

1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY Social sciences	SD00-0000-0000	
	B. SECONDARY Political science		
2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Patterns of economic and political participation; final report, pt.2: A conceptualization and analysis of political participation in underdeveloped countries			
3. AUTHOR(S) Adelman, Irma; Morris, C.T.			
4. DOCUMENT DATE 1971	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 76p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC	
7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Northwestern			
8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability) (Final research summary)			
9. ABSTRACT			

10. CONTROL NUMBER

PN-AAD-275

12. DESCRIPTORS

Economic factors
Participation
Political systems

11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT

13. PROJECT NUMBER

14. CONTRACT NUMBER

CSD-2236 Res.

15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

FINAL REPORT

**Grant AID/csd-2236
Northwestern University**

PART II

**A CONCEPTUALIZATION AND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

**Irma Adelman (Northwestern University
Cynthia Taft Morris (The American University)**

February 12, 1971

**A CONCEPTUALIZATION AND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

by

I. Adelman and C. T. Morris *

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The authors are Professors of Economics at Northwestern University and American University respectively. They are indebted to Princeton Lyman and Joan Nelson for their incisive comments and to Jane Lewis Ross for research assistance. They are also most grateful to the over 100 country experts who checked their individual country classifications.

The present research was supported by Grant AID/csd-2236 from the Agency for International Development. The Agency is, of course, not responsible for the views expressed in this paper.

PREFACE

The present grant was awarded in February, 1969 for the purpose of employing quantitative techniques to analyze the sources of inter-country differences in political and economic participation and to make recommendations to AID on the instruments which can be utilized to increase popular participation in the benefits of economic development. The grant was executed under Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1968 and directed at elucidating some of the concerns of the Congress on the impact of U.S. foreign aid.

The report is organized in three parts. Part I contains the summary, conclusions, and recommendations. Parts II and III present the analytic and empirical results of the investigations into political participation and the distribution of income, respectively. It is upon these studies that the conclusions and recommendations are based.

I. INTRODUCTION

An important goal of the current foreign assistance program of the United States is the expansion of popular political participation in countries receiving U. S. aid. Specifically, Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966 directs that, in the execution of U. S. foreign aid programs, "emphasis shall be placed on assuring 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 institutions which Title IX is designed to assist include a wide variety of socio-economic and political participant institutions at local, provincial and national levels, from local cooperative enterprises and local government institutions to national voluntary interest groups and formal parliamentary institutions.* However, the promotion of these varied forms of participation requires knowledge of the manifold socio-economic and political forces involved in the development of modern political structures and institutions.

The present paper undertakes a quantitative investigation of the social, economic and political influences most closely associated with the expansion of popular political participation. For this purpose, a classification scheme which groups countries according to the extent of popular political participation is developed. The technique of discriminant analysis is then applied to data summarizing over 40 social, political and

* See the various congressional reports and studies on foreign assistance. The relevant excerpts are reprinted in Agency for International Development, Primer on Title IX of the United States Foreign Assistance Act (Washington, D. C., 1968).

economic characteristics of 74 underdeveloped countries for the period 1957-62 and 1963-67 in order to determine those attributes of low-income nations which jointly best distinguish between groups formed according to the extent of political participation. The present study should thus give insights into the relative importance in developing countries of the various instruments through which wider popular participation in modern political processes can be achieved.

It should be emphasized that the present investigation relates exclusively to participation in the political arena and thus concerns only selected aspects of the broad socio-economic and political goals of Title IX. The reasons why we exclude from our study such forms of social and economic participation as community development programs, cooperatives and credit unions were two-fold: first, purely political participation, on the one hand, and socio-economic participation, on the other, did not appear sufficiently closely related to be combined in a single indicator; and second, one of the purposes of devising a measure of political participation was to permit study of the extent of association between political participation and other nonpolitical forms of participation.

The paper is organized as follows: Section II discusses the difficulties of conceptualizing and measuring political participation. Section III reports on the construction of a definitional scheme suitable for the study of popular political participation in underdeveloped countries; the details of the scheme are also set forth. Section IV presents the results of the discriminant analyses carried out in the full sample of 74 countries and for three subsamples representing successive levels

of socio-economic development. The final section consists of a summary and our conclusions regarding the policy implications of the findings.

II. THE CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The construction of a measure of popular political participation suitable for quantitative studies of data on underdeveloped countries proved unexpectedly complex. Our difficulties were caused primarily by the fact that the literature did not provide us with a conceptualization of political participation both sufficiently relevant to the study of underdeveloped countries and sufficiently precise to be used in statistical analyses.

The Concept of Political Participation

An important part of the literature on political participation relates to the growth of parliamentary institutions in the Western democracies and thus concern, in the words of a recent article on political participation, "those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy." The difficulty with this concept for our purpose is that it does not include increased participation in the political process which does not impinge upon either the selection of rulers or the formation of public policy. Since transformations of this latter type are the essence of the growth of the rudimentary participant institutions characteristic of many countries at very low levels of socio-economic development, a conceptualization of political participation which excludes

* McClosky, Herbert, "Political Participation," International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, p. 252.

them is not appropriate for a study of underdeveloped countries.

In contrast to the literature on parliamentary democracies, writings on political participation in contemporary communist countries and in noncommunist countries with single-party political systems give exclusive emphasis to forms of political participation which do not provide for a share in the selection of rulers and formation of public policy. Concepts of participation based on experience in single-party systems are inadequate for our purpose because they do not enable one to include in a single classification scheme both countries with multi-party and countries with single-party systems.

The basic requirement of a definition of political participation for our purposes was that it be applicable to the full range of underdeveloped countries. We did not, however, expect to find a unique "correct" conceptualization, since the concepts embodied in definitions of multidimensional phenomena, such as political participation, are necessarily influenced by the use to which the definitions are to be put. To illustrate from the field of economics, the development of a measure of national income involved numerous reformulations designed to make national income a better estimator of total economic welfare. These reformulations were marked by significant interaction between formal models of economic welfare and the construction of a quantitative index. Similarly, in our present effort, we sought in successive reformulations to adjust the conceptualization of political participation to our main purpose of seeking a continuum along which contemporary underdeveloped countries could be ranked with respect to the capacity of their political systems to provide for popular political participation.

participation applicable to underdeveloped countries required that we, first, attempt an a priori conceptualization of political participation suitable to our needs. Next, we studied the descriptive data on participation in underdeveloped countries in order to see how well actual country situations fit our formulation of the concept. The inadequacies of the fit between data and concept were then used to reformulate the concept to conform better with the characteristics of the real world. We continued this process of confronting successive conceptualizations with actual country situations until we were able to classify the 74 underdeveloped countries in our sample with reasonable confidence and without fitting them into a Procrustean bed.

Once we arrived at a conceptualization of political participation which was sufficiently clear to permit the unambiguous classification of the overwhelming majority of countries in our sample, the actual task of classification was relatively straightforward. First, a large number of written country studies were examined to obtain tentative classifications. Then, the AID missions in the individual countries were consulted in order to confirm and, as necessary, revise the classifications. In all, close to 100 experts on particular countries were consulted in the process of preparing and finalizing the 74 individual country classifications.

III. CONSTRUCTION OF AN INDICATOR OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The successive steps by which we formulated and defined an indicator of popular political participation illustrate the blend of conceptualization and testing against the characteristics of the real world which is required in the construction of multidimensional indicators of the present type.

Initial Definitional Scheme

In our previous investigations of the development process, we used several rather narrow indicators of political democracy. These represented the strength and competitiveness of the national political party system, the extent of freedom of political opposition and press, and the predominant basis of the political party system. The major deficiency of this set of variables appeared to be their almost exclusive emphasis upon participation through national political parties. Consequently, our first formulation of an index of political participation broadened these measures to include both the attributes of the national party system and, in addition, the characteristics of alternative mechanisms for influencing national political decisions: for example, special interest associations such as labor unions and farmers' associations and local political institutions. Specifically, this initial formulation of our participation indicator specified three broad sets of criteria for distinguishing among countries with respect to political participation:

- (1) The breadth of representation and extent of choice offered by the national political party system;
- (2) The variety, political effectiveness and degree of autonomy of voluntary interest groups having as one of their functions political representation of members with some common socio-economic or cultural-ethnic identification; and
- (3) The extent of local political participation through formal political institutions and informal associations carrying out political functions.

Our success in constructing a composite index from these elements depended upon the fulfillment of several conditions. First, to be valid, the proposed approach required that, in most instances, countries scoring high (or low) with respect to the representativeness of their national political parties also score high (or low) on special interest groups and local political institutions. Second, it required that it be possible to rank the several multi-party categories and the several single-party categories with respect to overall popular political participation; our provisional assumption was that multi-party systems could be ranked consistently above single-party systems. The third requirements was, of course, that, for countries with single-party systems and for those with multi-party systems, respectively, meaningful distinctions between different degrees of participation be possible.

Once our initial definition was completed, a wide variety of secondary sources were examined and a series of interviews with country and regional experts conducted in order to test whether actual country situations could be classified reasonably in terms of this definitional scheme. It soon became evident from both written sources and interviews that two of the three requirements for successful use of the scheme were not fully met. In the first place, a fair number of countries with quite broadly-based national systems of representation did not also have reasonably affective special interest associations and nontribal local political institutions. In the second place, our provisional assumption that all multi-party systems could be ranked above single-party systems was clearly not satisfactory. Additional difficulties in classifying

individual countries successfully were caused by the failure of the scheme to include explicitly the extent to which participant mechanisms actually influenced political decisions.

Reformulation Maintaining Multi-party/Single-party Dichotomization

Our next step was to reformulate our definitional scheme for political participation in order to achieve more meaningful distinctions between degrees of participation both in countries with two or more national political parties and in those having only one national party. At this stage, we were not successful in resolving the basic difficulty of ranking participation in multi-party systems compared with that in single-party ones.

