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THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR:  
THE CASE OF THE URBAN POOR IN MEXICO CITY

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THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR:

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Wayne A. Cornelius

Governmental activities impinge upon the lives of urban-dwelling citizens in countless ways, many of which are largely imperceptible to unpoliticized, low-income segments of the population. Yet the low-income inhabitants of Latin American cities are often in a position to perceive more directly than other city-dwellers the consequences of governmental acts. The illegal origins of many of the urban settlements which they inhabit, together with the acute service deprivation from which these zones typically suffer, often lead to frequent contact with political and governmental agencies whose assistance must be sought in securing land tenure rights and essential services. Inadequate incomes make them more dependent upon government for provision of medical care, education for their children, and other goods and services. Governments may also devote special attention to this sector of the urban population for purposes of mobilizing electoral support or participation in other regime-supportive political activities. In this chapter we shall explore the general hypothesis that the way in which the urban poor come to perceive and evaluate local and national political systems, as well as their propensity to participate in political activity, may be substantially influenced by governmental performance.

Attention to the impact of governmental performance on political attitudes and behavior is rarely encountered in studies of urban

populations in Latin America. As I have argued elsewhere, American political scientists, "in their haste to plunder the sociological and psychological literature in search of concepts and theories to apply in their research,...have neglected a host of matters involving the operation of the political system itself which bear importantly upon the behavior of urban populations" (Cornelius, 1971: 115). With few exceptions (Eldersveld, et al., 1968: 97-106; Lee, 1971), the same criticism can be applied to studies of urban political behavior in other developing areas. Only recently has research on political attitudes and behavior in U.S. cities begun to investigate the impact of citizen-government contact and governmental outputs on individual attitudes and behavior (Eisinger, 1970, 1972; Glassberg, 1972; Schuman and Gruenberg, 1972).

In the present study, governmental performance is defined broadly to include outputs of goods and services provided to citizens, administrative actions or sanctions affecting urban neighborhoods, responses to individual or communal influence attempts directed at specific officials, and efforts at electoral mobilization by the official political party, the P.R.I. (Partido Revolucionario Institucional). Since the national political context of the research reported here is that of Mexico, no attempt is made to distinguish between performance of the government and that of the official party. There is considerable overlap in the functions performed by governmental agencies and some sectors of the official party with regard to the urban poor; moreover, distinctions between governmental and official party activity are often not salient to the low-income population.

Neither do we distinguish here among the performance of specific levels or agencies of government. All but one of the Mexico City neigh-

borhoods whose residents are included in the present study are within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Federal District, which functions as an integral part of the Mexican federal government (see Fried, 1972: 655-661), and is headed by an appointed Governor serving as a member of the President's cabinet. For the remaining neighborhood, the relevant agencies are the municipal government of the municipio (county) in which it is located, and the government of the State of Mexico, of which the municipio is a part. Among the people whose political attitudes and behavior are examined in this chapter, most contact with government has involved the Department of the Federal District, although some have also had contact with officials of government-controlled utility companies and ministries of the federal government.

After a preliminary survey of the extent and nature of government outputs relating to the urban poor, we shall examine the pattern of citizen-government contacts within six predominantly low-income neighborhoods, or colonias proletarias, of Mexico City. Measures of governmental performance will then be related to patterns of political attitudes and behavior among residents of the six research communities. How much contact is there between the government and community residents? What kinds of contact? What individual and community-related services are received by the residents? Does what the individual gets from the political system in terms of services and other benefits affect his perceptions and evaluations of it? Does contact with political and governmental agencies motivate the individual to become more politically involved? Does it lead him to expect more from the system? Specifically what kinds of governmental outputs or contacts with government are most important in producing these attitudinal and behavioral consequences? These are the principal research

questions to which this study is addressed.

#### Dimensions of Governmental Performance

The Mexican regime tends to concentrate government expenditures, particularly those for social services, in states or cities where it encounters the strongest electoral opposition (see Ames, 1970: 167; Hogan, 1972: 495). The Mexico City metropolitan area, an agglomeration of more than nine million people encompassing the old "City of Mexico," the surrounding Federal District, and adjacent municipalities in the State of Mexico, has traditionally been the principal stronghold of the nation's opposition parties. For this and other reasons relating to Mexico's highly centralized patterns of political and economic activity, the capital has enjoyed a grossly disproportionate share of federal expenditures for urban services, education, and other social benefits.<sup>1</sup>

The government's stance with regard to low-income neighborhoods of Mexico City has fluctuated drastically in recent decades from one of neglect and occasional repression under the autocratic regime of Ernesto P. Uruchurtu, Governor of the Federal District from 1952 to 1966, to one of relative benevolence under Governor Alfonso Corona del Rosal and his successors from 1966 to the present (see Fried, 1972: 669; Cornelius, 1973a). Under Uruchurtu's influence, the government sought to discourage further migration into the capital by prohibiting the subdivision of land for low-income settlement, vigorously repelling squatter invasions, and denying tenure rights and basic urban services to most existing settlements formed through such invasions. More recently, restrictions on land for low-income families have been relaxed; and while continuing to resist (often half-heartedly) the formation of new squatter settlements, the rulers of the Federal District and the State of Mexico have increased their

assistance to these and other types of illegally settled areas within the metropolitan area.

The shift in policy has been particularly evident in the area of land tenure rights. Justifying its actions as an attempt to end land speculation, fraudulent land sales to poor people, and other abuses committed by subdividers of land for low-income settlement, the government has increasingly acted to "regularize" low-income zones by expropriating the land in such areas and reselling it to its occupants at greatly reduced prices. In 1971 alone, the government formally "intervened" in 186 colonias proletarias within the Federal District as a first step toward regularization. In recent years, several hundred land titles have been distributed each month to residents of newly regularized colonias, enabling them to acquire credit for house construction and other improvements. During a three and one-half year period from 1967 to 1970, more than 20,000 of these land titles were distributed. Such a policy has an extraordinary political impact among the low-income population, whose principal preoccupation is often to reduce insecurity of land tenure within the settlements they inhabit.

Once official recognition of tenure rights has been granted to a settlement, the government's stated policy is to assist in its "urbanization," through the introduction of electricity for home use, street lighting, water and sewage systems, paved streets, sidewalks, and other improvements. Residents must repay the government for the cost of installing these improvements, usually over a period of seven to ten years, through individual assessments based on lot size and other factors. Nevertheless, the deficit of services in the city's low-income neighborhoods remains

massive. A government study completed in 1968 showed that 83 out of 350 colonias proletarias included in the study were completely lacking in water and sewage systems, electricity, street paving, and schools (Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1968: 10). An independent survey in 1971 revealed that 70% of the Federal District's land area is without an adequate water supply (El Día, 24 February 1971: 9). Other types of service deprivation in low-income areas are equally widespread (see Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, 1968: 10-12; P.R.I., 1970: 137-311, 461-496). By contrast, urban services in upper-income districts are maintained at a high level, and streets in many such areas are repaved annually regardless of need. Yet the government has begun to make good on its commitment to assist more actively in the urbanization of the colonias proletarias; and residents of these areas have come to expect greater governmental responsiveness to their petitions for community improvements.

By comparison with the governments of some other Latin American cities, such as Lima, the Mexico City regime has usually failed to apply routinized and rationalistic criteria in determining which settlements are to be legalized or urbanized (Cf. Fried, 1972: 680; Dietz, 1973; Cleaves, 1972). Objective indicators of neighborhood need and the suitability of the land for permanent settlement and development are often of secondary importance in distributing such benefits. Nor are urban amenities allocated on the basis of electoral support or non-support for the regime, since electoral districts are usually not coterminous with the boundaries of individual colonias. More often than not, allocational decisions seem to reflect primarily the skill and persistence of colonia leaders in cultivating the good will of government officials, and occasionally their capacity to generate publicity unfavorable to the regime (see Cornelius, 1973c: 140,

143).

Less particularistic considerations seem to influence the distribution of a variety of social welfare services by the regime. Most medical care available to low-income residents of the city is provided by free government clinics or doctors salaried by the official party. The P.R.I. also supplies teachers for provisional schools in low-income settlements, and sponsors classes in domestic arts, hygiene, nutrition, first aid, and adult literacy. A federal government agency, the Instituto de Protección a la Infancia (INPI), distributes free breakfasts to school children, operates kindergartens, and provides other kinds of child care services. The government-owned Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares (CONASUPO) operates stores in most parts of the city offering foodstuffs, clothing and shoes, student supplies, medicines, and other goods consumed by low-income sectors of the population, at substantially reduced prices. Since 1969, the government's marketing activities have been supplemented by temporary, mobile markets ("Mercados Sobre Ruedas") which give peasants and rural artisans an opportunity to sell their products directly to low-income capitalinos, thus eliminating middlemen and price mark-ups in the distribution of these goods. Six large social service centers, or Centros Sociales Populares, have also been established in poor areas of the city, offering services ranging from recreational programs to low-cost funerals.

