

15D/2502

PN-1AE-208

SUMMARY SHEET

FINAL ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT FOR THE
RESEARCH PROGRAM ON
PARTICIPATION PATTERNS IN MODERNIZING SOCIETIES

Harvard Univ.

Contract Number AID/csd-2502

Principal Investigators:

Samuel P. Huntington
Joan M. Nelson

Period covered by report: June 27, 1969 - December 31, 1972
(life of contract)

Total AID funding: \$395,935

Total expenditures by fiscal year:

Fiscal Year 1970	\$ 55,684.02
Fiscal Year 1971	110,075.79
Fiscal Year 1972	183,568.49
Fiscal Year 1973	<u>46,605.84</u>
(through November 30)	
Total	\$395,934.14

This final administrative report briefly reviews the background, objectives, accomplishments, and dissemination of results of the program as a whole. The substantive findings of the program, as well as related findings of concurrent research by other scholars, are summarized in a separate substantive monograph. The final chapter of that monograph suggests some points at which the findings are relevant to policy.

Final Administrative Report

PARTICIPATION PATTERNS IN MODERNIZING SOCIETIES

Research Program Conducted by the Harvard University
Center for International Affairs

I. General Background

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, first adopted in 1966, instructed the Agency for International Development to emphasize "maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions." The accompanying House Committee Report (1651) stressed that such participation in the planning and implementation of development activities could accelerate the process of development. In 1967 the Title was expanded to include, among other guidelines, explicit support for "civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government." (Section 281(b)(3)). Thus Title IX reflected concern both for broader involvement in economic processes and for a more active political voice for groups which had been politically quiescent or participant but ineffective. The legislation and related reports suggested that such participation could be encouraged through a wide variety of institutions at the local, provincial and national levels, including co-operative enterprises, interest groups, unions, and formal governmental institutions.

Title IX assumed that economic development, social modernization, broadened political participation, and the emergence of

stable and democratic government are compatible and can be mutually supportive. But it is equally clear that each of these processes can interfere with the others. Therefore it is extremely important to understand how these processes interact in varying country circumstances. What are the mechanisms and conditions under which they are compatible and supportive? To what extent is one form of participation a substitute for others? Under what conditions are some types of participation disincentives to, or disruptive of other types of participation? The research conducted under the Harvard program has been directed to exploring these relationships.

II. Project Objectives

More specifically, the original research proposal undertook to examine the relations among participation in the economic, social, and political realms. The program was designed to look across these realms, rather than following the usual course of studying each in isolation from the others. The underlying assumption was that "the extent and form of one type of participation is a function not just of antecedent social, economic, and demographic factors but also of the other forms of participation--social, economic, and political--in that society." Patterns of participation in each realm would be explored in both the urban and the rural contexts. A variety of research strategies were to be used, including theoretical models, cross-national sector studies, and country case studies. The goal was to

identify distinctive syndromes of participant activity characteristic of different societies.

As the program evolved, some of the core concepts were modified, although the fundamental objectives of the research remained unchanged. Those taking part in the program came to feel that the term "participation" with respect to economic and social activities was so broad that it confused rather than aided analysis. Most traditional polities permit very little political participation. That is, influence on public decisions, at least above the level of the village or tribe, is confined to a small fraction of the population. Political modernization involves both a change in the forms of participation and, equally important, a great expansion in the proportion of the population expected to participate.

Whether "economic participation" displays parallel patterns depends on how one interprets the phrase. One meaning is simply "participation in the labor force", in the sense usually used by labor economists. In this sense traditional people are fully participant. Economic modernization changes the forms of economic activity and permits and demands of the individual a much wider choice of economic roles. But the proportion of the population engaged in economic activity seldom increases, and is likely to shrink as women and children drop out of the labor force.

"Economic participation" is also often used in the quite different sense of partial or full incorporation into the market

or monetized segment of the economy. Used in this sense, the spread of economic participation is similar to that of political participation above the level of the village or tribe. Still a third meaning of economic participation relates to the quality of the labor force and the structure of the economy: people are said to be more fully participant as they become more highly skilled and are employed in more productive occupations. Economic participation is sometimes also used to refer to more equitable income distribution: the poor participate more fully as they receive a larger share of national income. The term "social participation", like "economic participation", also means different things to different people.

In short, the broad concepts of social and economic participation are too diffuse and ambiguous to be useful. Therefore we dropped the umbrella labels, and each researcher used those specific variables, such as income distribution, commercialization of agriculture, or rural-to-urban migration, which were appropriate to his study.