In redefining degrees of political participation for countries with multi-party political systems, we decided to differentiate between countries in which there were important voluntary interest associations and local political institutions as well as national political parties and countries in which participant mechanism other than parties were negligible or very weak. We then divided the former countries into two groups: (1) those in which participant mechanisms taken as a whole represented the major groups in the population reasonably well and also influenced national political decisions to some significant extent and (2) those in which either representation was incomplete or there was no significant influence on national political decisions or both. We thus obtained, in all, three major categories of political participation for countries with multi-party systems.

Revisions in the definition of degrees of political participation in single-party systems proved more difficult. According to a number of African experts whom we interviewed, variations among countries in the overall effectiveness of participant mechanisms could not be related primarily to the presence and strength of special interest associations and/or local political institutions. In the opinion of some, the real factor differentiating among single-party systems was the attitude of the leadership; that is, the countries with the more effective mechanisms for involving the population politically were generally those in which the leadership had worked to create from the top a network of participant groups at national and local level. We decided to accept this view provisionally and revised our criteria for classifying single-party systems to distinguish between three groups of countries: (1) those in which the leadership had taken positive and successful measures to develop national and local mechanisms for broad popular participation (2) those in which the leadership had taken measures but with quite limited success in actually involving members of the population and (3) those in which participant mechanisms had either not been encouraged or had been suppressed. We specified further that, to be effective, popular participation in a single-party system did not require any particular kind of participant mechanism: that is, effectiveness might be achieved in one country by promoting local units of a political party and in another country by developing special interest adjuncts to the dominant party.

With respect to the unresolved problem of comparing participation in single-party and multi-party systems, the almost unanimous judgment of the experts consulted was that those single-party systems with quite

developed institutional mechanisms for popular participation ranked higher with respect to overall political participation than those multi-party systems having a very narrow representative base. We were not able, however, to find a solution to this ranking dilemma at that time and continued to collect data on the basis of a six-way classification of countries with three groupings for multi-party systems and three groupings for single-party systems. In consulting experts at this stage, we simply pointed out that there was a problem in ranking the lowest multi-party category and the highest single-party category.

The Conceptual Problem and its Resolution

Our inability to rank participation in multi-party and single-party systems clearly derived from our difficulty in conceptualizing the phenomenon of political participation adequately. Evidently, the dichotomization between countries with a single party and those with several parties did not coincide closely with any grouping of countries according to fundamental aspects of political participation.

The component of political participation most consistently associated with the single-party/multi-party dichotomization appeared to be the extent of individual choice among channels for the representation of political interests. The presence of more than one political party seemed a priori to offer more choice than the presence of only one party. However, even this generalization turned out to be questionable. Several experts pointed out that multi-party systems in which each party had a clear-cut cultural and/or ethnic identification did not in fact offer

individuals with given cultural-ethnic identities any choice between parties.

Differences among countries in the extent of choice among channels for political representation did not coincide in other respects with a division of countries by the number of national political parties. In some countries all the political parties catered to the same narrow socio-economic group so that most of the population had no genuine choice of a channel to represent their interests. Furthermore the extent of choice between different types of channels for representation such as political parties and labor unions could in practice be considerably greater in a single-party system than in a multi-party system.

Two other important components of popular political participation were even less closely related to the multi-party/single-party dichotomization: the extent and effectiveness of representation of the major cultural-ethnic and socio-economic groups in the population; and the degree of actual participation by the population in the political process.

In pinpointing the sources of our ranking dilemma, we became convinced that the solution to our conceptual problem lay in a definition of political participation in terms of its basic components rather than in terms of such specifics as the number of parties. In particular, positive improvements in popular political participation appeared to us to involve at least three kinds of political transformations: extensions in the coverage of representative institutions to include all the major groups in the population; the provision of greater choice between mechanisms for the representation of individual interests; and an increase in the actual involvement of the population in participant associations and institutions.

Our first definitional efforts did not include the extent of actual political participation. It now seemed desirable to include it, since national representative institutions could cover the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups in the population and yet fail to elicit significant actual participation.

The classification according to actual participation which we eventually evolved for inclusion in the composite index of overall political participation was of necessity rough because of overwhelming data deficiencies. The use of voting statistics as an indicator of extent of popular political participation turned out to be considerably less useful than we had anticipated for several reasons. First, voting statistics only exist for some 30 out of 74 countries in our sample. Second, voting statistics could not be used for a considerable number of countries either because voting was compulsory or because it took place in a situation in which voters were presented with no alternative to the single slate of a dominant political party. In the end, therefore, voting statistics could only be used for those countries in which votes were cast both voluntarily and between genuine alternatives.

In reformulating our definitional scheme in terms of the basic components of political participation we decided to exclude from our indicator the extent of purely local political participation, since successful local participation was not in practice closely enough related to effective national participation. In so doing, we limited the scheme to popular participation, direct and indirect, in the national political process. Only those forms of local participation were included which clearly involved the population, at least indirectly, in national

political decisions. This limitation was necessitated by the need to clarify and restrict the elements included in the indicator sufficiently to assure interpretability of the results of statistical analyses. The limitation in no way implies that participation in purely local political decision-making is unimportant or even that it is less important than national participation.

By resolving popular participation in the national political process into three basic components, we were able to conceptualize better the nature of the index we were seeking. Our basic purpose was to obtain a measure of the capacity of a country's political system to provide for individual participation in the national political process. We were seeking a measure for which, in addition, positive improvements could be presumed to increase individual welfare, at least potentially. The employment in the political arena of an index of this nature parallels the use of per capita GNP as a measure of the capacity of a country's economy to produce goods and services. A fundamental premise underlying the application of both measures was that the capacity of a system to enhance individual welfare depends upon its success in transmitting and aggregating the choices of individuals.

The justification for the elements included in our final measure of political participation lies in their contribution to fulfilling our basic purpose in constructing the index. Extensions in the coverage of representative institutions to include all major cultural-ethnic and socio-economic groups in the population clearly augment the capacity of a political system to induce participation in the national political arena.

Increases in actual individual participation through voting between genuine alternatives in national elections, membership in special interest groups and informal activities also enhance the possibilities for involving a still wider circle of individuals in national political institutions and associations.

The justification for the inclusion of the extent of choice of channels for political representation as an explicit element in a classification scheme designed to measure a country's capacity for political participation is somewhat more complex. We base it upon the existence in all societies of a wide variety and many shadings of individual tastes. It seems reasonable to suppose that a great diversity of personal preferences is more likely to be transmitted to national decision-makers in a representative manner when individuals face a variety of different associations and institutions through which their choices can be expressed. For this reason, we view increases in the range and variety of channels for the representation of individual interests as an enlargement of a country's potential for involving people of diverse interests and personalities in the national political process.

The view that the capacity of a political system to provide for political participation increases with greater diversity of participant mechanisms is consistent with theories of consumers' choice in the economic domain. In analyses of consumer behavior, the economic welfare of individuals taken as a whole is presumed to increase when the variety of goods and services available expands: this is because total economic welfare is viewed as the aggregation of the welfare of individuals; since individual tastes in goods vary a great deal, increases in the variety of goods available enhance the capacity of an economic system to provide for improvements in welfare through exchange of goods and services.

Similarly, increases in the variety of opportunities for personal economic effort, other things being equal, tend to raise the potential of an economic system for increasing economic welfare.

Thus, in summary, there is symmetry between our view of expanded political participation as an increase in the capacity of a country to engage its population in political activities influencing national political decision-making and the view of economic development as increases in the capacity of a country to provide economic welfare as measured by changes in per capita GNP. It is generally recognized that increases in per capita GNP are not necessarily accompanied by actual increases in the economic welfare of the majority of the population; nevertheless, the raising of average income represents an expansion of a country's potential for augmenting the economic welfare of the population. Similarly, we recognize that neither extensions of a representative system to cover additional cultural-ethnic groups nor expansions in the choice of participant mechanisms necessarily lead immediately to increases in actual political participation; both developments may nevertheless be expected to expand the capacity of a political system to eventually induce wider individual participation in the political process.

Final Definition of the Participation Indicator

The classification schema finally adopted groups underdeveloped countries by the extent and effectiveness of national popular political participation as judged by the following broad criteria.

I. The extent to which the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups have their interests represented in, and are able to influence, the making of national political decisions affecting them through participant associations and institutions.

II. The extent to which individuals belonging to cultural-ethnic and/or socio-economic groups which have some form of national political representation can choose between different political channels in seeking national representation of their interests.

III. The extent of actual participation by individuals in the national political process through participation in political parties, special interest groups and/or other institutions or associations carrying out political functions, or through voluntary voting between genuine political alternatives.

For each of the 74 underdeveloped countries, a composite score for the extent of popular political participation was derived from the rankings of that country with respect to the three criteria listed above. Table 1 of Appendix A specifies the characteristics of the several categories of the composite indicator in terms of the three elements composing it. The precise make-up of the composite is determined by a priori judgments regarding the relative importance of the different aspects of political participation represented. Immediately following Table 1 is the detailed explanation of the symbols contained in it. Finally, a brief literary description of the categories of the overall participation index completes the presentation of the classification scheme for the participation indicator. The individual country classification for 1957-1962 and 1963-1968 together with the country scores on the three elements of the composite index are presented in Tables A-1 and A-2 of Appendix A:

IV. RESULTS OF DISCRIMINANT ANALYSES WITH RESPECT TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The classification of underdeveloped countries according to the extent of popular political participation described in Section III was used to perform discriminant analyses for the full sample of seventy-four countries and for each of three subsamples representing successive levels of socio-economic development for each of two subperiods (1957-1963 and 1963-1968).^{*} The purpose of the discriminant analyses was to find for each sample that linear combination of country attributes which best differentiated between the groupings according to political participation. The variables in the discriminant functions were chosen from over forty indicators of social, political and economic characteristics of contemporary underdeveloped countries for the period 1957-1962.^{**}

In seeking the best discriminant function for each sample, two different step-wise procedures were tried: according to one procedure, that variable was selected at each step in the analysis which added most to the explanation of the variance among group means, given the previous variables included; according to the other procedure, that variable was selected at each step for which the F ratio was the highest, given the prior inclusions. For each sample, the final discriminant function chosen for presentation and discussion was the one which yielded correct classification with respect to political

^{*}The basis for assigning the 74 countries to subsamples was the score for each country on the factor summarizing the level of social and economic development which resulted from a factor analysis of per capita GNP and 24 social and political variables. See Adelman and Morris, Society, Politics and Economic Development, Chap. 4.