Perhaps the most visible and widely experienced of the regime's welfare services are the "Health Operations" conducted periodically in numerous colonias proletarias throughout the city. During these highly coordinated, skillfully orchestrated "Operations" (formerly known as Jornadas de Sanamiento), a large team of public health workers and other skilled personnel provided by a variety of government agencies and organs of the

official party makes a one-day appearance in a neighborhood, usually at the invitation of local leaders or of a lower-echelon official in whose district the neighborhood is situated. Residents are provided with minor medical and dental attention, vaccinations for children, anti-rabies inoculations for dogs, and talks on drug abuse, alcoholism, personal hygiene, child care, and nutrition. Houses are fumigated to eliminate bothersome insects; garbage is collected from streets and vacant lots; mobile units of the CONASUPO chain distribute free foodstuffs, medicines, and other goods. Children are provided with free haircuts and entertainment by musical and theatrical groups. The government claims that such operations benefitted "directly or indirectly" at least 1.5 million residents of the city between May, 1967 and July, 1968; and an additional one million were claimed as beneficiaries during the December, 1970 - August, 1972 period (El Día, 1 July 1968: 12; 25 August 1972: 11).

Still other opportunities for demonstrating the regime's concern for the welfare of the poor are provided by the floods, fires, and other disasters which frequently afflict low-income areas of the city. Both the government of the Federal District and the "Popular Sector" of the official party possess well-developed disaster relief capabilities. Victims are swiftly provided with food, clothing, and temporary shelter. Like the sporadically conducted "Health Operations," this kind of crisis-oriented, ambulance-chasing assistance is highly visible and has a deep and lasting impact upon those benefitted. At the same time, the costs to the regime of providing such aid are relatively small, and no commitment to any form of ongoing assistance for the residents is involved. These qualities make disaster relief highly attractive to the government as a vehicle for support-building among the most disadvantaged sectors of the city's population.

The regime's preference for low-cost, high-impact assistance to the urban poor is also reflected in the high priority attached to its program of expropriating or otherwise "regularizing" illegally settled colonias proletarias and providing land titles to their inhabitants. Even though initial expenditures for urbanizing the regularized areas may be considerable, these costs are soon recouped through resident assessments; and the long-term benefits to the city's treasury from property taxes paid by those whose land was formerly excluded from the tax base are beyond dispute. The political and financial returns from large-scale capital investment in conventional housing units for the poor are much more questionable. Thus it is not surprising to find that most housing constructed by the government in Mexico City has benefitted middle and upper-middle income groups, especially government employees. Even those housing projects supposedly destined for occupancy by the neediest families have, in fact, been occupied primarily by more affluent working-class and white collar elements of the population, with little or no interference from government agencies charged with administering the projects. The government's rhetorical commitment to providing housing for the poor has been translated into a policy of making available the land upon which low-income families can construct their own dwellings.

### The Research Communities<sup>2</sup>

The data to be reported below are drawn from detailed personal interviews with a stratified, probability sample of male heads of family residing in six predominantly low-income communities located within the periphery of the Mexico City metropolitan area.<sup>3</sup> Approximately two thirds of those represented in the sample are migrants of rural origin, defined as

people who spent most of their time between the ages of 5 and 15 living outside of Mexico City; the remainder are native-born residents of the city. The communities were selected purposively so as to maximize the variation among them in terms of type of origin and access to basic urban services. The conditions under which these communities were formed, as well as the relationships they have had with political and governmental agencies, are important to an understanding of the patterns of political attitudes and behavior which have developed among community residents. In this section we shall briefly recount these aspects of the political history of the six research communities.

Three of the communities are squatter settlements formed through illegal occupation of publicly or privately owned land. The origins of the most recently formed settlement, Colonia Nueva, can be traced to the actions of three families who, in the pre-dawn hours of January 6, 1968, quietly occupied plots of land in an undeveloped area which had been used as a garbage dump by residents of adjacent colonias. Over a period of 48 hours, the original invaders were joined by nearly a hundred more families, most of whom had been renting houses or rooms in immediately surrounding areas. The invasion was thus largely spontaneous and unorganized, but consummated with great dispatch, to the considerable surprise and dismay of the landowners residing nearby. At the insistence and financial inducement of the landowners, riot police were sent on at least two occasions to evict the squatters, resulting in the arrest of 12 family heads and the destruction of numerous provisional dwellings which had been erected on the site. The shacks were soon rebuilt, however, and further resistance to the invasion proved futile. In desperation, the landowners hired arsonists to set fire

to dwellings in several parts of the settlement, resulting in the deaths of two adults and five children. The extensive city-wide newspaper and television publicity surrounding this event made it politically attractive for the government to come to the defense of the settlement's residents. Disaster assistance teams were promptly dispatched to distribute food and clothing to the affected families, whose dwellings were subsequently rebuilt with permanent materials contributed by the government. Settlement leaders seeking official recognition of tenure rights found the government receptive to their petitions; and in December, 1969, the land was formally expropriated on grounds that the landowners could not prove clear title to it. Construction of a large elementary school to serve the colonia and installation of regular electrical service commenced in the following year. At the time they were interviewed, residents still lacked all other basic urban services.

The formation of another squatter settlement included in the study, Colonia Periférico, followed a quite different pattern. The land invaded was the abandoned site of a large sand mine which had operated for more than 50 years. Title had been transferred to a private landowner who left the highly irregular, seemingly uninhabitable area undeveloped. A few squatters appeared on the site in 1954, followed in subsequent years by numerous families displaced by expressway construction and other public works in nearby areas. The settlement grew through a process of gradual accretion over a period of 15 years. The first and most serious threat of eviction arose two years after the invasion commenced, when riot police surrounded the settlement and demanded that it be vacated. They were prevented from carrying out the eviction order by intervention of certain government officials whose assistance had been hastily secured by settle-

ment leaders. Subsequently the landowner found it impossible to secure governmental action to evict the squatters. Urbanization of the settlement proceeded very slowly and largely without external assistance. Residents constructed a provisional school and water system and graded the main street of the settlement. Electricity, bus service, and a single public telephone were installed as a result of frequent petitioning by settlement leaders. Even today, however, the colonia lacks a sewage system, and low-lying sections are often flooded during the rainy season, causing outbreaks of typhoid and other water-borne diseases. Protracted negotiations by various settlement organizations finally resulted in the expropriation of the land in August, 1970 (after interviewing for the present study had been completed).

The third squatter settlement included in the study, Colonia Militar, originated in a highly organized, swiftly executed invasion led by army officers employed at a nearby military installation. The initial invasion group met frequently over a two-year period prior to occupation of the land, formerly the site of a commercial sand-mining operation, in 1954. During the organizational period as well as subsequent to the invasion, access to the settlement was carefully restricted to exclude "undesirables," defined either as persons with criminal records or those lacking sufficient income to build a permanent dwelling and improve their property within a relatively short period of time. The selective recruitment of settlers, as well as much careful attention devoted to street layout and grading, sanitation, the installation of regular electrical service (at the expense of the settlers), and the building of a school and church were intended to give the settlement an appearance of order and permanence, thus reducing the danger of eviction by the government.

But an even more important factor explaining the absence of serious eviction attempts during the first eight years following the invasion was the presence of large numbers of public employees--army officers and enlisted men, lower-level bureaucrats, teachers, and policemen--who had taken up residence in the settlement. Since Colonia Militar is almost completely surrounded by upper-class residential areas, it was to be expected that residents of these areas would apply pressure to the government to prevent the emergence of a permanent squatter settlement almost literally at their doorsteps. However, apart from an isolated incident in 1965 which resulted in the bulldozing of an adjacent strip of squatter housing erected prior to the invasion of Colonia Militar, the hostility of its upper-class neighbors was never successfully translated into governmental action to secure its removal. Although the colonia's leaders met with no success in their negotiations for legalization and further urbanization of the settlement during the administration of Governor Uruchurtu, positive action on their requests followed swiftly upon his removal from office in 1966. This outcome can be attributed to the close relationship which had developed between the settlement's leaders and Uruchurtu's successor, Corona del Rosal, during the preceding decade. Colonia Militar was formally regularized in July, 1966; and complete urbanization (including installation of a sewage system, running water for individual dwellings, sidewalks and paved streets) followed within a year.

The legal prohibition on new commercial subdivisions within the Federal District, in effect for most of the 1950-1970 period, resulted in a proliferation of such subdivisions in surrounding municipalities in the State of Mexico. Most explosive of all was the expansion of 56 low-income

subdivisions in a municipality east of Mexico City's international airport. The area's population grew from about 60,000 in 1960 to more than 600,000 by 1970. Among the first subdivisions to be opened up in this area was Colonia Texcoco, chosen for inclusion in the present study. Low land prices, extended payment terms (up to ten years), and promises of complete urbanization to be financed by the subdivider attracted numerous low-income families from central city zones as well as incoming migrants from the countryside. As was typical of the land "developers" operating in this area, the subdivider of Colonia Texcoco defaulted on his promises of urban services. Due to this lack of capital investment by the subdivider, as well as almost total neglect by municipal and state governments, the colonia remained without a functioning sewage system, paved streets, and regular electrical service. Public transportation serving the colonia was totally inadequate, and water supplied through a network of public hydrants installed by the residents in 1953 was usually contaminated and inadequate in quantity. On several occasions, the municipal government had fraudulently collected large payments from the residents for a sewage system and other improvements which were never installed. Not until a new state government took control of the municipality's affairs in 1969 was any meaningful assistance provided to the colonia, in the form of regular electrical service, a well to augment water supplies, and a large secondary and technical school. But Colonia Texcoco's most severe developmental problems remained largely unsolved by 1970. Due to inadequate drainage and the lack of paved streets, it still suffered from intermittent flooding in the rainy season and fierce dust storms during the dry season. Disillusionment among the colonia's residents was widespread, despite newly awakened hopes for increased assistance from the state government.

