

PROPOSAL FOR A
EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH (ECPR)

Introduction

1. In the course of the 1960's, political science developed markedly in all the Western European countries: there are now sizeable departments in most of the universities and some establishments can compare with those of middle-sized American departments. No official count has been made of the scholars who are engaged in research and teaching in the different fields of political science in Europe, but a conservative estimate would be in the region of 1,500. Yet, despite this growth, and despite the growth of national political science associations, there has been no breakthrough of European political science on the international scene in the corresponding period: a number of individual scholars are well-known and have contributed markedly to the body of knowledge and of theory characteristic of modern political science, but the great majority of the scholars have remained isolated and consequently have not been in a position to participate in developments, even though the last decade was perhaps the most productive and the most exciting in the whole history of political science. Set apart from the international community of scholars by barriers of language, training, and resources, most European political scientists, and in particular most younger European political scientists, can be said to have been underused intellectually and have sometimes

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exhausted their energies in unproductive exercises that have already proved of little value in other countries.

2. The experiences accumulated in the organization of cross-national research undertakings have taught us that very little can be achieved through "single-shot" projects or through occasional seminars without provision for systematic follow-up. If we review the odd dozen cases of cross-national research cooperation in the fields of political science or political sociology the one lesson that stands out is this: international projects or seminars will leave very little impact on national research developments as long as nothing has been done to secure a firm infrastructure for continued cumulation and sharing of experiences, skills and data.¹ By contrast to the situation for economics, demography and education, there is very little in the way of an inter-governmental infrastructure for continued international research cooperation in political science: the UN, UNESCO, the OECD or the EEC give very low priority to comparative political research and offer few opportunities for training in the handling of cross-national political data. Academic institutions in Europe are notoriously nation-tied: even the odd dozen "European Institutes" set up on the Continent in the wake of the establishment of the EEC have contributed remarkably little to the development of a

¹This point has been argued for sociology as well as political science in Stein Rokkan et al., Comparative Survey Analysis (The Hague: Mouton, 1969).

European discipline of political science. A great deal of the "Europeanization" has in fact come about through American initiatives: American institutions such as the Survey Research Centre at Michigan have not only exported techniques and skills to a number of countries in Western Europe but have also, on a number of occasions, brought students and senior scholars from Europe closer together and helped to link them in joint projects. A good example is the Conference on Comparative Electoral Research held in 1967: this offered a unique opportunity for close interaction among European electoral analysts and in fact provided the springboard for the organization of an International Working Group on Social Structure and Voting which has since met several times in Europe and promises to produce a series of important volumes of closely controlled comparative analysis.² The Ann Arbor Centre has also brought a number of Europeans to its summer courses: this has again stimulated thinking about possible European solutions and understood cooperation within Europe.

3. European political science has remained remarkably nation-bound throughout the 1960's. To break down the barriers between the national traditions of the discipline and to create a truly international community of scholars within Europe it will be imperative to concentrate action in the 1970's on the organization

²See Richard Rose and Derek Urwin, "Social Cohesion, Political Parties and Strains in Regimes," Comparative Political Studies, 2 (April, 1969), 7-67.

of a minimum infrastructure for continuous interaction among scholars and students at the leading centres of political research. This will require a major initial investment, both of funds and energy, but once the effort has been made, there is a very good chance that the political scientists from the richer of the European countries will find the pay-off of such interaction so great that they will be prepared to mobilize the resources necessary for continued cooperation from their national agencies: once it has been effectively launched, there is every reason to believe that a movement such as this will go forward under its own momentum.

It is in order to achieve these aims of wide dissemination of research, of developing links between political scientists and thereby of providing the bases for cooperative efforts that it is proposed to constitute a European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) with a number of concrete objectives and an administrative structure designed to foster the implementation of these objectives. The work, success, and objectives of the Consortium should be reviewed towards the end of a first period of five years, with members assessing the future role of the Consortium in the light of the developments having taken place during the first period.

The functions of the Consortium.

