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Progress Report:

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Participation Patterns in Modernizing Societies

Co-directors: Prof. Samuel P. Huntington and
Dr. Joan M. Nelson

Contract period: June 27, 1969 - June 26, 1972
(extension through September 1972 being requested)

Period covered by Report: July 1970 through January 1972

PARTICIPATION PATTERNS IN MODERNIZING SOCIETIES

I. Review of the Program as a Whole

Introduction

More than a year and a half has passed since our first progress report on the Harvard Center for International Affairs study of participation patterns in modernizing societies. At that time the study was partly staffed, and one or two individual studies which had been started earlier with other funding were fairly well developed. Since the spring of 1970, the remainder of our senior researchers have been recruited, two have completed their studies, and most of the others are moving rapidly towards completion.

The individual studies included in the project are summarized briefly below, under headings corresponding with the three types of research methodologies set forth in the original research proposal. Part II of this report reviews progress and tentative findings of individual research efforts in somewhat greater detail. Part III summarizes the project's budgetary situation, and includes an indication of non-contract resources which have contributed to the research supported by the project.

Summary of individual research projects

A. Theoretical models.

1. Ronald Brunner, working with Gary Brewer, has developed a type of theoretical model which is new in the study of political modernization. The model develops systematic

links between changes in the level of electoral support for government in power, on the one hand, and economic, social and demographic trends and the flow of public services and resources into regions of a country, on the other. Data from Turkey and the Philippines are used to test the validity of the model. The final year of Brunner's work was funded under this project. His results have been published.

2. William Schneider is analyzing the extent and ways in which social class, partisanship, and the incentives offered by mass parties determine levels of political participation. Schneider is using survey and electoral data from the United States, England, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and the Philippines.
3. In the early stages of the project, it was anticipated that Samuel Popkin's research would emphasize theoretical modeling. As his work has evolved, it has retained a modeling component, but is primarily concerned with analyzing the rural sector in Vietnam. Therefore it is discussed here and in Part II of this report as a modified form of country case study.

B. Comparative sector studies

1. John Powell is exploring types and determinants of political organization and participation among peasants. His material is drawn from a wide range of developing and industrialized nations. He is examining both contemporary and historical cases.

2. Joan Nelson is analyzing the process of political integration of the urban poor, using data from many developing nations as well as some historical and contemporary material from industrialized countries.
3. Samuel P. Huntington is studying relations between rural social and economic development, migration out of rural areas, and political organization and activity in the countryside.

C. Country case studies

1. Shahid Javed Burki has completed a semi-final manuscript on participation patterns in Pakistan.
2. Michael Brower is well along on his analysis of economic and political trends in Colombia.
3. Henry Bienen has been working part-time since July 1971 on a monograph exploring participation patterns in Kenya, and plans to complete his work by June 1972.
4. Ergun Ozbudun began his study of Turkey in September 1971, and hopes to complete his research and writing by the end of calendar 1972.

In addition to these case studies analyzing participation patterns for countries as wholes, two scholars are doing research which focusses on particular sectors within countries.

5. Samuel Popkin is conducting an intensive case study of participation patterns in the rural sector of Vietnam.
6. Wayne Cornelius is analyzing the political attitudes and participation of low-income migrants in Mexico City.

Both Popkin and Cornelius are also drawing to some extent on related material from other countries in East Asia and Latin America, respectively.

Linking seminars and the coordination of individual research

While pursuing their individual research, members of the project have also met regularly to discuss concepts, hypotheses, and problems relevant to all of the studies, and to review and criticize draft pieces of individual research as these are produced. Since September 1971 these meetings have been structured as "linking seminars" focussing on topics which cut across all of the individual studies. At each linking seminar, the one or two members of the group whose work is most relevant to the day's topic, or who are most interested in it, launch the discussion by giving a capsule review of theory and empirical knowledge on the topic. Usually they have also suggested that all members of the project read or review a few particularly germane articles in advance. Everyone is then expected to contribute data and hypotheses drawn from their own work. To date, linking seminars have been held on:

"Factions, Patron-Client Networks, and Channels of Participation"

"Rural Income Distribution and the Impact of the Green Revolution"

"Rural-to-Urban Migration and the Political Integration of Migrants"

"Urban Politics and the Urban Poor: Mobilizing Issues, Party Machines, and Other Channels for Participation"

Additional sessions are planned on:

"Interactions Among National Governments, Local Leadership, and

Local Followings"

"Rural Aspects of Migration"

When particularly knowledgeable people are available in Cambridge at the time a particular topic is discussed, they have been invited to participate. For example, Carl Gotsch of the Harvard Economics Department and the Development Advisory Service joined John Powell in opening the discussion of the Green Revolution. The interplay of complementary research methodologies, including theoretical models, comparative sector studies, and country case studies, in the linking seminars has produced insights, data, and hypotheses which all the researchers have found helpful in their individual studies.

A systematic effort to assess the conclusions regarding participation patterns in modernizing nations which grow out of the project as a whole must of course await at least semi-final drafts of most of the individual research efforts. The co-directors of the project plan to devote part of the autumn of 1972 to the task of integrating and coordinating findings.

Wider discussion and dissemination of findings

Individual members of the project have taken part in a wide range of seminars, conferences, and colloquia sponsored by other universities and organizations, presenting parts of their own work or participating in more general discussions of topics related to their research. The summaries of individual activities in Part II of this report include lists of relevant conferences attended.