Conditions within Colonia Texcoco contrasted sharply with those prevailing in an adjacent area, which had been designated by the government of the Federal District as the site of an experimental, self-help housing project. Initiated in January, 1969, Colonia Esfuerzo Propio was intended to house over 1500 families displaced from central-city slum zones by construction of the city's new subway system and other public works. The families, together with their dismantled shacks and household possessions, were moved by truck to the project site and deposited on pre-assigned plots of land. Residents were to be assessed the sum of 35 pesos (U.S. \$2.80) for each square meter of land they occupied, including costs for urban services and improvements. All residents were urged to participate in the "self-help, mutual assistance" program of housing construction, through which they have access to low-cost permanent building materials and technical assistance, as well as communal labor provided by other participants in the program. Formerly a barren, uninhabited area, the project site was partially urbanized by the government prior to the arrival of the first settlers. The main streets were paved, and sidewalks, street lighting, and water, sewage and electrical systems were installed during the first year of the project's operation. A large primary school was opened in 1971. At the time of interviewing in this colonia, however, most residents had not made sufficient progress in building their permanent dwellings according to project specifications to qualify for connection to the water and sewage systems, and most streets within the colonia remained unpaved. Dust storms, flooding, and swarms of insects from an adjacent drainage canal presented major environmental and public health problems. Nevertheless, physical development of the site had been rapid, and the government's commitment to

the success of the experimental project made residents confident that they would have access to a full complement of urban services and improvements before the incumbent President left office in December, 1970. As of mid-1970, no payments on the land and urban improvements had been required of most residents by officials administering the project.

Projects similar to that operating in Colonia Esfuerzo Propio had been initiated by the government in several parts of the city as an alternative to the type of public housing project exemplified by the final community included in the study, Unidad Popular. Built in 1962-63 in an isolated area in the southern part of the Federal District, the Unidad Popular project was justified by the government as an attempt to provide decent housing for several thousand pepenadores (scavengers) who made their living by collecting and selling scrap materials in a large municipal garbage dump adjoining the project site. Also among the first groups of settlers were several large groups of families who had been displaced by street-widening projects elsewhere in the city, as well as numerous government employees. Unidad Popular had been almost entirely urbanized and construction of all of the project's 3,300 small, concrete-block houses had been completed before arrival of the residents. Like most conventional low-income housing projects built by the government in the Federal District, Unidad Popular largely failed to achieve its objective of providing housing for the neediest. House and land payments for project residents were set at 150 pesos per month, clearly beyond the resources of many of the original inhabitants. They soon began transferring ownership of their properties to more affluent families or to the operator of the municipal garbage dump and other wealthy non-residents seeking to buy up houses in the project for rental purposes. All of these transactions

were illegal under city regulations governing the project. As a consequence, the most pressing problem confronting many of the current residents is that of negotiating an agreement with the government to legalize their occupancy of houses within the project.

In each of the research communities, survey respondents were asked to recall and reflect upon those aspects of community development and community-government relations described above. They were also asked about their personal experience in dealing with political and governmental agencies, and the kinds of benefits they had received from such agencies. Their responses to these questions are summarized in several indexes employed in the analysis reported below.<sup>4</sup> The index of positive contact with government which we shall use includes contacts with officials initiated by the respondent as well as contacts initiated by officials themselves, the outcomes of which were evaluated by the respondent as favorable to himself or his community of residence. Most of the positive contacts reported by our respondents were made in the context of negotiations for regularization or governmental assistance in community development. Our index of negative contact with government measures exposure to eviction attempts by the government as well as negatively evaluated contact with political or governmental officials in other contexts (primarily influence attempts by the respondent). The index of overall contact with government incorporates all types of personal contacts with the government and the official party, irrespective of how (or whether) the outcomes of these contacts were evaluated by the respondent. Finally, two indexes have been constructed to measure the extent to which residents of the six communities have benefitted personally from various kinds of governmental outputs.

The index of personal services received includes medical care, help in finding housing or employment, legal services, receipt of low-cost commodities, and other types of social welfare benefits (see Table 1). The index of urban services and improvements received measures individual access to regular electrical service, water and sewage systems, paved streets and sidewalks.

We turn now to a quantitative analysis of citizen-government relationships among residents of the six research communities. We shall focus initially upon the extent and nature of personal contact with government, and the extent to which individual residents have benefitted from governmental outputs.

#### Patterns of Personal Contact with Government

Residents of these communities come into contact with government and official party representatives in a number of ways; but by far the most important in terms of influence on political attitudes and behavior are those contacts initiated by the residents themselves for the purpose of making a request for help or lodging a complaint. About one out of four respondents in our sample had contacted some official, either alone or as a member of a group, on at least one occasion. This indicates a slightly higher frequency of personally initiated contacting than that reported by lower-class residents of urban areas in the United States and India, as well as in the provincial Mexican city of Jalapa (see Eisinger, 1972: 46; Eldersveld, et al., 1968: 99-101; Fagen and Tuohy, 1972: 89). More than half of the contacts made by residents of the six research communities were concerned with negotiations for regularization or securing of property titles; one tenth involved petitions for potable water or running water for home use; and smaller proportions of contacts related to

requests for improved postal service, public market facilities, electricity, street pavement, or sewage systems. Less than 4% of the contacts were concerned with personal or family problems unrelated to community needs. The outcomes of personally initiated contacts with officials were overwhelmingly evaluated by the respondents as positive or beneficial in some way. Almost nine out of ten contactors reported that they had received "good" or "very good" treatment by the officials approached.

Expectations of favorable treatment by government officials appear to be held even by those who have never initiated any contacts with such officials. Over 70% of the total sample of community residents believed they would be treated "well" or "very well" if they had occasion to visit some government office to discuss a personal problem or need. When asked why they thought many people had never contacted an official, a majority of respondents expressed the belief either that most people had never considered the possibility of doing so, or that most people would not know which official to contact. Only 30% believed that citizen contacts were not undertaken because of an expectation that such contacts "would do no good" or that they would be badly treated by officials.

Direct personal contact with residents of the six communities initiated by officials themselves appears to be quite limited. Only five percent of the respondents in our sample reported that they had ever been contacted personally by a representative of the government or the official party. A slightly higher proportion reported that they had been approached individually by a campaign worker of the P.R.I., but virtually all of these workers were residents of the communities where the respondents lived.

Substantial numbers of people have, however, been brought into

contact with the regime through visits to their communities by government or official party functionaries. In most cases the visits have involved lower-echelon officials; but Colonia Militar was visited in 1964 by the presidential candidate of the official party, as were Colonia Nueva and Colonia Periférico during the electoral campaign of 1970. Well over half of the respondents in our sample had witnessed at least one official visit during the time they had resided in their current community of residence. Although most of these visits were viewed by the residents as vote-getting attempts, 20% were attributed to a desire of the official to investigate the needs and problems of their community, and a smaller proportion of visits were reportedly made for the purpose of announcing some government policy or action involving the community. Nearly two out of three respondents were unable to identify any specific consequences of these official visits, but 15% viewed the installation or improvement of a public service or some other favorable change in the status of the community as a direct outcome of an official visit.

Most negative contact with government among residents of the research communities has stemmed from the government's responses to the land invasions through which three of the six communities were formed. Nineteen percent of the respondents had observed at least one attempt by the government or police to evict or destroy the houses of people living in their current community of residence; and six percent had witnessed a similar incident in another neighborhood elsewhere in the city where they had previously lived. Five percent of the respondents had personally suffered some kind of physical injury or material loss as a result of such governmental actions. Nearly two thirds of those who had been exposed to govern-

ment eviction attempts felt them to have been unjust. But such negative contact has been quite sporadic among residents of the six communities; and as we shall observe below, its consequences for attitudes toward the political system have been largely offset by the more frequent, positively evaluated contact with government officials which has been experienced by the respondents.

#### Receipt of Public Services

A measure of what residents of the six research communities have received from their government in terms of personal and community-related services is provided by the data reported in Table 1. The substantial

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TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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attention by the regime to providing health care for the urban poor is reflected in the high proportions of our respondents who report having received such attention, either in government-operated hospitals or clinics or within their community of residence. Over 70% of the sample has also benefitted from the government's activities in marketing low-cost foodstuffs and other commodities through CONASUPO stores or mobile markets. Much smaller proportions have received other personal benefits, such as assistance in finding jobs or housing, legal aid, and unemployment or disability compensation from the Social Security Administration.

Government performance in providing basic urban services and improvements for most residents of these communities has been generally less satisfactory than its performance in providing more personalized benefits. Slightly more than a third of our respondents had connections with sewage

systems or running water in their houses at that time of the survey. Over 90% of those lacking individual water service relied upon public taps or hydrants in their neighborhood for their water supply. Less than a third of the respondents had benefitted from paved streets or permanent sidewalks near their homes. By contrast, over half of the sample had regular electrical service for their dwellings. This reflects the inordinately high priority given by the government to electrification projects in the colonias proletarias of the city. Electrification can be completed with relative speed, high visibility, and at a cost much lower than that of installing other, more acutely needed community improvements such as water or sewage systems. In fact, residents of such areas are usually quite effective in providing themselves with electricity without government assistance, through illegal connections with public transmission lines in nearby urbanized areas. Forty-six percent of the respondents in our sample obtained electricity through this means at the time of the survey.