While we discarded the over-broad concepts of social and economic participation, we not only kept but elaborated the concept of political participation. It was clear from the beginning that the most common yardstick of political participation--voting and related electoral activity--was at best a very partial measure. But there was no consensus on a better definition, either within our program or among other scholars. (See

the Research Report for A.I.D. on Political Participation in Underdeveloped Countries, by Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris, dated February 1971, for an interesting discussion of their efforts to conceptualize and develop indicators of "political participation".) Definitions are, of course, arbitrary. But the choice of definitions determines the scope of research, and affects the kinds of data needed and the methodologies which are appropriate. Is political participation behavior only, or does it also encompass the attitudes and perceptions prerequisite to participatory behavior (for example, political information, perception of the relevance of politics to one's own concerns, a belief that one can influence governmental decisions and actions)? If political participation is behavior, does it embrace all politically relevant activity (for example, race riots, steel strikes) or only that designed to influence governmental authorities and decision-making? Are both legal and illegal activities to be viewed as political participation? Is any action directed to government decision-making to be regarded as participation, or only those actions which are effective? Do we include as political participation the action of individuals who contact government officials for help on individual or family problems (welfare, fixing a ticket)? Do we include activities organized by and supportive of the government? Actions taken out of fear or respect for someone on whom the actor depends (a landlord, village elder, union official, ward boss) or because he is paid,

rather than because he seeks to influence governmental decision-making? Respected scholars differ on their answers to these questions. A consensus on some of them has begun to emerge in academic circles only during the last year or so.

As the research program progressed, it became increasingly clear that political participation could not be treated as a single, homogeneous variable. Not only does it take a variety of forms, but different forms tend to be associated with different motives and with different groups within the population. Different forms and motives also relate differently to economic and social modernization and to the growing scale and scope of government activities. In short, political participation is not one variable, but several. We needed more than a sharper definition of our major dependent variable as a routine and early step in research design. We needed a core definition which defined an area of inquiry; within that area of inquiry we needed one or more typologies which would capture the most important dimensions of variation in the complex set of behavior patterns labeled "political participation". Development of a consistent and workable core concept, and of usable typologies therefore became additional objectives of the on-going program.

During the three-year period, another theme emerged which had not been fully foreshadowed in the original proposal. Many earlier scholarly analyses of political participation had focused on national aggregate patterns (for example, comparing vote turnout as related to indices of socio-economic development among

nations or among regions of a nation), or on participation and its correlates at the level of individuals (for example, voting or attending political meetings, as related to age, sex, education, rural or urban residence, or a variety of attitudes). Yet much, perhaps most, political participation occurs within a group context, and can be best understood in terms of the concrete problems, constraints, perceptions, values, and loyalties of social and economic groups and organizations. Thus a recurring theme of the program was the examination of the life situations of various social categories as the most powerful set of factors influencing whether or not particular types of people take part in politics, and if so, through what means and with what goals.

III. Accomplishments

The accomplishments under the program must be considered both in terms of the program as a whole, and in terms of the component studies done by individual scholars.

Eleven senior analysts have worked for a year or longer within the program. Each has pursued his study as an independent entity. The studies represent a wide range of approaches, including quantitative and theoretical models, cross-national sector analyses, intensive country case studies, and still more detailed examinations of individual sectors within specific countries. When all the individual studies are complete, there will be nine book-length manuscripts plus at least one monograph and roughly two dozen articles.

While the scholars worked independently, each was selected originally because his research related to aspects of the broader program. All took part in seminars held roughly once a month, to discuss questions of substance, theory, or methodology of common concern and to review sections of individual studies as these were drafted. In addition, of course, there was a good deal of informal exchange among members of the program. The discussions and exchanges of information and ideas have fed back into the individual studies.

They also form much of the basis for the summary monograph which accompanies this administrative report. The summary monograph is, in a way, mislabeled. Several of the studies are not yet finished. Even if all were complete, it would be almost impossible to summarize adequately such a large and varied set of studies. Moreover, the components of the program were selected to complement each other, but are not in any way an effort to "cover" the topics in a systematic or comprehensive manner. A simple summary would produce a disjointed and unsatisfactory product. Therefore the monograph does not attempt to summarize the individual studies in the program. Rather, it draws on them, as well as on the seminars and discussions conducted during the contract period and on the findings of concurrent research by other scholars, to produce a brief integrated survey of political participation patterns as they relate to aspects of development. More precisely, the monograph considers:

- (1) the conceptualization and dimensions of political participation;

- (2) the relationships between modernization and the level, forms, bases, and directions of political participation;
- (3) the channels through which and issues around which low-income, low-status groups are likely to be brought into the national political arena.

