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Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the political development of newly independent states has become an important concern of political science theory and U.S. development assistance policy. Political development theory and policy have evolved concurrently, and it is only recently that theory has begun to guide decision makers who are attempting to encourage the development of the fragmented former colonial empires into modern nation-states.

This paper is concerned with the interrelationship of contemporary political development theory, U.S. political development policy and U.S. activities assisting political development in the Third World nations which are recipients of U.S. economic assistance. Development theory can indicate some of the traits of a developed polity and the variables important to the evolution of such a polity. Once these variables are established, we can look at U.S. policy and development activities to discover first, whether current undertakings are supported by modern political development theory and second, what other kinds of activities on the basis of theory and experience might be incorporated into U.S. political development efforts. It is my hope and expectation that this comparison of theory with policy and implementation will suggest practical new directions for these efforts.

I

Political Development in the Theory of Contemporary Political Science

Political development was already a policy problem for statesmen and decision makers before it became an important theme of theoretical concern in contemporary political science. Modern theories of political development have evolved over the last ten to fifteen years in response to both the needs of policy makers and growing recognition by professional political scientists of the importance of this area of investigation. These theories have been informed by the experience of policy makers and have in turn influenced public programs. But none of these theories has been shown empirically to be more valid than the others. As this interaction between policy makers and political scientists continues, the theories will be refined from experience and will be able to suggest more effective, appropriate public policy.

Current theories of political development range from levels of the greatest generality to the most specific particularity. While they are often quite distinct from one another, certain elements are common to them all. They all also have some general problems, the most important of which is that of defining "political development." There is no definition of political development which is accepted by all or even most political scientists. It is possible, however, that due to the

exigencies of administrative necessity, policy makers in both the developed and developing countries have a fairly firm, common idea of what they mean by political development. The difficulty is obviously that here the theories are not much assistance to the policy maker. Neither the political scientist nor his theory can tell the policy maker which is the "best" outcome of the development process or why.

There are at least three broad statements that can be made about political development, with which most political scientists will agree. First of all, political development is both a dependent variable and an independent variable because the political system is influenced by the society in which it exists, but also influences that society. Thus, for the purposes of research, political development can be "made" either the dependent or the independent variable. Second, political development is not unilinear, that is, it does not occur in specified successive stages. Third, probably no real political system is totally modern or developed.

Even these three statements, especially the last two, raise questions of definition. But if we try to make further generalizations the problem is almost insurmountable. The chief difficulty lies, I think, in whether one sees political development as change, a process, or as a goal. Most of the

current theoretical work does not make this distinction clear. The condition or characteristics theorists see as "politically developed" become confused with the institutions or processes that will lead to that condition. The policy maker is forced to distinguish between the end he desires and the programs which will get him there. Perhaps for this reason policy makers seem to have among themselves a fairly firm idea of what political development is.

In political theory, political development is a goal although there is not complete agreement among theorists as to what that goal is. Theory also examines the political development process. There is more consensus among theorists on the variables important in this progress of a nation-state toward the condition of political development.

I will examine the concept of political development as both goal and process. Since it is logical that the choice of a goal precedes the selection of the means to reach it, I will consider first what the characteristics of the condition of political development are in current theory. Second, I will suggest some of the variables most important to the process of political development as they emerge from the theory.

A

The Developed Polity

In his Aspects of Political Development, Lucian Pye suggests that the aim of political development was and continues to be the achievement of the modern nation-state as it was first produced in the European state system. Pye is looking at political development from the point of view of the international system. Based on the nation-state, the smooth functioning of the international system requires that politics behave according to certain norms. Pye attributes some of the current confusion about the meaning of political development to the uncertainty of the future nature of the international system in which the new nation states will have to act.¹

The first efforts at political development were made by European colonial administrators and were attempts to regularize their relations with the peoples of the colonies, to make them behave in a predictable manner in dealings with the citizens and officials of the European states. Initial concepts of political development thus focussed on the establishment of legal institutions. While in a few cases pressure for legal reforms in the colonial world was sufficient to stimulate the development of modern nation states, it became evident that

usually more basic changes were needed. The stress on the legal system was pushed to the establishment of machinery to maintain law and order. Political development was now assumed to coincide with the development of an efficient, competent, rational administration and the "suppression of all irrationalities" which came to the attention of the colonizers.²

Once again the conception proved too narrow. Pye suggests that it has now become evident that we must go beyond instilling administrative skills and strive to shape the "political context" underlying formal governments. The great problem in nation-building today is that of relating the administrative and authoritarian structures of government to the political forces of the transitional societies.³

As the idea of the politically developed polity evolved from the statesmen's ideas of legal reform and administrative efficiency and control, political scientists have proposed many conceptions. All of these ultimately try to establish the characteristics of a modern nation-state, so there are many similarities among them. They vary most along a normative continuum. Some try very hard to be value free, to define a modern nation-state solely from empirical observation of modern nation states, often establishing minimum, empirically, or intuitively derived criteria of "modern." Then there is a

gradual progression in theory through the evaluation of a polity's ability to reach the goals it chooses, to the specification of certain definitely ethical characteristics essential to a modern polity. The lines between adjacent conceptions along this normative continuum may be hard to draw, but there is a definite difference between the extremes.

Samuel Huntington and Harold Lasswell seem to have the most "value free" conceptions of the developed polity. For Lasswell a polity is developed when it has reached a "self-sustaining level of power accumulation." This level is reached when the nation is able to furnish its own trained personnel, to achieve structural innovations with a minimum of coercion, and to mobilize resources for national goals. Economic growth as well as the willingness and capability to play a responsible role in world politics are necessary to effective power. Lasswell does suggest that a model of the developed polity should be explicitly preferential, adding that the preferred model requires an ideology of progress and commitment to wide participation in power as its long run goal.⁴

Huntington's conception is similar. The goal is a modern society with a stable political system. Political stability will be achieved when there is a high level of political

institutionalization. A modern polity is one in which there is, in addition to many, strong, autonomous political institutions, a high level of participation. The persistence and viability of the polity is insured by the institutions which facilitate the acceptance and incorporation into the system of the rising interests of a changing society.⁵

While Lasswell sees widespread participation as desirable, Huntington sees it as an essential characteristic of the modern polity but both recognize the polity's need to incorporate the demands emanating from the society. Huntington also seems to lay greater stress on the role of institutions.

Beyond this point on the normative continuum, values in the theory become much more explicit. For David Apter "to be modern means to see life as alternatives, preferences, and choices... A political system becomes a system of choice for a particular collectivity." Government is the means of regulating choice in a society, and a modern political system is one in which the conditions of choice are maximized and the "most satisfactory" mechanisms of choice (i.e., form of government) are selected. "Choices by governments comprise the moral aims of society and reflect the ambitions of those within it."⁶ Apter is more concerned with the process of modernization than with the outcome. As societies modernize

and industrialize choices are made through the political system to attain the social goal of modernization. The political system is the dependent variable in this process; the economy is the independent variable.⁷ Democracy may result, but the transition is not certain and depends on events and choices intervening as a society modernizes.⁸

Scyom Brown⁹ and J.R. Pennock¹⁰ both plead that some minimal normative criteria ought to be included in an assessment of a polity's development. Political and economic security, liberty, equality and the right to participate in the decisions of the polity are the values they suggest. Brown insists that we can affirm these criteria as objectives of political development even if we must acknowledge the obstacles to their achievement that exist in the new states.¹¹ Pennock's article, "Political Development, Political Systems and Political Goods," however, is a good illustration of the problems we will encounter should we try to measure the degree of attainment of these affirmed objectives. Even if we had reliable measures, Pennock acknowledges that it may sometimes be necessary to rearrange the priorities and sacrifice some of these normative objectives for short-range reasons. We would then need to be able to weigh the relative importance of all these objectives in order to determine the degree of a polity's development.¹²

The last position along the continuum is the explicit endorsement by theory of the western liberal democratic polity as the goal of political development. Taking ten major definitions of political development, Pye¹³ arrives at his own conception - which is a democratic polity - by isolating those characteristics most widely held and fundamental in general thinking about the problems of development.

A developed polity for Pye is characterized by: 1) a general spirit or attitude toward equality. This attitude implies political mobilization of citizens, universal laws and recruitment by achievement; 2) capacity including the scope and scale of government performance, effectiveness and efficiency of execution of public policy, rationality in administration and secular orientation toward policy; 3) differentiation and specialization, that is, the functional specificity of various political roles in the system, but based on an ultimate sense of integration. These three aspects will not necessarily fit together easily; there is usually tension among them.¹⁴

The influence of Gabriel Almond's work on political development is abundantly evident in Pye's conceptions of the developed polity. In his introduction to the Politics of the Developing Areas, which must be the classic pioneering work on political development, Almond describes a developed polity as

one with certain specialized structures which, although they are multifunctional, have a functional distinctiveness and tend to perform a regulatory role as to that function within the political system as a whole. The development of these specialized regulating structures creates the modern democratic political system.¹⁵

Formal governmental structures perform the authoritative functions in the system and penetrate the society's informal structures. The boundaries of these formal authoritative structures are sharply delineated and effectively maintained. Associational interest groups are wide-spread throughout the society. They "regulate" or bring order to the performance of the aggregative functions by other structures in the society, helping to maintain the boundaries between the polity and the society. A characteristic process of political socialization creates a distinct loyalty to and membership in the general political system on the part of the individual. Recruitment into political roles is based chiefly on achievement criteria rather than ascription. There is a specialized, autonomous system for political communication which penetrates the entire society.¹⁶

In another classic, Political Development in the New States, Edward Shils describes the model of the developed polity - political democracy - as civilian rule through representative

institutions in the matrix of public liberties.¹⁷ In Shils theory and policy goals become one for he not only presents the political democracy as a model, but stresses that this is the goal of the elites of the new states. (Here he is referring to the new states in Asia and Africa.)¹⁸

The conception of the modern order, with which elites of the new states began, envisaged a regime of justice - an egalitarian, substantive justice as well as formal equality before the law. It expressed a concern for the will and well-being of the people - popular sovereignty and a higher standard of living through improved technology. It required rationality - a rational administration and public policy based upon factual knowledge and disciplined judgment.¹⁹

Alfred Diamont has taken a somewhat later revised definition of a developed polity suggested by Almond²⁰ and added to it certain goals particular to a polity in a developing society suggested by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart Rustow in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey.²¹ A developed polity is one which can sustain new demands, goals and organizations in a flexible manner.

In the case of the "developing nations" it means the meeting of particular goals and demands. Certain of these are given for each society, depending on its ecology, traditional institutions and time and manner of entering into the 'developmental stream'. Other demands and goals of a particular sort involving nation-building and socio-economic progress can be processed provided the system acquires certain capabilities. The widening range of demands implies an egalitarian mass society, though nothing can be specified about its democratic or non-democratic character.²²

Although this definition has the advantage of suggesting the evaluation of a polity partly on certain empirical, structural-functional characteristics, and also partly on the ability of the polity to meet the normative criteria it has set up for itself, it is clear that Diamond is approaching a definition of process rather than polity.