Benefits provided by the government in the form of basic urban services and improvements are distributed very unequally among the communities represented in this study. The proportions of residents having access to all such services and improvements (regular electrical service, water and sewage systems, paved streets and sidewalks) vary from 0% in Colonia Nueva and 37% in Colonia Texcoco to 88% in Unidad Popular and 95% in Colonia Militar. These extreme disparities have arisen from the varying conditions under which specific communities were formed, as well as from accidents of local leadership and other community-specific factors discussed above which have influenced the quality of their relationships with political and governmental authorities over time.

Government Performance and Politicization

At the outset of this research it was hypothesized that personal contact with government and receipt of public services would stimulate greater awareness of political and governmental activities, while strengthening individual predispositions to make use of the political process in satisfying needs. These general hypotheses are supported by data gathered in the six research communities; but, as shown in Table 2, the impact of governmental performance upon politicization of community residents varies according to the type of personal contact as well as the kind of governmental benefits received. Controlling for the effects

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TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

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of age, socioeconomic status, and length of residence in the city, there is a positive relationship between overall level of contact with government and most measures of political awareness and participation (particularly involvement in electoral campaigns and community self-help activity). It should be noted that even those correlations under .20 reported in Table 2 and in subsequent tables often reflect large percentage differences. For example, among respondents having a low level of overall contact with government, only 46% have a high perception of the relevance of government and politics to the satisfaction of needs. Among those who have had frequent contact with government, 64% perceive political and governmental activity as highly relevant to need satisfaction.<sup>5</sup>

The analysis also indicates, however, that only those contacts whose outcomes are evaluated positively by the respondents have a significant impact on politicization levels among residents of these communities. Negative contact is only weakly related to most of our measures of politi-

cal awareness and participation; and as argued in a recent study of squatters in Lima, Peru, and Santiago, Chile, such contact may even have a depoliticizing effect (Goldrich, et al., 1970: 191-198). Yet subsequent research indicates that negative contact must be particularly severe in its personal consequences and experienced repeatedly over an extended period of time to significantly depress political interest and involvement among such populations (see Lindenberg, 1970: 178, 187). These circumstances did not apply to residents of any of the communities included in the present study. Even in the case of the most severely "sanctioned" community, Colonia Nueva, the period of negative sanctions imposed by the government was relatively brief and was followed by several instances of government assistance in the defense of the settlement against harassment by private landowners.

Our finding of a positive relationship between personally-initiated contacts with public officials and participation in electoral and party politics is consistent with the findings of urban researchers in the United States. It is, of course, impossible to determine the direction of causation implied by such a relationship, on the basis of cross-sectional survey data. As observed by one investigator, it seems probable that "impressions gained in contact [with government officials] carry over into other areas of political behavior. The reverse is also true: political activity [unrelated to contacting officials] provides incentives and opportunities to initiate contact" (Eisinger, 1972: 63). Frequent personal contact with officials undoubtedly increases general knowledge of political and governmental activities, as well as specific knowledge of points of access within the bureaucracy and procedures for articulating grievances or requests for government assistance.

The impact of receipt of public services upon individual politicization appears to depend upon the nature of the services received. The extent of personal services received by the respondents is positively related to political awareness and participation. Since most participation in voting and campaign activity by residents of the research communities is on behalf of the official party, such regime-supportive political activity may be engaged in as a quid pro quo for personal services received from the government. However, the receipt of basic urban services and improvements apparently fails to promote involvement in these and other forms of political activity. In fact, access to such services is negatively related to most of our measures of politicization. This finding reflects at the individual level a well-documented pattern among low-income neighborhoods in Latin American cities: As the most acute collective needs of such areas for security of land tenure and installation of basic services are satisfied, levels of resident participation in political activity tends to decline sharply (see Peattie, 1969: 7; Cornelius, 1973b, 1974).

#### Governmental Performance and Subjective Political Competence

It has been widely hypothesized that feelings of political efficacy or powerlessness among low-income people may be significantly influenced by greater personal contact with government. Specifically we might expect such contact to increase the individual's self-confidence in dealing with officials and his sense of personal efficacy or competence to influence government decisions. The analysis reported in Table 3 confirms these expectations with regard to our Mexico City sample. Again

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TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

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controlling for the effects of age, socioeconomic status, and length of residence in the city, we find overall contact with government to be positively related to a feeling of political efficacy, and negatively related to a sense of powerlessness in the political realm. Once again, only that contact which is positively evaluated by the respondents contributes significantly to these relationships. Receipt of personal services shows the same pattern of relationships with perceived efficacy and powerlessness, but access to basic urban services is essentially unrelated to such orientations.

Since those who have benefitted substantially from personalized services are also more inclined to be supportive in their attitudes toward the political system, as shown in the following section, their higher sense of political efficacy may derive mainly from an uncritical acceptance of the government's claims of being highly responsive to influence attempts by the citizenry. Those who currently enjoy high access to basic urban services and improvements may not perceive themselves to be politically efficacious either because they were not personally involved in the influence attempts resulting in these improvements, or because their involvement in such petitioning over long periods of time has sensitized them to the difficulties of extracting these types of benefits from the political system. Nevertheless, the results of our analysis suggest that the low-income community resident experiencing positive contact with government in the context of influence attempts may come to perceive a degree of personal competence to influence decisions in the political realm that he does not have in other areas of life, giving rise to feelings of political efficacy (Cf. Lane, 1959: 151-152).

Government Performance and Attitudes toward the Political System

For purposes of this analysis we find it useful to make a distinction between attitudes toward the political system which reflect specific support for the system and those indicating diffuse support. Specific support derives from instrumental satisfactions obtained from the political system by individual citizens. It thus represents a quid pro quo for the satisfaction of needs by governmental action. Diffuse support implies a more generally positive attitude toward the system; an attitude which does not depend on the satisfaction of specific needs. Rather, it represents a reservoir of trust or good will that helps citizens to "accept or tolerate [governmental] outputs to which they are opposed or the effects of which they see as damaging to their wants" (Easton, 1965: 159). The absence of diffuse support may be reflected in a general sense of political negativism or cynicism about government and politics, or in advocacy of radical changes in the society and polity.

In Table 4 we examine the impact of government performance on diffuse support for the political system among our Mexico City sample. We find that the overall amount of contact with government is positively

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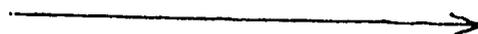
TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

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related to affect for national political institutions, trust in government, and perceptions of governmental concern for the welfare of the poor. A negative relationship exists between overall contact and feelings of political cynicism. Only negative personal contact with government appears to increase non-supportive orientations toward the political system (Cf. Lindenberg, 1970: 115-124).

These findings contrast sharply with those of another recent study, which discovered a significant positive relationship between aggregate

amount of contact with government and negativism toward the political system among residents of the city of Jalapa, Mexico. Data from this study indicate that regardless of family income level, "a citizen [who] actually comes into contact with the political process in other than routine fashion...is more likely to be extremely negative about politics" (Fagen and Tuohy, 1972: 114-115). This divergence from our findings in Mexico City may be attributable to the existence of more highly developed governmental capabilities for responding to the needs of the poor in the capital. In Mexico City there are more points of access within the official party-government apparatus for lower-class petitioners; and comparatively greater resources at the disposal of political and governmental agencies in the capital for expenditure in low-income neighborhoods increase the likelihood of a favorable response to such influence attempts. Under these circumstances, citizen contact with government may contribute to the generation of diffuse support for the political system.

A particularly interesting pattern of relationships emerges from our examination of the impact of governmental performance on specific support for the political system--i.e., support based on positive evaluations of governmental outputs and the performance of specific officials. As shown in Table 5, there is a positive relationship between personal contact with government (especially positive contact) and favorable evaluations of the performance of specific high-ranking officials, as well as perceptions of the government as being generally responsive to citizen requests for assistance in satisfying needs. 

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TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

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It is significant that negative contacts with the regime do not seem to adversely affect evaluations of the performance of high-ranking officials of the city and federal governments. Informal interviews within the six communities revealed that negative experiences with the authorities are likely to be interpreted as evidence of the "malfunctioning" of the political system due to corrupt, low-ranking politicians or bureaucrats, whose behavior subverts the will of those at higher levels of authority (Cf. Kahl, 1968: 114-116).

The hypothesis that those who receive objectively better public services are likely to evaluate governmental performance more positively is confirmed by our interview data from these communities. As shown in Table 5, receipt of personal services is positively related to favorable evaluations of the performance of specific officials and to perceptions of governmental responsiveness to influence attempts. An inverse relationship exists between receipt of basic urban services and dissatisfaction with government service outputs.

It is possible, however, that some people may express dissatisfaction with public services for reasons unrelated to the objective level or quality of the services themselves. For example, dissatisfaction with service outputs may be simply one facet of a general syndrome of political alienation or negativism toward the socio-political order (Cf. Aberbach and Walker, 1970; Schuman and Gruenberg, 1972: 372-387). To test for this possibility, the analysis reported in Table 5 was repeated, controlling for feelings of general political alienation and perceptions of social injustice in the country. The previously identified negative relationship between dissatisfaction with government service outputs and

the absolute level of basic urban services and improvements provided to respondents remained virtually undiminished once the control variables had been introduced. This suggests that evaluations of governmental performance in this area are, in fact, influenced by objective levels of service deprivation.