The final chapter summarizes findings and suggests some possible policy implications.

The major products of the program will be the individual studies. Three of these are complete and have been published or are accepted for publication. These are Ronald Brunner's theoretical model of participation patterns in Turkey and the Philippines (undertaken jointly with Gary Brewer, with partial support from the Harvard program), Shahid Burki's analysis of social groups in Pakistan, and Henry Bienen's discussion of Kenyan participation patterns. The remaining participants have manuscripts in varying stages of preparation as of the end of 1972. A brief review of the scope, methodology, status, and expected date of completion of each study follows. Those which are not yet complete are reviewed in greater detail than the finished studies, since the latter speak for themselves.

A. Theoretical Models

1. Ronald Brunner took part in the research program on Participation Patterns in Modernizing Societies from September 1969 to mid-August 1970. During that year he completed a book, co-authored with Gary Brewer, entitled Organized Complexity: Empirical Theories of Political Development (Free Press, 1971).

The book develops an inter-sectoral model which relates changes in the level of support for governments in power to demographic pressures, economic trends and the flow of governmental services to specific regions within a country. The model is tested and its operations illustrated with data from Turkey and the Philippines. The book also explores methodological and philosophical problems raised by the approach.

2. William Schneider has been an active participant in the seminars and discussions of the research program since autumn 1970. With partial support from the program, in September 1971 he completed his dissertation, entitled The Origins of Participation: Nations, Class, Issues, and Party. Copies of the dissertation have been provided to AID.

The dissertation used survey data from the United States and from several European nations to classify voters by partisanship and by level of participation. Two theories of participation were compared--the "status" model and the "organization" model. Schneider found that status characteristics, such as education, income, and occupation, explained only a small fraction of the variation in individual participation levels. Most of the variation among nations, and a good deal of the variation within each nation, was the result of institutional incentives such as solidarity, material pay-off, and electoral purpose. The closing chapter of the dissertation develops a theoretical model of the relationship between individual political participation and party systems.

Since completing his dissertation, Schneider has been working on a larger study of "The Meaning of Elections". The work focuses on the capacity of electoral systems to manage conflict. Schneider is using survey data on electoral behavior plus historical materials on specific issues, representative of various issue types such as class politics, ethnic conflict, economic issues such as unemployment or inflation, or legitimacy crises. He has developed a simple method for analyzing survey data in order to assess how specific issues affected voting. Two tests are involved:

- (1) A polarization test: to what extent does an issue divide and polarize the electorate--working class against middle class, urban against rural, young against old, etc.? In each case Schneider first determines to what extent the issue is associated with party preferences. He then tests the extent to which the issue divides the electorate over and above what we would expect from the association of the issue with partisan loyalties.
- (2) A voting test: how strongly were issue preferences related to actual voting choice? Again, the effects of long-term partisanship must be controlled, so that we can see whether an issue affected voting in ways which cannot be accounted for by prior partisan commitments.

Schneider is working on this manuscript while carrying a regular teaching load at Harvard during the academic year 1972-73. He will be able to devote full time to the study during academic year 1973-74, and hopes to complete the project by September 1974.

B. Sectoral Studies

1. Peasants and Politics

John Powell worked full-time under the auspices of the program during the summers of 1969 and 1970, as well as during the entire academic year 1971-72 (September to June) while on leave from Tufts University. He also took part in the program on a part-time basis during three out of four semesters in 1969-70 and 1970-71.

Building on his earlier field studies and research on peasant politics, Powell first developed a theoretical framework focusing on stratification, property and the power of property in peasant societies. This work was presented at the American Political Science Association meetings in Los Angeles in September 1970, and widely circulated for comments and suggestions. During the following year, in addition to his regular teaching responsibilities at Tufts, Powell read and analyzed in terms of his theoretical framework a wide range of studies on village society, rural economic and social organization, and rural political movements and organization in all parts of the world and during historical as well as contemporary times. In 1972-73 he revised his theoretical scheme in light of the additional material he

had gathered and the comments and criticisms received, and drafted a major part of his manuscript (five of seven chapters).

Part one of the study opens with a wide-ranging consideration of the context of peasant life in historical and cross-cultural perspective. It then moves to a definition and economic typology of peasants, followed by two chapters which discuss each type in detail.

Part two focuses on 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.

A major theme running throughout the book is the importance of the various specific economic 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.

