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INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF VALUES IN POLITICS

PROGRESS REPORT TO A.I.D. SCIENCE DIRECTOR

On A Study Of

The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility in Developing Countries

Financed by AID/csd-719

A Contract Between

The United States of America

and

The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

Principal Investigator: Philip E. Jacob
Professor of Political Science

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Documents and Working Papers

This progress report summarizes and reviews the work of the University of Pennsylvania research staff and their collaborators on the study of social values and political responsibility to date, with emphasis on the period February-October, 1966. It supplements reports submitted to A.I.D. Science Director on May 1, 1966 and in revised form on June 11, 1966.

The program and schedule adopted at the Second International Roundtable (Philadelphia, January 1966) was implemented by the respective cooperating institutions in India and the United States. Close coordination was maintained by visits of the principal investigator to each center in India Upon completion of their individual tasks, the principal scholars came together in a series of prolonged, intensive workshops, culminating in the Third International Roundtable in July, 1966, which firmed up the conceptual framework and methodology of the study, and set the final directives for the field work, other data collection and the program of analyses.

Considering the breadth of the study, the complexity of its design, the elusiveness of some of the variables (especially "values"), the need for innovative instrumentation and modes of analysis, and the problems of organizing cross-national cooperation, the accomplishments in the two years since the contract became operative testify both to the competence, and to the high sense of personal and intellectual responsibility of the scholars in India and the United States who agreed to take part in it.

It should be emphasized that the genius of this research program is its international cooperative character. This has been successfully maintained, as reflected in the pattern of work just described and the report of the Third International Roundtable, which specifies the agreed basis for completing this project which has the endoresement of the International Social Science Council. As significant as the substantive results to be reported, is this demonstration of the feasibility of an approach to research on highly sensitive issues of international development, which has so far survived the powerful centrifugal influences pulling at U.S. ties with the developing countries.

Evolution of the Study: An Overview

Financial commitments under this contract were authorized on October 23, 1964. When the contract was officially signed, two immediate tasks were undertaken: (1) initial operationalization of the substantive goals, and (2) arranging with Indian institutions for collaboration.

On October 30-31, 1964, the design of the research was elaborated in operational terms at a meeting with the American Advisory Committee. As the proposed research called for a survey, special effort was devoted to the compilation and appraisal of the results of other cross-national studies. This culminated in a set of papers which were made available for the consideration of Indian scholars in January, 1965.

In January, 1965, conferences were held with Indian colleagues, consultants and institutional heads. The initial design was explained and modified in conformance with the contract statement, "improving and facilitating current arrangements for international cooperative research..." Initial empirical investigation was undertaken in the spring of 1965, after working arrangements were concluded with three Indian institutions and the creation of a national Indian Advisory Committee, as reported in Contractor's first report to the A.I.D. Science Director, January 31, 1965. Commitments were con summated with the senior Indian scholars who agreed to work on the study, and they then proceeded to organize their research teams.

Thereafter, the development of the study was partially paced to a series of international roundtables, bringing the principal cooperating scholars together with key consultants at intervals of about six months. Here consensus was progressively achieved on design, methodology and work program. Each participant reported in detail on his efforts to implement the previously agreed decisions, presented the problems he had encountered, and proposed modifications in the research design and operations to meet them.

Five such roundtables have been programmed for Phase One of the study, as follows:

Roundtable I, June, 1965

- to elaborate the study design;
- to prepare for pretest a comprehensive questionnaire for the leadership attitudinal survey, with particular attention to the construction of scales to measure commitment to a set of values considered of high relevance to political decision-making;
- to work out a tentative basis for selecting the local communities on which the study would focus as the prime units of observation;
- to consider the kinds of aggregative data which should be collected to determine the socio-economic characteristics of communities, and their degree of integration or activeness;
- to plan how to investigate the making of specific decisions at the local level and what data to search out for this purpose.

Roundtable II, January, 1966

- to reconsider the design in the light of the empirical experience gained, clarify the conceptualization and operationalization of variables and finally settle the common theoretical framework and research procedures to be followed;
- to review inventories of research and data relevant to the various aspects of the study;
- to appraise the results of the survey pretest and reconstruct the survey instrument accordingly; leading to a decision to undertake a further pretest;
- to reappraise the pattern of selection of units in the light of field investigation;
- to determine upon a method of analyzing local economic development data which would yield a reliable composite index of the level and rate of development for local communities;

- to make a preliminary decision on the kinds of data most appropriate to measure community activeness;
- to evaluate the results of the documentary approach to investigating local decisions, and, considering the demonstrated inadequacies of the data available, to devise an alternative strategy to inventory "integrative" decisions and discover the dynamics of how these decisions came about;
- to draw preliminary guidelines for value content analysis of leadership communications.

Roundtable III, July, 1966 (preceded by preparative task groups)

- to finalize the survey instrument and all other preparations for the survey, including interview instructions and training guidelines to assure maximum comparability;
- to review the data and scoring of communities on indicators of level of economic development;
- to complete the inventory of indicators of community activeness and integration;
- to appraise the results of the pilot study of community decision-making and determine the methods to be pursued in further case studies;
- to settle the coding guidelines for content analysis, and the range of documents to be analyzed;
- to lay out the program of analyses necessary to derive from the data being collected, measurements of the key variables in the study, and to establish the inter-relations among variables.

Roundtable IV, January, 1967 (divided into workshops for data processing and analysis)

- to process results of the survey, determine the value scales, and establish a common code for analyzing responses to the open-ended items;
- to process community activeness data, determine the key indicators and complete scales for measuring community activeness;

- to review results of pilot case studies of decisions; and determine final plan for case studies to be completed spring, 1967;
- to review results of pilot content analysis and determine scope of final application to be undertaken spring, 1967;
- to complete plans for all phases of the analysis.

Roundtable V, May/June 1967 (including preparative and follow-up task groups)

- to review and evaluate preliminary reports on the analysis of individual variables;
- to review and evaluate preliminary inter-correlations of variables;
- to propose and discuss tentative findings;
- to assign tasks for formal report on Phase One.

A preliminary report on the entire study will be drafted for review at the 5th Roundtable. In the light of this discussion, the comprehensive formal report on Phase One will be prepared for presentation to A.I.D. on or before October 22, 1967, the expiration of the third year of the contract. This is in accord with the estimate made by Contractor in his proposal to A.I.D. of May 15, 1964, despite the many problems reported below and the judgment of the American Advisory Committee in October, 1964, that this timetable was overly optimistic.

A review and appraisal of progress on each of the main parts of this study now follows.

I. Design, Inventory and Assessment of Relevant Research

The development and consummation of the design has been detailed in the several previous reports submitted to A. I. D. On review at this stage, Contractor is satisfied that the design finally agreed upon by the senior Indian and American scholars collaborating on the project, promises to fulfill most of the research objectives specified in the contract, i. e.:

" a) to determine what kinds of decisions, on the part of political leaders at the local level, result in corporative, or integrative activity;

" b) to identify, measure and compare those normative values held by political leaders which influence those policy decisions towards more or less political integration;

" c) to establish a relationship between these leadership values and certain factors and conditions (political autonomy, communication channels, and socio-economic level) which tend to modify the impact of such values on policy decisions and on integrative policies. "

The focus of the design can be stated in three questions:

(1) How do values of local leaders influence collective effort and citizen participation in a community (community integration)?

(2) How socio-economic characteristics of the community influence collective effort and citizen participation in the community?

(3) How does the political structure affect the collective effort and citizen participation in a community?

In a single operational statement, these questions would be phrased: "The values of leaders, the political structure, and the socio-economic base of communities account for what degree of variation in community effort and citizen participation? "

The major dependent variable was agreed to be community integration in the sense of community activeness, or the extent to which a community functions together effectively in the accomplishment of social goals. It will be measured on the one hand by the "outputs" of the community and on the other by the amount of political and social participation of the people in producing these outputs.

Two other forms of integration are also identified as dependent variables for this study: (1) local-national integration, in the sense of the responsiveness of local communities and their political leaders to national goals and values and specifically to policies and programs initiated by the national leadership; and (2) the congruence of values among local leaders.

Principal explanatory variables to be examined are specified as:

(1) values of political leaders;

(2) level of economic development;

(3) political structure (especially degree of local autonomy).

The collaborating scholars agreed that the major objective of this project was to assess the relative influence of all three of these factors upon local political decision-making as it affects the development of integrated community activity. The design of the research has been somewhat restructured to assure maximum control in trying to establish the weight of the different variables across communities.

Political responsibility of local leaders was accepted as a critical variable, related to the level of community activeness, following the efforts of Indian colleagues, to sharpen the concept and set forth possible indicators.

It was necessary to omit from the final design one of the explanatory variables originally included in the study plan as outlined in the contract, namely, communication channels. Although attempts were made to assess this in a pre-test questionnaire in the fall of 1965, tasks of data collection and analysis which would have involved another substantial pretest, could not be undertaken within the time and personnel available.

In preparation of the design, a selective compilation and assessment was undertaken of background data and research relating to: (1) the structure of government, patterns of community power and processes of decision-making at the local level in India and the U.S.; (2) the identification and measurement of values in India and the U.S.; and (3) the measurement of

economic development at regional and local levels in India. The following inventories are of particular significance and may in due course be published: (These are not appended, but have been filed with the Science Director.)