The foregoing analysis, based on survey responses of the total sample of residents of the six research communities, obscures some important differences between residents who are migrants to the city and those who are native-born capitalinos. In Table 6 these two groups are compared in terms of the impact of governmental performance on their attitudes toward the political system. We find that in general, personal

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TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

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contact with government and receipt of public services are more important predictors of diffuse and specific support for the system among migrants than among native-born residents of Mexico City. This pattern persists if the analysis is performed within single communities; i.e., in each of the six communities, governmental performance has a greater impact upon the political attitudes of migrants than of natives. A preliminary explanation of these findings would emphasize the relatively low expectations for governmental performance which migrants may possess upon arrival in the city. Most of the migrants represented in our sample were born and raised in small agricultural communities where services provided by government agencies were minimal or non-existent, and personal contact with government representatives was quite limited and mostly unrewarding. Expectations for governmental output performance and favorable treatment

by government bureaucrats and politicians deriving from such pre-migration experience are likely to be quite low (Cf. Foster, 1967: 109, 170). These expectations are also consistent with a more general "migrant ethic" in which urban opportunities for material advancement and improvement of living standards are perceived as "potential to be actualized by personal action rather than as legitimate rights to be automatically granted by reason of mere physical presence" in the city (Portes, 1971: 716; Cf. Butterworth, 1972). Given this set of perceptions and expectations, the migrant who does experience positive contact with the government and benefits from variety of governmental services in the post-migration period is likely to evaluate the political system more favorably than his native-born neighbor, who may take such things for granted or may even view himself as having been deprived of legitimate benefits by the government.

#### Conclusion

It is probable that the political attitudes and behavior of residents of the six communities included in this study have been conditioned importantly by governmental performance in a number of ways not directly examined in our analysis. As noted above, the granting of land tenure rights for squatter settlement residents is a highly salient dimension of governmental performance among such populations. The provision of educational opportunities represents another critically important area, in which the government has made great strides within the Mexico City metropolitan area. The symbolic outputs of the regime, channeled through a controlled press, radio broadcasts, the educational system, labor unions, and local community leaders tied to the government through clientage relationships, have also shaped the attitudes and behavior of low-income residents in important ways (see Cornelius, 1973c: 145-147).

The significance of these symbolic outputs, relative to the material benefits provided by the regime, should not be underestimated. Comparison of Mexican government expenditures and economic policies with those of other Latin American governments leads to the conclusion that

"Excepting the impact of land distribution, in no other major Latin American country has less been done directly by the government for the bottom quarter of society. Trends in prices, wages, and occupational opportunities in Mexico have probably left most of the families within this stratum with a standard of living at or below that which they enjoyed in 1940" (Hansen, 1971: 87).

Although this observation is far less applicable to the lower-income sectors of the capital's population than to the underclasses of the country as a whole, it nevertheless redirects our attention to the striking juxtaposition of objectively inadequate government performance in many areas with highly supportive mass attitudes toward the regime, as revealed by every major attitudinal survey completed in the capital during the past decade (Cf. Kahl, 1968: Chap. 6; Coleman, 1972: 45-56; Cornelius, 1973a).

Murray Edelman has advanced the hypothesis that government actions chiefly satisfy or arouse people "not by granting or withholding their stable substantive demands, but rather by changing the demands and the expectations" (Edelman, 1971: 7). Many social scientists now place similarly heavy stress on the importance of expectations of future welfare or deprivation in predicting mass attitudes and behavior. For example, recent studies in the area of frustration-aggression theory hold that "much greater weight must be given to anticipations of the goal than merely to the duration or magnitude of deprivation per se" in accounting for most

motivated behavior (Leonard Berkowitz, quoted in Edelman, 1971: 8; Cf. Klassen, 1972).

The Mexican regime's symbolic outputs, stressing government commitment to the pursuit of social justice and other goals of the "continuing Revolution," have strongly influenced mass expectations of future welfare. The expectations have been tied not only to continued economic progress for the nation as a whole under the incumbent regime, but to the prospect of direct governmental assistance for the poor.<sup>6</sup> Within our sample, frequent personal contact with the government appears to reinforce such expectations. Overall level of contact with government is significantly related to higher expectations of future governmental assistance in solving important personal and community-related problems (partial  $r = .26$ , controlling for age, socioeconomic status, and length of urban residence). This presents a formidable dilemma for the regime: Citizen contact--at least in those localities where the government has been relatively responsive to influence attempts by low-income groups--increases support for the system; yet it also raises expectations for government performance. Barring a radical shift in government priorities and expenditure patterns at the national level, these inflated expectations will not be met.

It has been observed that "the Mexican regime encourages structured and controlled citizen contacts to a greater degree than perhaps any other in Latin America with the exception of Cuba" (Fagen and Tuohy, 1972: 88-90). Such contacts undoubtedly decrease the citizen's sense of remoteness from the regime and may even convince him of its concern for his well-being. But in a situation of scarce resources for meeting the needs of the poor, the long-term consequences of encouraging citizen contact with public officials may prove more harmful than beneficial to political system stability. For

those low-income urban dwellers who come in contact with political and governmental agencies, the crucial test of regime performance will lie increasingly in the payoffs of such contacts, in terms of concrete governmental benefits--not symbolic reassurances of commitment to Revolutionary ideology.

NOTES

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1. For discussions of the origins and consequences of political centralism in Mexico, see Fagen and Tuohy (1972: Chap. 2), Fried (1972: 652 ff.), and Tuohy (1972). Nevertheless, data on total capital expenditures by the federal government indicate that the Federal District has received "less than an adequate share of capital in relation to its contribution of income and population to national totals" (Wilkie, 1971: 7-10).
2. Most of the material in this section is drawn from Cornelius (1973b: Part II). Pseudonyms have been used to identify all communities included in the study.
3. Interviewing was conducted during May and June, 1970. For a detailed description of the sampling procedures and other field research procedures employed in the study, see the methodological appendices to Cornelius (1973a).
4. These and other summative indexes used in the data analysis reported in this chapter were constructed from responses to three or more items in the main questionnaire administered in connection with six-community survey study. For purposes of index construction, responses to each item were coded as 0 or 1, dichotomized either on logical grounds or as

closely as possible to the median response in the case of an item having ordinal response categories indicating intensity of attitude held. For each index, a pool of items considered on a priori grounds to be relevant to the variable being measured was isolated, and intercorrelations among these items were computed. By inspection of these inter-item correlations, a number of items obviously unrelated to the index variable were eliminated. Preliminary indexes were then constructed by summing scores across the remaining items in the index. Item-to-index correlations were then computed, and those items failing to correlate with the summative index at or above the .30 level were eliminated. The remaining item pools for each index were then factor analyzed according to the principal components technique. Items with loadings of less than .500 on the first unrotated factor extracted were then eliminated, and final index scores were computed by summing scores across the remaining items in each index. Indexes were then validated for internal consistency and reliability by the Spearman-Brown split half technique. To be considered acceptable an index was required to have a reliability coefficient of .80 or above. A number of indexes (e.g., overall diffuse support for the political system, overall specific support for the political system) used in this chapter were constructed from scores on three or more of the finalized simple additive indexes described above. Since the number of items included varies considerably from one index to another, scores on them were standardized according to the z-score transformation procedure to insure that each component index contributed equally to the respondent's score on the overall summative index. The overall index was then constructed by taking the simple sum of the standardized scores on each simple additive index included in it.

5. These percentages derive from crosstabulation of our indexes of "overall contact with government" and "perception of relevance of government and politics to need satisfaction." For this analysis, respondents' scores on the indexes were dichotomized into low and high categories, with the cutting point located as close as possible to the median scores on these indexes for the total sample. The differences reported are statistically significant, by Chi-square test, at the .001 level.
  
6. For an analysis of the role of Venezuelan city officials in fostering high expectations for government assistance among residents of low-income neighborhoods, see Ray (1969: 89-90).

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APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS USED IN CONSTRUCTING SUMMATIVE INDEXES\*

[FROM TABLE 2]

(1) Awareness of Governmental Outputs Affecting Community:

112a-} When you think about this colonia, in what ways do you think it  
112g.} has changed since you arrived here? Could you tell me the two  
or three most important changes that have taken place? Who do  
you think was most responsible for [each] change? [Coded for  
mention of political or governmental agency]

158e. [Regarding amount of interest the respondent believes the  
local government takes in his colonia:] Why do you feel this  
way? [Coded for mention of governmental actions, programs  
affecting colonia]

(2) Perception of General Relevance of Government and Politics to  
Satisfaction of Needs:

130a. Suppose something were to happen to your family--say, for example,  
a case of serious illness or accident, the sudden loss of your  
job or of your house, etc. Is there some person or group or  
office which you could rely upon for help in such a situation?  
[Coded for mention of political or governmental agency]

131b. Who is responsible for most of the [community] problems which  
you have mentioned?

131e. Within this colonia, who may be able to help in solving these  
kinds of problems? [Coded for mention of political or govern-  
mental office]

131i. And who is it from outside of this colonia who may be able to  
help in solving the kinds of problems you have mentioned?

132. Generally speaking, which is most important for improving the  
conditions of life in this colonia? The hard work of the  
residents, God's help, the government's help, or good luck?

158a. Thinking now again about the federal government--that is, the  
government of the President, of the Federal Congress, and all  
the other federal agencies: How much effect do its activities  
have on your life from day to day?