In his most recent book Almond suggests that political science is moving toward the development of "poliometrics" - the measurement of changes of political systems.²³ The empirical basis for the evaluation of a political system can be viewed as a set of scores of performance according to standards specified by political elites, social scientists, or philosophers and corrected for the constraints imposed by conditions in the system's environment.²⁴ The measurement of performance will not establish the values nor set priorities among them²⁵, but

in judging whether or not a political system is performing according to a given set of norms or standards, it is not enough simply to come up with a set of performance measures, one must somehow relate these performance measures to the objectives and strategies of the political system's decision makers...²⁶

There is, as Almond has suggested, a "remarkable consensus" among theorists as to the traits of the developed polity. He attributes the apparent differences among them to different levels of generalization.²⁷

The critical difference appears to lie in the degree of explicitness of the normative characteristics included in the model. It is obvious from the trend of this discussion that, while there are some non-normative characteristics - stability or level of power - which could partially identify and specify a developed polity, much depends on what the observer expects of a polity, that is, what he sees the goal of the polity to be. (Even stability assumes the goal of system maintenance.)

Especially because the elites of the emerging nations have such an ideological conception of the end product of the development of their nations, it would be a mistake to leave the question of the values of the polity and its performance in relation to its goals out of a conception of development, even if theory were capable. At this point it does not seem possible to define a developed polity without reference to the aspirations of its members.

B

The Process of Political Development

Perhaps because all the conceptions of the developed polity are influenced by impressions and observations of real polities some of which are intuitively classified as modern, the variables theorists consider important for the process of political development are strikingly similar (even though these theorists are not in precise agreement on the all essential characteristics of a modern polity).

Underlying most conceptions of the process of political development is the idea of a polity modernizing in the context of a modernizing and changing society. Economic progress, industrialization and the penetration of traditional societies by the "world culture"²⁸ are the chief components of this framework. These three elements give rise to the necessity for a polity which can adapt to changes in the society, and they are also the source of many of the new demands to which the polity must respond in order to survive.

The variables suggested by political scientists as important to this process of political development may be subsumed under two broad categories linked by a third.*

*As the variables emerged from the theoretical research this typology suggested itself as the most rational way of relating the different variables. My categorization is probably most influenced by the systems concept of Easton (Systems Analysis of Political Life) which Almond (in "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems," World Politics, Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 1965), pp. 183-214 and elsewhere) has carried into the analysis of the development process, and by Huntington's conceptual scheme (Political Order in Changing Societies).

(Some are specifically related to development of a democratic polity; others are more universal.) On one hand there is a need for a sense of identification with the nation, the creation of a national community in the now fragmented transitional societies. On the other, there is a need for the creation and rationalization of structures of authority and administration. Viable political institutions are the link between the national community and the authoritative and administrative structures of the polity. These institutions help to foster in the populace an identification with the national community, supporting the authoritative and administrative structures. They also regulate, refine and transmit the changing and rising demands of the populace to the formal structures.

1. Identification with the national community

A sense of national community and individual identification is a critical factor in the development process for it is the major source of support for the political system. This kind of orientation is hindered by the gaps between groups in the society and the low level of mass mobilization or participation in the polity.

The gaps must be bridged, and in such a way as to decrease other conflicting loyalties and unite the society in a loyalty to the general polity. Individual participation in the national polity, which itself will foster some common interests, will then be possible and will reinforce the developing identification with the nation-state.

In almost every aspect of their social structures the societies of the new states are characterized by "gaps" which prevent the identification of the individual with the nation.²⁹ The process of modernization itself creates these gaps, destroying the preexisting social unity.³⁰ Basically these are gaps between the traditional and the modern. For Huntington the critical gap is that between the countryside and the city -- between the most modern and the most traditional parts of a society.³¹ Shils on the other hand, finds that the most important gap is that which separates the ordinary people from their government. This is the cleavage to which all other social gaps lead. It is characterized by a "high concentration of initiative and interest in the ruling circle."³²

Most of the discussion of social cleavages centers on conflicting loyalties to certain interest or groups. Pye, however, sees the transitional society as even more fragmented because people do not share common orientations toward political

action. People have not learned to adjust their personal motivations to conform with certain general, publicly acceptable reasons for public action.³³ In other words, there may be gaps in the society, but the problem is compounded by the fact that the boundaries between the polity and other social subsystems are not clearly defined.

The process of political socialization (unique to the modern political system) can offset the socialization processes of other social systems which contribute to particular family or local loyalties and social cleavage. It can create a distinct loyalty and membership in the part of the individual in the general political system.³⁴ In transitional societies political socialization must be more than teaching public school children about their relation to the national polity and the essentials of citizenship. It might include explicitly the development in each member of a sense of individual dignity and worth within the polity.³⁵ In any case, it involves the resocialization of a major portion of the adult population to the national polity.

The "participation" in the polity or "mobilization" of the citizens so often discussed in political development theory can be seen as a kind of political socialization process. The concept of participation might be generally defined as "the dispersion of initiative and interest" throughout the society -- the remedy that Shils suggests for overcoming the gap between people and government.³⁶

Broadened participation in politics may enhance control of the people by the government, as in totalitarian states, or it may enhance control of the government by the people, as in some democratic ones. But in all modern states the citizens become directly involved in and affected by governmental affairs.³⁷

Shils' description of the consequences of expanded suffrage aptly illustrates the function of participation as an agency of political socialization: Expanded suffrage has the effect of

...drawing... the whole adult population periodically into contact with the symbols of the center of national political life [and] must, in the course of time, have immeasurable consequences by stirring people up and giving them a sense of their own potential significance, and attaching their sentiments to symbols which comprehend the entire nation.³⁸

Sometimes the idea of participation includes the sharing by each citizen in the entire modernization process especially in the benefits of economic modernization.³⁹ This "sharing of the benefits" might substitute for political participation by distracting attention away from political demands and by creating a "stake" for the citizen

in the modernizing polity.* Political participation on the other hand, could have the effect of satisfying an individual's search for identity, thus reducing the number of demands he is apt to make on the system. It is at least equally possible, however, that economic demands may be raised politically as the population is mobilized. If the system cannot meet these demands, expansion of political participation, especially without sufficient aggregative institutions, can seriously threaten the polity.⁴⁰

Participation by the citizen in the political life of the nation is essential to the creation of a national community or identity which in turn is necessary to the process of political modernization. This participation is mediated in its interaction with the administrative and authoritative structures of the polity by certain institutions which articulate, regulate and aggregate the demands made on the system. "The institutions impose political socialization as the price of participation."⁴¹ It is to these institutions we will turn after looking first at the variables important to the creation and rationalization of these formal structures.

*This aspect of participation was brought out at the Title IX Research Conference in March-April 1970 at Northwestern University.

2. Creation and rationalization of authoritative and administrative structures.

Just as the development process requires the mobilization of the individual citizen into national political life, it also means the organization of the formal structures of national government. Pye, in fact, sees the necessity of a balance between the two. His analysis suggests that public administration as such cannot be greatly improved without a parallel strengthening of the representative political processes. For if the participation of individuals in the polity through non-governmental institutions does not increase in proportion to the increase in the power and penetration of governmental structures, rising interests will politicize the governmental structures in direct attempts to force the government to respond to their demands and the autonomy of the government will be threatened.⁴²

The development process requires a political system that is able to respond to rising demands for change, to innovate policy, to penetrate the society, to promote reform by state action. Such capacity implies autonomy of the political system from other social subsystems, and the power to make, not just to declare law. It also

requires rationalized authority and differentiated, functionally specialized and distinct structures.⁴³

One variable essential to autonomy, functional specialization, and adaptibility -- to capacity -- as the first colonial administrators recognized, is a neutral, competent civil bureaucracy. Neutrality insulates the bureaucracy from partisan politics and also from societal pressures. It depends on attitudes in the society toward the place of partisan politics and the proper realm of political action.⁴⁴ Competence makes rationality, efficiency and functional specialization possible.

The question of which variables affect the power element of capacity is more complicated. Huntington suggests that modern political systems differ from traditional political systems in the amount of power in the system rather than in its distribution. In a modern system more of the society is involved in more power relationships. The problem of the authoritative structures is not to seize power but to make power by assimilating new groups into the system, and organizing their participation in politics. The distribution of power "conducive" to policy innovation is, in Huntington's estimation, one which is neither highly concentrated nor widely dispersed. But he adds that the distribution of power which would facilitate response to some demands might hinder

response to others. A concentration of power is needed to promote socio-economic equality, for instance, but for political equality power must be expanded.⁴⁵

Modernization, the social process which occurs concurrently with the process of political development, gives rise to new demands on the political system as participation in the system expands and a sense of national community is built. The formal institutions of the government which have a limited amount of competence, power, and resources must meet these demands in some way. The mediators in this process are other institutions which can regulate the demands made on the formal governmental structures.

3. Intermediary Institutions.

Because change and modernization undermine or destroy traditional bases of association, political development requires the development of new forms of association and the development process depends on the capacity of the people to develop and maintain flexible, complex organizations. The level of political development depends in large part on the extent to which political activists also belong to and identify with a variety of these "associational interest groups." Such institutions promote community among two or more social forces. They are "the behavioral manifestations of moral consensus and mutual interest." They

maintain the sense of community produced by participation in the system.⁴⁶

Associational interest groups process the raw claims their members make on the system, directing them in an orderly way and in aggregable form through the political system. Thereby these groups contribute to maintenance of the political system's boundaries and so to its autonomy.⁴⁷ In the process members of these groups acquire experience in the exercise of authority and in decision-making.⁴⁸

Huntington establishes a relationship between the level of institutionalization and the level of political participation. If participation is high compared to institutionalization, social forces will act directly on the political sphere. For a polity to be modern it must have not only a high level of participation, but also an institutional infrastructure sufficiently strong to prevent unrefined, unaggregated claims from being put into the system.⁴⁹

The inclusion of parochial interests represented by many strong associational groups in the national political process reduces tension among conflicting interests and can further national unity and progress toward a democratic modern polity. As they become strong, the associational groups tend to become jealous of their own rights to authority, restricting the power of the state and checking tendencies toward politicization of all

aspects of life.⁵⁰

Although political scientists include unions, cooperatives and other kinds of associations within the category of the intermediary institutions, the group to which they are primarily referring is the mass political party. Both Almond and Huntington call the party system the distinctive institution of the modern polity. The party is the main organization for structuring mass participation. Other institutions are adaptations or carryovers.⁵¹

Where traditional institutions have been able to adapt to the needs of modern politics, the role of the party has been less significant than under opposite conditions. Huntington adds, however, that mass parties, although not themselves sources of legitimacy, can help to make legitimate the traditional institutions that are in the process of adapting to changing conditions.⁵²

Pye finds what he calls the "non-bureaucratic" components of the political system relatively weak compared to the authoritative and administrative parts.⁵³ Here he is referring mainly to the associational interest groups especially the political parties. The balance he believes necessary between administrative development and political participation depends on the strength of the interest groups which mediate participation.