1. On local government and community decision-making:

India

Political Development and Democratic Decentralization
(Sirsikar, Poona - December, 1965. Doc.# IND/27)

Politics in Maharashtra: Problems and Prospects
(Sirsikar, Poona - December, 1965. Doc.# IND/28)

Local Self-Government in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh
(Sheth and Lakshman, New Delhi - May, 1966. Doc.#IND/62)

United States

Local Decision-Making and Attitudes in the U.S.: A Research Inventory.
(Watts, May, 1965, Doc. #US/14)

2. On values and value measurement:

India

Cultural and Personal Values in Indian Politics: A Review
(Nandy, New Delhi - May, 1966. Doc.# IND/73)

U.S.

Value Measurement and the Analysis of Behavior
(Barton - May, 1965, Doc. # US/19)

3. On local and regional development indicators in India

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Districts of Maharashtra
(Chitnis, Poona - November, 1965. Doc. #IND/14)

Indicators of Socio-Economic Development of 97 Districts in India
(Sheth & Lakshman, New Delhi - Dec., 1965. Doc. #IND/17)

Districts of Maharashtra: Patterns of Development
(Sirsikar, Chitnis, Teune - Poona, Nov., 1965. Doc. #IND/20)

Regional Disparities in the Level of Development in India
(Pal & Subramaniam, courtesy of the Indian Statistical Institute. Doc. #IND/54)

Selection of Districts in Maharashtra and Ranking by Indicators - Economic and Non-economic
(Nadkarni, Poona - June, 1966. Doc. # IND/67 & IND/68)

Selection of Districts in Gujarat
(Lakshman, New Delhi - May, 1966. Doc. #IND/74)

Ranking of Taluks in Selected Districts of Gujarat
(Lakshman, New Delhi - May, 1966. Doc. #IND/75)

II. The Survey of Local Political Leaders

A. Contract specifications: Contractor undertook to conduct attitudinal surveys of political and other leaders to accomplish the following tasks:

"(a) development of profiles of the values of selected leadership groups;"

"(b) identification of convergence or divergence of policy relevant values of leaders at different political levels, and at the same level having different functions;"

"(c) classification of such values to identify patterns which are conducive and inhibitive to integrative commitments, for each region in the study;"

"(d) a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between the various sub-cultures within India, and the other countries of the study."

B. Original plan and schedule: The original plan and schedule was to design in operational terms the survey during the fall of 1964 and spring of 1965. A pilot test, after consultation with the Indian collaborators, was to be undertaken in the spring of 1965. On the basis of this pilot survey, a pretest instrument was to be written and executed in the fall of 1965, and the final draft of the questionnaire prepared for administration in the spring of 1966.

C. What was done:

(1) a preliminary pretest questionnaire written and discussed by the American Advisory Committee in October, 1964.

(2) preparation of materials for cross-cultural questionnaire construction.

(3) a pilot questionnaire prepared jointly by Indian and American scholars in January 1965 and administered in the U.S. on 40 respondents and in India on 119 respondents, to test the comparability and cross-cultural relevance of the values proposed for study, in the spring of 1965. This pilot questionnaire was designed to

uncover the relevant values of leaders. (This was accomplished mostly through open-ended questions so that items for scaling could be written intelligently at a later date.)

(4) a questionnaire written for elaborate pretesting in the fall of 1965, and a pretest conducted on over 100 respondents in both India and the U.S.

(5) the results were analyzed, including intercorrelation between the items in the value scales and the value scales and the open-ended value questions (December 1965).

(6) a revised questionnaire was written January, 1966.

(7) a third pretest was conducted in the spring of 1966 on 75 U.S. respondents and over 100 Indian respondents.

(8) the results again were analyzed for comparable Indian-American questions and for nation-specific items (used as equivalent rather than identical questions), June, 1966.

(9) a new set of item were written and tested for a direct measure of political responsibility in the U.S. and India.

(10) final standard English version of questionnaire written (July, 1966).

(11) translation and training of interviewers (September, 1966).

D. Problems:

(1) Problem I: establishing a cross-nationally valid questionnaire. In the fall of 1965, the results of the questionnaires were examined and a method was hit upon to establish cross-national validity through a combination of identical and nation-specific questions whose equivalence could be demonstrated by statistical means. This method, which is believed to be an innovation for assessing similar phenomena in culturally heterogeneous populations, was not originally planned and programmed. This necessitated more complicated analyses - cross-national and cross-regional analysis within India - than anticipated.

(2) Problem II: unsatisfactory results of the initial pretests. Although it was felt that a single pretest, following the pilot pretest, would be sufficient, the results of the pretest questionnaire in the fall of 1965, indicated that the difficulties of getting cross-nationally valid questions were not fully met. A decision to conduct a third pretest was made at the Second International Roundtable in Philadelphia, January 1966, with the concurrence of several members of the American Advisory Committee who attended this Roundtable. This third pretest was completed in the spring of 1966. The results of the third pretest were substantial, and made possible the completion of the total survey instrument. Several of the values were thoroughly re-conceptualized and all the scales improved in validity and reliability. (See the questionnaire and the statement interpreting the questions and values appended.)

(3) Problem III: developing a satisfactory scale of political responsibility. (Contract statement under general plan of operation, "Relationships between levels of social, economic and political development, and a sense of responsibility.")

Largely for conceptual reasons, no satisfactory direct measures of political responsibility were originally constructed. There were, however, several questions which were to be used as indirect measures of political responsibility, such as national orientation. Several efforts at conceptualization indicated a wide difference in understanding between American and Indian collaborators. At the second roundtable in Philadelphia, it was felt that a third pretest would allow for some experimentation.

At the Third Roundtable in July 1966, a joint set of Indian and American items were agreed to. These were pretested separately in the U.S. on 40 respondents in August and September, 1966, and on a few respondents in India at the same time.

E. Schedule for completion:

(1) "Editing" of returned questionnaires. Coding of questionnaires. Specifically this involves (a) coding some parts of the questionnaire so that the questions are ready for computer input, (b) punching the cards, (c) verifying the punching (especially in India), which means re-punching each of the cards a second time, and (d) doing spot checking, which includes careful examination to insure there are no "stray" punches or illegal characters (November 15 - December 15, 1966).

(2) At the same time that interviewing, coding, and punching are underway, preparation for the analysis has to be undertaken. The present plan is to do the first part of the analysis in Kanpur. This will require setting up the capability of the Kanpur center. Specifically, this means that we have to set up the computing facility with the following programs: (a) frequency program, (b) an inter-correlation program, (c) a factor analysis program, and (d) a transgeneration program which is designed to add and divide specific numbers to arrive at such measures as per capita income (Oct. 15 - Dec. 15, 1966).

(3) Analysis tasks (Dec. 15, 1966 - Jan. 15, 1967).

(a) an analysis of all the easily coded materials, so that an analysis of the questions for specific value scales can be examined;

(b) an analysis of the relationships of certain indicators of the local political units, such as those on economic development;

(c) determination of the specific questions and specific indicators appropriate for international analysis and for India and the U. S.;

(d) developing an international code for the open-ended questions;

(e) modifications of the planned analysis.

(4) Scoring the individual political leaders and the political units. This task will be complicated. It involves taking certain questions and indicators (as well as the determined factors from the factor analysis program) and actually scoring the individuals and local

units. This generates the analytical variables. An example of this is the total number of areas in which the individual feels he is active (February - March, 1967).

F. Selection of leaders for the survey:

Although it was always clear that the respondents, the individuals under study, were to be local political leaders, the criteria for defining the leaders were somewhat equivocal on the matter of local influentials. Experimentation was undertaken and in July, 1966 the decision was firmly stated that the basis for selecting respondents was to be their strategic positions in the formal structure of political power in their respective communities. This final firm decision, although following earlier decisions closely, was not possible until all conceptual and technical preparations were completed.

III. Selection of Units

A. Contract specifications:

The research program is defined as a comparative study at the local level. In particular, the obligation was to undertake "a comparative analysis of similarities and differences between the various sub-cultures within India, and the other countries of the study."

B. Original plan and schedule:

(See discussion of the assessment of economic level below, the basis on which local units were selected.)

The arrangements originally concluded with the Indian cooperating institutions called for research to be conducted in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and at least two other regions if initial explorations indicated that the design of the study could be effectively executed with the resources available, and competent scholars could be found to conduct the study in each region. To make this determination, aggregative data on socio-economic development and political leadership at the local level was collected in Rajasthan, Gujarat and other states, as well as Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh; inventories of major studies and ongoing research on local government in India compiled; and pretests of the leadership survey conducted in the four states above named.

In the light of this information and experience, the Indian Advisory Committee decided that the selection of units for the leadership survey should be concentrated in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, deferring decision on further research in other regions until after the Kanpur Roundtable in January, 1967 (see appended memorandum to A.I.D. Science Officer, dated June 9, 1966).

The question of the level of investigation was faced at the first roundtable in June, 1965 and a preliminary decision made to study <u>districts</u> in India and <u>municipalities</u> in the United States. Although some of the Indian collaborators were not convinced that the choice of districts (rather than blocks or villages) was desirable, they agreed to try to find data which would make possible a sampling of districts in terms of their economic development, and degree of community activeness.

C. <u>What was done:</u>

(1) in the fall of 1965, data were gathered on 97 districts by the Indian centers, and on a defined universe of American cities.

(2) upon re-examination of the decision to study districts, no firm decision could be reached at the Second International Roundtable. It was agreed that a specific plan would be worked out in India at the time the American investigators were in India.

(3) a decision was reached to have taluks as the unit of analysis. The sampling strategy was to be a multi-phase selection. This was firmed up in March, 1966, after exchange of memoranda and direct consultation with the Indian collaborators. A full statement on the logic and procedures for selection was completed.

(4) it was decided to have a third stage in the selection for villages.