Publications

Although most of the research funded under the contract is still in progress, some publications which can be attributed in whole or in part to the project have already appeared in print. Additional articles and chapters have been accepted for publication. These include:

Brunner, Ronald D. and Gary D. Brewer. Organized Complexity: Empirical Theories of Political Development, Free Press, 1971.

✓ Powell, John D. "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics," American Political Science Review, June 1970.

✓ "Venezuelan Agrarian Problems in Comparative Perspective," Comparative Studies in Society and History, July 1971.

✓ (With John R. Mathiason), "Participation and Efficacy: Aspects of Peasant Involvement in Political Mobilization," Comparative Politics, Spring 1972.

✓ Nelson, Joan M. "The Urban Poor: Disruption or Political Integration in Third World Cities?" World Politics, April 1970.

⊙ Burki, Shahid J. "West Pakistan's Agricultural Development: An Interdisciplinary Exploration" in Stevens, Alvi and Bertocci (eds.) Rural Development in Pakistan, Michigan State University Press, forthcoming.

✓ "Political Development and Violence: A Case Study of the Punjab," The Middle East Journal, Autumn 1971.

✓ "Socio-Economic Causes and Consequences of Political Violence: A Case Study of Pakistan," Asian Survey, March 1972.

✓ "Elections in Pakistan, 1970," The Middle East Institute, 1972.

Bienen, Henry. (The following recent articles are closely related to Bienen's work under the project, although they do not flow directly from it.)

"Political Parties and Political Machines," in M. Lofcie, State of the Nation, University of California Press, 1971.

"Economic Factors and the Civil Service in Kenya," in Hyden, Okumu, and Jackson, Development Administration: The Kenyan Experience, Oxford University Press, 1970.

"One-Party Systems in Africa," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore, eds., Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society, Basic Books, 1970.

Popkin, Samuel. "Pacification: Politics and the Village," Asian Survey, August 1970.

"Internal Conflicts: South Vietnam," in Steven L. Spiegel and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., Conflict in World Politics, Winthrop Publishers, 1971.

Cornelius, Wayne. "A Structural Analysis of Urban Caciquismo in Mexico," in Robert W. Kerns, ed., Caciquismo in Latin America (title tentative), University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming, 1972.

(An expanded version of this paper is also being prepared for publication in the November 1972 issue of the journal Urban Life and Culture, Sage Publications.

"Rural-to-Urban Migrants in Mexico City" (title tentative), in a book to be edited by Everett Hagen presenting recent research on rural-to-urban migration in developing nations, M.I.T. Press, forthcoming 1973.

Additional articles may be accepted for publication as individual researchers complete sections of their work. The final and major products of each person's research will in most cases appear well after the expiration of the research contract, but most members of the project will complete their manuscripts during calendar 1972. Part II of this report indicates for every project participant what publications are planned as products of their research and their estimated dates of completion.

II. Individual Studies: Progress and Plans

A. Theoretical Models

1. Ronald Brunner completed his book, co-authored with Gary Brewer, in the summer of 1970, and returned to the University of Michigan in August of that year. The book is entitled Organized Complexity: Empirical Theories of Political Development, Free Press, 1971. Brunner has discussed his modeling approach at numerous conferences and meetings, both during preparation and after publication of the book.

2. William Schneider joined the faculty of the Harvard Department of Government after completing his dissertation during the academic year 1970-71. The dissertation, entitled "The Origins of Participation: Nation, Class, Issues, and Party," was completed and approved in September 1971.

The dissertation used survey data from the United States and from Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's five-nation study (England, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and the United States) as reported in The Civic Culture. The surveys were used to classify voters by partisanship and by level of participation. Two theories of participation were compared--the "status" model and the "organization" model. The conclusion was that only a limited amount of variation in individual participation could be explained by status characteristics, such as education, income, and occupation. Most of the variation among nations, and a good deal of the variation within individual nations, was attributed to varying institutional incentives, such as solidarity, material pay-off, and electoral purpose.

The closing chapter develops a theoretical model of the relationship between individual political participation and party systems.

Part of the dissertation was presented at the Round Table on "Quantitative Methods and Political Substance" of the International Political Science Association at Mannheim, Germany, during July of 1971. On the basis of criticism and suggestions offered at this conference, and from others, Schneider plans to revise and expand his theoretical discussion of incentive systems and participation, including a more intensive case study of the Philippines. He is particularly interested in the interplay of social psychological factors (such as attitudes) and organizational constraints in affecting political behavior. These revisions will also involve continued computer analysis of the relationship between participation,

electoral choice, and political issues.

Publication plans. A first-draft presentation of his work, to be entitled "The Meaning of Elections," will be prepared by May 1972. Schneider expects to spend the summer completing a monograph on this subject, with a final publication version ready by the end of the year.

Related meetings and conferences. International Political Science Association, Round Table on "Quantitative Methods and Political Substance," Mannheim, Germany, July 5-10, 1971.

B. Comparative analysis of participation in the rural and urban sectors

1. Peasants and Politics

John Powell worked on his study of participation patterns in rural areas full-time during the summers of 1970 and 1971, and part-time during the academic year 1970-71. During the current academic year (September 1971 through May 1972) he is on leave from Tufts University and can devote his entire time to his research.

During the summer of 1970 Powell drafted a comprehensive and detailed introductory chapter on stratification, property, and the power of property in peasant societies. This chapter constitutes a theoretical framework for his subsequent analysis. The chapter was presented at the American Political Science Association meetings in Los Angeles in September, 1970, and widely circulated for comments and suggestions.