Pye is particularly concerned with the politician and his role in the development of democratic states. There is a

concreteness about almost all modern political roles in transitional societies except that of the popular politician who is "the critical key to democracy." The developing peoples have seen how bureaucrats, judges, technicians, and so on, work, but have no long history of observing practicing politicians at work in their own communities.⁵⁴

The politician has no strong ties to any particular segment of the society, traditional or modern. He must represent the entire range of interests in the society, but can do so only in the most general way. Yet, if particular interests are not clearly articulated, they cannot be rationally aggregated. The problem of fusing the parochial and traditional with the universal and modern leads him to the formulation of ideological abstractions for want of better mechanisms.⁵⁵

One aspect of the politician's role is to develop among his hearers a sense of political realism. But a realistic understanding of what democratic politics actually involves has been missing in efforts to instill democracy in the public life of new states. Furthermore, especially under the conditions prevailing in these states, conflict exists between the ideal of democracy and what is achievable. "Leaders are often unsure of what might constitute democratic behavior in their own troubled settings, but they are

sure they have not achieved the ideals of democracy." Thus they often have a deep sense of failure or even conclude that it is impossible to build democratic institutions.⁵⁶

* * *

National identity, participation, association in interest groups, effective government, all depend on a system of communication. The communications process provides the essential basis for rationality in mass politics, the "common fund" of knowledge and information.⁵⁷ Development involves a change in the fundamental structure of the process of communication.⁵⁸ The unspecialized intermittent structures of political communication characteristic of traditional societies must be superseded by an elaborate, specialized communication structure which penetrates the entire society and transmits a steady flow of information within the polity.⁵⁹

The modern communication system consists of two levels: the autonomous, organized mass media and informal opinion leaders, a system of face-to-face communicators. (Interestingly, Pye finds an increasing reliance on word of mouth communication in the modernizing societies.) The critical feature of this system

is the orderly pattern of interaction between the two levels, for these relations establish feedback mechanisms and the real test of modernization is the extent of effective feedback. The modernization of communications hinges, therefore, on the integration of the formal institutions of communications with the social processes of communication so they each respond with sensitivity to the other.⁶⁰ Informal systems must develop to interact with the mass media benefiting from the greater flow of information, but maintaining a sense of community among their participants. The process of development is now less dependent on increased investment in the modern mass media, which already exist to some degree in the developing countries. What is needed instead at this point is the adjustment of the informal rural systems to each other and to the existing mass media system. Opinion leaders must learn to sift the messages, filtering out the information relevant to their special audiences.⁶¹

The formal structures of the communications system, that is, the mass media, can act as agents of resocialization. They can help people of different orientations to arrive at agreements on fundamentals and influence their publics by their behavior, to believe in the possibility of non-partisan institutions at the heart of public affairs. The media have potential to teach the

behavior appropriate for a citizen who had learned only to be a subject. They can serve as a watchdog to the virtue of politicians, surrounding them with the constant reminder of the consequences of political acts and inducing them to confine their claims to the possible.⁶²

The Comparative Politics Committee of the Social Science Research Council, in attempting to analyze and describe the process of development, suggests that it involves six crises which must be dealt with successfully for a society to become a modern nation-state:

1. The identity crisis - achieving a common sense of identity.
2. The legitimacy crisis - achieving agreement about the legitimate nature of authority and the proper responsibility of government.
3. The penetration crisis - government reaching down into the society and effecting basic policies.
4. The participation crisis - finding the appropriate rate of expansion of participation and meeting the accompanying strains on existing institutions.
5. The integration crisis - relating popular politics to government performance, that is, finding an effective and compatible solution to the penetration and participation crises by organizing the entire polity as a system of interacting relationships.
6. The distribution crisis - distributing goods, services and values throughout the society and the function of government in this process.

These crises are met in different sequences and the pattern of development will depend on the order in which they arise.⁶³

The factors important in these six crises are the variables we have been discussing. Social cleavages must be bridged. Most citizens must participate in the national polity to some minimal extent. Government administration must be effective in innovating new policies in response to new demands. Power must be created through the assimilation of new interests into the system. Associational groups, especially parties must be organized to articulate, aggregate, and regulate demands as well as to teach a basic sense of community among conflicting interests. Politicians must learn how to participate effectively in the political process. The communications system must penetrate the society disseminating information and knowledge from the national to the local level and transmitting local responses and demands to the national level.

The theory from which these variables emerge has a normative range from the relatively value free to the obviously democratic. In practice it is up to the decision maker to choose the value; theory can only explain observations or predict the outcome. Thus, while modernization might indeed include the development of a mobilized totalitarian state a policy maker may select liberal democracy as the only desired outcome of the development process.

This is the thrust of U.S. development policy. The achievement of this outcome depends on the manipulation of the variables of the development process in such a way as to result in "control of the government by the people" rather than "control of the people by the government."

II

Political Development in A.I.D.'s Policy and Program

The goal of U.S. development policy has been and is the growth of democratic nation-states, responsive to their citizens and responsible members of the international community. Congress provided the mandate; decision-makers articulated the policy and U.S. missions in the developing countries are now attempting to effect it. Many problems have arisen along the way — the choice of policies which would lead to democratic development, the selection of implementing agents and instruments, the reporting of activities and the measurement of their effect. This section will trace the development of Title IX, the legislative mandate directed specifically at political development. Then we will look at the efforts of the Agency for International Development to carry out this mandate — A.I.D.'s policy, program activities and some of the difficulties decision-makers have encountered.

A

The Congressional Mandate

For a long time the assumption that a democratic political order would naturally emerge once the standard of living had been raised underlay U.S. development policy. As it became evident that a democratic polity was not the automatic outgrowth of economic progress, the U.S. Congress began to make much more explicit the long range goal of democratic development and to endorse specific methods and instruments by which this goal might be attained.

Some specific legislative provisions had already hinted at the intent of the Congress. The Humphrey Amendment (Sec. 601(a)) to the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act declared a policy of encouraging the development and use of cooperatives, credit unions and savings and loan

associations. The legislative history of the Humphrey Amendment indicates clearly that the purpose of the Congress was to involve large numbers of citizens of the developing countries in the development process.²

In 1962 the Zablocki Amendment (Sec. 461) followed. It directed emphasis to community development programs in rural areas. Such programs would promote stable responsible government institutions at the local level. The House Foreign Affairs Committee report defined community development:

Basically community development approaches the local community as a whole and is directed toward helping the people, on the village level to participate effectively and with knowledge in shaping the future of their own community and of their nation.³

Sponsored by bipartisan, liberal support,⁴ Title IX (Sec. 281) was inserted into the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966. It directed that emphasis be placed on "assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of the developing countries through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions" in U.S. assistance programs.

In its report the House Foreign Affairs Committee noted that it had observed a close relationship between popular participation in the development process and the effectiveness of that process. Despite the earlier provisions such as the Zablocki and Humphrey Amendments, the Committee found that popular participation in the tasks of development was increasing slowly. The great potential for planning and implementation of development activities was still largely untapped, which slowed the achievement of the foreign assistance program's objectives. Failure to engage all of the available human resources in the task of development acted as a brake on economic growth and also did little to cure the basic

causes of social and political instability. The Committee added that it would keep close check on A.I.D.'s activities and performance in implementing Title IX.⁵

Several other measures with similar objectives were also enacted. Section 471 authorized the establishment of Joint Commissions on Rural Reconstruction, binational boards to formulate and carry out rural development programs in the countries for which they were established. Section 601(b) (2) authorized the collection of background information regarding non-governmental participation in the development process, needed for program formulation and implementation. Two references (Secs. 201(b) (7) and Sec. 211(a) (7)) to the growth of the "rule of law" both as a measure of developmental progress and as a consideration in the decision to provide assistance were also added.

In 1967 the Culver Amendment added three new subsections (Sec. 281(b), (c), (d)) to the original Title IX (now Sec. 281(a)). These sections contained guidelines to be considered by A.I.D. in implementing Title IX. Programs were (1) to recognize the differing needs, desires and capacities of the developing countries; (2) to use the intellectual resources of the countries themselves to encourage the development of indigenous institutions to meet the countries' particular requirements for economic and social progress; and (3) to support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

In research, emphasis was to be given to work designed to examine the political, social and related obstacles to development of countries receiving U.S. assistance.

Emphasis was also to be given to the evaluation of relevant past and current programs, and to applying the experience gained, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the programs for democratic development.

In 1968 a sentence was added which directed specifically that emphasis should be given to research under Title IX designed to increase understanding of the ways in which development assistance can support democratic social and political trends in recipient countries. A provision (Sec. 281(e)) also inserted at that time, required the development of systematic programs of inservice training to familiarize personnel with the objectives of Title IX and increase their knowledge of the social and political aspects of development.

As it has emerged, Congressional interest⁶ in the substance of Title IX centers on popular participation in the decision making process and on the development of institutions in both the public and private sectors through which that participation can be organized and made effective. People must participate in as well as benefit from development.

Title IX legislation does contain an explicit hypothesis to be followed in our conventional aid programs: the enhancement of socio-economic pluralism. In part this pluralism aims at the problem of creating tolerance for democratic governmental institutions in social situations... This kind of tolerance...is a change in attitudes which will be effectively promoted by creating first a tolerance for the limitations under which local government must function...The principal injunction of Title IX...is to analyze and to be sensitive to the political, institutional and attitudinal changes we promote by our aid.⁷

Western political institutions as such should not be imposed, but our assistance should encourage institutions which foster popular participation. Title IX activities, furthermore, should respond to the needs

and requests of the host country. Two other factors stressed as particularly important to democratic development by concerned Congressmen are capable, effective government and a communications system which links the government with the people in a feedback arrangement and the people with each other.

Congressional surveillance of the program has been fairly constant, usually taking the form of hearings or specific written inquiries. In general, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has recognized the problems inherent in the implementation of Title IX. (This was one of the reasons for the guidelines in the 1967 Act.) Members have commended A.I.D.'s policy directives and the efforts made to implement them,⁸ despite the frustrating inability to get a dollar measure of A.I.D.'s Title IX activities.⁹

B

A.I.D. Title IX Policy

From the beginning A.I.D. policy makers have seen Title IX as a mandate to take more specifically into account the social and political factors critical to development. In this sense, Title IX is broader than political development, per se. As will be seen below, however, not only is political development a major emphasis of Title IX as it has been interpreted, but the factors currently considered important to Title IX are those which are also discussed in political theory as variables crucial to political development. These non-economic factors should receive more emphasis relative to the economic aspects of development which have received priority consideration.

Development is not so much a series of independent activities labeled economic, social, and political, but a whole cloth, requiring an overall approach... The need to give more attention to the non-economic factors of development, e.g. democratic institution building and popular participation, has assumed increased importance and priority...¹⁰

So reads the first major policy statement to the field on Title IX.

The Agency saw three related needs: 1) the need for systematic identification of weaknesses in the governmental and political framework which impede economic and social progress; 2) the need for more attention to and analyses of the impact of our assistance programs as a whole on progress toward administrative competence, national integration, and the development of legal and democratic institutions; 3) the need for more imaginative consideration of specific ways to strengthen and animate public and private institutions of authority and power, and to increase popular participation, for long run developmental ends.¹¹

As initial suggestions the Agency proposed four general areas in which the governmental and political framework of many less developed countries could be strengthened:

- administrative competence - to develop "government which is not only efficient, but honest and just as well;"

- national integration - to "fashion a consensus which transcends parochial loyalties and interest;"

- legal institutions - to afford citizens "a reasonable measure of justice" and to "insure that the legal system is a viable means of achieving change by orderly methods;"

- development of democratic institutions - to serve as "the

best means of reconciling stability with economic, political and social change."¹²

While these institutions need not be copies of Western models, they should include certain elements which are characteristic of Western models, for example, availability and free exchange of information, non-violent procedures for the expression of opinion, freedom of dissent within recognized boundaries, governmental responsiveness to public interests, considerable citizen participation in government, local and regional as well as national government, orderly transfer of power with popular review and sanction of governmental performance, voluntary associations which cut across traditional economic, social and political lines, a broad distribution of authority and power to act among groups and institutions in economic, social and political fields, and a viable balance between the rights and duties of the citizenry. These institutions and processes would encourage wide popular participation in the development process and increase the effectiveness of that process. Popular participation would in turn contribute to a pluralistic society "which will likely multiply political and economic decision makers, foster self-help incentives and quicken the pace of the development process."¹³

This first policy statement emphasized that: "since our influence will not be neutral regardless of our intentions, plainly it is our responsibility to try to anticipate and guide our impact on governmental and political evolution to the extent possible." In each country an evaluation of governmental and political organization, processes and attitudes as related to the development process

should become a part of the programming process. Differing situations will suggest different program activities.¹⁴