Draft versions of close to five out of the seven planned chapters have been provided to AID. (The final versions will be

somewhat differently organized than the draft, which is arranged in four chapters at the moment.) The final manuscript should be completed by summer 1973. Several chapters of the book may also appear separately as articles.

2. Political integration of the urban poor.

Joan Nelson devoted half-time to the research program during academic years 1969-1970 and 1970-1971, while teaching at M.I.T. She also took part in the program on a full-time basis during the summers and in academic year 1971-72. In June and July of 1970 she acted as a consultant to the AID Mission in Colombia with respect to their prospective urban sector loan, and in March 1972 she went to Seoul, Korea, as a consultant to the Smithsonian Institution study of environmental problems resulting from Seoul's rapid growth. While neither assignment was funded under this research contract, both provided opportunities to gather additional data and ideas relevant to her work on urban participation patterns.

Nelson's study first discusses the process of political integration (including both political participation, and the elite response to such participation) on the part of the urban poor, and explores some of the obstacles to participation and integration which are inherent in the life situations of the urban poor. She examines the effects of several major types of factors which shape interest in and capacity for participation, including economic structure and mobility, ethnic cleavages,

residential stability or turnover and geographic and social patterns of residence, and varying degrees of commitment to the city on the part of rural-to-urban migrants. The second part of the study will consider channels for political participation by the urban poor, as these operate in the economic, cultural, and political contexts of various nations. One chapter will consider neighborhood improvement associations as vehicles for limited participation and integration, the conditions under which they emerge, the constraints upon their activities, the factors affecting the mix of self-help and lobbying efforts, and the effects of public and private outside agencies attempting to assist and/or control the associations. One or more chapters will explore the roles of political parties vis-a-vis the urban poor, and their electoral behavior insofar as it can be separated from that of other urban groups. The roles of caste, tribal, and similar associations will also be considered. Data for her analysis are drawn from sociological and political studies of individual cities or neighborhoods; surveys of attitudes, household expenditures, employment and unemployment, and housing conditions; demographic studies and census statistics on migration and the structure of urban populations; and reports and studies of governments and international organizations; as well as from field work in Santiago, Bogotá, and Seoul.

Nelson's findings parallel those of Powell, with respect to the key importance of concrete life circumstances as determinants of participation (or non-participation) among low-income groups, and their response or lack thereof to outside organizers.

Wayne Cornelius' detailed research on the urban poor in Mexico City and Samuel Popkin's study of village politics in South Vietnam coincide with and reinforce many of the same points. These shared conclusions are set forth in Chapter 5 of the summary monograph.

Nelson will work full-time on her manuscript during 1973, with the support of a grant from N.I.H. She plans to complete the work by December 1973. A separate lengthy article or short monograph on the causes and consequences of permanent versus temporary rural-to-urban migration is in draft form. Copies have been provided to AID. The monograph will be published by the Population Council as part of their demographic series, and a shorter version will appear in a volume of recent studies on rural-to-urban migration being edited by Myron Weiner and John Harris (M.I.T. Press).

3. Rural-to-urban migration and rural political organization

Throughout the life of the project (except from September 1969 to February 1970, when he was at the Behavioral Sciences Center in Palo Alto) Samuel P. Huntington exercised general supervision over the research project, including elaboration of the principal intellectual themes, the selection of specific topics for research, the organization of discussion groups and seminars, and the recruitment of personnel. As principal investigators, he and Professor Nelson are drafting a six-chapter account of the substantive findings of the project, described earlier in

this report. This work of Professor Huntington on the project was supported directly by Harvard University from non-AID funds. In addition to discharging these general responsibilities, Huntington is also making a specific study dealing with the relationship of rural-to-urban migration to political participation in the countryside. Huntington's work on this specific study was supported by project funds on a half-time basis during the summers of 1971 and 1972.

Huntington's research is basically concerned with the ways in which peasants respond to the relative and, at times, absolute deterioration in their conditions associated with modernization, and resulting from demographic pressure, technological innovation, increasing concentration of land ownership, and rigidifying rural social structures. The potential responses include: (a) acquiescence to these changes; (b) ameliorative action to correct the deterioration within the existing rural system, either through individual upward social mobility or collective economic (strikes, boycotts, bargaining) or political (voting, protests, demonstration) action; (c) revolutionary action to overthrow the entire rural social-economic-political system; or (d) migration out of the rural area. Huntington is particularly concerned with analyzing the factors responsible for the choices between the "voice" alternatives of ameliorative or revolutionary political action, on the one hand, and the "exit" alternative of migration, on the other. Among the factors which appear to influence this

choice are the land tenure system, peasant traditions of collective action, and urban attractions or blockages to migration. Most of the work to date on the consequences of rural-to-urban migration has focused on the consequences for the city. As a part of his study, Huntington is also investigating the consequences for the countryside of rural-to-urban migration and particularly how it affects rural social structure, political participation, and the distribution of power among social forces.