During the academic year 1970-71, in addition to his regular teaching responsibilities at Tufts, Powell collected, read, and analyzed others' studies on village society, rural economic and

social organization, and rural political movements and organization. He concentrated on regions other than Latin America, with which he was already familiar through earlier work.

During the autumn of 1971, Powell has completed revisions of his theoretical framework and is working on remaining chapters in his book. The completed study will open with a wide-ranging consideration of the context of peasant life in historical and cross-cultural perspective. It will then move on to consider patterns of peasant political participation, including rural electoral participation, participation in semi-autonomous village and cooperative groups; participation in associations dependent on external leadership such as peasant unions dominated by national labor organizations and/or parties, credit unions, and national co-operative and/or marketing associations; and direct actions such as tax withholding or rent strikes, protest actions, land invasions, and violence. The concluding section will consider policy implications, conclusions with respect to peasants and the rural sector in political modernization, and broader implications for theory and for further research. A major theme running throughout the book is the importance of the specific life situations confronting the peasantry in any particular era and area. Individual behavior patterns, variations in village structure, participation in political and non-political organizations, and various forms of direct action all must be understood in relation to the peasants' specific situations, including the resources, leadership, and probable governmental responses confronting particular groups at particular times.

Publication plans. A draft version of the study will be available by June 1972. The final book manuscript should be completed by spring 1973. Several chapters of the book may also appear separately as articles.

Related meetings and conferences. American Political Science Association meetings, Los Angeles, September 1970 : presented theoretical framework chapter.

American Political Science Association meetings, Chicago, September 1971. Chaired panel on leader-follower relationships in peasant societies.

Council for European Studies, Workshop on Peasants in Europe, Endicott House, Dedham, Mass., September 9-11, 1971. Chaired panel on patron-client relations.

2. Political integration of the urban poor.

Joan Nelson divided the summer of 1970 between work as a consultant for the AID mission in Bogota on the development of an urban sector loan, and research on the urban poor. During the academic year 1970-71 she taught half-time at M.I.T., and also gathered and analyzed studies of rural-to-urban migration, the adjustment of migrants to urban conditions, the conditions under which neighborhood self-help associations emerge and persist in low-income urban neighborhoods, the roles of political parties vis-a-vis the urban poor (including the changing role and effectiveness of

U.S. urban "machines" from the late nineteenth century on), and a number of other topics. She concentrated on regions other than Latin America, with which she already had some familiarity through past work.

During the summer of 1971, Nelson focussed her reading more specifically on patterns of migration in Africa and Asia, and became particularly interested in the sharp contrasts between these areas and Latin America with respect to the permanence of migration. She also supervised a systematic scanning of census data for a number of developing nations, to obtain statistics on the ratios of men to women and of adults to children in major cities in these nations. These statistics provide a crude index of the extent to which migration into these cities is temporary or permanent. Wide variations in the permanence of migration clearly have important implications on the process of urban growth, including the nature of the demand for housing and services, the uses made of savings, the evolution of social organization, and the level and content of political participation by migrants. Yet neither the causes nor the consequences of contrasts in the patterns of migration have been systematically examined. During the autumn of 1971, Nelson integrated much of the census and other material gathered during the summer into a substantial article on this topic.

During the first half of 1972, she plans to (i) complete partially drafted chapters on the concepts of political integration and urban poverty, and on the obstacles to political organization of the urban poor; (ii) put together material collected over several

years on neighborhood associations as a channel of political integration of the urban poor. During the remainder of the year, she will move on to an analysis of urban political parties as they relate to the urban poor in various kinds of national political systems, including competitive party systems, dominant- and one-party systems, and nations where parties are organized around race, religion, or tribe.

Publication plans. The project as a whole will constitute a book. A final draft should be completed by spring 1973. Funding after August 1972 will of course come from sources other than the AID contract. The book will consist of two major parts: a discussion of the concepts of political integration, urbanization, and urban poverty in cross-national and cross a perspective; and a consideration of various channels of political integration of the urban poor as these operate in different national economic, cultural, and political contexts.

Several chapters of the book may be published separately as articles before the completion of the book. A substantial article on the causes and consequences of commitment to the city is in draft form and being circulated for comments. A final version should be ready for publication by late spring of 1972. The chapter on neighborhood associations may also be appropriate for separate publication.

Related meetings and conferences. Mid-Western Universities Consortium for International Activities, Conference on Requirements

and Consequences of Political Participation for Development Policies, Chicago, December 5-6, 1970.

City University of New York (jointly with the Committee for Comparative Public Administration of the American Political Science Association), Colloquium on Latin American Urban Politics. Prepared written comments on and acted as discussant for major speaker's paper.

Southern Asian Institute of Columbia University, Conference on Population, the Human Condition, and Politics in South and Southeast Asia, New York, November 5-7, 1971. Chaired session on "Urbanization."

Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Conference on Rural-to Urban Migration, Brookline, Mass., November 20-22, 1971.

Clark University, Colloquium Series on International Urbanization. Presented paper on causes and consequences of permanent vs. temporary migration, December 8, 1971.

Department of State (INR), Effects of Rapid Population Growth on Political Change in the Less Developed Countries, Washington, D.C., February 17, 1972. Discussant for session on "Effects of Rapid Population Growth on Political Participation."

American University, interdepartmental faculty seminar on comparative urbanization, spring semester 1972. Participant, and speaker for first session, on "Approaches to the Study of Comparative Urbanization."