The criteria for programming and evaluating...activities should not be simply their direct and/or short-term contribution to economic growth, but their importance to the work of building viable democratic governmental structures and process and of broadening the avenues of popular participation as key elements of a healthy foundation for economic and social progress.¹⁵

Rather than meeting current political crises or affecting short-run politics, the goal of Title IX is long-run political development.¹⁶

Finally, anticipating reaction from the field, the message noted that not all aspects of governmental or political development are sensitive. Some traditional assistance activities had already contributed directly to these ends, but

It is not the intention to interfere improperly in host country governmental and political processes or to attempt to manipulate or manage local political activity or the fortunes of particular leaders. Our basic approach should continue to be one of working constructively together with the government and people of host countries for the solution of serious developmental problems.¹⁷

The interpretation of Title IX contained in this message was retained by A.I.D. as it decided on measures to implement the Congressional mandate. The Agency's response to Title IX was in its own words "balanced, deliberate, and rather low-key." Title IX was to be carried out on a country-by-country basis, incorporated as an integral part of overall development strategy rather than at the level of specific projects. Studies were made in a few selected countries first where activities under Title IX seemed most appropriate. Evaluation was to be qualitative rather than quantitative (a reaction

to the usual method of evaluation for economic impact) and was also on a country basis.¹⁸

Experience with cooperatives and rural development which already existed in the Agency was to provide initial guidance while recruitment of experts and consultants, training of A.I.D. personnel in the new approach and research programs got underway. A special Title IX Division was set up to coordinate and evaluate the Agency's activities and to explore new program possibilities. Conferences within A.I.D. and with outside consultants were arranged to gather information and seek new ideas. But the initiative for specific program activities remained with the mission in the field, although A.I.D./Washington staff conferred with and briefed field program officers. The responsibility for policy, general research, personnel training and recruitment and information lay with the Washington staff. This first organizational, analytical stage of implementation took about a year.¹⁹

The idea that Title IX objectives should be built into the design and implementation process of all assistance²⁰ that, conversely, there should be no Title IX projects as such, has remained central to A.I.D. policy. Stressing Title IX in all A.I.D. programs would give it a "more genuine emphasis."²² The two most important elements in the implementation of Title IX became as the first policy statements forecast, popular participation and the development of effective leadership directed toward the building of institutions which would encourage popular participation and give leaders

an opportunity to develop.²³

A 1968 conference of academic scholars of political and economic development and A.I.D. representatives from Washington and the field, sponsored by A.I.D. and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, concurred in this total program approach and recommended that participation, broadly interpreted, be taken as the principal theme of Title IX. The conference also noted that in the two years since its enactment, Title IX had had ^{only} limited effect.²⁴ Diverse, difficult problems encountered in implementation were responsible.

C

The Obstacles to Effective Implementation

The most overriding problem Title IX policy makers faced and continue to encounter is the virtually complete lack of operationally oriented work on political development, despite the enormous amount of academic research on the subject.²⁵ There is little theoretical guidance on what the specific non-economic objectives should be, what the implications of economic change are, what could be done, and how to evaluate progress and program effectiveness. A.I.D. is trying to meet these needs by funding academic research primarily in the centrally funded and administered non-regional program.²⁶ John Schott, two years acting Chief of A.I.D.'s Title IX Division writes:

A...major external obstacle is the paucity of operationally useful knowledge concerning the processes of social and political modernization...Hiding behind a facade of academic respectability and a desire for methodological perfection, many academicians eminently qualified to lend a hand in this important work deign not to do so.²⁷

Faced with the problem of reorienting A.I.D. program planners who have an economic or technical perspective, A.I.D. policy makers

interpreting Title IX have been seriously handicapped by this lack of knowledge and information. An exchange at the conference on Title IX Research in the early spring of 1970 at Northwestern University is illustrative. During a discussion of the application of research findings, Dr. David Apter asked A.I.D.'s Title IX Division Chief, Dr. Princeton Lyman, for one example in which A.I.D. had applied theory derived from research on political development. Dr. Lyman replied that the academic community would first have to supply a reliable theory.

When Title IX was made a part of A.I.D.'s program, Agency policy makers knew it required a major change in emphasis. Yet, without adequate knowledge, given especially the vague wording of the legislation and the decision to use a country-by-country approach, it was hard to make concrete just what the new objectives and methods were. The technicians and program people had, furthermore, become very accustomed to working with precise economic measures. Resistance to the new directives was encountered on the economic front because objectives were fuzzy and not clearly measurable, while under the earlier policy, goals and progress toward them were clearly discernable. Many officials still preferred to use "hard-nosed and politically 'neutral' macro-economic criteria" and saw Title IX activities as just an addition to other special interest projects without much development significance and undertaken at the insistence of Congress.²⁸

The other major source of resistance was political. It was the widely held attitude that the U. S. should not be involved in such sensitive activities as those implied by Title IX. Such activities would inhibit effectiveness and ability to work with

recipient countries not only on economic but also on social issues.²⁹

The foreign aid programs begun in 1961 assumed that

economic aid could be and was a 'technical' operation, performed in accordance with prescriptive and evaluative criteria which were so universally accepted as to be indisputable...A.I.D. strictly served the purposes of economic development, it was averred and therefore it imposed no alien or inappropriate or unwanted values on aid recipient peoples as would be the case if it consciously tackled the problems of social and political change.³⁰

The range of potential assistance for political development is broad, however, and as yet there is no definite analysis of host country activities toward Title IX type activities. A.I.D. personnel may well have exaggerated expectations of sensitivity to interference on the part of host country governments, perhaps as a result of the assumption mentioned above that economic activities had been politically neutral.³¹

Low appropriation levels have made it difficult to finance the training, recruiting and research which would facilitate the changes in attitudes discussed above.

The structure of A.I.D.'s relationship to the State Department has also hindered the implementation of Title IX. Some officers of the State Department

view Title IX either as a bureaucratic encroachment on their own prerogatives in the field of overseas political analysis or as a significant threat to important U. S. short-term interests in the Third World. The result has proven disastrous to Title IX: as it is an A.I.D. mandate, State assumes no responsibility to respond to it; as it affects U.S. foreign policy, it is a State Department matter and cannot be resigned to A.I.D.³²

Given the concept of the country team and Ambassadorial responsibility,

State can "veto in a largely irresponsible manner, any constructive initiative by A.I.D. to implement it."³³ It is possible that this problem will be relieved if U. S. development assistance is disassociated from short range political objectives as the Peterson Task Force recommended.³⁴

While more personnel with expertise in social and political development could be trained or recruited over the relatively short run, and research will soon begin to bear some operational fruit, the interrelated problems of attitude change and adequate measures of impact remain and may be insurmountable in their bureaucratic setting. First, the kind of attitude change that is needed to reorient the program is fundamental. It involves much more than just sensitivity to non-economic factors. Political development must be placed beside economic growth as an objective of U. S. assistance. Operationally this change would allow decisions to be made on the basis of their impact on political as well as economic development. In other words, when budget decisions are made the potential of a project or program for progress in political development must be a factor weighed in the allocation of funds, just as are its economic effects.

The possibility of making budget decisions in this way depends on the development of sophisticated measures of the impact of A.I.D. activities on variables related to political development. A.I.D. technicians in the field may design projects which will effectively encourage political development or which will at least adequately

anticipate and use to advantage the potential political impact of the project. But almost any project proposal is bound to undergo alteration as it progresses through a series of compromises toward approval and implementation. The present state of knowledge of the interrelationship of political, social and economic variables aggravates the problem in the case of Title IX, furthermore, for no decision maker can be sure of his judgment about these factors. As a result, when a project with Title IX emphasis must compete with others on a cost-benefit basis as it makes its way up the decision-making hierarchy, it may well lose out, despite the best intentions of all those involved, to others in which the benefits are more certain. Most "certain" benefits at this point are likely to be economic.

The solution to this difficulty requires more than a change in attitudes to sensitize A.I.D. personnel to the non-economic factors. Decision makers will have to be persuaded to take risks in budgeting decisions, to approve projects even though their impact is fuzzy/^{or uncertain}and even though there are other project with more certain economic benefits competing for funds. Of course, if the limitation on total A.I.D. funds resulting from steadily declining Congressional appropriations, were less stringent, decision makers might be more willing to assume these risks once their attitudes accepted the importance of non-economic factors.

For better or for worse, Title IX - widening the dimension of U. S. development objectives, encompassing more explicitly social

and political factors as well as economic³⁵- with all its uncertainties, has become an integral part of the official A.I.D. program. What that has meant at the project level is difficult to measure, but the next section will try to provide some indication.

D

Title IX Objectives in A.I.D. Activities

Since Title IX became part of A.I.D. legislation in 1966, program planners have tried in accordance with Agency policy to include its objectives in the formulation of new projects and in the implementation of those already underway. At the same time the Agency has instituted an automatic system of data collection which makes available for comparison certain basic information on all project assistance.* Using this system one can learn the basic emphases of A.I.D. funded projects on a project-by-project, country-by-country basis.

Given the information supplied for each project by the field and the characteristics expected by A.I.D.'s Title IX Division³⁶ to be included in projects with Title IX aspects, it is possible to look at A.I.D. projects and determine how many and which type of projects have Title IX objectives. It is also possible to get a rough judgment of the level of awareness on the part of project implementers of the non-economic implications of their activities.

*Assistance administered by A.I.D. is provided as either grants or loans. Some of this assistance (about 51% in FY 1969) funds specific capital and technical assistance projects, while the rest provides general balance of payments or budget support. The data system only includes the former category - project assistance - since the latter category usually represents a general transfer of resources - commodities - through imports, with some general self-help requirements from the recipient government.

First, however, some explanation and qualification of the data source is in order. For every project, a project manager or A.I.D. technician closely associated with that project fills out an Activities Characteristic Sheet (ACS), which is updated to reflect any changes which occur during the life of the project. The information includes technical field of activity, emphasis areas, resources involved, implementing agent, and the type of change desired. The accuracy of the ACS depends on 1) its ability to "ask the right questions;" and 2) the understanding and judgment of the project manager who fills it out. In regard to Title IX, as an area of emphasis, the accuracy of the ACS is very dependent on the project manager's interpretation of the meaning of A.I.D.'s Title IX policy within the context of the A.I.D. program in the country where he happens to be. Members of A.I.D./Washington staff went to the field to clarify questions and assist in the initial data collection; but many misinterpretations remain. The ACS, moreover, provides no indication of how well the project it describes is implemented. In selecting the information to be used in this analysis, I have tried to omit types of data when early experience with the ACS has indicated that so much misinterpretation has occurred that the data is substantially inaccurate. Of course, since this is the first such data system for foreign assistance, and since this paper represents the first major application of analysis to the information the ACS makes available, many of its inaccuracies have not come to light. At the same time it is the first and only aggregate data A.I.D. has and should, therefore,

be able to add something to the information we have about the aid program.

Data for fiscal year 1969 (July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1969) was used because it is the most recent year for which total, actual obligations (commitments of funds) are available. The analysis includes amounts of obligations as well as numbers of projects. The obligations for FY 1969 are used rather than the total life-of-project obligations, even though most projects are implemented over a period of several years. The thrust of a project often shifts during the course of its life, depending on the changing circumstances in the host country and perhaps turnover in the implementing personnel. For this reason one cannot assume that a Title IX emphasis indicated in FY 1969 was exactly applicable to any previous year.