4. During its first five years, it is proposed that the Consortium shall have the following specific functions:

- a) to disseminate as quickly as possible among the European political science community an up-to-date inventory of scholars in the field, of their fields of interest and of their research;
- b) to foster the publication of scholarly works and to facilitate exchanges of documentation in order to make the results of research more easily available than is at present the case;
- c) to sponsor Summer Schools designed to equip political scientists with better training in techniques necessary for research;
- d) to sponsor Research Workshops on substantive topics to bring together scholars working on similar themes in different countries and to enable them to exchange information and thus promote cooperative research projects;
- e) to establish a Data Information Service designed to act as a clearing house between scholars active in the building of archival facilities in Europe and between these institutions and other organizations outside the area which hold data files of potential use to European scholars.

5. The Political Science Inventory. At present individual scholars face serious difficulties when they wish to discover which colleagues are working on problems similar to their own in other countries; indeed, there is at present no readily available way of

knowing who are the political scientists in various institutions. One difficulty arises from the fact that many political scientists are attached to research organizations which may or may not have as their primary aim research in political science. As a result, contacts may take place on a haphazard basis, both within each individual country and between scholars of different countries. The same applies to graduate students. Yet such contacts are necessary, not only for political scientists working in the field of comparative research, but indeed for those who are working on similar substantive problems within their own countries: for instance, it would be of great value if political scientists engaged in the analysis of legislatures or community politics in a particular country could be appraised of the work of other political scientists in other countries. Both comparative and individual country research would be made more efficient as a result.

6. It is therefore proposed that the Consortium establish a section charged with the function of information gathering and dissemination on the "state of the profession" in Europe. Such a function will be fulfilled in two stages. During the first stage (approximately a year) a full-time assistant shall be appointed who will collect the information required, put it in an easily retrievable form and disseminate widely whatever general information appears of importance, while making special information available on request. During the second stage, the Consortium shall consider

as its permanent function the bringing up-to-date of the original information and the dissemination of such general information as may seem important for the whole of the profession: such a function will therefore constitute one of the main permanent functions of the central services of the Consortium.

7. Publications. One of the major problems facing European political scientists anxious to know about developments in various parts of Europe is one of language. Although there are now a number of journals in each country, these do not effectively constitute a communications link across the borders and in particular linguistic borders. In practice, it can be said that only the political scientists of a particular country and those who specialize on that country abroad read the journals which are published there, the only exception being Scandinavian Political Studies, which covers work done in all the countries concerned.

8. It would obviously be too costly to attempt to disseminate across all of Europe all of the work which is being published in the individual countries. Clearly, a selection has to be made. Moreover, it seems advisable to begin on a pilot basis to assess precisely the extent of the material requiring translation and the market for this material, with a view to examining whether ultimately a Journal could be published as a regular commercial proposition.

9. In order to implement this objective, the Consortium shall appoint a Publications Committee, composed of one member per

language "area", whose responsibility will be (1) to survey the materials, particularly articles, published in the 1960's and deserving to be published in translation form, (2) to publish in translated form, normally in English, as occasional papers or in book form, those materials for which the need is particularly felt, (3) to publish when necessary the proceedings of Consortium workshops, and (4) to investigate the conditions under which a regular European Journal could be set up on a commercial basis in the future.

10. The Summer Schools. The experience of the last six years, during which UNESCO sponsored four summer schools in data analysis (at Cologne, 1964; Amsterdam, 1966; Essex, 1968; and Bergen, 1970), has both indicated the need for such training periods and given a number of institutions the capability of conducting them: the departments which have run summer schools have had to be equipped with the kind of infrastructure (in particular in relation to computer programs) which was lacking in Europe in the early part of the 1960's, but skills need to be spread more widely if training in quantitative methods is to be shared more evenly among the institutions. But needs are so widespread that, even if the Consortium is to run the kind of program which is outlined here, it is likely that, as has been the experience with the Michigan Summer Schools, demand will increase, and increase faster than the Consortium is likely to be able to meet them. Moreover,

as new techniques develop in the field of political science, needs will come to be increasingly expressed in terms of a demand for a more sophisticated training, covering not merely the field of statistical applications to political data, but a whole range of mathematical techniques.