^{**}These are described in full in Chapter 2 of Adelman and Morris, Society, Politics and Economic Development.

participation for the largest number of countries in the sample.

In the sections below the discriminant functions for the full sample and for the three subsamples will be examined in turn. Several aids are used in understanding the relationships expressed in the analyses. First, those of the variables not selected which are the next-best alternatives to those included at each step in the analysis are examined in order to gain more insight into the forces represented by the included variables. For this purpose, we looked at the F ratios of the omitted variables at successive steps in the analysis; these were obtained from the step-wise discriminant program having an F-ratio criterion for entry into the discriminant function and are given in Tables C-1 through C-8 below. A marked drop in the F ratio of an omitted variable as a result of a given step in the discriminant analysis can be interpreted to indicate that the relationship with political participation of the omitted variable is to some extent represented by the variable which is included at that step. Unfortunately, no program was available which gives similar information for the step-wise discriminant program which applies the criterion for selection of the greatest contribution to explaining the variance between group means. To understand the discriminant functions derived with this latter program, therefore, we made reruns forcing these same variables into the program having an F ratio criterion for entry in order to obtain some further information on the influences represented by the variables included.

Several other aids to understanding the discriminant results were used. Simple correlations between included and unincluded variables were studied to obtain insight into the forces represented by the included variables. The net correlations between the omitted variables and political participation at successive steps in the analysis were studied for the same purpose. Finally,

we made a detailed examination of the countries actually classified by the successive variables included in the discriminant function, available for the program using an F-ratio criterion for entry, and studied the country scores on the variables included at each step and on political participation in order better to understand the relationships expressed in the discriminant function.

Results for the Full Sample

We shall first discuss the discriminant analysis results for the entire sample of countries combined in which 1957-1963 economic, social and political variables are used to analyze sources of variation in the extent of contemporary popular participation. These results will then be compared with the analogous study in which 1957-1963 variables are used to forecast the extent of popular participation in 1963-1968.

1957-1963 Analysis

In the discriminant analysis for the 74-country sample both social and political variables are important in accounting for the discriminable variance among groups of countries determined according to the extent of popular political participation (Table C-1). The important variables are the extent of social mobility, the strength of the labor movement, and the degree of social tension. Of lesser importance in distinguishing among groups are the predominant basis of the political party system, the political strength of the traditional elite and the length of colonial experience.

The first variable in the discriminant function, the extent of social mobility, is an index primarily of the extent of access of the population to middle-class occupations and to educational skills; that is, it is a rough

Table C-1

Results of Discriminant Analysis for Political Participation
Entire Sample (1957-1962)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
1.	Social Mobility	17.6
	Strenth of the Labor Movement	13.5
	Literacy	12.2
	Social Organization	11.8
	Modernization of Outlook	11.2
	Middle Class	11.1
	Size of the Agricultural Traditional Sector	9.8
	Predominant Basis of Political Party System	9.5
	Modernization of Industry	9.4
	Per Capita GNP	9.1
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	8.8
	Agricultural Productivity	8.4
	Rate of Improvement of Human Resources	8.2
	Administrative Efficiency	8.1
	Mass Communication	8.0
	National Integration	7.9
	Physical Overhead Capital	7.9
	Character of Agricultural Organization	7.8
	Urbanization	6.9
	Financial Institutions	6.6
	Dualism	6.5
	Competitiveness of Political Party System	5.4

Tax Institutions	4.9
Religion Type	4.6
Investment Rate	4.4
Length of Colonial Experience	4.0
Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	3.7
Fertility	3.5
Political Strength of the Church	3.5
Social Tension	3.4
Rate of Modernization of Industry	3.2
Recency of Self Government	2.8
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL MOBILITY	+ .21
Strength of the Labor Movement	8.0
Freedom of Opposition and Press	4.4
Predominant Basis of Political Party System	4.4
Political Strength of the Church	4.1
Rate of Improvement of Financial Institutions	3.8
Administrative Efficiency	3.6
Length of Colonial Experience	3.5
Political Strength of the Military	2.8
Per Capita GNP	2.7
Competitiveness of Political Party System	2.6
Political Strength of Traditional Elite	2.3
Rate of Improvement in Tax Institutions	2.2
Importance of the Indigenous Middle Class	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: STRENGTH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	

Social Tension	4.9
Per Capita GNP	4.9
Rate of Improvement of Financial Institutions	3.4
Modernization of Industry	3.3
Physical Overhead Capital	3.2
Political Strength of the Church	2.3
Dualism	2.3
Importance of the Indigenous Middle Class	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL TENSION	
	- .02
Predominant Basis of Political Party System	4.7
Per Capita GNP	4.6
Modernization of Industry	3.1
Physical Overhead Capital	2.5
Rate of Improvement of Financial Institutions	2.4
Political Strength of the Military	2.3
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: PREDOMINANT BASIS OF POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM	
	+ .12
Political Strength of Traditional Elite	4.7
Per Capita GNP	4.6
Modernization of Industry	4.1
Mass Communication	3.2
Physical Overhead Capital	2.9
Rate of Improvement of Financial Institutions	2.5
Political Strength of Traditional Elite	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: POLITICAL STRENGTH OF TRADITIONAL ELITE	

Length of Colonial Experience	4.1
Per Capita GNP	4.0
Modernization of Industry	3.6
Physical Overhead Capital	3.0
Mass Communication	2.6
Rate of Improvement of Financial Institutions	2.3
Rate of Improvement of Tax Institutions	2.3

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: LENGTH OF
COLONIAL EXPERIENCE +.09

CONSTANT = -23.7

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 24

measure of the capacity of a country's socio-economic system to provide for upward social and economic mobility. It is not surprising that differences in the capacity for social mobility should prove important in explaining differences in the capacity for political participation. This is because, broadly speaking, the complex of fundamental socio-economic changes which increase both the desires and possibilities for individual social and economic advancement also contribute to individual desires to participate in the more specialized political groupings characteristic of modern society. For example, the widening of individual horizons associates efforts to improve individual economic and social status and individual desires to advance personal interests through political channels. Also, the weakening of the attachments of individuals to traditional social organization leads them to seek substitute political as well as nonpolitical attachments to enhance their sense of identification and achievement. Then too, the closely related expansion of the more specialized economic opportunities characteristic of industrialization and urbanization both directly increase possibilities for upward social movement and also leads more individuals to seek political means for promoting their economic interests.

The extent of social mobility is not only important in itself as an influence on the capacity of a society to provide popular political participation but it is also important as an index of a much wider range of influences which contribute to attitudes and opportunities which indirectly favor the growth of individual participation in political processes. This is evident from a study of those variables for which an F ratio of more than 8.0 dropped over 6 points with the entry into the discriminant function of the variable representing the extent of social mobility. They include such economic

characteristics as the relative size of the nonmonetized agricultural sector, the level of modernization of techniques in agriculture, the level of modernization of industry, the level of effectiveness of financial institutions and the level of per capita GNP; also included are social influences such as the basic character of social organization, the extent of literacy and the size of the indigenous middle class and the extent of modernization of outlook. These are all measures which gauge the spread of economic and/or social participation in the more specialized activities of modernizing societies.

The second variable in the discriminant function, the strength of the labor movement, is a composite measure of the political strength of trade unions and the extent of their independence from control by a government and/or a dominant political party. The inclusion of this index, therefore, suggests the importance to a country's potential for political participation of both the growth of special interest voluntary associations and the expansion of possibilities for choice among such associations. Since labor unions are a major form of association representing specialized economic interests which typically use political means to promote these interests, their direct relevance to capacity for popular political participation is not surprising. Furthermore, since increases in the present index of labor union strength involve reductions in the extent to which dominant parties and governments direct union activities they represent increases in the extent to which unions offer political channels for participation which are genuine alternatives to political parties. Increased political strength of independent trade unions thus tends to increase the capacity of a political system to provide individuals with meaningful choices between different political channels for expressing their social and economic interests. An examination of the drop in F ratios

associated with the entry of this variable in the discriminant function suggests that this variable stands also for a host of other political influences: freedom of political opposition, predominant basis of political parties, political strength of the church, administrative efficiency and length of colonial experience.

The next variable to enter the discriminant function is the degree of social tension. The less pronounced social tension, the greater the extent of political participation.

The fourth variable to enter the discriminant function for the full sample is the predominant basis of the political party system. The association of the greater capacity of a political system for popular participation with the nature of the political party system is to be expected. In the present indicator of the nature of political party systems, increases in score represent movement from no-party and one-party systems toward multi-party systems with strict cultural-ethnic identifications for the parties and, then, toward multi-party systems with, first, personalistic, and then ideological bases for the major parties. Consequently, positive changes in this index indicate expansions in the choices individuals can make among political channels through which to express their interests.

The last three variables in the discriminant function are of very little help in classifying countries correctly with respect to overall political participation, although one can make a priori cases for their inclusion. There is also more variability among analysis in whether these variables do or do not appear. These variables are the political strength of the traditional elite, and the length of colonialism.

The explanation for the positive relationship between the presence of

stronger traditional elites and greater political participation may lie in the fact that in countries having political parties a strong traditional elite almost always assures the presence of a traditional political party together with nontraditional parties; it is rare that a single dominant political party is other than a mass-based nontraditional one. Thus, the presence of a politically powerful traditional elite in a country with a representative system usually coincides with more rather than less choice between political parties. The last variable, the length of colonialism, probably represents an attempt to reflect regional phenomena in the analysis.