D. Problems:

(1) Problem I: non-comparability of districts.

Although there was disagreement among the Indian collaborators on the viability of districts for comparisons within India and between India and other countries, it was agreed that districts were highly amorphous units of government, often the residual of decisions in administrative feasibility of British officials, and that the functions and importance of districts varied from state to state. But the most important consideration was that the district was not the unit at which a "sense of community" would be focused - one of the major theoretical concerns of the study.

(2) Problem II: availability of data at the taluk level.

In accordance with the decisions of the First International Roundtable, data and analysis was begun and completed by December 1965. The question on whether to have taluks as the unit of analysis hinged on the availability of data. In July of 1966, taluk data were brought for examination to the Third International Roundtable and the feasibility of the taluk as the unit for study was demonstrated.

E. Schedule for completion:

The taluks have been selected - a necessity for the conduct of the interviews.

IV. Measuring the Economic Development of Local Communities

A. Contract specifications:

The contractor undertook analytical surveys of published statistical reports in order to meet the following tasks:

(1) "d) a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences between the various sub-cultures within India, and the other countries of the study;"

(2) "f) a description of the various constituencies in terms of socio-economic level, social norms and social structure."

B. Original plan and schedule:

From the outset, one of the major variables of the study for the explanation of levels of community activeness and the development of a "sense of community" was the resource base of the local political unit. The decision at the First International Roundtable was that a score for the economic level of each local political unit was necessary, but that the task would be a straightforward one of consulting with readily accessible data which would be somewhat similar for the states in India. These economic level or development scores would be used to stratify the local political units for selection, resulting in a set of units arrayed from high to low on economic level. With these assumptions, work was begun in the fall of 1965 to gather appropriate data on districts in India (See section III above) and on municipalities in the U. S. It was also planned that rate of economic growth would be assessed by comparing economic level at two points in time.

C. What was done:

(1) a procedure developed, although not anticipated, in order to establish the validity of the measure of economic development at the local level, in the fall of 1965 and the early spring of 1966. The validity would be based on a "best" set of indicators rather than on any single indicator and analysis would suggest the "best" set on which to score the local unit.

(2) collection of data on districts and analysis completed in December 1965.

(3) comparisons of the rankings and scores of selected Indian districts with three other studies using quite different techniques in the spring of 1966. (A high degree of convergence was found between these techniques.)

(4) gathering of data on the taluk level, spring of 1966 (see section III above).

(5) analysis of the taluk data, summer and early fall of 1966, including the intercorrelation matrix and clustering and factor analysis.

(6) selection of the best set of indicators by the American researchers, October, 1966.

(7) a preliminary probe into economic development indicators in 16 villates in U. P. in India.

(8) intercorrelation of about 70 indicators of economic wealth for 681 American municipalities, the selection of the best eight indicators, computation of economic development or level scores for over 200 of these 681, stratification of the municipalities, and final selection.

(9) because of the various attackes on this problem in India, this study will be in a position to compare indicators for economic development at the district, taluk, and village levels - something which was not planned. This analysis should indicate whether the same indicators reflect economic development at different levels (correlations across units at a given level should avoid one obvious source of spurious correlations).

D. <u>Problems:</u>

(1) Problem I: the units originally selected for study.

As was pointed out in the section on the selection of units for study, there was dissatisfaction among the Indian collaborators with the district as the unit of analysis for comparisons. The collection and analysis of data for districts, although completed by December, 1965, was not sufficient if districts were not going to be the unit of analysis.

(District data are not aggregated from taluk data for all types of indicators.) Data were then collected for taluks within districts, to avoid the problems arising from the great heterogeneity within districts. Thus, it became necessary to use a two-stage purposeful selection procedure which was not planned.

(2) Problem II: Developing scores on economic development for comparisons within India and between India and the United States.

Data on districts varied from state to state. As far as the taluks are concerned, most of the items for one state are not identical with those from other states. In the case of the largest state in India in this study, data on taluks are not compiled for easy access. Thus, analysis had to be done separately for the states within India.

E. Schedule of completion:

(1) Final determination of the indicators in consultation with the Indian collaborators, December, 1966.

(2) Scoring of the taluks according to a pre-determined pattern, December, 1966 (estimated time for completion of this work is 2-3 days).

(3) Calculation of scores of economic change - January-February, 1967.

V. Measuring the Activeness of Local Communities

A. Contract specifications:

The contractor undertook to do analytical surveys of published materials and informant interviewing in order to meet the goals of assessing community activeness described as:

(1) "c) classification of such values to identify patterns which are conducive and inhibitive to integrative commitments for each region in the study,"

(2) "g) the development of an inventory of policy decisions which commit resources to [illegible]orative or integrative activities,"

(3) "h) the establishment of the relationship between such commitments and the development of 'community' or political integration."

Note: At various points in the contract reference is made to "integration", "corporate activities," "sense of community" and "community activities." As the research has progressed, a general term, "activeness," is now used to refer to those dimensions referred to by the various terms. The concept is elaborated below.

B. Original plan and schedule:

At the First International Roundtable, it was decided to stratify local political units not only on the basis of their level of economic development but also on some rough measures of their activeness. The plan was to score these units when data other than that readily available were gathered. The collection of data was envisioned as paralleling the interviewing, when the researchers would be able to collect certain kinds of data anticipated not to be abundant in central places.

C. What was done:

(1) experimentation with measures of ommunity activeness, June, 1965-January, 1966-June, 1966.

(a) an experimental run was completed on a sample of 160 American cities;

(b) exploration was followed through on district level data in India and a tentative index of social welfare developed;

(c) data on several Indian villages were gathered and these measures compared with judgments of knowledgeable informants.

(2) determination of a list - a data sheet - for the collection of data on community activeness, July, 1966.

(3) determination of a procedure for analysis in order to score local governmental units on two or three dimensions of community activeness.

D. Problems:

(1) Problem I: conceptual clarification.

The initial definitions of integration and corporate activity were known to be unclear. It was agreed that conceptual clarification would follow some interaction with available data and some independent careful thought. There was disagreement about what conception of this variable would be most useful theoretically. As time progressed, the concept was dimensionalized into two: (a) activeness, the total increment in public or community-wide facilities, and (b) the degree of citizen participation in community affairs.

(2) Problem II: availability of data.

By the time of the Second International Roundtable, it was clear that the kinds of data needed could only be gathered in the field and that consequently, it would not be possible to stratify the local political units, even roughly, on their degree of activeness. This was particularly true in India where records of such things as attendance at meetings of local governing bodies, improvements in sanitation facilities, and the like, are apparently only available at the local unit itself in such form that would enable increments rather than a level to be determined.

(3) Problem III: comparability of measures.

Work was necessary to determine what indicators are indeed comparable. Although a general procedure for establishing the validity of measures

cross-culturally and cross-nationally was determined, it was still necessary to reach a clear understanding of particular items, It was necessary to exchange ideas on each of the 50-60 items proposed to measure community activeness.

E. Schedule of completion:

(1) Gathering of data on activeness (two dimensions - increments in facilities and level of citizen participation) to be completed at the same time as the interviewing - December, 1966.

(2) Analysis of data and determination of comparable measures consisting of intercorrelation clustering and factor analysis - to be done in Kanpur, January, 1967.

(3) Scoring of the units - January-February, 1967.

VI. Decisional Case Studies

A. Contract specifications:

The contractor undertook "case histories of particular decisions based on informations and documentary records" and further "informant interviews (mainly open-ended and anecdotal) with policy participants and knowledgeable observers of the political process", in order to obtain:

"g) the development of an inventory of policy decisions which commit resources to corporate, or integrative activities."

B. Original plan and schedule:

One of the core elements in the design of the proposal to A.I.D. was the study of values influencing political decisions of local governments. At the First International Roundtable, a rather unique operationalization of the decisional component of the research was proposed - to characterize the universe of decisions taken by a local government within a 2-3 year period. This proposed strategy entailed a rather complete inventory of decisions. It was recognized that the effort required would be great and, in view of an "inventory of local decisions" collected and presented to the First Roundtable by an Indian collaborator, this approach would perhaps not be feasible. This plan included a complex set of ways to characterize the body of decisions, especially on:

(a) the source of the initiation,

(b) the nature of citizen support,

(c) the local-national linkage of the decisions, and

(d) the implementation of the decisions.

C. What was done:

(1) collection of an inventory of decisions in an Indian taluk, completed in June, 1965.

(2) structuring of an inventory of local-national decisions in the U.S., June, 1965.

(3) an appraisal of availability and feasibility of this approach by U. S. and Indian personnel in India, November, 1965.

(4) a major re-conceptualization of the measuring device, turning to the presence of "hard" manifestations of decisions in such things as the number of schools built, roads repaired, etc. for a 4-5 year period (increments in these matters), January, 1966.

(5) a proposal that decisions be studied as cases on a limited scale in order to increase understanding of the processes by which "activeness" came about at least in two units - one which would be "very active" and one which would be "inactive" or deteriorating, January, 1966.

(6) a pre-test of this "case study" approach - two such cases in Maharastra and one in the U. S., spring, 1966.

(7) an elaboration of the case study design in light of the pre-test experience and the needs of other parts of the research design.

D. Problems:

(1) Problem I: the demands of the other research.
Because of the heavy demands on personnel of other parts of the projected research, especially the survey, it was decided to phase the case study research.

(2) Problem II: the feasibility of the original proposal for the study of decisions. The original proposal to study decisions was indeed too complicated to execute. Although the kind of information required by the proposed strategy at the First International Roundtable was available, the strategy was abandoned in favor of an alternative.