11. The problem is therefore to strike a balance between what might be ideally called for if younger political scientists are to be trained adequately--and work jointly in the course of this training--and what might be produced given both financial and, perhaps more critical, infrastructure and human resources available in Europe; indeed, it is anticipated that, for the first few years a call will have to be made (as has been the case with UNESCO summer schools) on the human resources which can be tapped in the United States. It is proposed that, for the first two years, the Consortium sponsors at least one summer school on data analysis (middle level, for younger political scientists with some elementary knowledge in statistics), and that for the subsequent period of three years, at least two summer schools be run, one at the middle level and one at an advanced level, the latter being mainly concerned with mathematical applications to political science and open to younger political scientists with a background in quantitative techniques. These summer schools shall last four to five weeks and be located, at least to begin with, at institutions which have already had experience in the conduct of such programs. Over the whole period, it is proposed that a minimum number of 180 political scientists be enrolled, on the basis of about 25 to 30 for the

middle level courses and 10 to 15 for the advanced courses taking place in the last three years.

12. The institutions which have been engaged in the conduct of the UNESCO Summer Schools (as well as others, such as the Essex Summer Schools of 1969 and 1970) have acquired considerable experience in the running of these schools and details of organization need not be specified. The Consortium shall nominate a particular institution for each specific program and appoint the Director in collaboration with the institution concerned. A contract shall be passed between the Consortium and the institution, which will specify the conditions under which the school shall be run (appointment of lecturers, tutors and programmers, selection of students) and detail the financial arrangements, determining in particular the contribution of the Consortium to the Summer School concerned. Once the contract is passed, the Summer School shall be the full responsibility of the Director of the Summer School, with the obligation to report to the Consortium on the results of the Summer School, such a report including an evaluation of the results by the participants and suggesting alterations and improvements for subsequent programs. Given the difficulties of preparation, Directors should be appointed in principle two years before the Summer School is to take place; the first shall take place in the summer of 1971.

13. Research Workshops. The Summer Schools would primarily help to spread skills of general applicability throughout most fields of political science. They would train young political scientists in data analysis, in mathematical model building, in the logic of theory formation and empirical testing. The emphasis would not be on substantive analysis. To create opportunities for cooperation and interchange in specific fields of research of political analysis the Consortium will also organize Workshops for senior as well as junior scholars in Europe. These Workshops will each have a definite substantive focus but will range across several methodological traditions: some will concentrate heavily on quantitative techniques and/or mathematical models, while others will emphasize qualitative analysis and historical-institutional judgment. The Workshops will be kept small and informal: typically each workshop will be made up of 15-20 participants from 4-10 countries and will last for one to two weeks depending on the theme and the character of the data. The Consortium will endeavour to maintain strict rules for participation in such workshops: the "entry ticket" will be evidence of recent engagement in systematic research in the given field, whether in the form of a project outline, a research design, a questionnaire or a data set description, a set of tabulations or a report on findings or a theoretical paper. The Workshops will bring together scholars with direct experience in the study of a given set of questions within one or more countries and will allow them to share their experiences, to discuss their difficulties and the alternative strategies for solving them, to

confront their data and their interpretations, to develop new analysis designs or to plan fresh data-gathering or data-linkage operations within some joint framework. A few scattered attempts were made in this direction during the sixties but there was no organized infrastructure for continued cumulation of experience. A first step toward an institutionalization of such workshops was taken by a European group in 1970. Professor Hans Daalder organized, with the financial help of Nuffield College and the Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques a Conference of 22 political scientists and sociologists active in research on legislative behaviour. Such workshops will not only help to broaden the perspectives of scholars in single-country studies, they will also open up the possibilities for the organization of cross-national research groups in a number of fields and ensure continuity and cumulation in their work through a series of encounters in workshops and on other occasions. Typically the Consortium should be able to finance part of the cost of two successive workshops in each field and then encourage a core group of the most committed participants to continue on their own with funds from national sources. There have been only too many examples in Europe of "one-shot operations" without follow-up: a conference may have been called, a few papers may have been presented and discussed, a joint publication may even have come out of it, but the impact on the actual research processes in each country has been most superficial. The Consortium will attempt to build up an infrastructure for cumulative interaction among groups of scholars

working on similar themes throughout Europe: the emphasis will be on concrete research tasks and the purpose will be to link up projects in different countries over time. This will not only advance the over-all level of comparative analysis but also add new perspectives and stimulate new departures in national research.