It is important to keep in mind that because the implementation of Title IX meant an incorporation of Title IX objectives into A.I.D. activities rather than the creation of specific Title IX projects, the dollar amount of obligations is definitely not an accurate measure of A.I.D. activities under Title IX. Only a small portion of funds for a very large project might be directed toward Title IX objectives, or the Title IX impact of a small project might be quite considerable. As an overall measure, however, comparison in terms of obligations as well as in terms of numbers of projects can be instructive. Perhaps the most significant measure of Title IX impact is in the quality of the projects, i.e., the nature of the projects themselves, rather than in their total number or obligations.

As shown in Table 1, projects characterized by the project manager as having a Title IX emphasis cover all technical fields. Of the total number of A.I.D. projects, less than twenty percent are designated with Title IX emphasis. More of these (27 percent in number and 28 percent in obligations) are in agriculture than in any other area. The priority of agriculture in the total A.I.D. program is also evident in the large number of total obligations for agricultural projects of which Title IX emphasis projects are 29 percent. Labor is second with half as many projects, but labor projects with Title IX emphasis are 61 percent of all labor projects and account for 74 percent of obligations in that technical field. In terms of the projects in each technical field, social development has the highest proportion of Title IX emphasis projects - nearly three-fourths of all social development projects have Title IX objectives, accounting for 55 percent of social development obligations.

It is interesting that education projects, although a very large proportion of the total number of projects, make up a relatively small proportion of total number of Title IX emphasis projects. Ordinarily only education projects involving primary and secondary education or adult literacy are designated as Title IX emphasis. These projects do receive a substantial proportion of Title IX emphasis funds (16 percent) and represent

nearly one-fourth of the obligations for all education projects.

The low proportion of public administration projects considered to have a Title IX emphasis is partially explained by the exclusion of a number of tax and customs administration projects and development planning projects. Further consideration will be given to this point as well as to the low number of utilities projects (which include communications projects) with Title IX emphasis in Section III.

There is considerable variation among the geographic regions as far as which technical fields receive the major emphasis.³⁷ This variation is the result of different emphases in country programs, and also the different understandings of the meaning of Title IX and interest in implementing it among the Washington regional Bureau staffs and the A.I.D. people in the field.

While A.I.D. or other U.S. Government agencies under contract to A.I.D. implement some of these Title IX projects, a large number are carried out by universities (about one-fourth), non-profit organizations (about one-fourth), profit organizations (about one-fourth), cooperatives and labor organizations.³⁸

Profit and non-profit organizations here refer generally to the use by A.I.D. of contract personnel from a private firm (e.g. engineering or economic consulting firm), or a non-profit organization (e.g. the Public Administration Service, etc.). In many cases these designations refer to the use of a single individual in conjunction with direct-hire

A.I.D. staff. No pattern of organizations exists here. In many cases also, the individual contractors are often unassociated with any organization — leaving their previous positions for a personal services contract of one or two years with A.I.D. Most of the other groups...represent the use of like counterpart organizations, e.g. labor organizations, to work with labor, women's groups with women, universities with universities, and profit seeking firms with profit seeking firms...39

Probably most of the projects in Table 1 are accurately designated as having Title IX aspects. Because the designation is made in the field by technicians whose perspective depends on the situation in their country, these projects might reflect a somewhat narrower view of Title IX than that held by the Title IX Division people in A.I.D./Washington. It is, however, more than likely that there are other projects with Title IX aspects which have not been specifically so designated on the ACS and therefore do not show up in these figures. In an attempt to investigate this possibility, projects were listed in accordance with two criteria:

1. All projects for which project managers had designated Title IX as an emphasis area;
2. All projects with the characteristics expected by the Title IX Division in projects with a Title IX emphasis.

Projects with Title IX emphasis were expected to be those:

- having greater popular involvement in decisions or actions affecting certain human, physical and institutional resources;

- having greater geographic spread of certain resources;
- having affect on social overhead (housing schools etc.) and social and political institutions;
- involving lower level government, labor organizations, cooperatives or consumers as recipients or implementing agents of the project.

Thus, A.I.D./Washington, Title IX Division staff, see Title IX projects as those which had impact on social and political institutions and/or increased popular participation in decision making and in the benefits of projects. While it may be more likely that a project with only one of these Title IX attributes does not have a substantial impact, this is not always the case. Each Title IX attribute cannot be assumed to have the same relative importance either for Title IX or in the implementation of a project, although they each appear with the same weight in the ACS.

Three categories of projects emerged:

1. Projects designated as Title IX, with the expected Title IX attributes,
2. Projects not designated as Title IX with the expected Title IX attributes,
3. Projects designated as Title IX, without the expected Title IX attributes.

Projects in each country, each regional program, and each central office having one or more Title IX attributes are listed along with the indication by the project manager of Title IX as an emphasis area. (Note: These projects are a subset of the total A.I.D. projects in Table 1. Projects which had neither one or more of the expected attributes, nor the Title IX designation were not included.)

Table 2

Projects with Title IX Attributes and/or Designated
Title IX Emphasis
(FY 1969 Obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>	<u>Percent Number of Projects</u>	<u>FY 1969 Obligations</u>	<u>Percent of Obligations</u>
Total A.I.D. Program				
Total Projects	741	100	402,435	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX at- tributes	234	32	126,035	31
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	7	1	1,435	*
Projects without designated Title IX emphasis and with Title IX at- tributes	500	67	274,965	68

Table 2 (cont'd.)

Projects with Title IX Attributes and/or Designated
Title IX Emphasis

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>	<u>Percent of Number of Projects</u>	<u>FY 1969 Obligations</u>	<u>Percent of Obligations</u>
<u>Near East/South Asia</u>				
Total Projects	98	100	26,556	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX at- tributes	36	37	14,446	54
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	1	1	271	1
Projects with- out designated Title IX em- phasis and with Title IX at- tributes	61	62	11,839	45
<u>Vietnam</u>				
Total Projects	50	100	108,259	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX at- tributes	25	50	43,631	40
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	-	-	-	-
Projects without designated Title IX emphasis and with Title IX attributes	25	50	64,628	60

Table 2 (cont'd)

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>	<u>Percent of Number of Projects</u>	<u>FY 1969 Obligations</u>	<u>Percent of Obligations</u>
<u>East Asia</u>				
Total Projects	74	100	70,265	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX attri- butes	26	35	25,840	37
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	1	1	163	*
Projects with- out designated Title IX em- phasis and with Title IX at- tributes	47	64	44,262	63
<u>Latin America</u>				
Total Projects	261	100	113,175	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX at- tributes	81	31	25,988	23
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	-	-	-	-
Projects with- out designated Title IX em- phasis and with Title IX at- tributes	180	69	87,187	77

Table 2 (cont'd.)

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Projects</u>	<u>Percent of Number of Projects</u>	<u>FY 1969 Obligations</u>	<u>Percent of Obligations</u>
<u>Africa</u>				
Total Projects	176	100	46,373	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX attributes	47	27	11,564	25
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	1	1	394	1
Projects without designated Title IX emphasis and with Title IX attributes	128	72	34,415	74
<u>Non-Regional - centrally funded and administered</u>				
Total Projects	82	100	37,807	100
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and Title IX attributes	19	23	4,566	12
Projects with designated Title IX emphasis and without Title IX attributes	4	5	607	2
Projects without designated Title IX emphasis and with Title IX attributes	59	72	32,634	86

*less than .5%

In this way we were able to get a list of projects which, by the criteria set out above, probably should have a Title IX emphasis. If this emphasis was indicated specifically on the ACS by the project manager, the expectations of the nature of the project are supported. We cannot assess, however, the relative importance of these characteristics in the project as a whole. Examination of the narrative description of each project, which is beyond the scope of this paper, might help to answer this question and some of the others raised below, on a project-by-project basis. But the narrative descriptions in addition to their not being computerized, are less standardized and therefore less useful for comparison among projects or countries.

If Title IX was not indicated as an emphasis area 1) the project may indeed not be appropriate to Title IX objectives (especially if it has only one or a few Title IX attributes); 2) the project manager may be unaware of the non-economic impact or potential of that project; or 3) the project manager may just not understand the definition of Title IX (this is especially probable if several Title IX attributes are listed in the ACS).

As indicated in Table 2, less than a third of the total projects with Title IX attributes were designated as having Title IX as an emphasis area. Over two thirds of the total had some characteristics of Title IX, but were not so designated.

With the exception of the centrally funded and administered projects (where of course, a Title IX emphasis is somewhat less appropriate) and Vietnam, the number of projects with Title IX characteristics and designated with Title IX emphasis represent similar proportions of all projects with Title IX attributes in each region. The proportion of obligations varies somewhat more. (There are also substantial variations among countries.)

Two initial conclusions can be drawn at this point. First of all, judging from the fact that there were only seven (less than 1 percent) projects with none of the expected attributes, which were nevertheless described as having a Title IX emphasis, there must be a fairly clear understanding in the field of what Title IX is not. Second, the number of projects which, without stretching the imagination too far, could have been designated as Title IX, but were not, indicates that there is no great enthusiasm over all, to use the Title IX label as an added inducement to attract funds.

The explanation for the large number of projects (500) with Title IX attributes which are not designated as having Title IX emphasis remains to be found. It is interesting that substantially longer experience in Latin America with the consideration of social and political variables (which began in 1961 with the Alliance for Progress) has not resulted in performance much

different, at least according to the ACS, from that in other regions. A study of the project listing indicates that a large portion of the five hundred projects were included in the listing because they were characterized only by one attribute which indicated an improvement in individual well-being/^{or}human resources in general. Thus, many health, nutrition, family planning and maternal-child health projects were included, but not all of these were ascribed a Title IX emphasis. Whether such an emphasis should be reported depends of course on all the characteristics of these projects. It is very clear, however, that there is a great deal of confusion about whether or not projects in these fields, which have several Title IX attributes are properly designated Title IX. Is a citizen participating (by sharing in the benefits, or otherwise), when he receives a small pox vaccination, a malaria shot or a cycle of contraceptive pills? This question was raised by Dr. McGranahan, the UN representative at the Northwestern Conference and was not satisfactorily answered. Without further research, it can probably only be answered arbitrarily. Project managers have not resolved it consistently even within the same country where a family planning project may be designated as Title IX while a malaria project is not. The same inconsistency is found with higher level health projects, which for instance, involve spraying with insecticides, or the setting up and equipping of family planning clinics.

Other projects were listed because they involved consumers or local governments as implementing agents, contributors or recipients of the benefits of a project. While, despite these Title IX attributes a project may be correctly and appropriately defined as not Title IX, (that is, our field of characteristics may have been too inclusive), the question here is more complicated than the one discussed above. If Title IX is not given as an emphasis area in such a case, perhaps it reflects a deficiency in the project. Perhaps the full potential of the project has not been realized. In India, for instance, of 41 projects with Title IX attributes, 36 projects do not have Title IX as an area of emphasis. Of these, 30 have local governments as contributors, implementing agents or recipients (as do four of the five designated with Title IX emphasis). Given the problems of bureaucratic inefficiency which are known to exist in India (despite the praise of political scientists for the British legacy of the Indian Civil Service), one must wonder if better advantage might not be taken of some of those 30 projects.

The argument that a project may not be reaching its full potential is even stronger for those projects which have more than one or a few Title IX attributes. In these cases, also, and to a lesser degree in the case of "one or a few Title IX attributes" projects, another possibility is that the projects

do have a Title IX impact, one which is going unrecognized by the field technicians. Such a situation involves more than the waste of project potential; it can be potentially harmful if this non-economic impact is not taken into account - just what Title IX was attempting to prevent.