E. Schedule for completion:

(1) Pre-testing of revised case study research in two communities in both India and the U. S. in November, 1966.

(2) Determining the final format for the gathering of data in January, 1967. (On the basis of the U.S. experience, 4 decisions will be studied in all 30 municipalities in the sample. This will be proposed to the Indian collaborators. There is some indication that a study of selected decisions will be conducted in all or almost all of the 30 units selected for study in India.)

(3) Designing a format for analysis, March-May, 1967.

VII. Content Analysis

A. Contract specifications:

Contractor agreed to undertake content analysis of public communications by leaders, and other relevant documentary records to meet the following tasks specified in the contract:

"a) development of profiles of the values of selected leadership groups;

"b) identification of convergence or divergence of policy-relevant values of leaders at different political levels . . .

"c) classification of such values to identify patterns which are conducive or inhibitive to integrative commitments, for each region in the study."

B. Original plan and schedule:

Because the procedures of content analysis have not been generally developed and standardized for the identification and measurement of values, especially cross-culturally, it was recognized that:

(1) substantial technical experimentation would be required to establish reliable coding procedures,

(2) analysts would have to be recruited and specifically trained for this work,

(3) classification of values would have to be derived from the material analyzed and not set up a priori on the basis of other approaches to the study of values (for fear, otherwise, of distorting the meaning and emphasis intended by the author in the particular context of his communication).

It was necessary also for purposes of this study:

(4) to collect appropriate materials for analysis, and indeed to determine what was available, as there were no readymade collections of local leaders' communications, public or private, and very

spotty records of messages even at the national level.

(5) a determination had to be made finally, on a procedure of sampling which would warrant generalizations about the leaders' values from a limited enough number of communications to be manageable by a small team.

At the planning meetings in India in January, 1965, it was agreed that the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (New Delhi) would undertake work on content analysis, if a competent scholar could be recruited for this purpose, as no one currently on the staff of any of the Indian centers was equipped to do so. Meanwhile, the University of Pennsylvania staff would push ahead on technical experimentation. Hopefully, extended workshops in the late fall or winter '65-66 would bring Indian and American analysts together for joint exercises leading to the determination of standard procedures. Systematic collection of materials for analysis would proceed in the spring, 1966; and coding begun. Analysis, and preparation of the value profiles for comparison with results of the survey would take place in the fall and winter, 1966-67, leading to conclusions ready for reporting by summer, 1967.

C. <u>What was done:</u>

At the University of Pennsylvania, a content analysis core group was formed in spring, 1965, to press ahead with the technical development of the technique and especially to attack the difficult issues of validation and establishing reliability. (Participants: Shel Feldman and Klaus Krippendorff, Annenberg School of Communications; Henry Teune, Department of Political Science; and the principal investigator chairing the group. Consultants were: George Gerbner, Dean of the Annenberg School, Philip Stone, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University; and Ole Holsti, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.)

Previous content analytic research was exhaustively reviewed and appraised with specific reference to the needs of this study. Three university seminar courses, one in fall, 1965, and two in fall, 1966, were

devoted in whole or in part to experimental development of the technique and its application to leadership value identification. A search was undertaken for appropriate local materials, and a preliminary selection made of national level documents.

In January and June, 1966, two workshops of limited duration were held, resulting finally in establishing guidelines for coding and clarifying the dimensions of the content analytical approach to the measurement of values in reports of the content analysis committees of the Second and Third Roundtables.

Systematic application of these instructions to a sample of comparable public messages by Indian and U.S. national leaders began in October, 1966.

Meanwhile, systematic coding of responses to the open-ended questions on the survey pre-tests has been completed.

D. Problems:

(1) Problem I: technical complexity of the content analytic method.
Both the theoretical and practical problems of cross-cultural value content analysis far exceeded the expectations of the investigators and their most experienced consultants. Pilot tests revealed ever more diversified patterns of value expression not only as between countries, but among individual leaders within a country, defying consistent identification and classification by simple, standard rules. Continual revision of the technique has been necessary as application progressed.

(2) Problem II: availability of personnel - Indian participation.
The scholar recruited by the New Delhi center to be responsible for content analysis withdrew after attending the Philadelphia workshop, eight months after his appointment, leaving no helpful product. Replacement in India appearing impractical, it was decided to centralize responsibility at Pennsylvania, for the time being, using documentary resources of the South Asia Regional Studies department and local

personnel with Indian background or experience. However, this occasioned substantial delay.

Two predoctoral Indian analysts, trained in sociology and communications research, are now engaged in a pilot analysis of major policy declarations by Indian national leaders before Lok Sabha, Congress Party Executive and National audiences. Concentration of this effort at the University makes possible constant direct supervision by the principal investigator and the senior content analysis specialist on the Annenberg School of Communications faculty; provides opportunity for frequent reliability tests in the analysis of Indian material; and permits constant interchange among the Indian and American analysts to standardize the technique cross-nationally.

(3) Problem III: availability of material.

Extensive spot-checking by all the collaborating centers in India revealed little useful local material. Documentary records of decisions rarely contain value-laden statements by leaders; newspaper reports (where there are papers) are unreliable and incomplete. Investigators are continuing the search for other kinds of records of local leaders' statements, particularly in connection with the case studies of decisions which are being undertaken. And, of course, there will be available the responses to the open-ended part of the survey. But the paucity of local material has required immediate concentration on national messages.

(4) Problem IV: availability of time.

Because of the imperative demands connected with fielding the survey, neither the Indian nor American senior scholars have been able to break loose an adequate amount of time to push ahead with equal effectiveness on the content analysis phase. Consequently, it was deliberately decided to revise the staging of the operation, looking to spring and summer 1967 for concentrated effort to complete the content analytic work after the heavy period of survey data collection was over.

E. Schedule for completion:

(1) exchange documents and commence final analysis of materials as outlined under "tasks" in RT/III/10 ~~attached~~ submitted, Oct.-Dec., 1966.

(2) review of progress to date for Fourth International Roundtable at Kanpur, India; final refinement of coding instructions, Jan., 1967.

(3) complete analysis as outlined, February-May, 1967.

(4) workshop to evaluate preliminary findings, suggest tentative value profiles, develop congruence measures and prepare preliminary report for the Fifth International Roundtable, May, 1967.

(5) Fifth International Roundtable at Bellagio, Italy; critique of preliminary report, June, 1967.

(6) complete inter-correlation of results from content analysis with data from survey and other lines of inquiry; preparation of the final report to A.I.D., June-October, 1967.

VIII. Analysis: An Overview

A. Contract specifications:

Most of the contract specifications can be met only after analysis is completed. There are, in fact, many types of analyses which can be done, requiring technical competence and imagination. What is now programmed for the spring and summer of 1967 is a straight-forward analysis which should satisfy more than what is specified in the contract.

B. Features of the analysis contained within the design :

There are three outstanding characteristics of the desigh, and consequently, of the proposed analysis:

(1) an experimental design.

The research design is oriented to an experimental design rather than a descriptive design. The strategy of the experimental design is to determine what variables are related to what other variables rather than what characterizes social and political entities or individuals.

(2) a comparative study.

The study is comparative. The questionnaire, through many months of work, has been made identical and equivalent for the U. S. and India. The research procedures in both countries are identical. This feature of the design will allow for the segregation of factors which are "universal" or cross-national and cross-cultural from those which are peculiar to a culture or nation.

(3) a quantitative study.

Almost all of the variables are being handled with assumption of the "cardinality" of the variables. This means that the results of the analysis will be sets of statistics expressing relationships between variables. Although a few displays of data will be given, most of the results of the analysis will be of a summary statistical nature, e. g. , a correlation matrix rather than a table with categories.

C. A two-step analysis:

The analysis is planned in two steps. The first step is the construction of the analytical variables. The second is the analysis of the relationships between variables. When the relationships are established, interpretation of the findings can begin on a systematic basis.

The first step requires:

(1) determination of what questions should be used to assess the values, (after inter-correlations for all of the value items and a factor analysis is run both for Indian and American respondents together and for Indian and American respondents separately).

(2) decisions as to the specific items of the value scales to be used for comparisons - which can be done only after consultation among the collaborators.

(3) computation of "scores" for responses to non-value questions. (See the procedure for this presented in ~~appended~~ statement on analysis.)

(4) developing codes for open-ended questions.

(5) determination of indicators of community activeness.

(6) scoring of individuals and local political units.

The second step requires:

(1) correlating the variables - using a variety of measures of association - on a two variable basis for all units and individuals and for Indian and American sets of data separately.

(2) holding constant (multiple correlation) certain variables, such as economic development, to see what amount of the total "variation" or differences in community activeness (or the variables) can be accounted for by one or another variable.

(3) utilization of other techniques for expressing and explaining differences (variation) in the local communities and individual local leaders.

(4) analysis of individual leader characteristics (not as they relate to characteristics of the local government) such as determining leadership "types".

(5) other forms of analysis for decisional case studies and content analysis (see above sections).

D. Schedule for completion:

At this time only "obvious" kinds of analyses can be done. It is known that a body of data, as extensive as that being collected, could take several years to exhaust analytically.

(1) Step I: determining the analytical variables - to be completed in Kanpur, January, 1967.

In order to meet the contract goal of increasing social science capabilities in developing countries, it was decided to do the first part of the analysis in Kanpur, India on the newly installed IBM 7044. After consultation with people at Kanpur and at the University of Pennsylvania Computer Center (which has a 7040), the probabilities of a successful program of analysis seemed great enough to go ahead with analysis plans in India. This required correspondence with the Kanpur Center, selection of appropriate programs, and making adjustments in the programs. The result of this should be the full capability of doing any kind of analysis demanded by the research design in India.