Huntington has written a preliminary paper, "Migration, Politics, and Peasant Responses to Migration", outlining his ideas and hypotheses on this subject and relating them to analyses of the trade-offs between participation and migration in other contexts (colonization, the brain drain, the frontier "safety valve" theory, refugee movements, and suburbanization in developed societies). He expects to elaborate this paper into a finished monograph on this subject by the end of 1973.

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 1950s and 1960s: agricultural development, industrialization, and urbanization. The third and final section of the book pulls together much of the earlier material and focuses 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, Burkil 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.

The book manuscript is being considered for publication by the Princeton University Press. Copies have been provided to AID. In addition, several articles growing out of Burki's research have been published. These are listed in Part IV of this report.

2. Kenya

Henry Bienen was affiliated with the project on a part-time basis from spring of 1971 through June, 1972. Before joining the project, 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).

By the end of June Bienen had completed a draft manuscript entitled Kenya: Payoffs, Politics, and Control. After the introductory section, the manuscript first considers the roles of the civil service and of local councils and administrative officers. The issue of Harambee schools is treated as a case study of local demand and government response. The analysis then turns to party politics, examining the effects of party competition, leadership, the role of KANU at the district level, and finally the broader issues of participation, elections and control. The last section of the book considers factionalism, ethnicity and class, including a consideration of the economic, social, and political effects of the program of land redistribution. The draft version provided to AID omits, but the final draft will include, explicit attention to problems of class and ethnicity, unemployment and politics in urban areas.

The manuscript has been accepted for publication by the Princeton University Press.

3. Turkey

Ergun Ozbudun arrived in Cambridge from Ankara, Turkey, in September 1971, and took part in the program for the next twelve months. He has substantially completed his study of Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey. After an introductory chapter, the study first examines social cleavages and the party system in Turkey. Ozbudun then sets forth a general view of

economic and social participation in Turkey, before turning to an examination of patterns of political participation. Chapters 4 and 5 offer over-views of regional and rural-urban differences in participation. Chapter 6 explores the relationships between provincial development and political participation; and chapters 7 and 8 discuss in greater detail the participation patterns within rural areas and major cities, respectively. Copies of all but two of these chapters have been provided to AID. Several are in the form of papers originally prepared for meetings, which will be revised and incorporated into the manuscript.

In addition to an extensive review of official publications and secondary sources on social, economic, and political life in Turkey, Ozbudun's work draws heavily on a quantitative analysis of voting and socio-economic data. Such analyses have been carried out at regional, provincial, and village levels. Where separate data were available, he has also analyzed trends in major cities. Throughout the entire manuscript, Ozbudun has aimed at determining the effects of socio-economic development on voting behavior and political participation, relying primarily on correlation and regression analysis.

4. 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.

Brower deals first with economic and social trends, discussing over-all growth rates, trends in employment and unemployment, income distribution, and the distribution of wealth. He is particularly interested in gauging trends in concentration of land ownership and the ownership of corporation shares, because the concentration of wealth strongly affects the distribution of income and of political power. With respect to social forces, Brower deals primarily with rural-to-urban migration.

Turning to political participation, Brower first examines electoral participation rates and their correlates, including a close look at the sources of support for ANAPO in the 1970 national and 1972 municipal elections. His fairly extensive electoral data are supplemented with more fragmentary material on other forms of political participation, including direct-action measures such as land invasions. Finally, Brower attempts to address the crucial question of the effectiveness of participation or, in his own terms, "participation in power". Some clues are drawn from studies of individual cities and from examination of budget allocations and the history of proposed land and tax reforms.

Brower expects to complete his study by June 1973.

D. Sector Studies in Specific Countries

1. The Urban Poor in Mexico

Wayne Cornelius joined the program in September 1971, and

worked full-time on his research over the following year. He is now teaching at M.I.T., but continues to draft the results of his research.