American Political Science Association meetings, Washington, D.C., September 1972. Chairing panel on "Political Integration of the Urban Poor in Cross-National and Historical Perspective."

3. Rural-Outmigration and Politics in the Countryside

Samuel P. Huntington spent part of the summer of 1971 and plans to devote part of his time during the spring of 1972 to his study of rural out-migration and change in the countryside. He has been gathering data on urban migration patterns in a number of developing countries. Considerable effort has gone into identifying rates of out-migration from rural areas, which are much more difficult to locate than data on in-migration to urban areas. Huntington is interested in the responses of peasant groups to increasing demographic pressure on the land, and to technological and market changes which increase agricultural productivity but also replace labor with capital and tend to accentuate inequalities of land and income distribution. These changes may be met with apathy and fatalistic acceptance, or they may provoke collective economic or political action for amelioration and reform, attempts at rebellion and revolution, or escape through out-migration. Huntington plans to explore the relations among these responses, the causes and conditions causing peasants to choose one response as against another, and the consequences of the several types of response for social, economic, and political participation in the countryside.

Publication plans. The study will take the form of a long article or a short monograph, to be completed some time during 1972.

C. Country Case Studies

1. Pakistan

Shahid Javed Burki arrived in Cambridge in September 1970, and was a member of the project for thirteen months. During that period he completed a ten-chapter study of the interaction of social, economic, and political changes in Pakistan. The study combines scope and depth to a degree which would be remarkable had the work taken several times as long. The first section of the book discusses leadership and social groups, including the roles of the charismatic political leaders Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Muhammed Ayub Khan as modernizers; the re-emergence after independence of old social groups such as the landed aristocracy, lawyers, students, and the ulema; the appearance of new social groups including the refugees from India, merchant-industrialists, and industrial and commercial labor; and the role of the civil and political bureaucracies. The second part of the book examines three major dimensions of economic and social change in Pakistan during the 1950's and 1960's: agricultural development, industrialization, and urbanization. The third and final section of the book pulls together much of the earlier material and focusses on political events: Chapter 9 discusses the collapse of Ayub Khan's system, and the tenth chapter traces the roots of political unrest in the Punjab and in East Bengal to certain of the social and economic trends discussed earlier in the volume.

Before coming to Cambridge, Burki had set up and supervised several data-collecting ventures which proved invaluable for his subsequent analysis. Thirteen towns in the West Pakistani provinces of Northwest Frontier, Punjab, and Sind, were surveyed and local council records consulted to gather data on migration into and out of the towns over the previous ten years. Information was gathered on destinations, duration of stay, and on social and economic characteristics of out-migrants and returnees, which formed part of the basis for the detailed analysis of urbanization patterns. Data were also collected on the occupations and other characteristics of the town councillors in the system of Basic Democracies. Burki also surveyed 27 villages in the Punjab, gathering material on migration patterns and examining the village land records over the previous decade for data on changes in land holdings, rents charged, and other clues to the interaction between agricultural development and social and political change in the countryside. Still a third survey, of five villages in Hazara District from which there is heavy migration to Karachi, also contributed to the analysis of migration and urbanization. Burki also brought with him to Cambridge detailed data on arrests of persons participating in riots, in cities and towns of West Pakistan with populations of more than 10,000, for every three-month period between October 1966 and March 1969. This material forms an important part of the basis for his case study of urbanization, social change, and political unrest in the Punjab, culminating in the fall of the regime of Field Marshal Ayub Khan.

Publication plans. The book manuscript entitled Social Groups and Development: A Case Study of Pakistan is currently under consideration for publication by the Harvard University Press. In addition, the following articles have been accepted for publication or have already appeared:

"West Pakistan's Agricultural Development: An Interdisciplinary Exploration" in Stevens, Alvi and Bertocci, eds., Rural Development in Pakistan (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, forthcoming).

"Political Development and Violence: A Case Study of the Punjab," The Middle East Journal, Autumn 1971.

"Socio-Economic Causes and Consequences of Political Violence: A Case Study of Pakistan," Asian Survey, March 1972.

"Elections in Pakistan, 1970," The Middle East Institute, 1972.
Related meetings and conferences.

Columbia University National Seminar on Pakistan, First Session, New York, November 1970.

Columbia University National Seminar on Pakistan, Second Session, New York, January 1971.

Political Participation in Developing Countries, U.S. AID Seminar, Washington, February 1971.

Columbia University National Seminar on Pakistan, Third Session, New York, February 1971.

Annual Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Washington, March 1971.

Columbia University National Seminar on Pakistan, Fourth Session, New York, April 1971.

Annual Conference of the Punjab Studies Committee, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, May 1971.

Annual Conference of the Middle East Institute, New York, May 1971.

Workshop on Rural Development in Pakistan, Michigan State University, East Lansing, June 1971.

Lecture at the Foreign Service Institute, Washington, June 1971.

Strategies for Agricultural Development in the Seventies, Stanford University, Palo Alto, December 1971.

2. Colombia

Michael Brower joined the project in mid-August 1970, and worked on his study of patterns of participation in Colombia full-time during the following year, with the exception of July, 1971, spent teaching in Cali, Colombia. Since September 1971 he has been at Brandeis, but continues to draft his study for the project.