1963-1968 Analysis

A comparison of the discriminant analysis results for the predictive function (Table C-2) with those for the contemporary one (Table C-1) indicates that they are generally similar. As might be expected, however, the explanatory powers of the predictive analysis is somewhat less.* Indeed, the five variables to enter the discriminant function (the predominant basis of the political party system, the adequacy of physical overhead capital, and the freedom of opposition and press) make only barely statistically significant contributions to the analysis.

As in the contemporary study for the full sample, the extent of social mobility is the single most powerful variable which distinguishes among countries with respect to potential for political participation. The second most important variable, however, now becomes the extent of leadership

*Twenty-four countries are incorrectly classified by the 1957-1963 discriminant thirty-one are misclassified by the 1963-1968 analysis.

Table C-2

Results of Discriminant Analysis for Political Participation
Entire Sample (1957-1962)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
	Social Mobility	8.8
	Literacy	7.4
	Modernization of Outlook	7.0
	Type of Colonial Experience	6.9
	Leadership Commitment to Development	6.9
	Per Capita GNP	6.6
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	6.4
	Size of Traditional Agricultural Sector	5.9
	Centralization of Political Power	5.9
	Importance of Indigenous Middle Class	5.6
	Fertility	5.2
	Urbanization	5.1
	Government Participation in Economic Activity	5.0
	Financial Institutions	4.8
	National Integration	4.7
	Physical Overhead Capital	4.7
	Basis of Political Party System	4.4
	Mass Communication	4.4
	Character of Agricultural Organization	4.2
	Tax Institutions	4.0
	Social Tension	4.0
	Dualism	3.8

Strength of the Labor Movement	3.5
Modernization of Industry	3.1
Recency of Self-Government	3.0
Competitiveness of Political Parties	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL MOBILITY	+1.15
Leadership Commitment to Economic Development	3.5
Freedom of Opposition and Press	3.0
Centralization of Political Power	2.8
Social Tension	2.7
Political Strength of Traditional Elite	2.6
Predominant Basis of Political Parties	2.5
Political Strength of the Labor Movement	2.3
Recency of Self-Government	2.3
Length of Colonial Experience	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: LEADERSHIP COMMIT- MENT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	+1.10
Social Tension	3.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL TENSION	+0.02
Mass Communication	2.2
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: MASS COMMUNICATION	+0.06
Physical Overhead Capital	
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: PHYSICAL OVERHEAD CAPITAL	+0.01

Freedom of Opposition and Press

2.5

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: FREEDOM OF
OPPOSITION AND
PRESS

CONSTANT = -13.0

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 31

commitment to economic development rather than the strength of labor parties. And there is a reversal in the sign of the third variable to enter the analysis: increases in social tension are positively associated with greater future political participation; greater concurrent political participation is associated with a lessening in social tension.

The second variable to enter the discriminant function, the extent of leadership commitment to development, serves primarily to distinguish the countries towards the bottom of the range in political participation from their neighbouring groups.* Neither leadership commitment to development nor political participation can manifest themselves without at least a modicum of rationalization of authority and without some differentiation of political functions. Since our ranking of countries by leadership commitment was based in part on the existence and effectiveness of governmental institutions for development planning, a moderate score on development commitment is indicative of the development of some specialized structures for the performance of modern political functions.

The secondary variables of this step (freedom of opposition and press, and the extent of centralization of political power) stress the need to combine the rationalization of authority and the development of specialized structures with a non-authoritarian political regime if greater political participation is to result. They also imply that this process is presaged by greater social tension, by a decline in the strength of the traditional elite.

*This variable serves primarily to segregate Cameroun, Dahomey, Senegal, Uganda, and Malagasy into group G-H from group I-J and to distinguish Ecuador, Ghana, and Panama into group F from groups C-D.

and by the development of modern political party structures, and specialized pressure groups (labor parties).

The reversal in sign of the degree of social tension, the third variable to enter the predictive discriminant function for the all countries combined, is interesting. It supports the findings of those political scientists who argue that modernity is associated with less social tensions and political instability, while the process of modernization is associated with greater social tensions and more political instability. Our analysis indicates that the same is true with respect to political participation: more political participation reduces social tensions by providing institutional channels for the articulation of demands and the exercise of pressures upon the system. On the other hand, the process of obtaining political participation for new social groups involves heightened social tensions and greater political instability.

It is significant that no direct economic indices are included in the discriminant function for the full sample. Their absence suggests that economic changes and increases in political participation are not closely related even though, as was discussed above, the index of the extent of social mobility acts to some significant extent as a proxy for economic changes which involve a greatly increased number of individuals in specialized modern activities and institutions.

Results for the Low Sample

1957-1963 Analysis

The results of the discriminant analyses for the low sample include primarily variables which are political in nature. The discriminant function which best classifies the 28 countries in the sample (leaving only 5 misclassified) includes only three variables -- the strength of the labor movement, the level of modernization of industry, and the degree of modernization of outlook.

The strength of the labor movement is the first variable in the equation. Its inclusion suggests the importance of the development within a reasonably permissive atmosphere of the more specialized political institutions characteristic of modern political systems. This rather broad interpretation rests upon an examination of the changes in F ratios of the unincorporated variables when the index of political strength of labor movements enters the discriminant function. Those variables for which F ratios drop sharply are the freedom of political opposition and of the press, the length of the period of self government, the degree of administrative efficiency, the degree of competitiveness of political parties, the political strength of the military (with a negative relationship to political participation), and the political strength of the church (also with a negative relationship to political participation).

The establishment of associations such as labor unions representing specialized economic interests and the growth of a competitive political party system are both essential components of the development of popular political participation; the present results suggest, however, that both types of

Table C-3

Results of Discriminant Analysis for Low Countries, 1957-1962

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
1	Strength of the Labor Movement	25.2
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	10.6
	Recency of Self-Government	8.5
	Administrative Efficiency	8.4
	Competitiveness of Political Party System	7.5
	Political Strength of the Church	7.1
	Political Strength of the Military	6.6
	Length of Colonial Experience	5.7
	Social Mobility	5.5
	Modernization of Outlook	5.4
	Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	4.7
	Tax Institutions	3.0
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: STRENGTH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	+ .09
2	Level of Modernization of Industry	6.5
	Modernization of Outlook	6.3
	Length of Colonial Experience	4.6
	Social Mobility	3.5
	Recency of Self-Government	3.4
	Gross Investment Rate	3.2
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: MODERNIZATION OF INDUSTRY	+ .03

Modernization of Outlook	7.4
Political Strength of the Military	3.7
Length of Colonial Experience	3.6
Recency of Self-Government	3.5
Social Mobility	3.2
Type of Colonial Experience	3.0

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: MODERNIZATION OF
OUTLOOK +.13

CONSTANT = -3.74

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 5

institutions are more likely to induce participation in a political atmosphere conducive to some significant degree of freedom of opposition and press. It should be noted in this connection that increases in labor union strength among countries in the low group typically take place under the aegis of a government dominated by a single political party or in an environment in which labor union freedom to oppose the government is in some respects significantly limited. Similarly, at this level of development, increased competitiveness of political parties leads in relatively few instances to a situation in which more than one party is effective at our national level.

The inclusion of the length of the period of self-government and of the degree of administrative efficiency among the variables represented by the strength of the labor movement in the discriminant function probably indicates the importance of the growth of parliamentary and governmental institutions to the expansion of popular political participation. The final two variables with significant drops in F ratios characterize two kinds of leadership groups, the military and traditional elites whose political influence affects the expansion of political participation.

Thus, generally speaking, the first variable in the discriminant function for countries at the lowest level of development expresses the importance of a rather broad set of the political correlates of expanded popular political participation.

The second variable in the discriminant equation classifying low-level countries according to political participation, the level of modernization of industry, affects the spread of political participations by creating the economic base for the social changes conducive to the growth of political participation -- the enhancement of social mobility, urbanization, and

modernization in outlook.

The final variable of importance for distinguishing among countries at a low level of socio-economic development in the extent to which they have a capacity for political participation is the degree of modernization of outlook. The degree of modernization of outlook is judged, in our index, by (1) the extent to which modern forms of social and political participation such as voluntary associations have developed and (2) the extent to which programs of political, social and economic modernization have gained some support among the rural as well as the urban population. It is thus an indirect measure of the growth of attitudes which are more favorable to participation in the more differentiated and specialized institutions typical of modern industrial societies. The presence of the modernization index, therefore emphasizes the importance for political participation of attitudinal changes which favor the political transformations involved in raising a country's potential for popular participation.

The 1963-1968 Analysis

The important variables in the predictive study (Table C-4) are similar to those in the contemporary analysis. The best variables for forecasting increases in popular participation in countries at the lowest level of socio-economic development are the strength of the labor movement, degree of modernization of outlook, the length of colonial experience, and the political strength of the military. The first two variables appeared also in the previous analysis, and will therefore not be discussed here.