(2) Step II: establishing relationships between the variables.

This will be done in the U.S. Certain Indian collaborators will participate. Preliminary completion is schedule in May, 1967.

(3) A program for completion has been written and is in part contained in the appended Plan of Analysis. This has been supplemented by a "Handbook of Analysis" which is of a technical nature (not appended), prescribing codes, formats, a flow chart of the sequences in the analysis, and the details of how the variables should be manipulated.

DOCUMENTS

The following documents and working papers, to which this report relates, have been submitted to the A. I. D. Science Director. A complete list of the papers prepared by the Indian and American investigators ~~is also attached.~~ has also been submitted. Copies of these items are available on request.

1. Reports of International Roundtables I, II, III (previously submitted)

2. Inventories of relevant research:
   - Local Self-Government in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh (IND/62)
   - Politics in Maharashtra (IND/28)
   - Cultural and Personal Values in India (IND/73)
   - Value Measurement and the Analysis of Behavior (USA/19)
   - Content Analysis, Political Research and Psycholinguistics (USA/44 & USA/45)

3. Working papers:
   - (a) on design: measuring political responsibility
     - Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Political Responsibility (IND/31)
     - A Note on Political Responsibility (RT/II/15)
   - (b) survey of local political leaders
     - * Final Questionnaire (standard versions for India and U. S.) with explanatory comment.
   - (c) selection of units; measurement of development level of local communities
     - Indicators of Socio-Economic Development of 97 Districts in India (IND/17)
     - Districts of Maharashtra: Patterns of Development (IND/20)
     - Selection of Districts in Maharashtra and Ranking (IND/67, IND/68)
     - Selection of Districts in Gujarat (IND/74)
     - Ranking of Taluks in Gujarat (IND/75)
     - * Selection of regions in India (memorandum of June 9, 1966 from Philip E. Jacob to Dr. Mary Lou Becker, A. I. D. Science Officer)
   - (d) measuring community activeness
     - Indicators of Community Activeness (IND/65)
     - Explaining Municipal Activeness (USA/60)
   - (e) decisional case studies
     - Comparative Study of Decisional Cases (RT/III/2) (amended)
     - Case Studies of Decisions in an Active and an Inactive Community in Maharashtra (IND/71 & IND/78)
   - (f) value content analysis
     - Guidelines for Value Content Analysis (RT/III/10 revised)
     - Inquiry into the Expression of Values in Political Documents (USA/68)
   - (g) plan of analysis
     - Report of the Committee on Plan of Analysis (RT/III/6)

* appended herewith

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Mary Lou Becker, Science Officer, U.S. A.I.D.

FROM: Philip E. Jacob, Principal Investigator,
International Studies of Values in Politics

DATE: June 9, 1966

SUBJECT: Regional Scope of Research in India on Social Values and Political Responsibility

In the exploratory phase of the study of the interaction of social values and political responsibility, under U.S. AID grant csd-719, three principal Indian research centers have been collaborating with the University of Pennsylvania in developing the design, and testing the various methods of research to be applied in identifying and measuring (1) the values held by political leaders, (2) the degree of integratedness or activeness of local communities, (3) the level of their economic development, and (4) the nature of the political decisions which contribute to or inhibit integration and development. These centers are located at the University of Poona, the Institute of Technology at Kanpur, and the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies at New Delhi. The program has been worked out in consultation with an Indian Advisory Committee, made up of the heads of the three institutions, the Minister of Planning, and the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education. Professor D.R. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona is chairman.

It was the intention of the project, set forth in the original proposal submitted to U.S. AID and to the Department of State Cultural Affairs Division, which shares the cost of this program, to develop the program at first in three or four regions of India, differing sufficiently in cultural background, economy and their implementation of panchayati raj to prevent hasty and unwarranted generalizations about India as a whole. The choice of regions was also to be governed by availability of competent social scientists concerned to undertake this kind of empirical research on political motivation.

Taking into account linguistic and other considerations, the three centers undertook responsibility for work in Maharasthra, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat

and Rajasthan; and in these four states survey instruments were pretested, relevant aggregative data gathered and preliminary inventories made of previous and ongoing research.

Possibilities for collaboration with other centers were extensively explored. While interest was evident at several points, most notably at the University of Rajasthan, it did not prove feasible for reasons to be reviewed, to undertake further institutional commitments for this phase, nor indeed to implement the program intensively in more than three regions. Moreover, the funds upon which we were depending to support the local expenses in India were delayed for more than nine months; commitments had to be curtained, pending their availability.

When the Indian Advisory Committee considered the situation in March, 1966, it urged that the program be limited at this stage to intensive development only in the three states of Maharasthra, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, where the three centers already engaged had devoted their principal efforts. The committee was especially concerned not to complicate the effective prosecution of the project by involving new participants at a point when consensus on design and methodology had been painstakingly achieved and when the group was girding itself for major data collection.

It was therefore decided to defer action on extending the study to other regions until after the Roundtable at Kanpur in January, 1967, when an adequate assessment could be made of the implications of the results of the exploratory work and of the proper lines for further development.

If "the key to the effective use of aid is what the recipient is doing for itself"*, then obviously the considered advice of influential leaders must be taken into account.

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*See 1967 "Summary Presentation to the Congress" of Proposed Economic Assistance Programs by A. I. D.

University of Pennsylvania

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF VALUES IN POLITICS

LEADERSHIP SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

for the Study of

The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility in Developing Countries*

This instrument has been prepared for use in interviewing local political leaders in developing countries. It is designed to ascertain (1) values and aspirations which are relevant to the decisions the respondents make as political leaders; (2) the range of their leadership activities and perceived influence; (3) their perception of community problems, conflicts, and cleavages, particularly as these bear on community development; (4) support and reference groups on which they depend in the fulfillment of their leadership functions; and (5) their concept of governmental and political responsibility.

Three pretests were conducted in four regions of India (Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat), with sixty to two hundred respondents in each pretest. For comparative purposes, the questions were also pretested in the U.S. with similar types of leaders. Inter-item correlational analysis has determined scale reliability; and content analysis has been used to assess the conceptual significance of responses to open-ended questions. Results of these analyses were appraised by the senior Indian and American research associates, U.S. consultants and representatives of the International Social Science Council at three Roundtables convened under auspices of the I.S.S.C. which is sponsoring the study.

In this final, standard version, items are presented in a topical format related to the particular concepts they are intended to measure; cross-referencing indicates their sequence in the version to be administered in the field; and the pretest history of the items is noted under "Source."

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* This study is financed under contract A.I.D./csd-719 with the U.S. Agency for International Development, and by grants from the Department of State Division of Cultural Affairs and the A.I.D. Mission to India.

The following notes indicate the major changes incorporated following the last major pretest conducted during spring 1966, and the rationale for these changes.

Part I. Problems and Leadership Activities

Question 1: This question remains unchanged and is intended to define the leader's perception of his situational context.

Questions 2 and 3: The list of areas of activity and influence is derived from inventories used in each country during the pretest. These functional areas were also selected because of their particular significance in community development, and as customary subjects of local governmental and political decision-making. In the pretest, there was a marked difference in the extent to which answers to the questions concerning areas of influence coincided with those concerning areas of activity. Because of this discrepancy, it was decided to retain both sets in order to permit a differentiation of leaders according to the degree to which they assert influence in all the areas in which they profess activity.

Question 4: Reworded to pinpoint what the leader conceives to be his area of most significant political action and his style of action; self-perception of role.

Question 5: Reworded to secure perception of efficacy as related to leadership role.

Part II. Value Scales

1. Economic Development: This variable was originally defined as material progress — the value of increased quantities of material goods. The best international set from the fall 1965 pretest had poor conceptual consistency, containing such varied dimensions as "efficiency," "technical competence," "economic progress," and "future economic development." At the Philadelphia Roundtable the value was reconceptualized and subdivided into "material progress 1" (the value

of material goods), and "material progress 2" (future economic development in contrast to immediate consumption). After the second international pretest, these two sets of items were analyzed both separately and together. It was found that the separate sets did not scale and that the items which did scale were a mixture of those measuring economic well-being and future growth. The questionnaire committee therefore decided to construct a single set of items to measure a value now reconceptualized as "economic development," and to drop the timing of development (long term versus short term) as a separate dimension.

2. Conflict Resolution-Avoidance: This value was initially conceptualized as the value of social harmony. Although the items in the first pretest scaled fairly well, at the Philadelphia roundtable it was decided to pinpoint something more theoretically relevant than social harmony. The concept was redefined as "consensual harmony" even though many of the earlier items were kept. The theoretically relevant dimension of the concept was the willingness of leaders to proceed with programs even though there would be conflict.

After examining the items, the questionnaire committee decided that the important dimension—avoiding conflict—seemed to scale well. There was discussion about whether consensus implied a lack of conflict. In conclusion, the decision was made to label these items as conflict resolution, to incorporate some of the consensus items, and to write new items which related directly to the value of resolving or avoiding conflict.

3. Participation: Initially this value was described as that of "self-management, initiative of citizens, and citizen participation." The first pretest produced a somewhat satisfactory scale, but it seemed to be conceptually heterogeneous. The Philadelphia roundtable found that the items contained both the value of "professionalism" and that of "citizen participation" and recommended that these two values should be kept separate. Many new items were written. In the analysis of the second pretest, these two scales were examined simultaneously. Although a somewhat satisfactory scale of professionalism was secured, there were two scales of citizen participation

(one composed entirely of positive items and the other composed of the negative items, with one exception). Another analysis, after running all the items together on the computer, produced a single highly scalable set. Hence, the professionalism and citizen participation scales were collapsed.