During the year spent at full-time research, Brower sorted through and studied a large collection of data and literature on the distribution of land, capital, and income in Colombia, and used available related economic data to analyze trends in income distribution over the past two decades. He also coded data from the 1962, 1966, and 1970 Presidential elections by municipio (roughly analogous to counties in the United States), using all urban municipios and "proxy" rural municipios (one from each of the

22 departments or states in the nation). Municipio-level data on total population, rates of population growth, industrial product per capita, value added per worker, and literacy were also coded and correlated with the vote for and against the National Front candidates in the three Presidential elections. To supplement this material, Brower also arranged to obtain voter survey data gathered by Colombian scholars in Cali and Bogota before the elections of April 1970. Brower's broad findings indicate a pattern of moderate economic growth without broadened distribution of income, capital, or land, and substantial but falling electoral participation with little popular impact on governmental policies and programs. Large parts of his monograph are now drafted.

Publication plans. Brower plans to complete the missing sections of his study in the next months, and revise the entire manuscript by June 1972. The study will appear as a monograph.

3. Kenya

Henry Bienen has been affiliated with the project on a part-time basis since spring of 1971. He had already gathered much of the material needed for his study of Kenya during a field trip funded by the Rockefeller Foundation (1968-69). During the summer and autumn of 1971, Bienen studied secondary literature on Kenya, including several recent and highly relevant doctoral dissertations, and papers prepared at the Institute for Development Studies in Nairobi. During the autumn he drafted chapters of his study analyzing the effects on political participation of (i) growing

urbanization, and (ii) the structure and mode of operations of the civil service and the dominant party in Kenya. Later chapters will consider the interplay of class and ethnicity, and the meaning of political participation in the Kenyan context, distinguishing among groups which are closely connected with the governing regime and those which are not, and between geographically central and peripheral groups.

Publication plans. The study of political participation in Kenya will take the form of a monograph, to be completed by June 1972. Bienen also expects his research on Kenya to produce two or more articles on related topics. It is possible that the material on participation and the related pieces will be sufficiently closely integrated to constitute a book-length study of relationships between economic and political development in Kenya, including but not confined to an analysis of participatory aspects. Alternatively, the articles might appear in a new book of his essays, along with short studies on other topics.

Related meetings and conferences.

Princeton University Center of International Studies, Colloquium on National Development, Spring 1972.

Temple University, Seminar on Local Government in Africa, Philadelphia, April 1971.

4. Turkey

Ergun Ozbudun arrived in Cambridge from Ankara, Turkey, in September 1971. As the most recent participant in the project, his work is still in the data-collection and analysis stage. He

has reviewed theoretical and comparative studies on political participation in developing countries in general, as well as more specific studies on aspects of participation in Turkey. During the autumn Ozbudun also selected and prepared for computer analysis electoral data for the elections of 1961, 1965, 1968, and 1969, with more limited data from earlier elections, as well as extensive social and economic data gathered by the Turkish State Planning Organization for each of the nation's 67 provinces. A smaller number of indices are available for all of Turkey's approximately 600 arrondissements. Still more detailed data are available for the city of Izmir, where a number of Turkish scholars have collaborated on a large-scale survey. Ozbudun is associated with and will use this study.

Ozbudun is particularly interested in explaining two aspects of participation patterns in Turkey: voting turn-out, which has been dropping since 1950, and, he suspects, has fallen off still more rapidly in recent years; and the patterns of support or opposition for the government party. He is concentrating on the period 1961-1969.

Publication plans. Ozbudun hopes to draft about two-thirds of his study by June. The research will probably appear in book form.

Related meetings and conferences.

Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D. C., November 23, 1971. Gave seminar on political parties in Turkey.

5. Village Politics and Development in Vietnam

Samuel Popkin's research, as briefly described in Part I of this report, originally was conceived as falling under the category of theoretical models. While his study will include a modeling component, it has turned increasingly to a richly detailed and probing analysis of rural social and economic trends, military security or the absence thereof, the historical experience and specific social and religious tradition and structure in particular areas of the country, relationships with and actions of the national government, as all of these factors interact with local leadership and political participation.

Popkin has repeatedly visited and conducted surveys and intensive interviews in Vietnam; returning several times over a span of a half-dozen years to some of the same villages and even seeking out some of the same individuals. While in Vietnam during the summer of 1970, he conducted intensive interviews (lasting as long as six to ten hours, spread over several sessions) with village officials covering village elections, district-village relations, local politics, and local history. He also collected data from Secret Police files regarding Community Party organization during the 1954-1960 period. During the academic year 1970-71, these and other data were prepared for computer analysis. This involved coding roughly 400 three-hour interviews with Vietnamese villagers, plus smaller samples of soldiers and local officials. A special coding system was developed for questions relating to Cantril's

self-anchoring scale, which studies "hopes and fear for self and country." These questions will be used to assess changes peasants perceive as occurring in the national government, and how they relate changes in the national government to changes in their own lives.

In addition to his own survey materials, Popkin is making use of the extensive surveys and reports on rural Vietnam which others have conducted over the past decade. For example, during the summer of 1971, he used data drawn from the Hamlet Evaluation Survey, a monthly, computerized record of military and economic information for each of the more than 12,000 hamlets in rural Vietnam, to develop indices of NLF strength and spatial organization. Using multiple regression analysis, Popkin linked these indices to material drawn from the Rural Income Expenditure Survey of 97 hamlets, thus tracing the relationships between rural economic conditions in 1964 and the distribution of revolutionary strength in 1967-1970. More recently, Popkin has been using his own and others' data to explore the relationships between local security conditions and villagers' hopes and fears, and to analyze the impact of the war and social mobilization on peasants' political attitudes. Popkin is also examining local leadership styles; relations between local economic conditions, violence, and migration; the historical emergence of Catholicism and various religious sects and Communism in Vietnam; and the impact on village politics of strengthened central government authority and activities during the colonial era.