158c. Thinking now about the [local, city or municipal government]:  
How much effect do its activities have on your life from day  
to day?

158e. How much interest do you think the [local, city or municipal  
government] takes in this colonia?

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\*Numbering of individual items corresponds with their order of  
appearance in the main questionnaire administered in the survey.

171b. [If respondent feels that most people in Mexico are not getting their fair share of the good things in life:] What should be done in order that most people get their fair share? [Coded for mention of governmental action]

171d. [If respondent feels that he is not getting his fair share of the good things in life:] Who or what would you say is responsible for your not getting your fair share?

(3) Attentiveness to Electoral Campaigns and Political Content of Mass Media:

154a. How often do you listen to or watch the news or other programs about the things that are happening, on the radio or television?

154b. How often do you read about the news and the things that are happening in the newspapers?

157a. Do you pay much attention to what goes on during election campaigns, such as the one now in progress for the elections next July 5?

175d. Do you try to keep informed about politics and public affairs?

(4) Interest in Politics and Public Affairs:

155a. In general, how interested are you in what the federal government is doing?--That is, the government of the President of the Republic.

155d. } How interested are you in what the [Department of the Federal  
155e. } District/Municipal Government] is doing?--That is, the govern-  
ment of [name of Governor of the Federal District/name of  
Municipal President].

(5) Knowledge of Government and Politics:

56a. Can you tell me anything about the new Federal Labor Law? For example, what kinds of things is it supposed to gain for the workers?

122a. In your opinion, who are the three persons who have the most influence in [colonia in which respondent lives]? That is, the persons who are most successful in getting their own way and getting things done? What kind of work do they do?

136b. Where is the nearest office of the P.R.I.? In what colonia and on what street is it located?

- 137a. Have you ever heard of the C.N.O.P. [official party sector]?
- 138a. Have you ever heard of the C.C.I. [agrarian political confederation]?
147. Think now about the problems of Mexico. In your opinion, what are the most important problems in the country?
148. What do you think are the most important things that make Mexico different from other countries? [Coded for mention of some aspect of politics or government, political history, or foreign policy]
- 156a. We are also interested in knowing how well known are various public officials. Can you tell me the name of the President of the Republic?
- 156b. Can you tell me the name of the candidate of the P.R.I. for President of the Republic in the current election campaign?
- 156c. Can you tell me the name of the congressman who represents your district in the federal congress?
- 157b. Do you know if there are any workers, organizers, or leaders of a political party here in [colonia in which respondent lives]? Can you tell me their names and for what party they work?
- 157d. During the current election campaign, what kinds of things have the political parties done to try to win the support of the people in this colonia for their candidates?
- 162e. Where do people vote around here? Where is the nearest polling place?
- 162c. Can you tell me the names of any of the persons who are currently running for congressman in your district?
- 174d. Could you tell me who Carlos Madrazo [former head of the P.R.I.] was?

(6) Discussion of Politics:

- 175a. In general, how often do you discuss politics and public affairs with other persons?
- 175b. [If respondent discusses politics and public affairs with other persons:] With whom do you discuss these matters? [Coded for number of types of discussants--relatives, friends, neighbors, co-workers, etc.]
- 175c. Do you discuss politics and public affairs in the period between elections, or just at election time?

(7) Voting Participation:

161a. Do you try to vote in every national election (that is, elections for President of the Republic, or Congressman in the federal congress), do you sometimes miss an election, or do you rarely vote in such elections?

161b. Would you tell me for which party or presidential candidate you voted in the last national election? [Coded for voting in election]

161c. } Would you tell me for which party or presidential candidate  
162e. } you intend to vote in the next national election? [Coded for intention to vote in election plus knowledge of location of polling place:] Where do people vote around here? Where is the nearest polling place?

(8) Campaign Involvement:

157f. During an election campaign has any political party worker or organizer ever contacted you to ask your support or cooperation in some way? In what way? How did you respond?

175e. In the last six months, did you:  
--Attend a political meeting or rally, perhaps a rally held in connection with the current election campaign?  
--Do anything to help get people registered to vote?

175f. Have you ever done anything during an election campaign to help elect some candidate? In what ways did you help? About how many times have you done that?

(9) Participation in Community Self-Help Activity:

120b. What kinds of work have you done together with other residents of this colonia? Have you taken part in any of these activities [see below]? How many times have you done this?  
--Building a meeting hall, school, or other structure for use of the community in general  
--Installation of public services (electricity, water or sewage system, etc.)  
--Providing assistance to families affected by floods, fires, or other disasters  
--Helping to provide security or protection for the colonia (including fire protection)  
--Other types of community development activities

133a. Have you made donations to the leaders of this colonia, or to other persons or groups within the colonia, for some purpose? To whom have you made these donations? For what purposes?

143c. Have you ever worked or cooperated with other residents of [colonia in which respondent lives] to try to solve some problem or meet some need of the colonia? When was this?

(10) Overall Contact with Government:

136c. [If respondent knows location of a P.R.I. office:] Have you ever gone there? For what purpose?

137e. Have you personally ever been in contact with the C.N.O.P. [official party sector]? For example, have you ever visited one of its offices, or talked with any people who work for it?

157f. During an election campaign--the present one or any other in the past--has any political party worker or organizer ever contacted you to ask your support or cooperation in some way?

176a. We were talking earlier about the needs and problems that you and the other residents of the colonia have. Have you ever personally gone--either alone or with other residents of the colonia--to see some official of [the Department of the Federal District/Municipal Government], or some other person of influence in the government, about some problem or need?

176b. Has a representative of the government, the P.R.I., or the C.N.O.P. ever come to speak with you?

(11) Positive Contact with Government:

136c. } [If respondent knows location of a P.R.I. office:] Have you  
136d. } ever gone there? [If yes:] For what purpose? How do you  
think you were treated (attended) there? Why do you say that?

137e. Have you personally ever been in contact with the C.N.O.P.? For example, have you ever visited one of its offices, or talked with any people who work for it? [If yes:] What was that about? What resulted from this visit (conversation)? What happened, or how did it turn out?

136f. Have you ever seen any officials or representatives of the government, of the P.R.I., or of the C.N.O.P., come to this colonia? [If yes:] When did this happen? Do you know why this person (these persons) came to the colonia? Did anything happen in the colonia as a result of their visit(s)? What kinds of things?

176a. We were talking earlier about the needs and problems that you and the other residents of the colonia have. Have you ever personally gone--either alone or with other residents of the colonia--to see some official of [the Department of the Federal District/Municipal Government], or some other person of influence in the government, about some problem or need?...What kind of treatment did you receive? How were your needs attended to?

(12) Negative Contact with Government:

102a- } Do you know if there have been any attempts by the government or  
102h. } the police to evict or tear down the houses of any residents  
of this colonia?...What were your feelings when this happened?  
For example, did you feel that the actions taken by the authori-  
ties were just or unjust? Were you or your family affected in  
some way by these actions? [If yes:] In what way?

102i. Can you recall any other incidents of this nature? [If yes:]  
How many? Did these things also happen here in this colonia,  
or somewhere else?

104a- } Do you recall any incidents of this kind which happened in places  
104d. } where you may have lived before coming to [colonia in which  
respondent currently lives]? [If yes:] Where was this? Who  
was involved in this--the government, the police, a landowner,  
a subdivider (fraccionador)?

176a. Have you ever personally gone--either alone or with other resi-  
dents of the colonia--to see some official of [the Department  
of the Federal District/the Municipal Government], or some other  
person of influence in the government, about some problem or  
need?...What kind of treatment did you receive? How were your  
needs attended to?

(13) Receipt of Personal Services:

139. We are interested in some of the services the government provides  
for the people of this city. Think about your family--that is,  
yourself, your parents, [If married:] your wife, [If children:]  
your children, and your brothers and sisters (if they live at  
home with you). Have you or any other member of your family  
ever:

--received medical care at some government hospital or clinic,  
a public health center, or some Social Security facility?

--received medical care, vaccination, or other health treatment  
here in the colonia, from doctors sent by the government or by  
the P.R.I.?

--received help in finding a job or a place to live from some  
government office or from a labor union [Labor Sector of P.R.I.]?

--received free legal services or aid from some office of the  
government or the P.R.I.?

--received or bought food or other products from a CONASUPO store  
or from a "Market on Wheels" (Mercado Sobre Ruedas)?

--received benefits of any kind from the Social Security Admin-  
istration (other than medical attention)?

--received any other kinds of benefits or assistance from an  
office of the government or of the P.R.I.? Or perhaps from some  
person who works for the government or the P.R.I., such as a  
social worker? [If yes:] What kind of help?

140b. Have you ever visited one of the Centros Sociales Populares? That  
is, the Centers of Tepito, Leandro Valle, Miguel Hidalgo, Aquiles  
Serdán, Pino Suárez, Ignacio Zaragoza, and others like them, built  
by the Department of the Federal District. [If yes:] For what purpose?

(14) Access to Basic Urban Services and Improvements:

- 187a. Here are a few questions about your house. Please tell me whether you have any of the following things:  
--Electricity [If yes:] With or without contract?  
--Sewage system connection  
--Running water inside the house [If no:] How do you get your water?
- 198d. [Post-interview item, to be answered by interviewer:] If the respondent's house faces a street, is it paved or unpaved?
- 198e. [Post-interview item:] If respondent's house faces a street, is there a permanent sidewalk in front of or to the side of the house?