Cornelius' study focuses on the process of political learning among rural migrants to Mexico City. He is particularly interested in the impact of different neighborhood environments on political attitudes and behavior. Before joining the program, Cornelius had conducted an extensive sample survey of 747 migrant and native-born residents of metropolitan Mexico City, drawn from six low-income neighborhoods selected to represent different types of social and physical environments. The survey data covered social background characteristics, value orientations, and political attitudes and behavior, including voting, involvement in electoral campaigns, political demand-making, and participation in community self-help activities, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with government performance, over-all support for existing governmental institutions, civic-mindedness, and sense of capacity or lack of capacity to influence government actions. In addition to his survey data, Cornelius is drawing on his careful observations of each neighborhood and its characteristics, history, and leadership, as well as data from newspapers, government reports, and other documents.

Cornelius' basic goal is to distinguish the independent effects on political attitudes and behavior of (1) individual socio-economic characteristics, (2) community leadership and organization, and (3) the extent and nature of contact with

political and governmental agencies. Each of these independent variables will be considered separately, and then subjected to multivariate analysis through standard multiple regression to determine their relative importance as predictors of political attitudes and behavior. Cornelius will also use deviant case analysis, that is, the detailed examination of those individuals who are particularly active and aware politically.

Although Cornelius is relying primarily on data from Mexico City, his theoretical framework and hypotheses are based on many studies of urbanization and migration elsewhere in the developing world. Replications of Cornelius' survey have been completed in Lima, Peru, and in Tokyo, Japan, and the data from all three city surveys will be analyzed during the next two years in collaboration with two other scholars.

Several papers on various aspects of Cornelius' current research have been drafted and accepted for publication. A book incorporating revised versions of this material plus additional analysis will be completed by June 1973.

2. Village-Level Participation Patterns in Vietnam

Samuel Popkin participated in the research program on a full- or part-time basis throughout the life of the program. He has repeatedly visited and conducted surveys and intensive interviews in Vietnam, returning several times over a span of a half-dozen years to the same villages and even seeking out some of the same individuals. His study, originally conceived as

falling under the category of theoretical models, now combines a modeling component with a detailed and probing analysis of local leadership and political participation as these have interacted with rural social and economic trends, military security or insecurity, historical experience (including specific social and religious tradition and structure) of particular areas of the country, the relationships between local and national officials, and the impact on local areas of national policies and programs.

Part of Popkin's material was included in his doctoral dissertation, which was completed in 1969. Popkin has since been engaged in revising and expanding the study as rapidly as teaching and other responsibilities have permitted.

IV. Dissemination of Results

Results of the research program have been disseminated in four ways. First, and most informally, each participant has circulated draft sections of his work among interested and knowledgeable persons. Most of these are in academic circles in the United States and in Canada, but some scholars in the developing nations and non-scholars both here and abroad have also been contacted. Second, each participant has attended conferences and meetings at which he could present aspects of his research and invite comments and criticism. Attachment II provides a partial list of conferences and meetings attended.

Third, program members took part in annual reviews and discussions of their research, organized by AID. In each of the

three years of the contract term, the format for these reviews was slightly different. In early spring of 1970, a "Research Conference on Title IX" was arranged by Princeton Lyman of AID and Irma Adelman of Northwestern University. Held at Northwestern, the conference brought together participants from the Harvard program with others doing related research on Title IX with AID funding. On March 3, 1971, the then-current participants in the Harvard program came to Washington and presented a day-long seminar reviewing the various aspects of the program. And in May 1972 participants in the program gave a series of three more specialized seminars at AID in Washington, focusing in turn on "Socio-economic Change and Politics in Rural Areas," (May 5), "Rural to Urban Migration and the Urban Poor," (May 12), and "Elections and Their Meaning in Modernizing Societies," (May 26). In both 1971 and 1972, those members of the program working on specific country studies met informally after these seminars in Washington with officials particularly interested in their countries.

The fourth channel for dissemination of research results is, of course, the publication of sections of the studies as separate articles, and the eventual publication of completed individual studies as books or monographs. Attachment I lists publications already available or forthcoming under the program, as well as unpublished conference papers which might be of interest to AID.

V. Financial Statement

For a full statement of the nature and extent of expenditures under the contract, the reader is referred to the reports of the Harvard University Comptroller's Office, which have been made available on a regular basis to AID.

Attachment I

Publications and Conference Papers

The following research items produced in whole or in part as a result of the Harvard program on Patterns of Participation in Modernizing Societies have been published, accepted for publication, or reproduced in connection with conferences or meetings.

1. Bienen, Henry:

Kenya: Payoffs, Politics, and Control (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

(Related, though not resulting directly from the program: "Economic Factors and the Civil Service in Kenya," in Hyden, Okumu, and Jackson, editors, Development Administration: The Kenyan Experience (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

2. Brunner, Ronald D., and Gary D. Brewer:

Organized Complexity: Empirical Theories of Political Development (Free Press, 1971).