14. The Consortium will decide on the themes of the workshops on the basis of information from its members and of data in the Political Science Inventory (paras. 5-6 above). The basic rule will be that research on the workshop topic must be well under way in at least two countries and that plans for similar studies have been launched in at least two more. In judging between alternative themes qualifying under this criterion the Consortium will primarily seek to estimate the chances for theoretical and/or methodological breakthroughs through action at the European level: priority should be given to "cutting edge" studies that have a high potential for innovation. This would help to link the Workshops with the Summer Schools and make it possible, for instance, to introduce a technique first discussed in a Workshop (e.g., a "hierarchical clustering scheme" for roll call analysis) in a later Summer School.

A first list of priority topics will have to be agreed on at the constituent meeting of the Consortium Executive. A total of at least twelve Workshops will be planned for the first five-year period: perhaps one for 1971, two or more for each of the subsequent years. At the constituent meeting decisions should

be reached on at least the first three: this will make it possible to plan each event carefully over a one-year period.

Among the potential topics for the first Workshop these seem likely to meet the criteria best:

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Research underway</u>
Cabinets and legislatures: studies of coalition formation and patterns of legislative support.	Extensive comparative research carried out by Hans Daalder within the Smaller Democratic project; data requiring extensive reanalysis in the light of mathematical models of coalition pay-offs and bargaining behaviour.
The growth of the public sector and its consequences for the recruitment of bureaucratic personnel	Research under way in Scandinavia (K.D. Jacobsen); some data collected in the Smaller Democracies project (B. Chubb, Trinity College, Dublin).
Budgetary processes	Work planned by A. Wildavsky and N. Chester at Nuffield College; Similar work by Olsen in Norway.
Indicators of nation-building and national integration.	For background, see S. Rokkan, <u>Citizens, Elections, Parties</u> (New York: D. McKay, 1970): emphasis on time series data for local or regional variations in rates of change, 1850's - 1960's.
The politics of the mass media.	Extensive research on the political role of the press and the electronic media under way in Scandinavia (see <u>Scandinavian Political Studies</u> , vol. III, 1969).
Local government and local politics	Major research program in Sweden; similar research planned in Norway (build-up of large scale archive for historical-ecological data); several projects in Britain.

The decline of religion as
a base for political
identity

Extensive data assembled by Working Group
on Voting headed by Richard Rose: survey
and/or ecological information available
for 10-12 countries.

Multi-culturalism and
national integration

A Workshop on this theme could be based
on current research on multi-lingual
territories (e.g. Finland, Norway,
Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Ireland,
Wales and Canada): extensive theory-
oriented research by sociolinguists
but great need to link up with political
analysis.

The decline and the
resurgence of ideologies

Extensively discussed for Finland, Norway
and Sweden in A. Allardt and S. Rokkan, eds.
Mass Politics (New York: Free Press, 1970).
Great interest in coordinate studies of
party programs, polemical literature, new
movements, etc.

The generation gap and its
consequences for the
established party system

Electoral survey data and socialization
studies for a number of countries will
allow comparisons: but very little
explicitly formulated research under way
yet. Major exception: Rudolf Wildenmann's
and Max Kaase's work on young Germans
(comparisons by level of education).

Political socialization

Important work under way on France
(Roig and Tarrow) and in England
(Greenstein), very little elsewhere.

15. Responsibility for the preparation and conduct of Research
Workshops will be delegated to a leading scholar in the given field.
The Consortium shall pass a contract with this Director at least one
year ahead of the actual date of the Workshop (this may, of course,
not be possible for the first one in 1971) and will specify in this
contract the conditions for participation, the financial arrangements
and the responsibilities for follow-up activities, reports, publica-
tions and the like. For Workshops based on collections of machine-
readable data it will normally be desirable to convene at a university

centre with a major computer installation; otherwise the Workshop will be located wherever geographically and/or financially convenient. A major consideration in locating Workshops will obviously concern the possibilities of national finance: Research Councils and other funding agencies who have made major investments in a particular field of research will automatically be asked to finance at least part of the cost of an international Workshop in that field.