[FROM TABLE 3]

(15) Sense of Political Efficacy:

- 60d. Which of these statements do you believe is more true?  
(1) In the long run, we ourselves are responsible for having bad government.  
(2) Someone like me doesn't have any say about what the government does.
- 60m. Which of these statements do you believe is more true?  
(1) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  
(2) If a person just pays attention to what is going on in politics and government, he should be able to understand what is happening.
142. Some people say that one can only wait and accept government programs; others feel that a person can have influence on the government and make the government help people. How do you feel about this? Do you think that one can only wait and accept government programs, or do you think a person can have influence and make the government help?
165. In your opinion, how much attention to the leaders of this country--that is, the really powerful public officials and politicians--pay to the opinions of the ordinary man like yourself? Would you say that they pay a great deal of attention, some attention, only a little attention, or no attention at all?
170. Do you think that the way people vote in elections has some effect on what the government does? Would you say that it has a lot of effect, only a little effect, or no effect at all?

(16) Sense of Political Powerlessness:

- 60d. Which of these statements do you believe is more true?  
(1) In the long run, we ourselves are responsible for having bad government.  
(2) Someone like me doesn't have any say about what the government does.
- 60m. Which of these statements do you believe is more true?  
(1) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.  
(2) If a person just pays attention to what is going on in politics and government, he should be able to understand what is happening.
- 60w. Which of these statements do you believe is more true?  
(1) It's good to pay attention to election campaigns, because it is important that the best candidate wins.  
(2) It doesn't matter much whether the people elect one candidate or another, because nothing is going to change, anyway.
142. Some people say that one can only wait and accept government programs; others feel that a person can have influence on the government and make the government help people. How do you feel about this? Do you think that one can only wait and accept government programs, or do you think a person can have influence and make the government help?
- 161h. Many persons with whom we have spoken say they have not voted. Do you think there is some particular reason for this?  
[Coded for the following responses indicating sense of powerlessness: "Fear that their vote will not be respected;" "The vote of one person does not matter much;" "The P.R.I. (or the government) has already selected who will govern; what's the use of voting?"]
165. In your opinion, how much attention do the leaders of the country--that is, the really powerful public officials and politicians--pay to the opinions of the ordinary man like yourself? Would you say that they pay a great deal of attention, some attention, only a little attention, or no attention at all?
170. Do you think that the way people vote in elections has some effect on what the government does? Would you say it has a lot of effect, only a little effect, or no effect at all?
- 176c. Many persons we have spoken to say that they have never talked with any government official or representative of the P.R.I., or the C.N.O.P., or other influential people. Do you think there is some particular reason for this? [Coded for following responses indicating sense of powerlessness: "Contacting such officials would do no good; no help would be received, no positive action would be taken;" "People believe they would not be received by such officials; would be refused access to officials;" "People believe officials would pay no attention to them."]

[FROM TABLE 4]

(17) Affect for National Political Institutions:

135. What political party do you think contributes the most to solving the problems of this colonia? [Coded for mention of P.R.I.]
- 159a. Now we would like to know something about your opinions of some political parties. Is there any political party in this country that you think would do more good for the people of the country than any of the others? [Coded for mention of P.R.I.]
172. Some people say that, in general, our system of government and politics is good for the country; others feel it is bad for the country. How do you feel about this? Do you feel that, in general, the present system of government and politics is good for the country or bad for the country?

(18) Trust in Government:

- 158b. How much do you think you can trust the federal government to do what is right? Would you say that you can trust the federal government almost always, most of the time, sometimes, or almost never?
- 158d. How much do you think you can trust the [Department of the Federal District/Municipal Government] to do what is right? Would you say that you can trust the [Department of the Federal District/Municipal Government] almost always, most of the time, sometimes, or almost never?
- 173a. Thinking now about the government now in power, that of Díaz Ordaz [President of the Republic]: Do you believe that this government would ever pass some law or take some kind of action that would be harmful to people like yourself? How likely is it that this would ever occur? Would you say it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?
- 173b. And how about the government for the new sexenio [six year term of office]? For example, that of Luis Echeverría [candidate of the P.R.I.], if he is elected to the presidency. Do you think that this government would ever pass some law or take some action that would be harmful to people like yourself? How likely is it that this might happen? Would you say it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

(19) Perception of Governmental Concern for the Poor:

- 68b. [If respondent believes there is not much injustice in the country:] Why do you feel that way? Could you give me an example of what you mean? [Coded for mention of government help for the poor]

141a. Now I am going to read a list of activities. As I read each type of activity, I would like you to give me your opinion of how well the government is doing in each of these areas. If you don't think the government has any responsibility for doing some of these things, please tell me. For example, "providing decent housing for the poor." Would you say that the government is doing very well, not so well, or poorly in fulfilling its responsibility for providing decent housing for the poor?  
--Providing medical care for the poor  
--Trying to even out the differences between the rich and the poor classes in Mexico  
--Providing economic help--that is, credit, loans, pension benefits, and other kinds of benefits--to those in need.

158e. How much interest do you think the [Department of the Federal District/Municipal Government] takes in this colonia?

167. What do you think causes a man to become a politician--that is, to have a political career? [Coded for mention of concern for helping the poor]

161f. [If respondent's party preference in 1964 and/or 1970 was P.R.I.:] Could you tell me the main reason why you have always supported the P.R.I.? [Coded for mention of help for the poor]

172. [Regarding respondent's belief as to whether the present system of government and politics is good or bad for the country:] Why do you feel that way? [Coded for mention of official concern or help for the poor]

(20) Political Cynicism:

- 60w. Which statement do you believe is more true?  
(1) It's good to pay attention to election campaigns because it is important that the best candidate wins.  
(2) It doesn't matter much whether the people elect one candidate or another, because nothing is going to change, anyway.
- 154d. Would you say that the newspapers (radio, television) from which you get your news and information are usually correct and trustworthy, or are they not very correct and trustworthy?
163. Some people say it is useless to vote in elections because those who will govern have already been selected by the P.R.I. Do you think this is true or not?
164. Do you think that the majority of public officials in this country are trying to help the people in general, or are they trying mostly to advance their own personal interests or careers?
166. Which of these statements do you think is more true?  
(1) However good the politicians sound in their speeches, you can never tell what they will do once elected.  
(2) Most politicians who are elected try to do what they promised to do.

167. What do you think causes a man to become a politician--that is, to have a political career? [Coded for mention of personal economic motives or status seeking]
168. Would you say that dishonesty and corruption are more common in the government service than in most other careers, less common, or about the same?

(21) Perception of Need for Radical Socio-Political Change:

- 171b. [If respondent feels that most people in Mexico are getting less than their fair share of the good things in life:] What should be done in order to see that most people get their fair share? [Coded for mention of redistribution of wealth through governmental action]
- 171e. In your opinion, what is it that Mexico needs most? A total and immediate change, a total but gradual change, a partial and immediate change, or no change at all?
172. Some people say that, in general, our system of government and politics is good for the country; others feel it is bad for the country. How do you feel about this? Do you think that, in general, the present system of government and politics is good for the country or bad for the country?

(22) Overall Diffuse Support for Political System:

A composite index constructed from scores on indexes of affect for national political institutions, trust in government, low political cynicism (political cynicism index, reversed), and symbolic commitment to the political system.

[FROM TABLE 5]

(23) Positive Evaluation of Police Performance:

134. Here is a ladder. Suppose the group or person who contributes most to the welfare of the people around here--that is, the person or group which acts most strongly in the interests of you and other residents of this colonia--is at the top of the ladder; and the group or person who does the least or does nothing for the welfare of the people around here is at the bottom. Where would the police be in terms of their contribution to the welfare of the people around here? Near the group or person who contributes most, or near the one which contributes least to your welfare?
- 141a. Now I am going to read a list of activities. As I read each type of activity, I would like you to give me your opinion of how well the government is doing in each of these areas....For example, assuring fair treatment of the poor by the police. Would you say that the government is doing very well, not so well, or poorly in assuring fair treatment of the poor by the police?

- 176g. If you had some problem with the police--say you were accused of a small crime...how do you think you would be treated there, in the station house?
- 176h. And if you tried to explain your reasons to the police, do you think they would pay much attention to you, only a little attention, or would they ignore you completely?
- 176i. Have you or any members of your family ever had some experience with the authorities--that is, with some government office or with the police--which caused you pain? [If yes:] What exactly was the problem? [Coded for mention of mistreatment by police]

(24) Positive Evaluation of Government Officials' Performance:

134. Here is a ladder. Suppose the group or person who contributes most to the welfare of the people around here--that is, the person or group which acts most strongly in the interests of you and other residents of this colonia--is at the top of the ladder, and the group or person who does the least or does nothing for the welfare of the people around here is at the bottom. Where would the following people or groups be in terms of their contribution to the welfare of the people around here? Near the group or person who contributes most, or near the one who contributes least to your welfare?
- The President of the Republic
  - Politicians
  - The head of the Department of the Federal District, Corona del Rosal
  - The head of the Office of Colonias, Félix Ramírez
- 174c. In terms of their overall performance as President of the Republic--that is, the kind of job they did while in office--how would you rate each of these men:
- Miguel Alemán
  - Adolfo López Mateos
  - Gustavo Díaz Ordaz [incumbent President]
- 174d. How would you rate Carlos Madrazo [former head of P.R.I.] as a political leader--very good, good, average, not very good, or poor?

