21	1	0	2	1	0 2 4	1.86	.78	.2	.1
242	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	32	1.8	.80	.1	
243	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	52	1.9	.77	.3	
244	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	52	1.6	.85	.3	
245	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	1.4	.90		
246	2	1 21	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	3 2	1.4	.90	.1	.3
247	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	4	1.7	.82		
248	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.5	.86		
249	1	21	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.6	.85	.1	
(a)	1	21	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	1.33	.92	.1	
(b)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.33	.92		
(c)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	4	1.33	.92		
250	1	0	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.71	.82		
251	1	0	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	2	1.71	.82		
252	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	5	1.8	.80		
253	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	5	2.	.75		
254	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	42	1.5	.88	.2	
255	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	4	1.8	.80		
256	1	21	1	3	21	1	3	1	2	3	1.9	.77	.2	
257	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	4	1.5	.88		
258	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	1.7	.82		
259	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	4	1.8	.80		

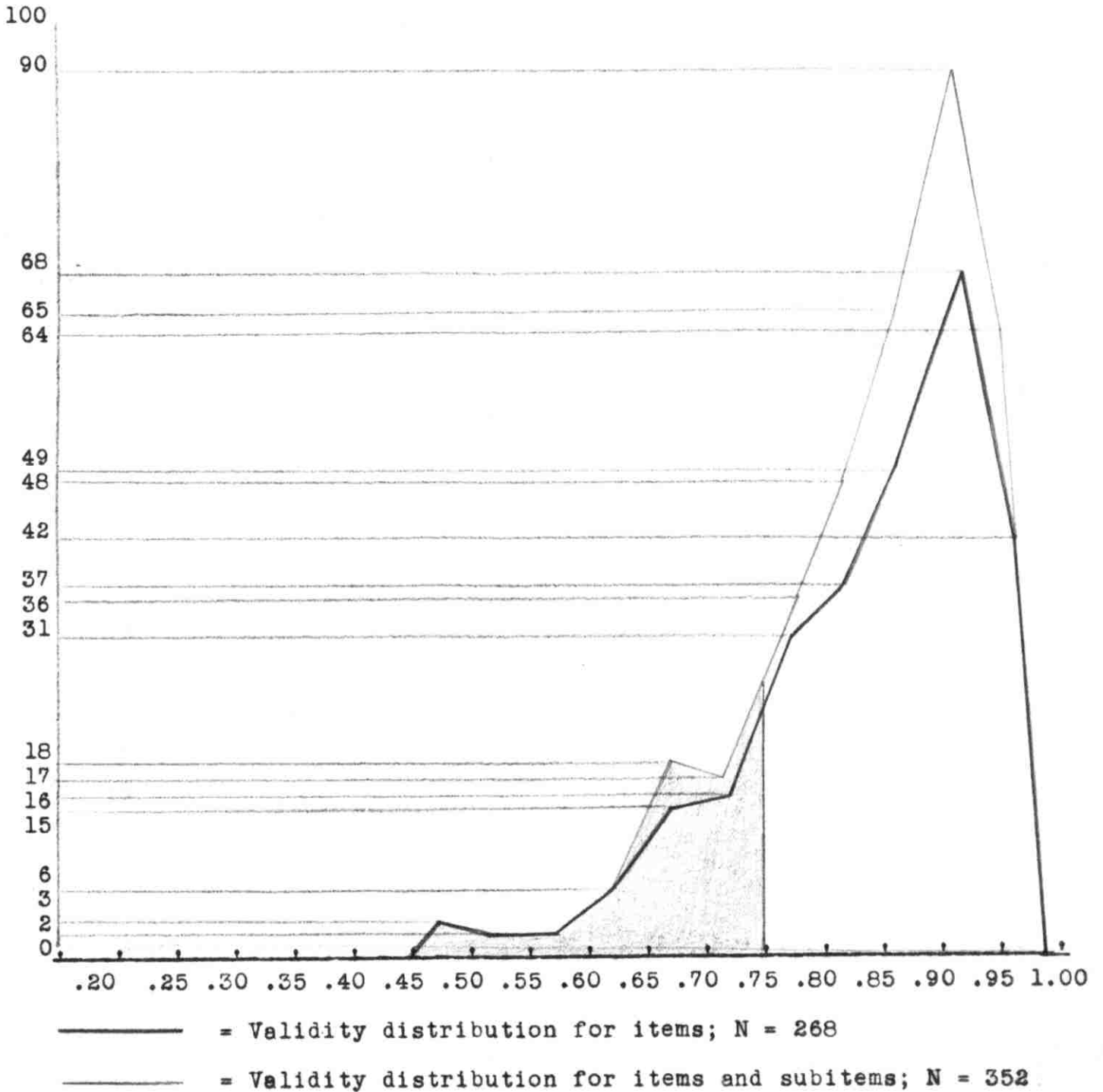
Item No.	Judges										Summary					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1 to 5	as "r"	Improvement +) 1 to 5			
	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	Mean "A"	Mean "A"	If re-defined Mean "B-A"	If col-lectable Mean "C-A"		
(260)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	42	1.4	.90	.3			
(261)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.1	.88				
(262)	1	0	2	3	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	2	1.57	.86		
(263)	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1.44	.89				
(264)	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	42	0	1.5	.88	.3		
(265)	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	3	1	42	0	1.75	.81	.5	.1	
(266)	1	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	0	1.67	.83			
(267)	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1.	1.00				
(268)	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1.12	.97				

APPENDIX II.