16. The Data Information Service. The Summer Schools and the Research Workshops are bound to generate marked increases in all participating centres in the demand for data facilities: more and more scholars will want to acquire easy access to data for their own and for other countries and will need regularly updated information about currently available data sets in machine-readable form as well as about projects of computerization already under way or at some preparatory stage. In the United States, major efforts were made during the sixties to build up facilities for easier access to data for political research: the spectacular success of the Inter-University Consortium at Ann Arbor provides ample evidence of the need for such efforts.³ In Europe, the International Social Science Council and a number of national centres have taken steps in the same direction⁴ but these efforts have cut across all the

³ See the recommendation for a further strengthening of this movement in the NAS-SSRC report The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Outlook and Needs (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969)

⁴ See S. Rokkan ed. Data Archives for the Social Sciences (Paris: Mouton, 1966) and the regular sections on Data Sources of the ISSC journal Social Science Information.

social sciences: they have not addressed themselves to the specific problems of data storage and data access for political research. A scattering of attempts have been made to assemble basic bodies of political information across the countries of Western Europe⁵ but these efforts have so far never been coordinated under any one organization. This is clearly a major task for the European Consortium: it will not only need to build up a facility for the acquisition and preparation of data sets for use in the Summer Schools and by the Workshop participants; it must also develop an information service on data and data sources for the broader community of political scientists in Europe. In this way the Consortium should be able to build up an increasingly useful infrastructure facility for comparative political research in Europe: it will establish a basis for continuous cumulation of information and help to spread this information beyond the immediate circles of participants in Summer Schools and Workshops.

17. The proposed Data Information Service will not build up a data archive on its own, at least not during the first five years of operation. Instead, the Service will endeavour to develop a network of the currently operated or contemplated archives in Europe and link these up closely with the Inter-University Consortium and other data facilities in the United States. The primary tasks of the Service will be these:

⁵See especially S. Rokkan and J. Meyriat eds. International Guide to Electoral Statistics. Vol.I. National Elections in Western Europe (Paris: Mouton, 1969)

a) Data sets of immediate use in Summer Schools and Workshops.

At the request of the Directors of Summer Schools and Workshops the Service will consult all its contacts to obtain appropriate data sets for use in training exercises or for purposes of comparative analysis, have the sets reformatted when required, send copies to the site of the School or Workshop, and arrange for suitable storage for future users.

b) Inventories of accessible data sets.

To meet the requests of Consortium members and of participants in Workshops the Service will establish, in cooperation with European and American archives, inventories of already computerized data sets of importance in political research: data from polls and surveys, ecological data, legislative and judicial records, elite biographies, etc. These inventories will be circulated to members and others as part of a regular newsletter and will obviously have to be updated at least once a year.

c) Guides to sources for further efforts of computerization.

On the basis of recommendations from member institutions and Workshop participants the Service will prepare country-by-country inventories of sources for different types of political data and thus offer a basis for joint decisions on priorities in projects of computerization. This activity will follow up collections of source inventories already published or in preparation: thus the ROKKAN-MEYRIAT International Guide to Electoral Statistics published in 1969 and the UNESCO-sponsored Guide to Mass Media Statistics for which half a dozen country chapters were prepared before the publication plans were abandoned for lack of funds. Among projects likely to be given a high priority under this heading are: a) a guide to sources for local government statistics, b) a similar guide to collections of elite biographies, c) an inventory of sources for the construction of long-term indicators of national political development.

d) Guides for users of computerized data.

With the increasing use of data for foreign countries in political analysis there is bound to be a greater demand for documentary information on national contexts: not just code definitions and technical specifications for each population but also information on historical and institutional contexts to be taken into account in the interpretation of analytical findings. Discussions with officers of the Inter-University Consortium have already made it clear that there is a definite need for such guides, quite particularly for users of historical time-series data for the U.S. as well as for other countries. The design and the format of this set of guides will have to be discussed not only in the ECPR Executive but a joint Committee on Data Resources to be set up with the ICPR.

e) Data summaries and information handbooks.