4. Selflessness: Items for selflessness have been included in all of the pretests. Conceptually, this value denotes the "willingness to sacrifice for others." Revisions were made at Philadelphia and the international set of items was by and large retained for the final version.

5. Local-national Orientation: This value (or as some prefer, "orientation") has been the most difficult to assess cross-nationally. Although a largernumber of questions were prepared and tested, a fully satisfactory set which would make it possible to compare Indians with leaders in other developing countries and the U.S. was not secured even after the second pretest.

Furthermore, some of the Indian respondents seemed to find it conceptually and cognitively compatible to be highly oriented to both national and local community simultaneously. At the Philadelphia roundtable it was therefore decided to reconstruct the scale so as to avoid forcing respondents to make a choice between local and national priorities on every item. On the third pretest, the Indian set came out quite satisfactorily, both from the standpoint of internal coherence and of comparability.

6. Action Propensity: With regard to personality characteristics of leaders, no items were expressly written for this purpose, at first. The proposed plan was to use some of the better known scales which have been used cross-nationally to assess achievement-motivation, innovation, future-orientation, authoritarianism and the like. At the Philadelphia roundtable it was decided instead to combine a variety of items from other studies, as well as some new items, in an effort to create a new composite scale of "traditionalism-modernism." Skepticism prevailed about whether this goal would be realized. However, there did emerge a limited set of items with a

very satisfactory international mean inter-item correlation of .34, though not aptly described as a traditionalism scale. Item-by-item examination led to a reconceptualization of this set as "action propensity" -- the disposition of people to act despite risks, uncertainties, or lack of knowledge about consequences. This conclusion was sustained by factor analysis of all the items in the original set.

7. Honesty (Truthfulness): Analysis at the Philadelphia roundtable of the results of the open-ended value questions showed a high verbal importance attached to honesty. A new set of items was carefully written to conform to a homogeneous concept. These scaled very well and some of the conceptually miscellaneous items were dropped. This value should be reconceptualized as "truthfulness" or the value of public disclosure.

8. Change Orientation: The decision was made at Philadelphia to assess change orientation. It was hoped that one of the factors from the "traditional-modernism" items (as it was then termed), would produce a set of items on the disposition for change or "new things." No such set clearly emerged. The concept of change orientation, however, was felt to be of such theoretical importance that a new set of items should be included in the final version of the questionnaire without pretesting. In order to insure that at least four items would scale internationally, the new items were generally designed to be redundant.

9. Equality: The items originally written to assess equality were conceptually heterogeneous, containing such dimensions as equality for women, impartiality, and economic equality. At Philadelphia a new set of items was written with a more limited and precise focus. The result as a highly satisfactory international set, perhaps the best of all the scales. As these items also seem conceptually homogeneous, most of the items were retained.

10. Political Responsibility: Political responsibility was considered one of the fundamental variables in the original design. Its conceptualization

was the subject of extended discussion at the roundtables; and considerable field work was invested in India, in seeking to operationalize various aspects of the concept. It was recognized that the concept was multi-dimensional. Hence, it was stipulated that the leadership survey would incorporate items which would tap several of these dimensions. Some such items were pretested, notably those concerned with the referent object of responsibility felt by a leader (nation, local community, party, special interests, etc.). A substantial set of additional items was prepared to measure (1) the degree or sense of felt obligation, and (2) the conception of political role held by the leaders; but these could not be pretested in all countries prior to the Third Roundtable.

The ten items, reproduced in this version of the questionnaire, were selected as a potential international set. Other items, specific to India and the U.S., have been added after some experimentation so that an adequate scale of political responsibility is assured.

11. Individualism: Though items for this value were included in the pretests, a fully satisfactory scale could not be achieved, and considering the pressure of time and the length of the questionnaire, it was decided to drop the attempt to measure this value.

Part III. Values, Qualities, and Aspirations of Leaders

This part has been condensed, due to time limitations.

Question 1: Reworded to relate specifically to the eight values finally selected for scaling (Part II) and to reflect the precise definitions set for these values. Designed to secure an indication of the individual's professed hierarchy of values; to be compared with the priorities revealed by their relative position on the scales.

Question 2: Worded to conform exactly with the question posed by Cantril and Free in their survey of "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," permitting direct comparisons of local leaders' aspirations with those of the general population and national level leaders sampled by Cantril and Free in corresponding countries.

Question 3: Retained unchanged from previous pretests to secure a broad, unstructured view of the leader's evaluative frame of reference in assessing political conduct.

Part IV. Conflicts and Cleavages; Support and Reference Groups; Government Responsibilities and Autonomy

Questions 1 and 2: Reworded to link specifically the identification and assessment of community conflicts to the principal dependent variable of the study's design, community activeness and development.

Question 3: Unchanged.

Question 4: Simplification and condensation of several pretest questions designed to define the leader's primary focus of political responsibility.

Question 5: Systematic elaboration of reference groups, concentrating on customary bases of support in leadership functions; questions concerning consultative reference groups were dropped because of time limitations. The lists of groups are chosen to permit cross-national comparisons of five different orientations, to (1) party, (2) government structure, (3) interest groups, (4) general public, and (5) specific segments of the population, (workers, peasants, rich people, intellectuals, etc.). It should be emphasized that no cross-national comparison is intended among particular reference groups.

Question 6: Reworded to tie in with the functional areas chosen for special attention in analyzing community activeness; and to enable respondents to indicate their preference for non-governmental responsibility (by individuals or voluntary associations).

Question 7: Designed to secure leader's perception of local autonomy (a principal independent variable in the design) and his explicit estimate of the relationship between autonomy and local governmental effectiveness in major areas of community concern.

Part V. Background Data

Political Career.

Because of the non-comparability of most aspects of political careers among the countries involved in the survey, the collection of most such material is left optional and nation-specific.

Type of position is predetermined by the pattern of selection of respondents.

Time in office and political heritage (similarity of father's political experience) are considered cross-nationally relevant.

Inquiry concerning party affiliation requires nation-specific wording.

Socio-economic Characteristics.

Most queries are necessarily nation-specific.

Occupational data will provide some indication of status.

Length of local residence and educational accomplishment are considered likely to have high relevance to the incidence both of certain values and types of behavior among local political leaders.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF VALUES IN POLITICS

LEADERSHIP SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Standard English Version)

(Approved at Third International Roundtable - July, 1966)

Code for abbreviations

Country to which question is applicable

INTL	=	Both India and U.S.
IND	=	India only
US	=	United States only

Direction

P	=	Positive
N	=	Negative

Source of question

I	=	First Pre-test
II	=	Second Pre-test
I & II	=	Both first & second pretests
New	=	New items (prepared for 3rd RT)
US-Ind Spec.	=	Special U.S.-India Pre-test
Rev.	=	Revised pretested items

Part I: Problems and Leadership Activities

Source

What do you think are the most important problems facing this community now? — I; II

2. Here is a list of areas of activities of community leaders. Will you check those on which you are particularly active? — I (Rev) II (Rev)

List A - ACTIVITY

_____(1) Industrial and economic development - new plants, electrification, employment, labor supply, etc.

_____(2) Agriculture - mechanization, fertilization, cooperatives, etc.

_____(3) Housing - urban renewal, slum clearance, zoning, etc.

_____(4) Public improvements, services and utilities - transportation, roads, streets, parks, sewage, etc.

_____(5) Health - hospitals, sanitation, dispensaries, epidemics, etc.

2. (cont'd) **Source**

_____(6) Culture, recreation, and sports - libraries, clubs, theatres, etc.

_____(7) Education - including social education, school construction, curriculum problems, adult education, etc.

_____(8) Social improvement and welfare - child and women welfare, problems related to racial, ethnic, caste, religious, civil conflicts, crime, delinquency, care for the old, handicapped, poor people, etc.

_____(9) Political organization activity - party, political associations, nominations, recruitment, etc.

_____(10) Collection and distribution of public revenue - tax collection, budget distribution, etc.

3. We would also like to know in which areas you feel you have influence on what is accomplished. Would you examine the same list of activities and indicate those in which you feel you have a great deal of influence, only some, or none at all. II (Rev.)

List B - INFLUENCE

	Great Influence	Some Influence	None
(1) Industrial and economic devel.			
(2) Agriculture			
(3) Housing			
(4) Public improvements, services and utilities			
(5) Health			
(6) Culture, recreation and sport			
(7) Education			
(8) Social improvement and welfare			
(9) Political organization activity			
(10) Collection and distribution of public revenue			

4. In the areas where you feel you have a great deal of influence, what was the single most important recent action here in which you participated, and how did you participate? I (Rev.) II (Rev.)

5. What do you feel are the main obstacles, if any, which limit your effectiveness as a local leader? II (Rev.)

Part II - VALUE SCALES

The following 3 formats will be used in administering these questions:

FORMAT A -

Below are some questions faced in the daily life of political leaders. Please examine the list closely and check the extent to which you agree or disagree with them.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(3) _____				
(.)				
(.)				
(n) _____				

FORMAT B -

How important do you think it is to achieve or avoid each of the following when making political decisions?

	Very Important to achieve	Somewhat important to achieve	Somewhat important to avoid	Very Important to avoid
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(3) _____				
(.)				
(.)				
(n) _____				

FORMAT C -

Hypothetical situations presenting choices of action.

_·_·_·_·_·_·_·

Unless otherwise noted in the list of questions which follows, Format A will be used.