(25) Dissatisfaction with Government Service Outputs:

- 141a. Now I am going to read a list of activities. As I read each type of activity, I would like you to give me your opinion of how well the government is doing in each of these areas. If you don't think the government has any responsibility for doing some of these things, please tell me. For example, "providing potable water." Would you say that the government is doing very well, not so well, or poorly in fulfilling its responsibility for providing potable water?
- Providing electricity
  - Providing sewers

- Paving streets
- Providing public transportation
- Providing police protection for lives and property
- Providing fire protection
- Providing decent housing for the poor
- Helping people to regularize [legalize] their land holdings or secure title to their property
- Providing parks and recreation areas
- Building or improving public markets
- Providing enough schools and teachers
- Providing medical care for the poor
- Providing economic help--that is, credit, loans, pension benefits, and other kinds of benefits--to those in need
- Seeing to it that everyone who needs a job can have one

141b. In general, how satisfied are you with the performance of the government in providing services for the people? Are you very dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, more or less satisfied, or very satisfied?

(26) Perception of Governmental Responsiveness to Influence Attempts:

- 68b. [If respondent believes there is "not much injustice" in the country:] Why do you feel that way? Could you give me an example of what you mean? [Coded for mention of government responsiveness to citizen needs]
- 136e. If you [went to an office of the P.R.I.] some day, how do you think you would be treated?
- 161f. [If respondent's party preference in 1964 and/or 1970 was P.R.I.:] Could you tell me the main reason why you have always supported the P.R.I.? [Coded for mention of responsiveness to citizen needs]
- 176d. Suppose you had to go to one of the offices of the government to discuss some personal problem--for example, a legal matter, or something that you needed. How do you think you would be treated there?
- 176f. And if you were to go to this office as a representative of the colonia, to discuss some problem or need of the colonia, do you think they would pay a great deal of attention to you, only a little attention, or would they ignore you completely?

(27) Overall Specific Support for Political System:

A composite index constructed from scores on indexes of positive evaluation of police performance, positive evaluation of government officials' performance, dissatisfaction with government service outputs (index reversed), perception of governmental responsiveness to influence attempts, and functional commitment to the political system.

[USED IN ANALYSIS RELATING TO TABLE 5]

(28) General Political Alienation:

A composite index constructed from scores on indexes of political cynicism, trust in government (index reversed), and sense of political powerlessness.

(29) Awareness of Social Injustice:

67. Do you think you have more, the same, or fewer opportunities than the majority of people in Mexico to live a good life-- that is, to live happily and in comfort?
- 68a- } Taking into account what you see around you, would you say  
68b. } there is a great deal of injustice or not much injustice in this country? Why do you feel that way? Could you give me an example of what you mean?
- 69a. What do you think causes poverty? [Coded for attribution of blame to social or economic structure, governmental performance]
- 72d. [If respondent perceives differences between life chances of his children and those of others:] What do you feel are the reasons for these differences between the opportunities of your children and those of others? [Coded for mention of inequalities in distribution of wealth]
- 141a. Would you say that the government is doing very well, not so well, or poorly in...trying to even out differences between the rich and the poor classes in Mexico?
147. Think now about the problems of Mexico. In your opinion, what are the most important problems of the country? [Coded for mention of unequal distribution of wealth]
- 171a. Do you think that most people in Mexico are getting their fair share or less than their fair share of the good things in life-- that is, the things that are needed to live happily and in comfort?
- 171c. In comparison with other people living in Mexico, do you think that you are getting your fair share of the good things in life, more than your fair share, or less than your fair share?
- 171d. [If respondent feels he is receiving less than his fair share:] Who or what would you say is principally to blame for your not getting your fair share? [Coded for attribution of blame to social or economic structure, governmental performance]
- 186g. In comparison with the majority of families in this colonia, would you say that the economic situation of you and your family is better, worse, or about the same as the others?

TABLE 1. RECEIPT OF PUBLIC SERVICES<sup>a</sup>

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<u>I. Personal Services</u>	
(On one or more occasions)	
Received medical care at a government hospital or clinic .....	78.8%
Received medical care in community of residence, from personnel sent by the government or official party .....	66.9
Received benefits (other than medical attention) from Social Security Administration .....	16.4
Received government help in finding employment or housing .....	6.7
Received free legal services from government or official party	6.7
Received or purchased food or other goods from CONASUPO store or a "Market on Wheels" .....	70.6
Received services at a government social center (Centro Social Popular) .....	6.8
Received assistance from social worker employed by government ..	5.8
<u>II. Basic Urban Services and Improvements</u>	
Have regular electrical service .....	50.2
Have connection with sewage system .....	35.7
Have running water inside house .....	35.8
Have paved street adjoining house .....	27.9
Have permanent sidewalk adjoining house .....	23.3

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<sup>a</sup>Due to missing data, the number of cases on which each percentage is based varies from item to item. However, the N for most of these services is at least 1060.

TABLE 2. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON POLITICAL AWARENESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (THIRD-ORDER PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN MEXICO CITY)<sup>a</sup>

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables				
	Overall Contact with Government	Positive Contact with Government	Negative Contact with Government	Personal Services Received	Urban Services Received
Awareness of Government Outputs Affecting Community .....	.184	.211	.025*	.296	.062
Perception of General Relevance of Government and Politics to Satisfaction of Needs .....	.187	.171	.038*	.229	.024*
Attentiveness to Electoral Campaigns and Political Content of Mass Media .....	.235	.169	.023*	.172	-.061
Interest in Politics and Public Affairs .....	.154	.139	-.054	.167	-.078
Knowledge of Government and Politics .....	.471	.410	.186	.266	-.086
Discussion of Politics .....	.241	.221	.054	.131	-.024*
Voting Participation .....	.157	.148	.053	.165	.090
Campaign involvement .....	.598	.389	.140	.260	-.052
Participation in Community Self-Help Activity .....	.410	.387	.271	.210	-.195

<sup>a</sup>Due to missing data, the number of cases used in computing each coefficient varies slightly. Most correlations are based on at least 1050 cases. All correlations are statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond, unless otherwise indicated (e.g., .025\*).

TABLE 3. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY AND POWERLESSNESS  
 (THIRD-ORDER PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND LENGTH OF  
 RESIDENCE IN MEXICO CITY)<sup>a</sup>

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables				
	Overall Contact with Government	Positive Contact with Government	Negative Contact with Government	Personal Services Received	Urban Services Received
Sense of Political Efficacy .....	.222	.189	-.000*	.182	-.036
Sense of Political Powerlessness ..	-.143	-.094	-.005*	-.188	-.012*

<sup>a</sup>Minimum cases = 1050. All correlations are statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond, unless otherwise indicated (\*).

TABLE 4. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON DIFFUSE SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL SYSTEM  
(THIRD-ORDER PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND LENGTH OF  
RESIDENCE IN MEXICO CITY)<sup>a</sup>

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables				
	Overall Contact with Government	Positive Contact with Government	Negative Contact with Government	Personal Services Received	Urban Services Received
Affect for National Political Institutions .....	.219	.217	-.042*	.310	-.022*
Trust in Government .....	.145	.164	-.048*	.226	.072
Perception of Governmental Concern for the Poor .....	.157	.115	-.002*	.213	.081
Political Cynicism .....	-.118	-.104	.171	-.210	.043*
Perception of Need for Radical Socio-Political Change .....	.034*	.018*	.119	-.102	.012*
Overall Diffuse Support for Political System .....	.193	.183	.067	.230	.074

<sup>a</sup>Minimum cases = 1050. All correlations are statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond, unless otherwise indicated (\*).

TABLE 5. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON SPECIFIC SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL SYSTEM  
(THIRD-ORDER PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND LENGTH OF  
RESIDENCE IN MEXICO CITY)<sup>a</sup>

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables				
	Overall Contact with Government	Positive Contact with Government	Negative Contact with Government	Personal Services Received	Urban Services Received
Positive Evaluation of Police Performance .....	.007*	.039*	-.049*	.101	.146
Positive Evaluation of Government Officials' Performance .....	.249	.287	.087	.226	.046*
Dissatisfaction with Government Service Outputs .....	.037*	.019*	-.022*	-.100	-.325
Perception of Governmental Responsiveness to Influence Attempts .....	.271	.336	.046*	.246	-.029*
Overall Specific Support for Political System .....	.205	.246	.044*	.265	.165

<sup>a</sup>Minimum cases = 1050. All correlations are statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond, unless otherwise indicated (\*).

TABLE 6. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE ON POLITICAL SYSTEM SUPPORT, AMONG MIGRANTS AND NATIVES  
(SECOND-ORDER PARTIAL CORRELATIONS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS)<sup>a</sup>

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables									
	Overall Contact with Government		Positive Contact with Government		Negative Contact with Government		Personal Services Received		Urban Services Received	
	<u>Mig.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Mig.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Mig.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Mig.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>	<u>Mig.</u>	<u>Nat.</u>
Overall Diffuse Support for Political System .....	.236	.102	.183	.175	.024*	.155	.276	.151	.098	.027*
Overall Specific Support for Political System .....	.238	.129	.260	.202	.045*	.046*	.280	.228	.150	.186

<sup>a</sup>Minimum cases for migrants = 671; natives = 377. All correlations are statistically significant at the .05 level or beyond, unless otherwise indicated (\*).