There is a great need for ready-reference handbooks of basic information, institutional as well as statistical, on the political systems and organizations in Europe. Several attempts have been made in this direction during the last decade but none have as yet been brought to completion, partly for lack of funds, partly because of difficulties of access to the required information. Within the project on the Smaller European Democracies an ambitious attempt was made to collect comparable statistical series for all the eleven countries: only ⁶ a small part of this material has as yet been published and much remains to be done before a standardized collection of these statistics can be presented for publication. Parallel efforts have been made by Richard Rose and Derek Urwin at Strathclyde⁷ and another member of that Department, Eric Browne has recently drawn up a plan for a "Source Book on Political Parties in Twenty Western Democracies". This is clearly a field where the Consortium could make a major contribution through the cooperation of initiatives and the establishment of effective divisions of labour and responsibility.

⁶ See the statistical appendix to Basil CHUBB. The Government and Politics of Ireland (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970)

⁷ See R. ROSE and D. URWIN op.cit. and several mimeographed memoranda and collections distributed by the Department of Politics of Strathclyde University.

Of these five tasks the two first clearly demand a regularly employed staff at one central location: the minimum required would be one Director (not necessarily paid by the ECPR budget since this task could be defined as part of regular professorial duties at his University), one full-time secretarial assistant and one half-time research associate. The other tasks will have to be handled by designated editors and through contractual arrangements with country experts contributing the required bodies of information against the payment of fees. This work will of necessity be closely linked up with the preparation and follow-up of Research Workshops and will also have to be coordinated with similar efforts under other auspices such as the ICPR. In all this it is of the greatest importance that the Service involve the total membership of the Consortium in the gathering, checking and dissemination of the required information.

18. The Executive Committee of the Consortium shall decide on the location of the Service and appoint its Director. The Director will draw up for the approval of the Committee operational plans for each calendar year and submit yearly reports on achievements, difficulties and lacunae. The Director shall work in regular liaison with all research centres in Europe active in the computerization of data of importance in political analysis and must work particularly closely with the American Inter-University Consortium at Ann Arbor: this organization has already taken major steps to increase its holdings of European data and will

depend heavily on the advice and guidance of country experts from each of the European countries. In preparing data sets for Summer Schools and Workshops the ECPR Service will in its turn depend on the technical services of ICPR. On this basis it should be possible to organize effective cooperation between the two bodies: a possible solution would be the establishment of a joint committee for discussions of priorities of data recovery, of arrangements for the dissemination and sharing of data, and of the preparation of "contextual documentation files" to accompany each machine-readable data set. This would allow the ECPR to benefit from the technical services of the ICPR and at the same time make it possible for the ICPR to draw on the expertise enlisted through the ECPR Summer Schools and Workshops for advice on contextual considerations to be taken into account in the analysis of its European data sets. In this way, the Data Information Service would serve a crucial linkage function in the cooperative network growing out of the European Summer Schools, the Workshops and the corresponding American institutions and activities.

The Organization of the Consortium and the Central Services.

19. As the detailed examination of the various functions showed, many activities of the Consortium will be delegated to specific institutions. As a result, the central organization of the Consortium will have essentially to promote the collaboration which will be required between various institutions, to prepare the Inventory and spread it among political scientists, to appoint

persons in charge of the Journal and publications, of the Summer Schools, of the Research workshops, to establish links with institutions not members of the Consortium so as to increase gradually the basis of the Consortium and to develop permanent relationships with similar organizations outside Europe.