Part of this material was included in Popkin's doctoral dissertation, which was completed in 1969. A much revised and expanded study should be completed by autumn 1972, or by the end of the calendar year.

Publication plans. The bulk of the research will appear in book form. Various parts of the analysis may also appear as articles.

6. Migrants and the Urban Poor in Mexico City

Wayne Cornelius joined the project in September 1971. He had returned from his extensive field survey in Mexico City in December of the preceding year and had spent much of the first half of 1971 at Stanford preparing his data for computer analysis. During the months following his arrival in Cambridge, Cornelius continued to analyze his survey data as well as several types of qualitative material gathered during his stay in Mexico. He is particularly interested in the effects on migrants' political attitudes and participation of the kinds of neighborhoods in which they settle, both when they first arrive in the city and as they become more assimilated.

While Cornelius' work focusses on Mexico City, he is placing his findings in a framework derived from broad familiarity with related work in other cities in Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world. He is collaborating with two other scholars who are conducting parallel studies, based heavily on Cornelius' original questionnaire and research design, in Lima, Peru, and in Tokyo, Japan.

Publication plans. Two articles based on Cornelius' research have been accepted for publication in forthcoming collections. "A Structural Analysis of Urban Caciquismo¹ in Mexico" will appear in a volume edited by Robert W. Kerns, tentatively titled Caciquismo in Latin America (Albuquerque, New Mexico, University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming 1972). An expanded version of this article will also appear in a forthcoming issue of the journal, Urban Life and Culture (Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif.). A chapter by Cornelius will also appear in a forthcoming volume edited by Everett Hagen on recent research on rural-to-urban migration in developing nations (M.I.T. Press, forthcoming 1973). Cornelius plans to complete a book-length report of his findings by early 1973. He will prepare a monograph on selected aspects of his work for the Participation project by summer 1972.

Related meetings and conferences.

American Political Science Association meetings, Chicago, September 1971, panelist in session on "The Politics of Urban Marginal Groups in Latin America."

Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Conference on Recent Research on Rural-Urban Migration, Brookline, Mass., November 19-21, 1971, presented report on research.

Graduate seminars, Department of Political Science, M.I.T., and Department of Government, Harvard, presentation of preliminary research findings (November 1971 and March 1972).

¹"Caciquismo" may be roughly translated as "bossism."

III. Expenditures and Commitments

Tables 1 and 2, attached, summarize expenditures and commitments over the life of the project, by expense category. . Because the Harvard Comptroller's accounting system classifies personnel in terms of their administrative status, and this classification does not always coincide with the type of work performed under the contract, the Comptroller's figures have been rearranged in the tables to show expenses for types of work, e.g., senior researchers' salaries, secretarial salaries, and research assistance rather than Corporation Appointees, bi-monthly salaries, and casual employees. The footnotes to Table 1 indicate in what ways the figures shown differ from the Comptroller's report.

As the Summary Sheet indicates, total expenditures as of the end of November, the latest date for which the Comptroller's Budget and Summary Report is available, come to \$247,128. We expect to spend an additional \$108,035 in the last seven months of fiscal 1972. We would like to spend an additional \$21,944 during July and August of 1972, and are submitting a request to the Agency for an extension of the period over which the authorized funds may be spent. We are also requesting the Agency to make available to us the third slice of \$53,566 authorized under the original contract but not yet made available. The third tranche will be needed to cover anticipated expenses between now and the end of fiscal 1972, and to cover additional expenses during July and August.

Table 3 indicates the distribution, in percentages, of actual

plus anticipated expenditures by category of expense, over the life of the project.

Funds from other sources

Most participants in the project have utilized materials gathered before they joined the project, or have built upon earlier work in other ways. Specific items which have contributed to the work of individual participants are listed below.

1. William Schneider used a \$3,000 Sheldon Travel Grant from Harvard University to travel to the Philippines. During 1970 he also utilized \$4,500 from the Cambridge Project for methodological development of computer programs. During the current year his salary is being paid in part through a Ford Foundation grant to the Center for International Affairs.

2. John Powell was provided with \$6,500 from the Center for Rural Development (Cambridge), to conduct a village survey in Colombia in the summer of 1968. He has also made extensive use of the research reports and studies done under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center.

3. Joan Nelson used a travel grant of \$1,000 from the Council on Foreign Relations for a field trip to Santiago, Chile, during the summer of 1969. While in Bogota, Colombia, in the summer of 1970 as an AID consultant, she also took two weeks to explore various topics relating to her research under the project.

4. Michael Brower had taught and conducted research in Colombia for several years before joining the project. He was supported for eighteen months at the Universidad del Valle under

a Ford Foundation grant to the university's School of Administration. Another Ford Foundation grant, through M.I.T., supported part of an additional year of field research. Under a Ford grant to the School of Management of Northwestern University, through which Northwestern was providing technical assistance to IESA (School of Management) in Caracas, Brower's travel to and from Caracas was paid twice a year during the period 1968-1971. The Harvard Center for International Affairs used its Ford funds to permit Brower to proceed from Caracas to Bogota on several occasions, to gather additional data for his study under the project.

5. Henry Bienen conducted a year's field work in Kenya during 1968-69, funded in part from the Rockefeller Foundation and in part from Princeton University. The Woodrow Wilson Center of Princeton also paid Bienen's summer salary during the summer of 1971, while he worked part-time on the project.