Too often projects that obviously had Title IX emphasis were not so designated, a project to develop legal institutions in Korea, for example, projects in several countries in community development or to expand agricultural credit. Very often projects in the private economic sector were not considered as having a Title IX emphasis and might have (given the Congressional interest in pluralism), especially as similar projects in other countries were so designated. There are in the project listing 22 projects in 15 countries which, on the basis of their name and characteristics, should be considered as having Title IX emphasis, but which are not so designated. One or two countries have several such projects, indicating perhaps a misunderstanding of Title IX or a consistent error in filling out the ACS. In addition, there are 24 projects in 12 countries which might very well on further investigation prove to have a Title IX emphasis, although it is not now indicated on the ACS. No two people even with perfect information would exactly agree on a list of projects with Title IX emphasis.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, much more consistency and accuracy in reporting could be achieved and would probably result in a substantial increase in the count of Title IX emphasis projects.

The activities undertaken in each country under the Title IX mandate vary considerably in type, number and proportion of the program. The political situation in the country and the goals of U.S. foreign policy there are influential factors. Two other important factors seem to be the position of a country in the U.S. assistance program and the purpose of U.S. economic assistance in that country.⁴¹ If the goal of U.S. aid is clearly economic and the U.S. has a major commitment to the economic development of a country (this is the case of India, for instance), the program planners have very little need or incentive to make special efforts in the direction of Title IX. But in countries where the program is small, as suggested earlier, projects with Title IX objectives also often lose out. Because of the priorities in A.I.D. and in the Congress despite the Title IX mandate, many missions feel that Title IX objectives will hurt them when they must defend the country program before Congress. In A.I.D., and in the Congress, after all, Title IX objectives have not had a powerful claim on resources, although there is now evidence that this situation, especially in the Congress, is changing.

In countries where the goal is security and stability or stabilization rather than economic growth (Vietnam or Thailand, for instance) funds are easier to get from the Congress (and thus also in A.I.D.) for non-economic purposes. In these countries Title IX activities are more readily undertaken. Furthermore, in countries where security and stability is the goal, activities which are appropriate to Title IX, because of their characteristics are often by reason of these characteristics also quite appropriate to U.S. strategy. The political exigencies have forced decision-makers to consider first the social and political effects of their activities and to program for certain of these effects. Looming bureaucratic exigencies may also contribute to the funding of projects with Title IX objectives. When the economic goals of U.S. assistance are almost within reach, Title IX objectives may be advanced by the mission or the country desk in Washington in order to maintain the level of assistance. This hypothesis could explain, for example, the apparently greater awareness of Title IX in the Turkey program.

A.I.D. activities with Title IX phases range widely through all technical fields of the aid program, but they still represent a very small fraction of the total measured in terms of numbers of projects or dollars of obligations. An accurate measure of which

projects and how many do implement Title IX is difficult to obtain. An idea of just what proportion of the resources committed to these Title IX emphasis projects actually supports Title IX activities, or what these activities are, is quite out of reach at present. Clearly, Title IX is still "conceptually elusive"⁴² for many people in the Washington centrally funded program as well as for many in the field. Once the concept is clear, the problem of changing decision makers' attitudes remains.

Present political development theory would support the variables or factors emphasized by members of Congress and included in current A.I.D. activities. We cannot yet judge, however, the value of these activities, since we lack both measures of impact and the detailed, reliable knowledge of the interrelationships of social, political and economic factors on which these measures depend. Some activities considered important for political development in political theory are left out of the program entirely or are not recognized for their specific social and political impact. The next section will look at the possibilities for new Title IX activities which have been suggested by political theory and by A.I.D. experience up to this point.

III

New Directions in A.I.D. Title IX Activities

A.I.D. activities implementing Title IX are geared to affect the variables which, according to current political theory, have a significant bearing on the development of a polity. These activities place strong emphasis on the expansion of participation in the life of the nation-state, the development of competent government and the establishment and growth of intermediary associational institutions. There are, however, two aspects of political development - that of formal political institutions and roles and that of communications - in which U. S. assistance activities might be more explicitly directed toward the objectives of Title IX and the facilitation of democratic political development.

U. S. activities have avoided involvement with political, non-governmental institutions as well as ^{with} certain governmental political institutions. Activities have instead concentrated on associational groups whose main objectives have been non-political (e.g., credit associations) and the administrative institutions of government "with little or no help to the legislative or judicial functions."¹ More active programs to encourage the emergence of potential political leaders and to train them, more programs to develop and strengthen legal and legislative institutions, and programs with increased participation in planning by more members of the developing societies could be undertaken. These types of programs are more obviously in the political sphere, but might be

designed and implemented in ways which would not be subject to the charge of improper intervention.

Studies within A.I.D. have already suggested activities which would, for instance, modernize legal codes, train legislative staff or teach the techniques of organization to political party members.² There has been support from some of Title IX's Congressional sponsors suggesting and encouraging steps like these³ and consideration of "more specific A.I.D. initiatives re political infrastructure"⁴ is underway within the Agency. Additional work A.I.D. could undertake in this area might best be done using a non-governmental vehicle for the assistance.⁵ Some such institutions, U. S. universities with potential for assisting legislative development, have already been identified⁶. The need for fostering the growth in the U. S. of additional non-governmental institutions which could assist in these kinds of activities has been recognized.⁷ Both interested Congressmen and Agency officials continue to insist that initiative for these more specifically political activities come from the host country government.⁸

A.I.D. has had some projects geared to assist leadership development, although other kinds of projects for the development of "political infrastructure" have been few. In an effort to see what potential there was for leadership development in current A.I.D. activities, projects were tabulated according to whether they were concerned with the development of management and executive skills (the ACE characteristic that comes closest to extracting leadership qualities) and at the same time also involved changes in (a) social and political institutions, or (b) service institutions and educational

institutions - i.e., institutions which might develop leaders who were in or would move into the political sphere.

In FY 1969 there were 170 projects with these characteristics, amounting to \$73,255,000 in obligations. One hundred and nine projects involved social and political institutions; sixty-one involved service and educational institutions. Only a little more than half of the total 170 projects had a designated Title IX emphasis. Perhaps the leadership development aspects of these projects could be given a broader scope, which would make them more relevant to the objectives of Title IX.

Another way of looking at activities in leadership development is through the involvement of non-governmental institutions and citizens in development planning. The data for FY 1969 cited in Part II contained quite a few planning projects - general development planning or specific sectoral planning. Most of these projects involved local government but did not include widespread participation by non-governmental institutions or individuals.

A.I.D. has been much more active in the development of communications infrastructure although a smaller than average number (only 21 percent) of these projects are designated as having Title IX emphasis. Communications have not been prominent in A.I.D. Title IX policy, but there is evidence that the members of Congress who are interested in Title IX may guide A.I.D.'s attention in that direction soon. Congressman Fraser has raised a series of questions as to the role of communications in development and the contribution the U.S. can make to development through assistance in the field of

communications.⁹

The FY 1969 ACS data was used to analyze projects which would improve communications. Projects were selected on criteria which indicated an improvement in internal communications, literacy or geographical movement. While many education projects which would affect literacy were seen as having Title IX implications, only a few communications (radio, TV, telephone) projects were seen this way.

Only one project (in Vietnam) affecting geographic mobility was considered to have Title IX emphasis, yet the facilitation of geographic mobility can have an important effect on life styles and aspirations of the members of a society. It would appear that an immediate task for A.I.D. is to insure that adequate consideration is given to the social and political effects of such economically rational activities as the building of farm-to-market roads and canals.

Besides activities relating to political infrastructure and communications, a third - perhaps the most important at this point - area to which A.I.D. could direct new efforts is that of attitude change in the Agency's bureaucracy. At the Northwestern Conference David Trubeck of Yale and formerly an A.I.D. employee, described Title IX as a "guerrilla activity in the hills of the bureaucracy." The most important question for A.I.D. at this point is "how do the natives think?" The answer, whether they are technicians or policy makers, is "They think like economists (all economists, not development economists)." Saying that A.I.D. should have a better idea of

its goal and what it wants to do, Trubeck stressed that a change in attitudes within the bureaucracy is essential to the implementation of Title IX and suggested that some of A.I.D.'s Title IX research include studies of how to effect attitude change among the policy makers and technicians.

As Administrator Gaud testified in 1968, Title IX is a difficult concept to grasp, especially for people who have been concentrating on economic development.¹⁰ At present, moreover, the bureaucracy does not see the objective of political development as worth much risk in terms of the U. S. position in a less developed country. Other objectives, for instance, the reduction of population growth rates, were important enough for risks to be taken. With Title IX the opposite appears to be true.¹¹ The "bureaucratic rewards and punishments of A.I.D.," furthermore, do not encourage greater professional concentration on the problems of political development or the developing of professional skills outside the Agency, which could help. Without such incentives, A.I.D. will not initiate the projects or seek out the new skills needed to make Title IX an agency-wide policy.¹²

The most recent step in efforts to have political and social implications considered in A.I.D.'s activities is an airgram¹³ prepared by A.I.D.'s Title IX Division and sent to selected missions. It requests that consideration of certain social indicators be systematically incorporated into the annual country analysis. The hope is that the data requested (on population, education, distribution of service activities, unemployment, communications, land owner-

ship, etc.) will focus the program planner's attention on certain trends and problems of social development and popular participation which he ought to take into account in the proposed plan for U.S. assistance. The airgram notes that a draft study undertaken by the Stanford Research Institute for A.I.D. emphasizes that past instructions to the missions have provided little guidance for incorporating Title IX objectives systematically into the programming process.

Two new directions in A.I.D. Title IX policy then, are already evident: new activities in the field, perhaps even specific "Title IX" projects, developing political infrastructure; and new, more effective efforts to change the attitudes of A.I.D. personnel and incorporate Title IX more fully and carefully into the programming process. The project data reported in the ACS also indicate, in view of the variables important in political development theory, the need for efforts to bring the wide range of projects which contribute to expanded communications under the Title IX umbrella in designing, implementing and evaluating them, as well as in reporting them.

Conclusion

Current political theory has not yet reached a definition of the developed polity acceptable to all political scientists, but it does point out three sets of variables important to the evolution of a nation-state:

- those leading to a sense of national community,
- those fostering competent, responsive government, and
- those encouraging the development of institutions as intermediaries between the authoritative structures of the polity and the citizens of the nation-state.

Although some political scientists will continue empirical research in order to establish a value free conception of the developed polity, ultimately values - or the choice of the purpose of the polity - are essential to the definition of a developed polity. They are necessary for the theorist to evaluate the polity's progress toward its chosen goals and for the statesman or administrator to make a rational selection of policy. At this point, however, political science can predict only with very limited reliability which policies will lead to the achievement of specific goals. Once empirical research establishes the nature of the nature of the inter-relationship of social, political and economic variables in the development process. Political scientists will be able to predict with more certainty the outcome of policies. Decision makers then can rationally choose policies leading to their preferred goal.

In the meantime, informed by such theory as exists, the U.S. Government is implementing development policies which it hopes will encourage the emergence of responsive democratic polities in the Third World. No one can predict

the outcome of these policies. The original conception of Title IX

which saw political and social development as a concern of the entire A.I.D. program, was broad and idealistic, but logical. We cannot assess the impact of the Title IX mandate on the A.I.D. program (i.e. we do not really know how much new effort it called forth) or the impact of Title IX activities in countries in which they are undertaken. Title IX might have been more readily implemented and successful had its theoretical foundations been somewhat more explicit and reliable. Now there are new directions and to insure due emphasis to the non-economic factors of development, separate Title IX projects may be initiated. While such a step might encourage consideration of important non-economic variables, it is at least equally possible that Title IX objectives will become isolated from other program activities. Consideration of political and social impact might again be removed from projects with primarily economic goals.