20. Given that the primary responsibility of the central services of the Consortium is one of promotion, it is important that the executive of the organization be such that it is able to take both quick action and leadership responsibilities. The Consortium must therefore be seen as a union between like-minded institutions, relatively few in number in the first instance, but open-ended and thereby anticipating a rapid growth in membership. As the aim is to enable all political scientists in Europe to benefit from the advantages resulting from the existence of the Consortium, invitations shall be extended to individual scholars belonging to institutions not members of the Consortium to join Workshops or to attend Summer Schools on the basis of ad hoc financial arrangements and once the specific needs of the members of the Consortium have been met. But it would clearly not be advisable in the long run that only a few institutions should bear the financial and other costs of the organization, while benefits would be spread on an entirely equal basis among members and non-members: it is therefore proposed that membership be open to all European Departments, institutes, centres or similar organizations engaged principally or largely in political science

research and teaching on the basis of a yearly membership fee of \$1,000. However, in order to facilitate membership for institutions whose financial resources are limited, the Consortium shall allow such institutions to apply for grants enabling them to cover part of the yearly membership subscription, for a limited period and in any case for not more than 3 years.

21. During its initial period, the Consortium shall be organized on the following basis.

a) There shall be an Executive Director who will devote half of his time to the activities of the Consortium and will be reimbursed to the extent of half of his salary by the Consortium. A full-time Assistant Director shall also be appointed after two or three years of operation. The Executive Director shall have overall responsibility for the development of the Consortium and shall be in charge of its administration. He shall be empowered to negotiate with institutions in order to extend and develop the activities of the Consortium under the guidance of an Executive Committee which shall appoint the Director for three years in the first instance; it is agreed that Professor Jean Blondel shall be the first Director of the Consortium.

b) The Executive Committee shall be in charge of the overall policy of the Consortium. It shall meet in

principle once a year to nominate institutions entrusted with Summer Schools and Research Workshops and to appoint from time to time the officials of the Consortium as well as the members of the Consortium committees, such as the Publications Committee and the Joint Committee on Data. The Executive Committee shall in the first instance be composed of one member from each of the founding institution of the Consortium and of up to four members chosen from among the institutions joining the Consortium during its first three years of operation. After the end of an initial period of three years, half of the Committee shall be up for election, the other half being up for election after a further period of three years. The Committee shall elect its Chairman; it is agreed that Professor Stein Rokkan shall be the first Chairman of the Consortium.

c) There shall be a Council of the Consortium composed of one member and one alternate from each of the institutions belonging to the Consortium. The Council shall be created once the membership of the Consortium exceeds twelve and in any case not later than at the end of the third year of operation of the Consortium. It shall meet every three years at the place of location of the administrative services of the Consortium and shall be empowered to advise the Executive Director and the Executive

Committee on any aspect of policy pertaining to the Consortium and to propose amendments to the organization of the Consortium. It shall elect the members of the Executive Committee.

22. The Consortium shall be administered in the first instance as a Centre of the University of Essex. Steps will be taken as soon as possible in order to investigate conditions for incorporation.

Budget and financing of the Consortium.

23. The following is an approximate total budget for the activities of the Consortium during its first five years of operation. The expected income from national sources is shown in the following paragraph. It is anticipated that the total expenditure over the first five years shall be U.S \$528,500., distributed in the following way:

1. Consortium services.

A) Administration:			
Executive Director (half-time for five years)	40,000		
Assistant Director (three-man years)	25,000		
Research and secretarial assistance (six-man years)	23,000		
Office supplies, postage, telephone, etc.	20,000		
Travel (Director, Executive Committee)	<u>12,500</u>	120,500	
B) Publications:			
Editorial assistance	12,000		
Translations	12,000		
Publications subsidies	<u>12,000</u>	36,000	
C) Central staff:			
Research assistant (five-man years, half-time)	15,000		
Secretarial assistant (man-years)	22,500		
Secretarial expenditure	7,500		
Data acquisition, computing, checking	10,000		
Meetings of Joint Committee, Editors, contributors	<u>9,000</u>	64,000	

C) (Cont'd)		64,000
Guides, information handbooks:		
Editors, research associates (three-man years)	21,000	
Fees for country contributions	<u>15,000</u>	100,000
II. <u>Summer Schools.</u>		
Eight Summer Schools, at 20,500 on average		164,000
Costs for a typical Summer School are estimated to be the following:		
Fees (lecturers, director) and salaries (secretarial, programme assistants)	5,000	
Administrative & computing costs, travel	4,000	
Board & lodging and travel for 20-25 students (4-5 weeks duration)	<u>11,500</u>	20,500
III. <u>Research Workshops.</u>		
Twelve Research Workshops at 9,000 on average		108,000
Costs for a typical Workshop are estimated to be the following:		
Preparation (Director's fee, secretarial assistance, office supplies)	2,000	
Board & lodging and travel for up to 20 participants (10 day duration)	<u>7,000</u>	<u>9,000</u>
		<u>528,500</u>