3. Burki, Shahid Javed:

Social Groups and Development: A Case Study of Pakistan (Under consideration by Princeton University Press).

"West Pakistan's Agricultural Development: An Interdisciplinary Exploration," in Stevens, Alvi, and Bertocci, editors, 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.

4. Cornelius, Wayne:

"Local-Level Leadership in Latin American Urban Environments: A Structural Analysis of Urban Caciquismo in Mexico," Urban Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall, 1972); reprinted in R. W.

Dolkart and Robert Kern, editors, The Caciques: Oligarchical Rule and Authoritarian Politics in the Luso-Hispanic World (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1972).

"The Process of Politicization among Cityward Migrants," in Myron Weiner and John Harris, editors, Recent Research on Rural-Urban Migration (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, forthcoming).

"The Cityward Movement: Some Political Implications," in Douglas A. Chalmers, editor, Changing Latin America: New Interpretations of Its Politics and Society (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August 1972), pp. 27-41).

"Political Learning among the Migrant Poor in Latin American Cities: The Impact of Residential Context," Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, Vol. 3 (Spring, 1973).

"The Impact of Governmental Performance on Political Attitudes and Behavior: The Case of the Migrant Poor in Mexico City," in Francine R. Rabinovitz and Felicity M. Trueblood, editors, Latin American Urban Research, Vol. 3 (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, forthcoming, 1973).

5. Huntington, Samuel P.:

"Migration, Politics, and Peasant Responses to Modernization," Unpublished paper, Harvard University Center for International Affairs, January 1971.

6. Nelson, Joan:

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

"Soujourners vs. New Urbanites: Causes and Consequences of Temporary and Permanent Cityward Migration in Developing Nations," in John R. Harris and Myron Weiner, editors, Cityward Migration in Developing Countries: Determinants and Consequences (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, forthcoming, 1973).

A more technical version of the same study will appear in the monograph series of the Population Council, New York City.

"Migration, Integration of Migrants, and the Problem of Squatter Settlements in Seoul, Korea," Report on a field study for the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., July 1972.

"Urban Structure and Urban Politics in Latin America: The Search for Useful Hypotheses," Journal for Comparative Administration, November 1972. Originally prepared as comments on Clifford Kaufman's paper presented at the Colloquium on "Latin American Urban Politics," City University of New York, March 19, 1971.

"Possible Lines of Future Research on Rural-to-Urban Migration and Integration of New Urbanites in Korea," paper prepared for the planning conference on Population and Migration in Korea, sponsored by the International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea, Seoul, Korea, November 13-15, 1972.

7. Ozbudun, Ergun:

"Participation Patterns in Rural Turkey," paper prepared for the colloquium on "Turkey: Integration and Modernization," sponsored by the Program in Near Eastern Studies and the Center for International Affairs of Princeton University, May 19-20, 1972. Under consideration for publication.

"Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey," prepared for delivery at the annual meeting of the Middle Eastern Studies Association, Binghamton, New York, November 2-4, 1972.

8. Popkin, Samuel:

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

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

9. 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. Mathiasen), "Participation and Efficacy: Aspects of Peasant Involvement in Political Mobilization," Comparative Politics, Spring 1972.

"Agricultural Enterprise and Peasant Political Behavior," prepared for the Workshop on the Economics of Small Farm Agriculture in Latin America, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, November 13-16, 1972.

10. Schneider, William:

"The Origins of Participation: Nation, Class, Issues, and Party," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Department of Government, 1972.

(with Seymour Martin Lipset, "Political Sociology," in Neil J. Smelser, editor, Sociology, Second Edition (John Wiley, 1972).

"The Matrix of American Politics," paper presented to the Round Table on "Quantitative Methods and Political Substance" of the International Political Science Association, Mannheim, Germany, July 1971.

"Elections and Political Development," paper presented to the Harvard-MIT Joint Seminar on Political Development, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 1972.

(forthcoming) "Working-Class Politics in the United States," paper presented to the World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, August 1973.

Attachment II

Conferences and Meetings ✓

The following list gives some idea of the conferences attended by program participants, at which they had an opportunity to present or discuss aspects of their research. The list is not complete. We have no record of meetings attended by Ronald Brunner during his association with the program. Most members also attended other conferences less directly connected with their research under the program.

1. Bienen, Henry

Princeton University Center of International Studies,
Colloquium on National Development, Spring 1972 (multiple sessions).

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

2. Burki, Shahid Javed

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.