The length of colonial experience is positively associated with the extent of popular participation. It is used, in the analysis, to explain why

Table C-4

Results of Discriminative Analysis of Low Countries (1963-1968)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
1	Strength of the Labor Movement	14.3
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	10.3
	Recency of Self-Government	10.1
	Political Strength of the Church	10.0
	Administrative Efficiency	10.0
	Political Strength of the Military	8.8
	Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	7.2
	Length of Colonial Experience	7.1
	Modernization of Outlook	5.3
	Social Mobility	5.1
	Mass Communication	4.2
	Tax Institutions	3.2
	Leadership Commitment to Development	3.0
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: STRENGTH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	+ .14
	Modernization of Outlook	5.6
	Length of Colonial Experience	5.5
	Leadership Commitment to Development	5.1
	Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	5.0
	Political Strength of the Church	4.8
	Recency of Self-Government	4.7
	Political Strength of the Military	4.3

Social Mobility 3.4

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: MODERNIZATION OF
OUTLOOK -.09

Length of Colonial Experience 5.1

Political Strength of the Military 4.9

Political Strength of the Traditional Elite 4.6

Leadership Commitment to Development 4.5

Recency of Self-Government 4.0

Length of Colonial Experience 3.8

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: LENGTH OF COLONIAL
EXPERIENCE +.29

Political Strength of the Military 3.2

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: POLITICAL STRENGTH
OF THE MILITARY +.05

CONSTANT = -11.08

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 5

Liberia and Sudan have so low a degree of popular participation and why Tanzania and Guinea have a higher degree of participation than would be expected on the basis of their other characteristics. Colonialism weakened traditional political institutions, and the legitimacy of traditional rulers. It also gave an impetus and an opportunity for small, intensely nationalistic, foreign-educated native elites to arise. In the presence of some extent of political organization and mass mobilization, as indicated by the first two variables in the discriminant function, experience with colonialism therefore created the conditions for greater popular participation

However, as pointed out by Huntington,* "The 'breakthrough' to middle-class political participation was thus led by the civilian nationalist intelligentsia, who were then dislodged by middle-class military officers because they lacked the continuing mobilized political support and organized political strength to fill the vacuum of authority and legitimacy left by the departing colonial rulers." These interactions indicate why the fourth variable, the political role of the military, entered the dominant function and is positively associated with future increases in political participation at this level.

Summary

On the whole, the discriminant analysis for countries at the lowest level of development emphasizes two preconditions for the development of participant political institutions -- the growth of political structure and of specialized political organizations, and the role of social mobilization.

* Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (Yale University Press, 1968), p. 200.

The former is indicated in our analysis by the strength of the labor movement, by the role of the military and by the length of colonialism. The latter is represented through the degree of modernization of outlook and the level of modernization of industry. It is interesting to note, however, that the analysis is least successful in explaining why it is that the highest degree of political participation characteristic of this group of countries arises.*

Results for the Intermediate Sample

The results of the discriminant analyses for the intermediate sample express a more complicated set of relationships than the analyses for either the low or high samples. This is perhaps not surprising when it is recalled that the intermediate sample is composed of extremely diverse and rapidly changing societies in which patterns of social, political and economic change vary greatly from country to country.** Furthermore, canonical studies of countries at the intermediate level reveal the presence of significant substitution relationships among various national goals (and among the associated policy instruments) which suggest that many different paths of development and modernization are available to the average intermediate country.***

*The five countries misclassified are either the relatively most participant, which have the characteristics of the least participant (Somali and Tanzani) or countries with lesser degrees of participation which share the characteristics of the most participant (Kenya, Malawi, Liberia and the Sudan).

**Adelman and Morris, Society, Politics and Economic Development, Chap. 6.

***Adelman, Irma, Marsha Geier, and C. T. Morris, "Instruments and Goals in Economic Development," American Economic Association. Papers and Proceedings (May 1969)

Most of the countries in this group are in a state of transition from traditional oligarchies to what Huntington calls "radical praetorianism".* In terms of purely political participation, the nations in this set span the entire range.

The 1957-1963 Analysis

The discriminant function which best classifies countries at the intermediate level (Table C-3) includes four variables: the freedom of political opposition and press, the importance of the indigenous middle class, and the political strength of the traditional elite (which is negatively associated with political participation).

The first variable to enter the discriminant function is the freedom of political opposition and press. As Huntington points out,** modernization is associated with marked redistribution of power, and often requires the mobilization of new social forces into politics. To be able to accommodate economic and social modernization a political system must therefore be able to assimilate the socio-economic forces generated by modernization. Neither of these processes is likely to take place without at least some scope of political opposition to traditional interests.

This interpretation is supported by the variables of secondary importance (as indicated by their F ratios) at this step. Two variables, the crude fertility rate and the character of social organization, represent the forces

*Huntington, op. cit., Chap. 3

**Huntington, op. cit.

Table C-5

Results of Discriminant Analysis for Intermediate Countries (1957-1962)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	5.9
	Fertility	5.7
	Social Organization	5.4
	Political Strength of the Military	5.0
	Importance of Indigenous Middle Class	4.8
	Length of Colonial Experience	4.5
	Rate of Growth of Per Capita GNP	4.1
	Financial Institutions	4.1
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: FREEDOM OF OPPOSITION AND PRESS	+ .36
	Importance of Indigenous Middle Class	5.8
	Political Strength of the Military	5.4
	Political Stability	5.3
	Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	4.9
	Social Organization	4.4
	Fertility	4.1
	Financial Institutions	3.9
	Rate of Growth of Per Capita GNP	3.7
	Social Mobility	3.1
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: IMPORTANCE OF INDIGENOUS MIDDLE CLASS	+ .47

Political Strength of Traditional Elite	5.4
Fertility	4.8
Political Strength of the Military	4.7
Rate of Growth of Per Capita GNP	4.7
Social Organization	4.2
Political Stability	3.9
Financial Institutions	3.3

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: POLITICAL STRENGTH
OF TRADITIONAL
ELITE - .15

CONSTANT = -32.0

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED:

of social change -- the breakdown of tribal, kinship, and community oriented attachments. Two other variables (the rate of growth of per capita GNP and level of effectiveness of financial institutions) indicate the speed of economic modernization. And two other variables, the political role of the military, and the role of the middle class, point to the new modernizing social groups with whom the political system must reach an accomodation.

The second variable to enter the discriminant function is the variable describing the role of the middle class. As suggested by Huntington,^{*} the expansion of participation at this level involves the broadening of participation from a small elite to middle class groups. This expansion is essential to the enlargement of power of the political system (a necessary element in political modernization) and to the shift from traditional ruling monarchies to middle class praetorianism.^{**}

The mechanism by which this urban middle class broadening of participation is accomplished is pointed up by the secondary variables at this step -- the political role of the military, the extent of political stability and the strength of the traditional elite. These three variables are only fractionally less important than the middle class at this step in the analysis.

The replacement of traditional oligarchies by middle class oriented political regimes is usually mediated by the military. It tends to involve an alliance between middle ranking officers and the civilian middle class from which the military leaders are recruited and whose norms of professionalization and bureaucratization they share. To quote Huntington "the middle class makes

* Huntington, op. cit., p. 193.

** Huntington, op. cit., p. 202.

its debut on the political scene not in the frock of merchants but in the epaulettes of the colonels."*

Since the broadening of participation to the effective enfranchisement of the middle class is accomplished through the seizure of power by the military, the transition to middle class praetorianism is accompanied by coups of varying degrees of violence and by greater political instability. This instability arises both because of the absence of institutional channels for absorbing middle class pressures into the political system, and because of the realignment within the traditional power structure which this process requires.

Huntington suggests that the extent of this instability depends upon the relationship of the government to the traditional land-owning elite (our third secondary variable at this step).** To the extent that the government forms a successful alliance with the rural groups against the urban middle class interests, the pressures for political participation arising from the middle class are neutralized and greater stability with less actual middle class participation result.

The importance to this process of the winds of economic and social change is emphasized by the rest of the secondary variables at this step (social mobility, family structure, fertility patterns, the rate of growth and its financial base).

The third variable of importance in the discriminant function for distinguishing in the extent of political participation among middle level countries is the political strength of the traditional elite, ^{the greater its power} the smaller

*Huntington, op. cit., p. 201

**Huntington, op. cit., p. 212.

the extent of political participation. This is so not only because the process of increasing participation at this level involves broadening the political power base at the expense of the small, ruling elite but also because the reactions of governments to the demands for urban participation sometimes involve forming a renewed alliance with rural, elite and peasant, groups.*

The 1963-1868 Analysis

The forecasting function for the increase of political participation in transitional countries (Table C-6) is very similar to the function just described. It includes the same three variables as the contemporary function. It also, however, stresses the role of social transformations more than did the contemporary analysis, since the first variable to enter the present function is the character of basic social organization. This variable indicates the extent of disintegration of the traditional social units of tribe and clan and the degree of their replacement by the nuclear family. As a result of this byproduct of modernization, group consciousness of all kinds increases, apparently also leading to greater political participation.

Summary

The process summarized by the discriminant analysis for this group of countries describes the essential characteristics underlying the breakdown of traditional political systems and the extension of participation to urban middle class groups. Along socio-economic lines the process involves the rise of the middle class and the decline of the traditional land-owning or church

* Ibid.

Table C-6

Results of Discriminant Analysis for Intermediate Countries (1963-1968)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
1	Social Organization	8.9
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	6.0
	Length of Colonial Experience	5.4
	Political Strength of the Military	4.6
	Centralization of Political Power	4.5
	Fertility	4.5
	Financial Institutions	4.2
	Predominant Basis of Political Party System	3.5
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	+ .11
2	Importance of Indigenous Middle Class	7.0
	Political Strength of the Military	6.0
	Freedom of Opposition and Press	4.8
	Fertility	3.7
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: IMPORTANCE OF INDIGENOUS MIDDLE CLASS	+ .40	
3	Freedom of Opposition and Press	5.2
	Political Strength of the Military	5.0
	Political Strength of the Labor Movement	3.8
VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: FREEDOM OF OPPOSITION AND PRESS	+ .32	

Political Strength of the Traditional Elite	5.8
Political Strength of the Military	5.1
Political Stability	3.2

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT:	POLITICAL STRENGTH OF THE TRADITIONAL ELITE	.17
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CONSTANT = -30.6

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 2

elite; politically, it involves seizure of power by the military and varying degrees of political instability.

Results for the "High" Sample

The 1957-1963 Analysis

The discriminant analysis for the "high" sample which best classifies the countries in the sample includes the extent of social mobility, the degree of competitiveness of the political party system, the strength of the labor movement and the predominant basis of the political party system.