24. The income of the Consortium from various national or institutional sources is estimated to be the following for the first five-year period:

	<u>Five-year total</u>
a) Subscriptions from member institutions (starting from eight in the first year and rising gradually to 35 paying the full amount in the fifth year)	90,000
b) Grants made to individual participants in Summer Schools or Research Workshops by University institutions, Research Councils, UNESCO, European Foundations: (estimated at two-thirds of the Summer School participants and half the Workshop participants)	104,000
c) Grants made to member institutions by Research Councils or European Foundations to organize workshops and for the Data Information Service (including proceeds for the sale of documents)	62,000
	<u>256,000</u>

25. In order to operate during its first five years, the Consortium does therefore require a sum of U.S. \$272,500 which is requested from the Ford Foundation in order to cover this deficit. It can be seen that income is anticipated to cover slightly less than half the total expenditure on average, but, given the anticipated growth in membership and in the coverage of activities of the Consortium by Research Councils over the five-year period, the percentage deficit is expected to decrease from about three-quarters to less than one-third in the fifth year and disappear afterwards. It is clear that the whole operation depends on the injection of outside funds as a pump-priming device, largely because of the lack of pre-existing cooperation between institutions, at least across the national boundaries. Clearly, if the Consortium did not approach the targets set above during its fifth year of operation, its whole viability would have to be questioned. But the figures mentioned in the previous paragraph appear generally conservative, and it is difficult to avoid drawing the conclusion that, by the sixth year of operation, the sums required to balance the expenditure will be found on the basis of a projection of the growth of the national financing anticipated for the previous years.

Conclusion.

26. The activities which have been listed in this proposal do not constitute all the activities which a Consortium for

Political Research should be engaged in and, we hope, will be engaged in in the long run. The ones which have been listed constitute those which appear to be most urgent, most likely to be implemented immediately and easiest to define in a precise fashion. But the ultimate aim of the Consortium is to promote the growth and integration of political research in Europe, not merely to organize Summer Schools or Workshops: these are means to achieve the ultimate goal. As a result, with the Consortium developing its contacts among European political scientists and therefore its detailed knowledge of the state of the discipline throughout the region, it is hoped that it will become increasingly able to serve the profession in general, to guide new institutions which are in the process of being created or which want to engage in research after having been primarily concerned with teaching, to participate in the setting up of exchanges between institutions concerned with the development of increasingly better graduate programmes. This is not to suggest that the Consortium wishes in any way to become a substitute for existing bilateral arrangements by which scholars from one European country can go and teach at another: the purpose of the Consortium is to strengthen and broaden such arrangements, perhaps to make them multilateral where they are at present bilateral, to give them a more permanent basis where they are today informal or without a firm financial base.

27. It is our firm belief that only if such a Consortium is created will collaboration between European political scientists take place at all levels of seniority and on a scale sufficient to give the discipline a basis for the kind of theoretical and empirical advance which the importance of the problems which it tackles requires and which correspond to the sums invested in the building of individual departments and research organizations. It is surely not healthy for political science in Europe and for political science in general that so much be spent to foster the creation of teaching and research organizations which continue to operate in isolation: the sums suggested in our proposal barely correspond to the maintenance of a small department and the sums required for pump-priming correspond to scarcely more than half of that amount for a period of five years. It is clear that, by 1976, if the Consortium is a success, further types of collaboration such as the ones envisaged in the previous paragraph will take place on a relatively wide basis and it is to be hoped that the beginnings of such a collaboration will already be shaped before that date. But, even if the Consortium itself does not expand further, it will surely have constituted the basis for collaboration at the early stage and for some pioneering aspects of training which the discipline unquestionably requires if it is to grow harmoniously in the coming decade.

May, 1970