3. Cornelius, Wayne

American Political Science Association Meetings, Chicago,
September 1971. (Panelist in session on "The Politics of
Urban Marginal Groups in Latin America".)

Conference on Recent Research on Rural-Urban Migration,
sponsored by the Center for International Studies, MIT,
Brookline, Mass., November 19-21, 1971. (Presentation of
research paper.)

Conference on Education for Civic Participation sponsored
by the Southeast Asian Advisory Group (SEADAG) of the Asia
Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 25-27, 1972. (Presented
report on project research.)

American Political Science Association Meetings, Washington
September 1972. (Presented research paper for panel on
"Political Integration of the Urban Poor in Comparative
Perspective".)

Fourth International Congress of Mexican Studies, sponsored
by the Conference on Latin American History, El Colegio de
Mexico, and the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico,
Santa Monica, California, October 17-21, 1973. (Research
paper to be presented.)

4. Huntington, Samuel P.

AID Spring Review on Land Reform, Washington, D. C., June 2-
4, 1970. Speaker on "The Political Dimensions of Land Reform".

Midwestern Universities Consortium for International Activi-
ties, Conference on Requirements and Consequences of Politi-
cal Participation for Development Policies, University of
Chicago, December 5-6, 1970, panelist.

Oxford University, Rewley House, Conference on "The United
States, Europe, and the Developing World, June 15-17, 1971.
Speaker on "Political Dilemmas of Development".

Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, Seminar on the United States, Europe, and the Developing World, Salzburg, Austria, June 20 - July 9, 1971. Lecturer on "Political Development and Political Participation."

American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., September 5-8, 1972. Discussant on panel on "Politics and the Political Role of Local Notables."

University of Pennsylvania, National Development Planning Seminar, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 26, 1973, speaker on "Political Participation in Modernizing Societies."

5. Nelson, Joan

Midwestern 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 and the Committee for Comparative Public Administration of the American Political Science Association, Colloquium on "Latin American Urban Politics," March 19, 1971. 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, MIT, Conference on "Rural to Urban Migration," Brookline, Mass., November 20-22, 1971.

Clark University, Colloquium on "International Urbanization and Public Policy," Worcester, Mass., December 7, 1971. Presented paper on permanent versus temporary migration to the cities.

American University, faculty seminars on "Comparative Urban Studies," Washington, D. C., January-May 1972.

State Department, INR, Conference on "Effects of Rapid Population Growth on Political Change in the Developing Countries," Washington, D. C., February 17, 1972. Discussant.

Smithsonian Institution, Office of Environmental Sciences, Workshop for Consultants on "The Environmental Impact of Urban Growth in Seoul, Korea," Washington, D. C., June 12-13, 1972.

American Political Science Association meetings, Washington, D.C., September 7, 1972. Chaired panel on "Integration of the Urban Poor in Cross-National and Historical Perspective."

International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea, planning conference on "Population and Migration in Korea," Seoul, Korea, November 13-15, 1972. Presented paper on "Possible Lines of Future Research on Rural-to-Urban Migration and Integration of New Urbanites in Korea."

6. Ozbudun, Ergun

Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D. C., November 22, 1971. Gave lecture on "The Turkish Party System."

Princeton University, Program in Near Eastern Studies and Center for International Affairs, Colloquium on "Turkey: Integration and Modernization," Princeton, N. J., May 19-20, 1972. Presented paper on "Participation Patterns in Rural Turkey."

Middle Eastern Studies Association annual meeting, Binghamton, N. Y., November 2-4, 1972, presented paper on "Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey."

7. Popkin, Samuel

American Political Science Association meetings, Washington, D.C., September 5-8, 1972. Chaired panel on "Peasant Politics."

8. Powell, John D.

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, Massachusetts, September 9-11, 1971. Chaired panel on patron-client relations.

American Political Science Association meetings, Washington, D. C., September 5-8, 1972. Chaired panel on "Patron-client Analysis: Theory, Method, Substance."

Purdue University, Department of Agricultural Economics, Workshop on the Problems of Small Farmers in Latin America, Lafayette, Indiana, November 1972. Presented paper on farm enterprise and peasant political behavior.

9. Schneider, William.

International Political Science Association, Round Table on "Quantitative Methods and Political Substance," Mannheim, Germany, July 1971. Presented paper on "The Matrix of American Politics."

Harvard-MIT Joint Seminar on Political Development, Cambridge, Mass., May 1972. Presented paper on "Elections and Political Development."

World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, August 1973. Will present paper on "Working-Class Politics in the United States."