In interpreting the results of the analysis for the "high" countries it is important to note that the method used to classify countries by extent of participation scores countries as highly participant only if they rank high on both the political mobilization scale and the capacity of the system to assimilate this mobilization in structural political organizations. The method of classification therefore does not rank countries in which the desire for political participation has outrun the capacity of the political system to assimilate it at the top of the scale in effective participation. The forces stressed in the present analysis are therefore those which are important to the constructive, non-revolutionary, way of evolving a broadly-based participant political system.

The first variable, the extent of social mobility, is important both in itself and as a proxy for a broader set of socio-economic and political influences involved in increasing mobilization. As discussed above in connection with the results for the full sample, the process of modernization involves creating conditions which lead to demands for greater socio-economic and

Table C-7

Discriminant Analysis for High Countries (1957-1962)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	RATIO
	Social Mobility	20.1
	Modernization of Industry	12.5
	Predominant Basis of Political Party System	10.5
	Strength of the Labor Movement	9.4
	Centralization of Political Power	8.8
	Competitiveness of Political Parties	8.3
	Financial Institutions	6.4
	Freedom of Political Opposition and Press	6.2
	Physical Overhead Capital	4.3
	Mass Communication	4.3
	Administrative Efficiency	4.2
	Political Strength of the Military	3.7
	Modernization of Outlook	3.6
	Character of Agricultural Organization	3.6
	Literacy	3.1
	Importance of the Indigenous Middle Class	3.1
	Size of the Traditional Agricultural Sector	3.0
	National Integration	2.8
	Per Capita GNP	2.8
	Social Tension	2.8
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: SOCIAL MOBILITY	+1.64

Competitiveness of Political Parties	8.5
Modernization of Industry	5.6
Predominant Basis of Political Parties	5.2
Strength of the Labor Movement	4.8
Freedom of Political Opposition and Pr.	4.2
Length of Colonial Experience	3.4
Centralization of Political Power	3.4

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: DEGREE OF
COMPETITIVENESS OF
POLITICAL PARTIES +.68

Strength of the Labor Movement	6.5
Modernization of Industry	6.5
Length of Colonial Experience	3.0
Predominant Basis of Political Parties	2.9

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: STRENGTH OF THE
LABOR MOVEMENT +.57

Predominant Basis of Political Party System	5.3
Agricultural Productivity	5.0
Modernization of Industry	4.8
Physical Overhead Capital	4.2
Size of the Traditional Agricultural Sector	3.8

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: PREDOMINANT BASIS OF
POLITICAL PARTY
SYSTEM +.90

CONSTANT = -163.9

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 3

political participation in the benefits of economic development. Those systems which have introduced socio-structural changes conducive to greater individual upward mobility are also likely to have generated some channels for expanded individual participation in political associations and institutions. This close relationship between social and political change at this level of development is expressed in the present analysis by significant drops in the F ratios with the entry of social mobility into the discriminant function of several measures of the growth of participant associations and institutions: the strength of the labor movement, the predominant basis of the political party system, the degree of political freedom and the extent of centralization. With respect to the socio-economic influences represented by the index of social mobility, the reduced F ratios of the level of modernization of industry, the level of effectiveness of financial institutions, the abundance of physical overhead capital, the degree of modernization of outlook, and the importance of the indigenous middle class all stress the expansion and increased specialization of economic opportunities conducive to increased social and political participation.

The second variable, the degree of competitiveness of the political party system, represents directly the importance of increased choice among channels for the expression of political interests in expanding the capacity of a political system to induce popular political participation. As pointed out by Huntington,* in countries at a high level of socio-economic develop-

*Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

ment,* electoral competition between parties tends to expand both political participation and to strengthen party organization, thereby leading not only to greater participation but also to greater political stability. "Party competition of this sort enhances the likelihood that new social forces which develop political aspirations and political consciousness will be mobilized into the system rather than against the system."**

The third variable to enter the discriminant function, the strength of the labor movement, is indicative of the expansion of participation from the middle class to the urban-industrial groups by creating what in effect is a special political party for the representation of their interests. Labor unions in developing countries are part of the government's political establishment; their memberships are part of the economic elite; the leaderships of the unions are often part of the government bureaucracy; the unions have often been established at government initiative and enjoy a state-protected status.

The final variable in the discriminant function for the "high" group is the predominant basis of the political party system. As already indicated, this latter variable groups countries along a scale, the lower end of which is characterized by the absence of political parties or the presence of a single mass-based party and the upper end of which is characterized by competitive political parties articulating particularist, then personalistic, then finally, at the top of the scale, associational interests (such as those of labor unions

* Huntington, op. cit., p. 429.

** At lower levels of development, interparty competition may lead merely to greater factionalization without increasing participation by new social group

and industrialists). It is thus indicative of the extent to which the structure of political parties is modern, in Huntington's sense.* The inclusion of this variable then expresses the interaction between the growth in the capacity of a political system to provide for individual political participation by members of various social groups and changes in the nature of political parties which make them more effective mechanisms for expressing politically and for aggregating the more specialized and diverse interests typical of urban industrial societies. The association in our analysis of the nature of the party system with the expansion of participation thus verifies Huntington's statement that the more modern the political party system, the more able are the political parties to furnish the institutional framework for the expanded social mobilization.**

The 1963-1968 Analysis

The function used to predict future political participation at the "high" level, includes only three variables (Table C-8). The first two, the strength of the labor movement and the competitiveness of the political party system, appeared also in the contemporary analysis. The third variable, the character of agricultural organization, introduces a new dimension, only latently present*** in the 1957-1962 study.

*Huntington, op. cit., Chap. 7.

**Huntington, op. cit., p. 432.

*** See the secondary loadings of the level of agricultural productivity and the size of the traditional agricultural sector in Step 4 of Table C-7.

Table C-8

Discriminant Analysis for High Countries (1963-1968)

STEP NUMBER	VARIABLE NAME	F RATIO
1	Strength of the Labor Movement	13.0
	Social Mobility	11.5
	Modernization of Industry	9.9
	Predominant Basis of Political Party System	9.3
	Centralization of Political Power	9.3
	Competitiveness of Political Parties	8.8
	Character of Agricultural Organization	7.2
	Physical Overhead Capital	6.6
	Freedom of Political Opposition and Press	6.4
	Size of the Traditional Agricultural Sector	5.9
	Financial Institutions	5.8
	Mass Communication	5.8
	Per Capita GNP	5.6
	Importance of the Indigenous Middle Class	4.9
	Political Strength of the Military	4.7
	Modernization of Outlook	4.7
	National Integration	4.4
	Literacy	4.0
	Rate of Improvement of Human Resources	3.9
	Agricultural Productivity	3.3
	VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: STRENGTH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	+ .30

Competitiveness of Political Party System	7.5
Predominant Basis of Political Parties	7.5
Social Mobility	6.2
National Integration	5.1
Rate of Improvement of Human Resources	4.8
Character of Agricultural Organization	4.8
Modernization of Industry	4.2
Cultural and Ethnic Homogeneity	3.7
Administrative Efficiency	3.3

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: DEGREE OF COMPETITIVENESS OF POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM +.66

Character of Agricultural Organization	6.3
Modernization of Industry	6.2
Social Mobility	6.1
Administrative Efficiency	5.8
National Integration	5.4
Predominant Basis of Political Party System	4.5
Length of Colonial Experience	4.4
Rate of Improvement of Human Resources	4.0
Importance of Indigenous Middle Class	3.9
Cultural and Ethnic Homogeneity	3.4

VARIABLE ENTERED AND COEFFICIENT: CHARACTER OF AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION +.86

CONSTANT = -69.7

NUMBER OF COUNTRIES INCORRECTLY CLASSIFIED: 3

The character of agricultural organization is a composite indicator of ownership-management patterns and of the economic viability and extent of commercialization of the agricultural sector. At the upper end of the scale (the relevant interval in the present discussion), a positive change in agrarian structure represents a breakup of large owner-absentee farms and the establishment of economically viable owner-operated farms. The inclusion of this viable in the discriminant function thus points to the need to create the economic conditions in the countryside to bind the rural population to the system, if participation is to expand beyond the urban groups and to be channelled in favor of the system. As emphasized by Huntington,* "The countryside plays the crucial 'swing' role in modernizing politics In a system in which political consciousness and political participation are broadening, the peasantry becomes the critical group. The basic political competition becomes the competition between the government and the urban revolutionary intelligentsia for the support of the peasantry." The mobilization of the peasants in support of the government requires land reform whenever land is scarce and large owner-absentee farms, share cropping, and tenancy predominate.

Summary

In summary, the country characteristics which jointly discriminate best between groupings formed according to the extent of popular political participation in countries at the "high" level of development indicate the capacity of the political system to provide the institutional organization for assimilating the greater political consciousness of broader socio-economic

Huntington, op. cit., p. 292.

groups induced by higher levels of socio-economic modernization. The new groups which must be assimilated are the urban workers and the peasants; the organizational structures required for this are the modern, competitive, political party systems and labor unions; the socio-economic preconditions for these processes are the expansion of the capacity of the socio-economic system to provide for upward social mobility and, where appropriate, land reform.

Summary of Subsample Results

Viewing the results for the three samples together, it can be seen that the favorable influences and constraints on the development of popular political participation change as countries move from lower to higher levels of socio-economic development.

At the lowest level of development in which the extent of the economic and social transformations potentially favorable to expanded political participation is extremely limited, and which is composed mostly of "new" countries with little political experience, the important forces are mainly those political ones which are subject to manipulation by colonial and indigenous governments. At this level, the important political forces are the initial development primarily in urban centers of both representative political institutions, specialized political organizations, and of reasonably good government administrations combined with a modicum of political freedom. Also of some importance at the low level are attitudinal changes favoring individual participation in urban political groupings; at this level, however, these are typically limited in their impact to an extremely narrow urban base. Both the institutions and the increased participation are quite fragile.