Economic Development	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
1. The economic development of the nation should take precedence over immediate consumer gratification.	1	INTL	P	I & II Rev.
2. A high standard of living should be the most important (ultimate) goal of a society.	10	INTL	P	II
3. The long term economic development of the nation should be considered as its most important goal.	22	INTL	P	I
4. Economic development should not be pursued if it means hardships for the people.	30	INTL	N	New
5. After obtaining a certain standard of living further concern with economic growth is not required.	42	INTL	N	New
6. Only economic development will ultimately provide the things required for the welfare and happiness of the people.	51	INTL	P	New
7. It is not necessary for the political leaders to be concerned about the economic development of the community.	62	IND	N	II
8. One should encourage private industrial enterprise among small industries.	72	IND	P	II Rev.
9. Efficiency in economic production. (Format B.)	88	IND	P	I & II Rev.
10. Technological education. (Format B.)	97	IND	P	I & II Rev.
15. It is not necessary for political leaders to be concerned about the economic development of the community.	62	US	N	II
16. A rising standard of living is not an important sign of progress.	72	US	N	I & II
17. There is too much emphasis in our country now on obtaining a high economic growth rate.	81	US	N	New
18. Economic progress. (Format B.)	86	US	P	I & II

Conflict Resolution-Avoidance	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
23. If there is disagreement about a program, a leader should be willing to give it up.	2	INTL	P	II
24. Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent	11	INTL	P	II
25. It is desirable in reaching political decisions to reconcile as many conflicting interests as possible.	31	INTL	P	I
26. Leaders who are over concerned about resolving conflicts can never carry out community programs successfully.	43	INTL	N	New
27. Preserving harmony in the community should be considered more important than the achievement of community programs	49	INTL	P	New
28. A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community.	54	INTL	P	New
29. Reduction of community conflicts. (Format B.)	90	INTL	P	II
30. Maintenance of friendly relations among the people who have to make the decisions. (Format B.)	94	INTL	P	I & II
31. Any decision that threatens to alienate a sector or group in the community should be postponed.	63	IND	P	New
32. A decision should not be taken until all disagreements have been fully resolved.	73	IND	P	New
33. Use of violence. (Format B.)	87	IND	N	I & II
37. A leader should modify his actions to keep consensus.	63	US	P	II
38. Conflict is a sign of a healthy community.	73	US	N	II
39. It is important for a leader to get things done even if he must displease people.	83	US	N	II

Participation	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
44. The complexity of modern day issues requires that only the more simple questions should be considered publicly.	3	INTL	N	II
45. Widespread participation in decision-making often leads to undesirable conflicts.	12	INTL	N	II
46. Most decisions should be left to the judgment of experts.	20	INTL	N	II
47. Only those who are fully informed on the issues should vote.	23.	INTL	N	II
48. Only those who are competent on an issue should speak about it.	32	INTL	N	II Rev.
49. Participation of the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted and competent leaders.	44	INTL	N	New
50. To have decisions made by people who are experts on the matter under consideration. (Format B.)	91	INTL	N	I & II
51. Participation by everyone in decision-making regardless of their knowledge of the issues involved. (Format B.)	93	INTL	P	I & II
52. Decision-making activity need not be the concern of all the people in a community.	56	IND	N	New
53. Allowing too many (all) people to have their say in community matters will only interfere with getting things done.	64	IND	N	New
54. A citizen should always be willing to participate in community affairs even if he feels his opinion does not count.	74	IND	P	New
55. Protecting leaders from day-to-day interference by the people. (Format B.)	83	IND	N	II
56. Participation of all citizens in decision-making even if it takes a lot of time and expenditure. (Format B.)	86	IND	P	II

Participation (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
61. Citizen panels should be established to review the day-to-day operations of administrative agencies, such as the fire and police departments.	56	US	P	II
62. An issue should be presented to the general public only after experts have made a decision on it.	64	US	N	New
63. Even if it takes twice as long to reach a decision, it is nonetheless important that everyone has his say.	74	US	P	II

Selflessness

67. Everybody should look after his own interest first.	4	INTL	N	II
68. A leader should not be concerned about his own status, only about doing a good job.	15	INTL	P	I & II
69. Sacrificing oneself for others is the highest value a man can achieve.	24	INTL	P	I & II
70. One should work to the best of his ability regardless of whether his services are adequately rewarded.	35	INTL	P	New
71. If leaders can get things done, the people need not bother whether or not they are selfish.	47	INTL	N	New
72. Sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others. (Format B.)	89	INTL	P	I
73. A society where a person can pursue his own interest without being required to sacrifice for others. (Format B.)	92	INTL	N	II
74. Subordination of one's own interest in the interest of a higher cause. (Format B.)	95	INTL	P	I & II
75. No one should expect a political leader to be absolutely selfless in his actions.	66	IND	N	II

Selflessness (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
76. A community can develop without having selfless leaders.	75	IND	N	New
77. A leader can never hope to serve the people if he does not sacrifice all his personal interests.	81	IND	P	New
78. To sacrifice one's own opportunities in life if necessary for the sake of the well-being of one's community. (Format B.)	98	IND	P	New
82. Only impractical idealists will sacrifice themselves for others.	66	US	N	I & II
83. A man should not be expected to provide for others in greater measure than for himself.	75	US	N	II

Local-National Orientation

87. National goals should not be obtained at great costs to local communities.	8	INTL	P	II
88. Although national affairs are important, people here should first worry about their own community problems.	13	INTL	P	II Rev.
89. Community progress is not possible if national goals always have priority.	19	INTL	P	II
90. We should not worry so much about national problems when we have so many in our own community.	28	INTL	P	New
91. The existence of local governments can be justified only in terms of their contribution to national objectives.	33	INTL	N	New
92. Local leaders should always be prepared to adjust their programs to national goals and policies even if this is disadvantageous for the community.	39	INTL	N	New
93. It is necessary to forego development of one's own community to help the development of the rest of the country.	45	INTL	N	I & II

Loc.-Nat. Or. (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
94. It would be better if the national government would allow the local community to do more things for itself.	52	IND	P	New
95. National goals should always receive priority over the requirements of the local community.	55	IND	N	New
96. In case of conflict the needs of the local community should receive preference over national objectives.	60	IND	P	New
97. Local leaders' over concern with achieving national goals is not desirable for the development of their own area.	65	IND	P	New
98. A man does not have to go outside of his community to find opportunities for a full and happy life.	70	IND	P	II
99. A man owes his primary responsibility to his own local community.	79	IND	P	II
100. Improving conditions of life in your own community is the best way to serve the nation.	82	IND	P	II
101. Unity of local community. (Format B.)	96	IND	P	I & II
109. Local government officials must realize that they stand or fall on the performance of the national government.	52	US	N	I & II
110. When in doubt, local officials should always resolve a government's conflict in favor of what they feel to be the national objectives.	55	US	N	I & II
111. The interest of particular communities should not be allowed to go so far as to interfere with national goals.	60	US	N	II
112. National laws should take precedence over all other laws and social practices.	65	US	N	II
113. Although we may not understand why national leaders make certain decisions, usually their decisions turn out to have been correct.	70	US	N	II

Loc.-Nat. Or. (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
114. Local government should not attempt to gain a share of central funds for desirable, but not essential local needs.	79	US	N	II
115. On the whole, questions of national importance should come first in the minds of local government officials.	82	US	N	US Spec.
116. Local governments, under present conditions, should be allowed to care for their own affairs.	85	US	P	US Spec.

Action Propensity

124. I prefer to stop and think before I act even on trifling matters.	5	INTL	N	II
125. I usually check more than twice to be sure that I am not overstepping my tasks.	16	INTL	N	II
126. One should be concerned with what he has rather than with what he could get.	25	INTL	N	II
127. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.	36	INTL	N	II
128. Only irresponsible leaders would risk community resources for possible but not certain future gain.	41	INTL	N	II
129. Quick decisions should be taken on important matters even at the risk of bad results.	48	INTL	P	New
130. Action should be delayed until it is certain that it will bring the desired results.	57	INTL	N	II Rev.
131. Long deliberation over an issue should be avoided if it causes delay in action.	67	IND	P	New
132. Rather than doing things in a hurry, it is better not to do them at all.	76	IND	N	New
133. Delaying action on important matters before complete information is available. (Format B.)	85	IND	N	II

Action Propensity (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
138. There is no progress without risk.	67	US	P	II
139. With things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present and not worry about what is going to happen tomorrow.	76	US	N	II
140. Untried, but possibly desirable programs. (Format B.)	87	US	P	II

Honesty (Truthfulness)

144. Honesty and truthfulness must never be compromised at any cost.	6	INTL	P	II
145. Leaders should present the truth no matter what the consequences are.	17	INTL	P	II
146. If a person is requested by his superiors to present a false impression of certain matters, he should be willing to comply.	26	INTL	N	II
147. If a leader knows that the truth will harm someone, he should conceal certain facts.	37	INTL	N	II
148. Local officials should cover up situations which may embarrass their superiors.	50	INTL	N	II
149. In order to achieve community goals, it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way.	58	INTL	N	II
150. It is not necessary for a leader to be strictly honest in public dealings if he knows this will interfere with getting his work done.	68	INTL	N	II
151. If a leader in local government is highly skilled, one should overlook minor instances of dishonesty.	77	INTL	N	II