6. Ergun Ozbudun participated with other Turkish scholars in a sizeable survey study of Izmir during 1968. The survey was funded by the Ford Foundation. The total grant was approximately \$10,000. Ozbudun's specific aspects of the survey cost roughly \$750, but he is drawing on all aspects of the survey for his study of Turkish participation patterns.

7. Samuel P. Huntington's part-time work on the project during the 1970-71 academic year and during the summer of 1971 was supported primarily by Harvard University funds and by a Ford Foundation grant to the Center for International Affairs.

SUMMARY SHEET
FUNDING AND EXPENSES

I. <u>Funding</u>		
Total authorized under contract		<u>\$380,017</u>
First tranche (July 26, 1969)		173,050
Second tranche (June 9, 1971)		153,401
(Total funding to date)		(326,451)
Third tranche (being requested)		53,566
II. <u>Expenses</u>		
Total actual plus anticipated expenses		<u>377,107</u>
Actual expenses through November 1971		247,128
Expected expenses, remainder of FY 1972		108,035
Proposed expenses, July-August 1972		<u>21,944</u>
III. <u>Requested additional funding</u>		
Total expenses, actual and anticipated, through fiscal year 1972 (from II above)		355,163
Total funds available (from I above)		326,451
Additional funds needed for December 1971 through June 1972 (difference between two figures above)		28,712
Additional funds proposed for July-August 1972		21,944
Total anticipated expenses not covered by current funding		<u>50,656</u>

247
108
355

TABLE 1

EXPENDITURES
(July 1969 through November 1971)

EXPENSE CATEGORY	FISCAL YEAR			
	FY 1970	FY 1971	first 5 mos. FY 72	cumulative
<u>I. On-campus expenses</u>				
Senior researchers' salaries	26,694	45,370	37,279 ⁷	109,343
Corporation appointee benefits ¹	4,471	7,645	5,203 ¹⁰	17,319
Secretarial salaries	5,612	3,861	4,920 ⁸	14,393
Semi-monthly plus casual benefits ¹	617	696	1,052 ¹⁰	2,365
Research assistance	--	6,588	3,791 ⁹	10,379
Computer services	2,745	6,859	4,654 ¹¹	14,258
Supplies	310	645	101	1,056
Telephone/telegraph	450	694	656	1,900
Postage/freight	499	788	186	1,473
Books/journals	24	29	36	89
Xeroxing	132	1,398	625	2,155
Services purchased	--	700 ²	122	822
Miscellaneous	--	61	-- ¹²	61
Travel	--	4,446 ³	882	5,328
Total direct costs	41,554	79,780 ⁴	59,507	180,841
Overhead (34%)	14,129	27,125	20,232	61,486
Total on-campus	55,684	106,905	79,739	242,327
<u>II. Off-campus expenses</u>				
Services purchased	--	1,097 ⁵	1,954 ⁵	3,051
Honorarium	--	1,000 ⁶	--	1,000
Overhead (18.5%)	--	388	361	749
Total off-campus	--	2,485	2,315	4,800
Total on- plus off-campus	55,684	109,390	82,054	247,128

Footnotes for Table 1

¹Fringe benefit rates for professional, secretarial, and certain categories of research assistance personnel have changed during the period of the contract. In fiscal 1970, professional benefits were 16.75% of salaries; secretarial benefits were 10.85% of salaries. In fiscal 1971, professional rates rose slightly to 16.85% while secretarial rates remained steady. In fiscal 1972, professional rates rose to 17.85%, secretarial and other personnel receiving semi-monthly salaries (including certain of the research assistants) received benefits at a rate of 13.35%, and casual research assistants who were not Harvard students received benefits of 5.2% of their earnings.

²"Services purchased" in fiscal 1971 is smaller than the figure shown in the Harvard Comptroller's report as of the end of November 1971. The Comptroller's figure includes \$597 paid to Mr. Burki to reimburse him for out-of-pocket payments for surveyors and survey materials in Pakistan. The item should have been listed as "off-campus services purchased", and is being retroactively transferred to that category. The overhead rate for that expense is being reduced accordingly.

³FY 1971 "Travel" includes tickets from Lahore, Pakistan, to Boston and return for Mr. and Mrs. Shahid Burki. (The Burkis' actual departure was delayed until fiscal 1972.)

⁴The Comptroller's figures for fiscal 1971 include an item labelled "reprints" (\$329). This item should not have been charged to this project, and is being retroactively transferred to a different account. It has been omitted from Table 1.

⁵"Off-campus services purchased" in fiscal years 1971 and 1972 include reimbursement to Mr. Burki for out-of-pocket expenses for research assistance and materials used to collect survey data in Pakistan prior to and after his arrival in Cambridge, and reimbursement to a Colombian university for expenses incurred in making available survey data used by Dr. Brower.

⁶The \$1000 advance honorarium for Dr. Bienenin 1971 was erroneously classified in the Comptroller's Report as an on-campus expense. It is being retroactively transferred to the off-campus category, and overhead is being reduced accordingly.