Changes in the attitudes of implementers facilitated by the knowledge gained from further research into the process of development would make the original total program approach more practicable and the best way to proceed. In the meantime, perhaps some separate Title IX activities supplementing the uncertain total program emphasis would contribute to political development in certain countries.

Given the state of knowledge of the interrelationship of social, political and economic variables, there are three alternatives for U.S. development assistance:

- to get out of the development business altogether, which is clearly a course which assumes that once official government activities end, the U.S. need no longer be concerned with the impact of other

- U.S. interests in the developing countries, and which in any case is a course depending on policy decisions at the highest level about which nothing can be done in the short range,
- to stay, concentrating on the economic aspects of development and disregarding social and political impact, hoping that the society will be able to work these problems out by itself in time,
 - to stay and do the best we can at predicting the impact of our activities, creating flexible programs which can be altered when predictions prove false, and undertaking no activities in situations which are so difficult and unpredictable, as to make the outcome or the impact of activities totally uncertain.

The alternative of getting out does not deserve serious consideration in the short range. To concentrate on economic goals knowing there will be an impact on non-economic factors regardless of how restricted the project, is certainly irresponsible. The third course seems to be the best. Some general level of certainty of impact could be established beyond which the risks of incorrect expectations are too great. Flexible programs will allow correction of mistakes. One must also consider after all the risks of inaction and weigh them against the risks of action and chances of success. There is still much that can with careful programming be done to assist the economic, social and political development of the Third World countries.

APPENDIX

TITLE IX ATTRIBUTES OF PROJECTS

A. Purpose of Project - change project is to assist or achieve:

1. Increase in the quantity of:

- social overhead (schools, housing, hospitals, etc.)
- educational institutions
- social/political institutions (civic, youth, legislative, labor, etc. groups)

2. Improvement in the quality of:

- individual well being (Levels of individual health, nutrition, literacy, income, social/political awareness, etc.)
- social/political institutions

3. Greater geographic spread of:

- vocational skills
- individual well-being
- production and distribution facilities (plant and equipment)
- economic overhead (transportation, communications, power, water systems and other utilities)
- social overhead
- planning and control institutions (public or private)
- production institutions (manufacturing, mining, agricultural, etc.)
- financial institutions
- other service institutions (trade, extension etc.)
- educational institutions
- social/political institutions

4. Diversification in the range of:

- social/political institutions.

5. Better utilization of:

- social/political institutions

6. More effective control of:

- land

(This characteristic was included only because the instructions to the ACS indicated that it meant "land reform, i.e., "expansion of land ownership." It is impossible to know whether this interpretation was clear in the field - it certainly requires some imagination - or a very careful reading of the examples in the instructions. This was the only example which came up, of a specific Title IX attribute which could not be explicitly found in the ACS. Although it does permit an assessment of who is involved in the control of or decisions regarding resources, the ACS does not allow adequate description of ownership of resources)

- social/political institutions

7. Greater popular involvement in decisions or actions affecting all resources:

- population (growth rate, resettlement, etc.)
- vocational skills
- technical/professional skills
- managerial/executive skills
- individual well being
- animals (livestock, pests, parasites, fish, etc.)
- plants (crops, trees, weeds, etc.)
- land
- water
- mineral deposits
- production and distribution facilities
- raw, semi-finished and finished materials (metals, lumber, chemicals, textiles, fats, oils, machinery, books, etc.)
- economic overhead
- social overhead
- planning and control institutions
- production institutions
- financial institutions
- other service institutions
- educational institutions
- social/political institutions

8. Increase of knowledge about:

- social/political institutions

9. Other desired changes in social/political institutions

B. Involvement and role of institutions in the project:

1. Lower level host governments as:

- first recipient of A.I.D. resources
- intermediate recipient (i.e. transmitter) of A.I.D. resources
- final recipient of A.I.D. resources (i.e. the user of the resources)
- implementing agent
- contributor of resources to the project

2. Labor organizations as:

- first recipients of A.I.D. resources
- intermediate recipients of A.I.D. resources
- final recipients of A.I.D. resources
- implementing agents (when they are host country labor organizations)
- contributors of resources to the project (when they are host country labor organizations)

3. Cooperatives as:

- first recipients of A.I.D. resources
- intermediate recipients of A.I.D. resources
- final recipients of A.I.D. resources
- implementing agents (when they are host country cooperatives)
- contributors of resources to the project (when they are host country cooperatives)

4. Host country consumers as:

- final recipients of A.I.D. resources
- implementing agents
- contributors of resources to the project

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD
LATIN AMERICA

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Technical Field</u>	<u>Total No. of projects</u>	<u>No. of projects with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects</u>	<u>Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>FY 69 oblig. f/proj. with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis projects</u>
Agriculture	73	20	27	25	48,713	3,638	7	14
Industry	19	2	10	2	2,469	548	22	2
Labor	27	17	63	21	6,037	5,073	84	20
Health	17	4	24	5	12,768	416	33	2
Population	22	3	13	4	7,872	2,326	30	9
Education	65	6	9	7	38,725	9,899	26	38
Public Administration	56	3	5	4	10,879	477	4	2
Social Development	15	12	80	15	2,850	1,842	65	7
Housing	10	2	20	2	9,395	262	3	1
Private Enterprise	20	1	5	1	16,758	26	2	*
Other**	87	11	13	14	69,533	1,481	2	6
Total Latin America	411	81	20	100	225,999	25,988	11	100

*less than .5%.

**other includes the technical fields of utilities, public safety, special development and technical support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects and general and miscellaneous in which there were 11.

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD
AFRICA

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Technical Field</u>	<u>Total No. of projects</u>	<u>No. of projects with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects</u>	<u>Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>FY 69 oblig. \$/proj. with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis proj.</u>
Agriculture	82	17	21	35	14,650	3,973	27	33
Labor	11	8	72	17	1,387	1,072	77	9
Health	12	1	8	2	7,525	3,213	43	27
Nutrition	5	1	20	2	236	30	13	*
Population	8	1	12	2	773	133	18	1
Education	58	4	7	8	15,837	1,821	11	15
Public Administration	25	7	28	15	2,973	1,018	34	9
Social Development	5	2	40	4	132	31	23	*
Private Enterprise	13	2	15	4	3,197	22	1	*
Other**	101	5	5	10	50,551	645	1	5
Total Africa	320	48	15	100	97,261	11,958	12	100

*less than .5%

**Other includes the technical fields of industry, utilities, public safety, housing, special development and technical support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects and general and miscellaneous in which there were five.

TABLE 1

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD
TOTAL AID PROGRAM

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

Technical Field	Total No. of projects	No. of projects with Title IX emphasis	Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field	Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects	Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field	FY 69 oblig. \$/proj. with Title IX emphasis	Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field	Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis proj. (ob)
Agriculture	278	66	24	27	122,231	35,196	29	28
Industry	47	4	9	2	23,843	643	3	1
Utilities	76	3	4	1	107,471	7,091	7	6
Labor	49	30	61	12	9,660	7,140	74	6
Health	72	11	15	5	56,469	7,396	13	6
Nutrition	21	1	5	*	1,398	30	2	0
Education	78	12	15	5	37,056	10,809	29	9
Environment	182	22	12	9	95,655	20,232	21	16
Public Safety	38	4	10	2	36,062	5,582	15	4
Public Administration	121	19	16	8	23,658	4,266	18	3
Social Development	34	24	71	10	31,957	17,669	55	14
Housing	16	5	31	2	9,710	516	5	*
Private Enterprise	47	10	21	4	23,552	2,403	10	2
Other**	216	30	14	12	166,990	7,868	5	6
Total AID Program	1,275	241	19	100	745,712	126,841	17	100

*less than .5%.

**Other includes the technical fields of special development and technical support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects and general and miscellaneous in which there were 30.

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD
VIETNAM

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Technical Field</u>	<u>Total No. of projects</u>	<u>No. of projects with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects</u>	<u>Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>FY 69 oblig. f/proj. with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis proj.</u>
Agriculture	9	5	55	20	16,315	15,115	93	35
Utilities	12	2	17	8	46,643	3,991	9	9
Labor	2	1	50	4	1,111	154	13	*
Health	13	5	38	20	24,627	3,590	15	8
Education	8	3	37	12	7,598	3,248	43	8
Public Safety	4	2	50	8	21,118	5,169	24	12
Public Administration	7	3	42	12	4,072	1,616	40	4
Social Development	3	2	67	8	8,619	7,347	85	17
Other**	12	2	17	8	61,744	2,772	4	6
Total Vietnam	70	25	36	100	191,847	43,002	22	100

*less than .5%.

**Other includes the technical fields of Private Enterprise, Technical Support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects and general and miscellaneous in which there were two.

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD
EAST ASIA

(FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Technical Field</u>	<u>Total No. of projects</u>	<u>No. of projects with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects.</u>	<u>Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>FY 69 oblig. f/proj. with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis proj.</u>
Agriculture	17	8	47	30	6,096	6,594	96	25
Utilities	13	1	7	4	10,452	3,100	30	12
Labor	3	1	33	4	711	503	71	2
Population	5	3	60	11	6,662	3,962	59	15
Education	14	2	14	7	11,873	1,899	16	7
Public Safety	7	2	29	7	9,063	413	5	2
Public Administration	13	2	15	7	2,377	543	23	2
Social Development	7	5	71	19	16,915	8,176	48	31
Housing	1	1	100	4	65	65	100	*
Other**	49	2	4	7	39,051	748	2	3
Total East Asia	129	27	21	100	104,065	26,003	25	100

*less than .5%

**Other includes the technical fields of industry, health, nutrition, private enterprise, special development, and technical support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects; and general and miscellaneous in which there were two.

TITLE IX EMPHASIS PROJECTS IN EACH TECHNICAL FIELD¹
NON-REGIONAL PROGRAM
 (Centrally-funded and administered; including research)
 (FY 1969 obligations in thousands of dollars)

<u>Technical Field</u>	<u>Total No. of projects</u>	<u>No. of projects with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. as % of proj. in tech. field</u>	<u>Title IX emphasis proj. in tech. field as % of all Title IX emphasis projects</u>	<u>Total No. of FY 69 oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>FY 69 oblig. f/proj. with Title IX emphasis</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of oblig. in tech. field</u>	<u>Oblig. of Title IX emphasis proj. as % of all Title IX emphasis proj.</u>
Agriculture	45	4	9	4	10,762	439	4	8
Population	30	1	*	4	17,442	1,000	6	19
Education	19	1	5	4	15,131	248	2	5
Social Development	2	1	50	4	3,193	25	1	*
Housing	3	2	66	9	202	189	94	4
Private Enterprise	10	6	60	26	2,964	2,303	78	45
Other**	73	8	11	35	13,012	969	7	19
Total Non-Regional	182	23	13	100	62,704	5,173	8	100

¹Less than .5%.

**Other includes the technical fields of industry, labor, health, nutrition, public safety, public administration and technical support in which there were no Title IX emphasis projects and general and miscellaneous in which there were eight.

Footnotes

Section I A.