Change Orientation	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
156. A community should not accept programs which upset the settled ways of doing things.	7	INTL	N	New
157. People who are disssatisfied with the way things have been done forget that doing things in a new way may bring about even worse conditions.	14	INTL	N	New
158. One cannot learn how to improve things by continually referring to the way problems were solved in the past.	18	INTL	P	New
159. If society is to progress, newer solutions to problems are essential.	27	INTL	P	New
160. The most reasonable approach toward social development is to accept changes which do not substantially alter the established order.	34	INTL	N	New
161. There is nothing inherently superior in the past.	38	INTL	P	New
162. The people in this community must continually look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things as they are.	46	INTL	P	New
163. Even if the newer ways conflict with the way things were done in the past, they are absolutely necessary and desirable.	59	INTL	P	New
164. Changes are desirable even if they do not seem to contribute as much as one might expect.	69	INTL	P	New
165. While changes are desirable, they should never be implemented at the cost of our past values and traditions.	78	INTL	N	New
Equality				
166. Rich people should pay more for the support of community projects than poor people.	9	INTL	P	II

Equality (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
167. There should be an upper limit on income so that no one earns very much more than others.	21	INTL	P	I & II
168. The government has the responsibility to see that nobody lives well when others are poor.	29	INTL	P	II
169. Underprivileged people (low income people) should not be given any special consideration.	40	INTL	N	II
170. In every situation poor people should be given more opportunities than rich people.	53	INTL	P	II
171. Avoiding spending on luxuries is necessary to minimize distance between social groups.	61	INTL	P	II
172. Discrepancies in salaries should be continually reduced.	71	INTL	P	II Rev.
173. It is their own fault that some sections of the society are backward; therefore, the government should not make special provision for their uplift.	80	IND	N	II
174. Equal provision of funds for higher education of women as for men. (Format B.)	84	IND	P	II
177. Young people with special talents should be favored for exemption from the armed services.	80	US	N	New
178. No one should be denied the opportunity for a college education.	84	US	P	New

Political Responsibility	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
(The use of this scale is optional for each country)				
A. Sense of commitment				
180. It is quite justifiable for a leader to avoid taking clear-cut positions on important issues if it threatens his career.	99	INTL		New
181. Only a highly impractical leader will work for his convictions at a cost of popular support.	100	INTL		New
182. It is better for a leader to lose his position than to do things against his better judgment.	101	INTL		New
183. Even though the citizens may not appreciate what a leader has tried to do for them, the leader is obligated to work in their interests.	102	INTL		New
184. A leader should first consolidate his own political position before expressing his views on sensitive political issues.	103	INTL		New
B. Degree of obligation or representative relationships to citizens				
185. A leader is obligated to follow the wishes of the community even if he thinks the citizens are mistaken.	104	INTL		New
186. A local leader should only implement the demands and expectations of the citizens and not act independently.	105	INTL		New
187. The most important thing for the leader is to follow his convictions even if this is different from what the constituency expects.	106	INTL		New
188. If the leader is himself convinced of what is the best action, he must try to implement this even though he has to use some pressure on the citizens.	107	INTL		New
189. It is permissible for a leader to act sometimes in an unauthorized manner if he is convinced his action is ultimately for the good of the people.	108	INTL		New

Part III - VALUES, QUALITIES AND ASPIRATIONS OF LEADERS

Source

1.(a) Below is a list of values and ideals which some leaders feel are important. Please tell us which three of these are most important for you, if you were to make a choice. — II Rev.

List C

Most important

_____ (1) To work for economic development of society. (US: to work for higher standard of living for people.)

_____ (2) To avoid conflict and maintain good relations among people.

_____ (3) To sacrifice your own interests for the interests of others.

_____ (4) To give priority to the national goals over the requirements of the local community.

_____ (5) To keep public leaders honest and truthful about public affairs.

_____ (6) To promote citizen participation in deciding about community affairs.

_____ (7) To equalize differences and distinctions based on economic and social discrimination.

_____ (8) To look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things the way they are.

1.(b) Now, please tell us which one of these you have chosen is most important for you. (Number _____)

2. What are your wishes and hopes for the future of our country? If you picture the future of (name of country) in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, ten years from now? — Cantril, II

OBLIGATORY PROBE: Anything else?

/Note: in translation - secure exact wording of this question as used in each country for Hadley Cantril's survey of "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country"./

3. What kinds of people would you like to see as political leaders? That is, what do you think are the most important qualities for a good leader to have? — I Rev. II

OBLIGATORY PROBE: Anything else?

Part IV - CONFLICTS AND CLEAVAGES: SUPPORT AND REFERENCE GROUPS: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND AUTONOMY

Source

1. In many communities there are conflicts which interfere with effective action to meet community problems. What are some major conflicts, if any, that interfere with getting things done in your community? — I & II Rev.

   (Name one or two)

2. To what extent do these conflicts come in the way of the development of your community? — I & II Rev.

   _____ very much

   _____ some

3. To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in your community? — I & II Rev.

   List D - Cleavages in the Community

	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
(1) Differences in education			
(2) Differences in income			
(3) Differences in religious belief or affiliation			
(4) Differences in political views			
(5) Differences between city and country (urban-rural)			
(6) Differences between managers and employees			
(7) Differences in racial and social origins			
(8) Differences between those desiring social change and those opposing it.			

4.(a) Of the following groups, whose interests and welfare do you as a community leader feel the most strongly committed to advance? — II Rev.

   / alternative: "public official" for "community leader"/

   Please choose one:
   _____(1) your political party
   _____(2) your friends and loyal supporters
   _____(3) the people in your community
   _____(4) the nation as a whole
   _____(5) another group; specify which_____

Source

4.(b) What is the next most important group for whose interests and welfare you feel responsible? II Rev.

_____

5.(a) When you as a leader (official) are in a situation in which support from others is necessary, to whom do you usually turn? Please check: II Rev.

List E

	USA	INDIA
_____ (1)	Local party leaders	Your local party organization
_____ (2)	Local elective officials	Elected leaders in the community
_____ (3)	Local newspapers	Leaders of other organizations (cooperatives, voluntary associations, etc.)
_____ (4)	Higher level party leaders	Higher level party leaders (ministers, party bosses, etc.)
_____ (5)	City manager or top administrative officials at local level	Appointed officials in the community
_____ (6)	Local civic, professional or reform groups concerned with local politics	Respected and influential people
_____ (7)	Special groups in local party organization	Your own supporters in the party
_____ (8)	Administrative colleagues at own level	Co-workers

5. (a) (cont'd)

	USA	INDIA
_____ (9)	State, county or higher administrative officials	Appointed official at higher levels
_____ (10)	Local business groups such as Chamber of Commerce	Factory owners and managers (urban)
_____ (11)	Local trade unions	Trade union leaders
_____ (12)	Public or citizens generally	Majority of citizens
_____ (13)	Local ethnic religious or racial groups	Certain caste or groups in the community
_____ (14)	Lower income or lower social status people	Poor people
_____ (15)	Well-to-do people (wealthy upper class)	Rich people
_____ (16)	Close friends and supporters	Close friends and supporters

Source

5. (b) Of these you have checked, which three are the most important? II Rev.

6. Regardless of how things are done now and who now has the resources to do the things on this list, who in your opinion should have the major or primary responsibility to undertake them? I & II Rev.

List F - Areas of government responsibility

	Central or state govt should do most	Local govt should do most	Local non-govt institutions should do most	Leave it to the people to work out personally
(1) Solve housing problem				
(2) See to it that every man who wants a job gets a job				

6. (cont'd)

(3) Building schools

(4) Providing clinics, dispensaries, health centers

(5) Supporting art (painting, music)

(6) Providing electricity services

(7) Solving problems of youth (juvenile delinquency, vocational guidance)

Source

7. In which of these areas does the local government here lack enough power and autonomy to act effectively? New

	Local government lacks powers and autonomy	
	Yes	No
(1) Solving housing problems		
(2) See to it that every man who wants a job gets a job		
(3) Building schools		
(4) Providing clinics, dispensaries, health centers		
(5) Supporting art (painting, music)		
(6) Provide electricity services		
(7) Solving problems of youth (juvenile delinquency, vocational guidance)		

Part V - BACKGROUND DATA

		Source
1.	Present position:	I
2.	How many years (or months) have you held your present position as _____ (name post)?	New
3.	Nation-specific: word to get at political heritage (for instance: Did your father also hold governmental or political positions, or perform functions such as yours? If yes, what was this position? _____) (or, Was your father active in politics? _____ If yes, how?)	New
4.	Nation-specific: (India, US) What political party do you support?	I Rev.
5.	What has been your principal occupation during your life?	I Rev.
6.	What was the principal occupation of your father?	New
7.	How many years have you lived in this place?	I
8.	Were you born in this place? _____ Somewhere near? _____ farther away? _____ (Please check appropriate box)	New
9.	How old are you?	
10.	Nation-specific: (US) What was the highest grade (level or class) of school you completed? (India) What was the highest examination you passed?	I Rev.
11.	(Sex) _____ Male _____ Female	I

Optional with each country

Source

12. (a) What was the first public position you held? I

Position_____ Year _____

12. (b) What other major public positions have you held since? I

Position_____ What years held _____

Position_____ What years held _____

13. In your occupation, what position do you hold (or did you hold) before you took your present public office? New

14. Nation-specific:

/ Questions relating to exposure to mass media, such as: New

(a) How often do you have a chance to read newspapers? Which?

(b) How often do you listen to the radio for news? (rural only)

(c) Are there any magazines or journals you read regularly? _/

15. (Rural respondents only)

Have you lived for some time in a city? _____ How long?_____ New

16. Nation-specific:

(US, India) What is your religious preference, if any? I

17. Nation-specific:

(India) Interviewer record: caste I

(US) " " race