⁷As noted in the text, Tables 1, 2, and 3 use functional classifications which differ from those used by the Harvard Comptroller. The figures shown for "senior researchers' salaries" differ from the Comptroller's figures for "professional salaries (Corporation Appointees) as follows:

a. Dr. Ozbudun's salary is classified as a "fellowship", for administrative and tax purposes, and is not subject to overhead or benefits. However, since he is a professional participant in the project, the total includes \$4,200 paid to him through November 1971. The figures for overhead and for professional benefits have been calculated omitting this item.

b. Mr. Burki's salary for the months of July, August, and September are classified as "S and W Casual" since Mr. Burki was leaving in early autumn and a renewal of his Corporation Appointment was cumbersome. Benefits on his salary for this period are calculated at the rate of 5.2% and included under the item "secretarial benefits". Mr. Cornelius is being paid on the same basis throughout the year.

c. Half of Mrs. Anna Larson's salary is charged to the "professional salaries" account under this contract, because she is a Corporation Appointee. For the purposes of Table 1, however, her salary is shown as secretarial.

⁸The figure for secretarial salaries differs from the Comptroller's figure for semi-monthly salaries as follows:

a. It includes half-time pay for Mrs. Anna Larson.

b. It omits wages paid two research assistants (Leiberman and Stoddart) hired on a regular basis and therefore classified by the Comptroller as regular employees.

⁹The figure for research assistance in fiscal 1972 differs from the Comptroller's figure for "student and casual wages" (05-07) as follows:

a. It omits salaries for Burki and Cornelius (see footnote 7 above).

b. It omits wages paid to one research assistant (Moran) erroneously charged to this contract and in process of being corrected.

c. It includes wages paid to Leiberman and Stoddart (see footnote 8 above).

¹⁰The figures for both professional and semi-monthly benefits in FY 1972 have been taken directly from the Comptroller's office reports, without attempting to make the various transfers corresponding with the changes made in professional, secretarial, and research assistance categories.

¹¹The figure for computer services in fiscal 1972 is that given to us by the Computer Center accounting office as of November 30. It is substantially larger than the figure shown in the Comptroller's

Budget and Summary report through November 30. The discrepancy is probably due to a lag in recording in the Comptroller's office.

¹²The Comptroller's Budget and Summary Report for November shows an item of \$550 under "miscellaneous". This is a housing advance, and will be recovered. It has been omitted from Table 1.

TABLE 2

COMMITMENTS

(December 1971 through September 1972)

EXPENSE CATEGORY	FISCAL YEARS 1972 and 1st Quarter 1973			
	Expenses Expected through Nov 1971	Expected outlay thru June	Total 1972	Proposed outlay July-Aug
<u>I. On-campus expenses</u>				
Senior researchers' salaries ¹	37,279	45,386	82,665	10,400
Corporation Appointee benefits ²	5,203	5,544	10,747	1,287
Secretarial salaries ¹	4,920	7,002	11,922	1,055
Semi-monthly and casual benefits ²	1,052	1,770	2,822	244
Research assistance ¹	3,791	7,200	10,991	2,000
Computer services	4,654	6,200	10,854	1,000
Supplies	101	549	650	60
Telephone/telegraph	656	694	1,350	80
Postage/freight	186	614	800	70
Books/journals	36	--	36	--
Xeroxing	625	775	1,400	100
Services purchased	122	178	300	--
Miscellaneous	--	--	--	--
Travel	882	2,500	3,382	80
Total direct costs	59,507	78,412	137,919	16,376
Overhead (34%)	20,232	26,660	46,892	5,568
Total on-campus	79,739	105,072	184,811	21,944
<u>II. Off-campus expenses</u>				
Services purchased	1,954	--	1,954	--
Honorarium	--	2,500	2,500	--
Overhead (18.5%)	361	463	824	--
Total off-campus	2,315	2,963	5,278	--
Total on- and off-campus	82,054	108,035	190,089	21,944

Footnotes for Table 2

¹The categories of "senior researchers' salaries", "secretarial salaries", and "research assistance" have been adjusted in the same manner as in Table 1.

²Projected benefits, like expenditures on benefits in Table 1, are calculated in the same manner as the Comptroller's office. In other words, Corporation Appointee benefits include all benefits at the rates of 17.85% (1972) and 19% (1973), whether or not the individuals receiving benefits at those rates are senior research or secretarial personnel. Expected expenses for semi-monthly and casual benefits include all benefits at the lower rates applicable to non-Corporation Appointees, regardless of the type of work performed by the persons receiving these benefits.

TABLE 3

TOTAL ACTUAL PLUS PROJECTED EXPENDITURES
(Life of Project)

EXPENSE CATEGORY	(dollars)		(%)
Total	<u>\$377,106</u>		<u>100.0</u>
I. On-campus expenses			
Senior researchers' salaries	165,129	Researchers' salaries	43.8
Corporation Appointee benefits	24,150	Research assistance	5.2
Secretarial salaries	22,450	Secretarial salaries	6.0
Semi-monthly plus casual benefits	4,379	Benefits (all personnel)	7.6
Research assistance	19,579		
Computer services	21,458	Computer services	5.7
Supplies	1,665	} Office materials and services	2.8
Telephone/telegraph	2,574		
Postage/freight	2,157		
Books/journals	89		
Xeroxing	3,030		
Services purchased	1,000		
Miscellaneous	61		
Travel	<u>7,908</u>	Travel	2.1
Total direct costs	275,629		
Overhead	<u>93,714</u>	On-campus overhead	24.8
Total on-campus	369,343		
II. Off-campus expenses			
Services purchased	3,051	} Off-campus services	1.7
Honorarium	3,500		
Overhead (18.5%)	<u>1,212</u>	Off-campus overhead	0.3
Total off-campus	7,763	(Total overhead)	(25.2)