For countries at the intermediate level of development, the

characteristics which discriminate best with respect to political participation express the presence of a positive connection between the wider spread of political participation and the expansion of the middle class, required for the bureaucratization, commercialization, urbanization, and industrialization of the economy. The expansion of participation to the urban middle class groups is typically accompanied by a rise in the political role of the military and by an increase in political instability, and social tension. Once higher levels of political participation are achieved, however, a decrease in social tension and an increase in political stability result.

It is only at the "highest" level of development represented by our data that the full range of social and economic forces represented by the index of social mobility appear important in discriminating among countries with respect to political participation. This suggests that there may be a threshold in socio-economic development probably located toward the lower end of the "high" sample beyond which the full range of social and economic changes making for a more open society have a much more marked impact than at lower levels of development in stimulating individual participation in the political arena.

At both the low and "high" levels of development political influences dominate the discriminant function. At the "high" level, the crucial influences are the evolution of the more sophisticated and more robust political party systems in which political parties tend to articulate and aggregate the special associational interests characteristic of modern industrial societies. In the typical low-level country the development of special interest groups such as labor unions does contribute to participation but only within the very narrow restricted modern sector. At the "high" level of development,

however, the growth of unions is part of the much broader set of social and political influences contributing to wider spread participation which are represented by positive changes in social mobility. The spread of participation to peasants becomes an important element in determining the prospects for channelling increased mobilization within the system.

Appendix A

Classification of Underdeveloped Countries with respect to the Extent of Popular Political Participation

The following classification groups countries by the extent and effectiveness of national popular political participation as judged by the following broad criteria:

I. the extent to which the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups have their interests represented in, and are able to influence, the making of national political decisions affecting them through participant associations and institutions.

II. the extent to which individuals belonging to cultural-ethnic and/or socio-economic groups which have some form of national political representation can choose between different political channels in seeking national representation of their interests.

III. the extent of actual participation by individuals in the national political process through participation in political parties, special interest groups and/or other institutions, or associations carrying out political functions, or through voluntary voting between genuine political alternatives.

For each of 74 underdeveloped countries, a composite score for the extent of popular political participation is derived from the rankings of that country with respect to the three criteria listed above. Table 1 below specifies the characteristics of the several categories of the composite indicator in terms of the three elements composing it. The precise make-up of the composite is determined by a priori judgments regarding the relative importance of the different aspects of political participation represented. Immediately following Table 1 is the detailed explanation of the symbols contained in it. Finally, a brief literary description of the categories of the overall participation index completes the presentation of the classification scheme for the participation indicator.

Table 1

Definition of Indicator of Popular Political Participation
in Terms of its Three Component Elements

Categories of Popular Political Participation (composite)	National Political Representation	Choice of Channel for Representation	Actual Participation
A	1	1	1
B	2	1	1
C	3	1	1
D	1	2	1
E	2	2	1
E-	2	3	1
F	3	2	1
F	4	1	1
F-	3	3	1
G	1 or 2	2	2
G-	1 or 2	3	2
H+	3 or 4	1	2
H	3 or 4	2	2
H-	3 or 4	3	2
I	4	3	2
J	5	1 or 2	2
J	5	3	1
J-	5	3	2

Note: See the pages following for an explanation of the symbols in this table.

I. Effectiveness of National Political Representation
of the Major Cultural-Ethnic and Socio-
Economic Groups in the Population

1. Countries characterized by reasonably effective national political representation as indicated by the presence of political institutions and associations (such as political parties, voluntary interest groups or traditional associations carrying out political functions, and local political institutions)** through which the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups are represented and through which they influence to some significant extent national political decisions directly affecting their interests. Countries are excluded if socio-economic and/or cultural-ethnic groups probably comprising over 10 percent of the population are excluded from the system of representation.*

2. Countries in which national political representation of the major cultural-ethnic and socio-economic groups in the population is defective in one but not both of the following respects:

(a) political associations and institutions fail to represent some major socio-economic and/or cultural-ethnic group(s) of the population which, however, probably comprise between one-tenth and one-third of the population*

or

(b) most political associations and institutions which are potentially key channels for representation of major groups in the population fail in practice to influence significantly national political decisions directly affecting their members. This category also includes one-party systems which are used almost exclusively as channels for one-way communication from above

3. Countries in which national political representation is defective in both of the respects listed in category 2. Excluded from this category, as from category 2, are countries in which the socio-economic or cultural-ethnic groups without national political representation probably comprise more than one-third of the population.

* Exclusions from the national political process based upon literacy requirements for voting are considered a defect in representation for the purpose of this classification if they result in the exclusion of major identifiable socio-economic and/or cultural-ethnic groups to a degree described by the various categories of this scheme. Exclusions of foreigners count as a defect if the foreign residents are permanent immigrants to the country.

** For the purpose of this classification, traditional non-Western-type groupings or associations are considered as part of the system of national representation providing they operate at national level as direct (not necessarily formal) channels for influencing national political decisions.

4. Countries in which major cultural-ethnic and/or socio-economic groups in the population probably comprising more than one-third, but not more than two-thirds, of the population are without formal national political representation.* Also included in this category are countries in which a system of parliamentary representation was set up during the period but had not led by the end of the period to the development of political parties of formal political pressure groups.

5. Countries in which major cultural-ethnic and/or socio-economic groups in the population probably comprising over two-thirds of the population are without formal national political representation.

II. Extent of Choice of Channels for National Political Representation (for groups in population having some form of representation)

1. Countries in which, for members of socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups which have national political representation, there is significant choice of channels for political representation of their interests; specifically, significant choice exists both between different channels of a given type (such as national parties with organizational networks covering an important part of the country) and between different types of channels (such as political parties with organizational networks covering an important part of the country and labor unions). Included in this category are countries meeting its criteria in which one of two or more independent national political parties dominate the political scene.

2. Countries in which, for members of socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups which have national political representation, there is little or no choice between different channels of a given type for political representation of their interests (such as political parties with organizational networks covering an important part of the country); there is, nevertheless, significant choice between different types of channels for political representation (such as political parties and labor unions and/or traditional tribal or other channels of representation which actively and directly influence national politics).

The countries meeting these criteria are of three different types:

(a) countries with multi-party political systems in which there is little or no choice between political channels of any given type because each channel is accessible exclusively to individuals of a specific cultural-ethnic or socio-economic identification.

*(b) countries with single-party (or multi-party) political systems in which there is little or no choice between political channels of any given type because all national channels are dominated by the ruling political party; excluded are countries in which, for all practical purposes, special interest groups are units of the dominant political party and thus do not provide alternative channels for representation.

(c) countries with multi-party systems in which the party system as a whole is relatively unimportant compared with traditional channels for influencing national political decisions.

3. Countries in which, for individuals in the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups in the population, there is little or no choice of channel for political representation of their interests.

Included in this category are

(a) countries with either no representative political system or a negligible one. Also included in category 3a with a plus score are countries with choices between two or more political parties which were, however, poorly established or newly established and operated almost exclusively in urban centers involving less than 20 percent of the population; other channels of representation (including traditional) negligible. Also included in category 3a with a plus score are countries without formal political parties or alternative representative channels such as labor unions, but with nevertheless significant choice between individual candidates to a national parliament existing for at least half the period; other channels of representation negligible.

(b) countries with a single party political system in which there are very few or no channels for political expression other than the various units of a single dominant national political party. Also included in 3b with a plus score are countries in which special interest groups are so thoroughly integrated into the national party that they are, for all practical purposes, units of the dominant party rather than alternative channels.

* Note on category 2b: the kinds of choices available in a one-party system include choices between candidates in parliamentary elections; and the wider choices possible in elaborated systems of branch, district, regional, and national elections; as well as choices of subchannels for various interest groups (labor unions, unions of cooperatives, women's unions, youth leagues, agricultural federations).

III. Extent of Actual Participation by the Adult Population in the National Political Process*

1. Countries in which it is probable that at least one-quarter of the adult population participates in some minimal way in political groups, associations, or institutions representing their interests at national level (by voluntary voting between genuine alternatives,** or membership, or other

* Political participation in tribal or other traditional organizations and groupings is only counted as actual national political participation for the purpose of this definition if these organizations and groupings actively and directly influence national political decisions.

** "Genuine alternatives" in voting means that there are candidates from at least two national political parties under independent control operating on a country-wide basis.

even marginal forms of participation).***

2. Countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participates in some minimal way in political groups, associations, or institutions representing their interests at national level (by voluntary voting between genuine alternatives, or membership, or other even marginal forms of participation).

*** "Marginal forms of participation" would include attendance at political rallies or informal public meetings or membership in unions or cultural-ethnic associations working to influence national political decisions.

Classification Scheme for Composite Index of National Political Participation

The following category definitions are brief literary equivalents of Table 1. More detailed specifications can be derived by the combined use of Table 1 and the detailed definitions of the three elements included in the present composite index summarized above in Table 1.

A. Countries in which national political representation of the major socio-economic and cultural-ethnic groups in the population is reasonably effective and in which there is significant choice for given individuals belonging to these groups between a variety of channels for national political representation.

Excluded from this category are countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participate in some minimal way in the national political process.

B. Countries in which, first, national political representation is defective either because

(a) some major group of the population probably comprising not more than one-third of the population is without national political representation

or

(b) representative organs fail to influence significantly national political decisions.

Second, in countries in this category there is significant choice (for individuals belonging to groups having political representation) between a variety of channels for national political representation.

Excluded from this category are countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participate in some minimal way in the national political process.

C. Countries in which national political representation is defective in both the respects listed for category B.

With respect to choice of channels for political representation and actual political participation, the criteria for the present category are

the same as those for category B.

D. Countries in which national political representation is reasonably effective but in which there is little or no choice for individuals belonging to groups having political representation between political channels of any given type (although there is choice between different types of channels).

This category includes both single party systems and multi-party systems which have reasonably effective national political representation; the multi-party systems are those in which each party is accessible exclusively to individuals of a given socio-economic or cultural-ethnic identification.