- ¹Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development, pp. 6 & 12.
- ²Ibid, p. 15.
- ³Ibid, pp. 16 & 19.
- ⁴Harold D. Lasswell, "The Policy Sciences of Development," World Politics, Vol. 17, No. 2 (January, 1965) pp. 288 & 290-291.
- ⁵Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. vii, 19, 47, 82, 140, 143, & passim.
- ⁶David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization, pp. 10-11.
- ⁷Ibid, p. 460.
- ⁸Ibid, p. 452.
- ⁹Seyom Brown, Political Development as a Policy Science - A Polemic.
- ¹⁰J. R. Pennock, "Political Development, Political Systems, and Political Goods," World Politics, Vol. (April 1966), pp. 415-434.
- ¹¹Brown, op. cit., p. 13.
- ¹²Pennock, op. cit., p. 426.
- ¹³Pye, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
- ¹⁴Ibid, pp. 45-57.
- ¹⁵Gabriel A. Almond, "Introduction: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics," The Politics of the Developing Areas, G. A. Almond & J. S. Coleman, eds., p. 18.
- ¹⁶Ibid, pp. 3-64.
- ¹⁷Edward Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 48.

Section I A. (cont't.)

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 7-8 & 48-49.

¹⁹ Edward Shils, "The Fortunes of Constitutional Government in the Political Development of the New States," Development: For What? John H. Hallowell, ed., p. 108.

²⁰ G. A. Almond, "Political Systems and Political Change," American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 5 (June 1963), p. 7;
G. A. Almond, "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems," World Politics, Vol. 17, No. 2 (January 1965), pp. 183-214.

²¹ R. E. Ward and D. Rustow, eds., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, Introduction and Conclusion.

²² Alfred Diamont, "The Nature of Political Development," Chapter 2 in "Bureaucracy in Developmental Movement Regimes: A Bureaucratic Model for Developing Societies," reprinted in Political Development and Social Change, J. L. Finkle and R. W. Gable, eds., pp. 95-96.

²³ G. A. Almond, Political Development, p. 252.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 299.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 291-292.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 287-288.

Section I B.

²⁸ Pye uses the concept of "world culture," op. cit., p. 10.

²⁹ Shils, Political Development in the New States, pp. 13-31.

³⁰ Huntington, op. cit., p. 73.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 72-73.

³² Shils, Political Development in the New States, pp. 30-31.

³³ Pye, op. cit., p. 105.

Section I. B. (cont'd.)

- ³⁴ Almond, "Introduction," The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit., p. 30.
- ³⁵ Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 37.
- ³⁶ Ibid, p. 31.
- ³⁷ Huntington, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
- ³⁸ Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 38.
- ³⁹ See for instance, Pennock, op. cit., p. 422 and Lasswell, op. cit., pp. 291-292.
- ⁴⁰ Pye, op. cit., p. 73.
- ⁴¹ Huntington, op. cit., p. 83.
- ⁴² Pye, op. cit., p. 21.
- ⁴³ Almond, "Introduction," The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit., p. 18 & 29; Huntington, op. cit., pp. 3, 103-104 & 140; Lasswell, op. cit., p. 289; Pye, op. cit., pp. 21 & 75.
- ⁴⁴ Almond, "Introduction," The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit., pp. 27-28 & 32; Lasswell, op. cit., p. 299; Pye, op. cit., pp. 28-29 & 105.
- ⁴⁵ Huntington, op. cit., pp. 140, 143, 144-145 & 345; see also, Lasswell, op. cit., p. 302.
- ⁴⁶ Huntington, op. cit., pp. 9-11 & 31-32; Pye, op. cit., p. 100.
- ⁴⁷ Almond, "Introduction," pp. 35-36, and J. S. Coleman, "Conclusion: The Political Systems of the Developing Areas," p. 533, in The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit.; Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 57.
- ⁴⁸ Shils, Political Development in the New States, pp. 57-58.
- ⁴⁹ Huntington, op. cit., p. 80.
- ⁵⁰ Pye, op. cit., pp. 26-27; Shils, Political Development in the New States, pp. 57-58.
- ⁵¹ Almond, "Introduction," The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit., p. 40; Huntington, op. cit., p. 89.

Section I. B. (cont'd.)

⁵²Huntington, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵³Pye, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵⁴Ibid, pp. 85-86.

⁵⁵Ibid, pp. 24-25 & 82.

⁵⁶Ibid, pp. 77, 85 & 86.

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 154.

⁵⁸Ibid, p. 156.

⁵⁹Almond, "Introduction," pp. 48-49 and Coleman, "Conclusion," p. 533, The Politics of the Developing Areas, op. cit.; Pye, op. cit., p. 160.

⁶⁰Pye, op. cit., pp. 157-159.

⁶¹Ibid, pp. 160-162.

⁶²Ibid, pp. 156, 164, 167, 168 & 170; Shils, Political Development in the New States, p. 45.

⁶³Pye, op. cit., pp. 63-66.

Section II A.

¹A.I.D. Manual Order 1000.1, August 1, 1962, Subject: "General Statement of A.I.D. Policy."

²U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, A Report for the Subcommittee on International Finance of the Committee on Banking and Currency, "Development of Cooperative Enterprises, 1966, under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961," 90th Congress, First Session.

³U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962," 87th Congress, Second Session, House Report 1788, Section 109.

⁴Introduced by Donald M. Fraser (D. Minn.), co-sponsored by Clement Zablocki (D. Wis.), and supported by F. Bradford Morse (R. Mass.).

⁵U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Report on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966," 89th Congress, Second Session, House Report 1651, pp. 27-28.

⁶See for instance the statement of 25 Republican Congressmen after a 6-month study of the new directions of foreign aid in the Congressional Record of March 15, 1966, and "The Trick Is People," Remarks of Congressman F. Bradford Morse as inserted in the Congressional Record of February 27, 1967, by Congressman Donald Fraser; also "Additional Views of Honorable Donald Fraser," from the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Foreign Assistance Act of 1967, 90th Congress, First Session, House Report 551; also Donald M. Fraser, "The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations," Foreign Service Journal, Vol. 47, No. 3, (March 1970), pp. 12-14.

⁷Fraser, "The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations," op. cit., p. 13.

⁸A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable Williams S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D., before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, March 20, 1968," comments by Rep. John C. Culver, p. 10 and Rep. Donald M. Fraser, pp. 6 & 7; letter of Rep. Fraser to Administrator Gaud, June 13, 1967, complimenting A.I.D. on its initial response to Title IX.

⁹A.I.D. "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D." op. cit., p. 11.

Section II B. (cont'd.)

- ¹⁰AIDTO CIRCULAR AIRGRAM XA-1063, November 8, 1966, Subject: "Promotion and Utilization of Democratic Institutions for Development," pp. 1-2.
- ¹¹Ibid, p. 1.
- ¹²Ibid, pp. 2-3.
- ¹³Ibid, p. 3.
- ¹⁴Ibid, pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁵Ibid, p. 4.
- ¹⁶Ibid, p. 5.
- ¹⁷Ibid, p. 4.
- ¹⁸A.I.D., "Report to the Congress on the Implementation of Title IX," May 10, 1967; A.I.D. Briefing Outline on Title IX for Mission Directors for Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Zablocki Subcommittee Hearings on "Rural Institutional Development in Southeast Asia," May 10, 1967.
- ¹⁹Ibid. Enclosure in letter from A.I.D. Acting Administrator, Rutherford Poats to Rep. John V. Tunney, September 1, 1967, replying to Tunney's request of August 11, 1967, for information on Title IX implementation.
- ²⁰A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D.," op. cit., p. 2.
- ²¹Memorandum from Princeton Lyman, Chief, Title IX Division, Office of Program and Policy Coordination, A.I.D. to Charles Paolillo, Assistant Chief, Legislative Programs Coordination Staff, Office of Program and Policy Coordination, May 20, 1969, Subject: "Inquiry on Implementation of Title IX projects," p. 1.
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D.," loc. cit.

Section II B. (cont'd.)

²⁴Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "The Role of Popular Participation in Development," Report of a Conference on the Implementation of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, Summary Conclusions, pp. 1-17.

Section II C.

²⁵A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D., loc. cit.;" John R. Schott, "A New Dimension in U.S. Foreign Aid," Foreign Service Journal, Vol. 47, No. 3 (March 1970), p. 22.

²⁶Princeton Lyman, "An Introduction to Title IX," Foreign Service Journal, Vol. 47, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 9-10 & 41.

²⁷Schott, loc. cit.

²⁸Ibid, p. 21.

²⁹Lyman, "An Introduction to Title IX," op. cit., p. 6.

³⁰Schott, op. cit., p. 20.

³¹Ibid, p p. 22-23.

³²Ibid, p. 22.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Report of the Presidential Task Force on Foreign Aid, Rudolph A. Peterson, Chairman, March, 1970, "Conclusions."

³⁵Lyman, "An Introduction to Title IX," op. cit., p. 4.

Section II D.

36 These characteristics are listed in the Appendix and were selected by Dr. Lyman, Chief of the Title IX Division A.I.D.

37 See Appendix .

38 Memorandum from Princeton Lyman to Charles Paolillo, May 20, 1969, op. cit., p. 1.

39 Ibid, p. 2.

40 A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D.," op. cit., p. 6.

41 This analyses evolved from a discussion with Jerome French of the Title IX Division.

42 Letter from the AID Legal Officer in Brazil read by Rep. Rosenthal, A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D.," op. cit., p.8.

Section III

¹Memorandum from A.I.D. Administrator John Hannah to Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson, November 14, 1969, Subject: Representative Morse's letter of October 16, 1969 criticizing the response of A.I.D. and the State Department to Title IX, p. 2.

²See for instance: John A. Hoskins, A.I.D. "Political Development Assistance - The Maturization of a Policy," Unpublished Masters Thesis, George Washington University, 1968.

³See for instance: letter from F. Bradford Morse to Under Secretary of State, Elliot Richardson, October 16, 1969 criticizing the response of A.I.D. and the State Department to Title IX, and Fraser, "The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations." op. cit. pp. 13-14.

⁴Memorandum from A.I.D. Administrator Hannah to Under Secretary of State Richardson, op. cit., p. 2.

⁵Ibid., p. 2; Fraser, "The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations," op. cit., p. 14.

⁶Memorandum from A.I.D. Administrator Hannah to Under Secretary of State Richardson, op. cit., p. 2.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Action memorandum for A.I.D. Administrator John Hannah from Assistant Administrator for Program and Policy Coordination Ernest Stern (drafted by P. Lyman, Chief, Title IX Division), discussion the policy issues needing resolution which were raised by an October 16, 1969, letter from Representative Morse to Under Secretary of State E. Richardson, criticizing the response of A.I.D. and the State Department to Title IX. November 14, 1969, p. 1; Fraser, "The Dynamics of Growth in Developing Nations," op. cit., p. 14.

Section III (cont'd.)

⁹Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁰A.I.D., "Excerpts from the Testimony of Honorable William S. Gaud, Administrator, A.I.D." op. cit., p. 9.

¹¹Action Memorandum for A.I.D. Administrator Hannah from Assistant Administrator for Program and Policy Coordination Ernest Stern, op. cit. p. 1.

¹²Ibid, p. 3.

¹³AIDTO CIRCULAR Airgram A-1007, April 28, 1970, Subject: "Country Field Submission Analysis of Social Development and Popular Participation."

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- A.I.D. AIDTO Circular Airgram XA-1063, November 8, 1966, subject: "Promotion and Utilization of Democratic Institutions for Development."
- A.I.D. AIDTO Circular Airgram A-1007, April 28, 1970, Subject: "Country Field Submission Analysis of Steal Development and Popular Participation."
- A.I.D. "Briefing Outline on Title IX," for Mission Directors for Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Zablocki Subcommittee Hearings on "Rural Institutional Development in Southeast Asia," May 10, 1967.
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