TABLE II

Distribution of the Validity Ratings of Items

Present Wording - Column A



B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

A. General.

		P.
1. Bentwich, Norman	"The Mandates System" Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1930	200
2. H.M. Government, Colonel Office.	"Special Report on the Progress of Iraq" London, 1931.	330
3. Hocking, W.F.	"The Spirit of World Politics" The Macmillan Co, N.Y. 1932.	562
4. The League of Nations Secretariat.	"The League of Nations and Mandates" L.of Nations Geneva, 1924.	37
5. Vargalith, A.M.	"The International Mandates" Columbia University Press, 1930.	297
6. Bithcer, W.H.	"Criteria of Capacity for Independence" Syrian Orphanage Press, Jerusalem, 1934.	150
7. Wright, Q.	"The Mandates System and Public Opinion" The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 4, March 1929.	40
8. Wright Q.	"Mandates under the League of Nations" University of Chicago Press, 1930.	700

B. Criteria.

Administration.

1. White, L.D.	"Introduction to the study of the Public Administration" The Macmillan Co, N.Y., 1942.	630
2. White, L.D.	"Civil Service in the Modern State" The Macmillan Co, N.Y.	480

		p.
<u>Justice.</u>		
3. Molley, R. & Wallace, S. C.	"The Administration of Justice" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 167, 1933.	200
4. Rice, S. A.	"Statistics in Social Studies" Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1930.	33
<u>Police.</u>		
6. Republique Libanaise	"Decret No. 3308 Portant Organization Générale des Services de la Police" 1928.	23
5. Anderson, Sir J.	"The Police" The Journal of Public Administration, Vol. VII. Oxford University Press.	10
<u>Finance.</u>		
7. Robinson, M. A.	"Public Finance" Cambridge Univ. Press, 1922.	168
<u>Minorities.</u>		
8. League of Nations, Secretariat.	"League of Nations and Minorities" Geneva, 1923.	34
9. Russel, F. M.	"Theories of International Relations" New York, 1940.	88 651
<u>C. Technics of Measurement.</u>		
1. Cantril, H.	"Gaugung Public Opinion" Princeton University Press 1944.	315
2. Committee on Administrative Practice.	"Appraisal Forms for City Health Work" American Public Health Asso. New York, 1934.	133
3. Committe on Administrative Practice.	"Appraisal Forms for Rural Health Work" American Public Health Asso. N.Y. 1934.	100

4. Dodd, S.C.	" A Barometer of International Security"	8
5. Dodd, S.C.	" A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria" American Press, Beirut, 1934.	300
6. Dodd S.C.	"A Manual of Social Surveying in Liberated Territories" Public Opinion Survey Section, Psychological Warfare Branch, AHQ. Nov 1943 - Jan 1944.	231
7. Dodd, S.C.	"Surveys of Public Opinion Held in Sicily" Public Opinion Survey Section, Psychological Warfare Branch, AHQ. Nov 1943 - Jan 1944.	130
8. Dodd, S.C.	"Systematic Sociology" A. U. B. 1941.	95
9. Gallup, G.	"A Guide to Public Opinion Polls" Princeton University Press, 1944.	104
10. Keelsey, J.H. Jr.	"A Scale for Measuring the Industrial Development of any Country" Dept of Sociology Year Book A.U.B. 1929 - 1930.	15
11. Lundberg, G.A.	"Social Research" Longmans, Green and Co, N.Y. 1942.	412
12. Pangburn, W.W.	"Adventures in Recreation" A.S. Barnes and Co, N.Y. 1936.	10
13. Probst, J.B.	"Service Ratings" Bureau of Personnel Adm. Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Chicago, 1931.	95
14. Rice, S.A.	"Quantitative Methods in Politics" A.A. Knopf, N.Y. 1928.	320
15. Senior Sociology Class, A.U.B.	"Indices of the Changing Status of Women in the Near East" Dept of Sociology Year Book A.U.B. 1941.	37

		p.
16. Thorndike, E.	"Individual Differences in the Goodness of American Cities" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 43, 1937 - 1938.	33
17. Waldegrave, A.	"Efficiency Ratings in the Public Service" Journal of Public Admin. Vol. IX. 1937 - 1938.	10

D. Statistics.

1. Garrett, H.	"Statistics in Psychology & Education" Longmans, Green and Co. 1926.	300
2. Smith, J.G.	"Elementary Statistics" Part I and II	130

P r o b l e m s .