Excluded from this category are countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participate in some minimal way in the national political process.

E. Countries in which national political representation is defective either because some major group(s) in the population probably comprising not more than one-third of the population are without national political representation or because representative organs fail to influence significantly national political decisions.

With respect to choice of channels for political representation and actual political participation, the criteria for the present category are the same as those for category D.

F. Countries qualify for the present category by meeting one of the following two sets of criteria:

(1) national political representation is defective both because some major group(s) in the population probably comprising not more than one-third of the population are without national political representation and because representative organs fail to influence significantly national political decisions;

at the same time, there is little or no choice for individuals belonging to groups having political representation between political channels of any given type (although they do have choice between different types of channels)

or

(2) national political representation is substantially defective in that major socio-economic or cultural-ethnic groups in the population probably comprising more than one-third, but not more than two-thirds of the population, are without formal national political representation; however, for individuals in those groups with representation, there is significant choice between a variety of channels for national political representation.

Excluded from the present category are all countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participate in some minimal way in the national political process.

G. Countries in which it is probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participates in some minimal way in the national political process and in which national political representation is defective because of either of the two following reasons:

- (a) major groups in the population probably comprising more than one-third, but not more than two-thirds, of the population are without formal national political representation

or

- (b) major groups in the population probably comprising less than one-third of the population are without formal national political representation and in addition representative organs fail to influence significantly national political decisions.

The final characteristic of countries in the present category is that for given individuals in those groups with representation, there is significant choice between a variety of channels for national political representation.

H. Countries meeting the same criteria as those given for category G with respect to actual political participation and national political representation.

With respect to the extent of choice of channels for political representation, the countries in the present category are characterized by little or no choice for given individuals belonging to groups having political representation between political channels of any given type (although they do have choice between different types of channel).

I. Countries meeting the same criteria as those given for categories G and H with respect to actual political participation and national political representation.

With respect to the extent of choice of channels for political representation, the countries in the present category are characterized by little or no choice either between political channels of any given type or between different types of political channel; specifically, they have single-party political systems in which there are very few or no channels for political expression other than the various units of the national political party.

J. Countries in which major groups in the population probably comprising over two-thirds of the population are without formal national political representation and in which it is also probable that less than one-quarter of the adult population participates in some minimal way in groups, associations or institutions representing their interests at national level.

Of the countries meeting these criteria, those countries having systems of national representation for groups probably comprising less than one-third of the population in which there is at least some limited choice of channels of representation are classified J; those countries with little or no choice of political channels are classified J-.

The country classifications listed in Tables A1 and A2 relate, for most countries, to the periods 1952 through 1962 and 1963 through 1968. However, for some countries in which the end of 1962 is clearly a poor choice for dividing the periods, the dividing point may range from 1961

to 1964. Where appropriate, the alternative division is chosen to coincide with a major change in government or other important event such as independence. If the resulting classification period is nevertheless characterized by markedly nonhomogeneous subperiods, the classification is based upon the characteristics of the predominant subperiod, as judged by the length of time involved, with a plus or minus adjustment, where appropriate, for the characteristics of the shorter subperiod.

TABLE A-1

Country classifications with respect to the three components
of the Composite Index of Popular Political Participation
(1957-1962)

Country	C a t e g o r y	Country Classification with respect to			Country	C a t e g o r y	Country Classification with respect to		
		Nat'l Repre- sentation 1/	Choice of Channel 2/	Actual Partici- pation 3/			Nat'l Repre- sentation 1/	Choice of Channel 2/	Actual Partici- pation 3/
Afghanistan	J-	5	3a	2	Laos	J-	5	3a	2
Algeria	I	4	3a	2	Lebanon	D	1	2a	1
Argentina	A	1	1	1	Liberia	J-	5	3b	2
Bolivia	D	1	2b	1	Libya	J-	5	3a	2
Brazil	A-	1	1	1	Malagasy	H	3	2a	2
Burma	C	3	1	1	Malawi	H	3	2a	2
Cambodia	I	4	3b	2	Mexico	A-	1	1	1
Cameroun	H	4	2a	2	Morocco	H	4	2b	2
Ceylon	B	2a	1	1	Nepal	J-	5	3a	2
Chad	J-	5	3b	2	Niger	J-	5	3b	2
Chile	A	1	1	1	Nigeria	E	2a	2a	1
China (Taiwan)	E	2a	2b	1	Nicaragua	H	4	2a	2
Colombia	B	2a	1	1	Pakistan	J-	5	3a	2
Costa Rica	A	1	1	1	Panama	F	4	1	1
Cyprus	E	2a	2a	1	Paraguay	G	3	1	2
Dahomey	G	3	1	2	Peru	F	4	1	1
Dominican Republic	J-	5	3b	2	Phillipines	A	1	1	1
Ecuador	F	4	1	1	Rhodesia	J	5	1	2
El Salvador	F	4	1	1	Senegal	G	1	2b	2
Ethiopia	J-	5	3a	2	Sierra Leone	H	3	2a	2
Gabon	I	4	3a	2	Somali Republic	D	1	2a	1
Ghana	E	2	2a	1	South Africa	J-	5	1	2
Greece	A	1	1	1	Sudan	J	5	3a	2
Guatemala	F	4	1	1	Surinam	A	1	1	1
Guinea	E	2b	2	1	Syria	E	2b	2b	2
Honduras	C	3	1	1	Tanganyika	D	1	2b	1
India	B	2a	1	1	Thailand	J-	5	3a	2
Indonesia	E	3	2a	1	Trinidad	D	1	2a	1
Iran	I	4	3	2	Tunisia	G	2	2b	2
Iraq	J-	5	3a	2	Turkey	B-	2a	1	1
Israel	A	1	1	1	Uganda	H	3	2a	2
Ivory Coast	K	2b	2b	1	United Arab Republic	H	3	2b	2
Jamaica	A	1	1	1	Uruguay	A	1	1	1
Japan	A	1	1	1	Venezuela	A	1	1	1
Jordan	J-	5	3a	2	Vietnam (South)	J-	5	3b	2
Kenya	H	3	2a	2	Yemen	J-	5	3a	2
Korea (South)	F	3	1-	1	Zambia	D	1	2a	1

1/See above for the definitional scheme for the Effectiveness of National Political Representation

2/See above for the definitional scheme for the Extent of Choice of Channel for National Political Representation.

3/See above for the definitional scheme for the Extent of Actual Participation by the Adult Population in the National Political Process.

TABLE A-2

Country classifications with respect to the three components
of the Composite Index of Popular Political Participation

(1963-68)

Country	C a t e g o r y	Country Classification with respect to			Country	C a t e g o r y	Country Classification with respect to		
		Nat'l Repre- sentation 1/	Choice of Channel 2/	Actual Participa- tion 3/			Nat'l Repre- sentation 1/	Choice of Channel 2/	Actual Partici- pation 3/
Afghanistan	H-	4	3+	2	Laos	F-	3	3a	1
Algeria	E	2a	2b	1	Lebanon	D	1	2a	1
Argentina	C	2a(5)	2(3a)	1(1)	Liberia	J-	5	3b	2
Bolivia	D	1	2b+	1	Libya	J-	5	3a	2
Brazil	H	4	2	2	Malagasy	H	3	2a	2
Burma	J	5	3a	2	Malawi	E	2b	2b	1
Cambodia	I	4	3b	2	Mexico	A-	1	1-	1
Cameroun	G	2b	2b	2	Morocco	H	3	2b	2
Ceylon	B	2a	1	1	Nepal	H-	4	3b	2
Chad	J-	5	3b	2	Niger	J-	5	3b	2
Chile	A	1	1	1	Nigeria	E	2a	2a	1
China(Taiwan)	E	2a	2b+	1	Nicaragua	H	4	2b+	2
Colombia	B	2a	1	1	Pakistan	E	2b	2a	1
Costa Rica	A	1	1	1	Panama	F	4	1	1
Cyprus	E	2a	2a	1	Paraguay	E-	2b	3b	1
Dahomey	G	2b(1)	2b+	2	Philippines	A	1	1	1
Dominican Republic	C	2b-	1-	1-	Rhodesia	J	5	1	2
Ecuador	F	4	1	1	Senegal	G	1	2b	2
El Salvador	F	4	1	1	Sierra Leone	C	3	1-	1
Ethiopia	J-	5	3a+	2	Somali Republic	D	1	2a	1
Gabon	G-	2b-	3b	2	South Africa	J	5	1	2
Ghana	F	3	2b-	1	Sudan	J-	5	3a	2
Greece	A	1	1	1	Surinam	A	1	1	1
Guatemala	F	4	1	1	Syria	E	2b	2b	2
Guinea	E	2b	2b-	1	Tanzania	D	1	2b	1
Honduras	C	3	1	1	Turkmenistan	J-	5	3a	2
India	B+	2a+	1	1	Trinidad	D+	1	2a+	1
Indonesia	E	2b	2a+	1	Tunisia	H-	3	3b+	2+
Iran	G	2b	2c-	?	Turkey	A-	1-	1	1
Iraq	J-	5	3a	?	Uganda	G	2b	2a	2
Israel	A	1	1	1	United Arab Republic	G	2b	2b	2
Ivory Coast	F	3b+	2b-	1	Uruguay	A	1	1	1
Jamaica	A-	1	1-	1	Venezuela	A	1	1	1
Japan	A	1	1	1	Vietnam (South)	H-	3	3b	2
Jordan	J-	5	3a	2	Yemen	J-	5	3a	2
Kenya	D	1	2b	1	Zambia	D	1	2a+	1
Korea (South)	C	3	1-	1					

1/See above for the definitional scheme for the Effectiveness of National Political Representation

2/See above for the definitional scheme for the Extent of Choice of Channel for National Political Representation.

3/See above for the definitional scheme for the Extent of Actual Participation by the Adult Population in the National Political Process.