

INDICES OF DEMOCRATIC GROWTH IN DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES: A MODEL

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Definition and Limitation of Problem

The world today is faced with problems¹ that are a result of the "revolution of rising expectations," a "revolution" that is both violent and nonviolent in character. This "revolution" is a result of the developing nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East demanding their place in the world. The nations expect to acquire more of the world's wealth and political acclaim. The nationals of these areas demand more economic wealth, more social advancement and political achievement within and for their nation.

The problems of developing or newly emerged nations--economic development, social mobilization and political socialization--have been the subject of much scholarly discussion and research. Research on developing nations has been concerned with various problems of development yet few efforts have been made to systematize the fragmented discoveries made by scholars working in different areas. This thesis is an attempt to develop a model by which to predict whether democratic institutions may be expected to develop within a national political system that is in

¹Problems is used in this thesis to indicate the difficulties developing nations encounter when they undergo the processes of economic development, social mobilization, political socialization and political participation. A detailed explanation of these four variables is given in Chapter II.

the process of economic development, viz., a national society that has been oriented to achieve the goal of economic affluence. The model will attempt to formulate a quantitative measure of the level and rate of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization which must be reached within a national political system before any significant growth of democratic institutions may be anticipated. Since this model is used to show that a relationship exists between selected indices which indicate economic, social and political change and the development of democracy, nations which do not fit the model may be expected to fail in developing democratic institutions. The nations used to test the model are representative of all developing areas with the exception of Africa, in which it is felt no functioning democracy exists which can meet the requirements of the model. The test nations are: Chile, India, Israel, Lebanon, The Philippines, and Uruguay.

Building a valid, functional research model entails clarifying terminology both for the researcher and the reader. Since this model hopes to ascertain why democracy occurs in some developing nations and not in others, it is necessary to define what is meant by the terms developing nation and democracy.

Deciding what factors define a developing nation has been a problem faced not only by this researcher, but also by recognized experts. In 1951 a group of United Nations experts, working for the Secretary-General, decided that an underdeveloped nation was one in "which per capita real income is low when compared with the per capita real income of the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe."²

²"Measures For the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries," UN Doc. E/1986, p. 3.

This was a purely economic definition which later was modified when geographic location was added as a factor to define developing nations. In 1961 the Secretary-General's Report on Economic Assistance defined developing nations as consisting of "all countries and territories in Africa, America, Asia and Oceania with the exception of the Union of South Africa, Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand."³ After considering the many definitions presented by the United Nations' committees and others, it was decided that the purposes of this paper could be best served by adopting Uner Kirdar's definition as presented in his text, The Structure of United Nations Economic-Aid to Underdeveloped Countries. According to Kirdar "...two factors are used to describe an underdeveloped country: first, the stage of economic development of the country in question; and secondly, the wealth of that country in comparison with other countries."⁴ It must be recognized that in some areas all countries are underdeveloped, since no nation has reached a stage beyond which it cannot advance. Yet, it can be observed that some nations have attained more economic development than others. Obviously some countries are able to use their capital, resources, and manpower better than other countries. When considering the wealth of nations, three things should be noted:

- (a) gross national product
- (b) per capita income
- (c) distribution of national income between savings, investment and consumption.⁵

³Secretary-General's Report on "International Economic Assistance to the Less Developed Countries," UN Doc. E/3395, para. 138.

⁴Uner Kirdar, The Structure of United Nations Economic-Aid to Underdeveloped Countries (Hague, 1966), p. 2.

⁵Ibid., p. 3.

In countries or territories in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Oceania, with the exception of South Africa, Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, the average gross national product per person is \$130.00 per year. In western Europe and in the nations listed above as exceptions the gross national product per person is \$1,470.00.⁶ As regards the average annual per capita income, the amount is \$100.00 for the first group and \$1,300.00 in the second grouping. Likewise, in the nations where income is low, most of it is used for consumption and there is little saving or investment.

There are other and more general characteristics of underdeveloped countries. The underdeveloped or developing nations (these terms should be considered interchangeable) share such characteristics as malnutrition, low circulation of mass media, poor transportation and communication systems, high birth rates, illiteracy, scarcity of manufactured consumer goods, shortage of teachers and physicians, and poorly developed agriculture and industry.⁷ By way of illustration a comparison can be made using only the average level of illiteracy, which is at the 96% level in developing areas, but at the 33% level in advanced nations. It has been estimated that between 63% and 75% of the world's population lives in territories classified as underdeveloped.

Since such a large portion of the world's population lives in developing nations, it is important to build a model to ascertain at what stage of development democratic institutions may be expected to evolve. Since this thesis proposes a theoretical model to show that democracy or

⁶Ibid.

⁷Lyle W. Shannon, "Socio-Economic Development and Political Status," Social Problems, VII (Fall, 1959), pp. 158-59.

the evolution of democratic institutions may be expected when certain conditions of development are present and that countries which do not have these conditions are more likely to adopt an authoritarian form of government, it is necessary to indicate what is meant by the term democracy. Democracy, in the context of this thesis, indicates a political system which allows regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials.⁸ In a like manner, democracy defined in functional terms serves as a social mechanism to facilitate decision-making among conflicting groups. In this way most of the national population influences decisions by choosing among the alternative candidates offered by opposing parties in regularly scheduled elections. Defining democracy in this manner implies that the following conditions occur:

- a. that there is a political formula---a system of beliefs, which legitimize the democratic system and specify institutions,
- b. that one set of political leaders hold office at a particular time,
- c. that one or more sets of leaders, even though out of office, act as the legitimate opposition.⁹

It is obvious to any observer why these conditions are necessary. If a political system does not have some value system which allows the peaceful give and take of power, there can be no democracy; instead one would find political and national uncertainty. Such a situation could be illustrated by several countries in Latin America. Likewise, if the outcome of the political game does not give effective authority to one group or to a stable coalition, then unstable government results. Also, if there is no truly effective opposition, authority of those in power

⁸Seymour Lipset, Political Man (New York, 1960), p. 45.

⁹Seymour Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," American Political Science Review, LIII (March, 1959), p. 71.

is maximized and popular influence on national policy is at a minimum. Therefore, democracy, to be successful and to fit the purpose of this thesis, must follow the pattern of functional democracy suggested above.

Methodology

The methodology used in testing the research model and hypothesis will be comparative and analytical.¹⁰ Selected indices for each of the four major areas of the model (as explained in Chapter II) will be found in quantitative data converted to scales of measure. The reader should keep in mind the limitations which quantitative data presents. There are many problems involved in finding reliable figures and, as yet, there is no standardized system for all nations to use in reporting quantitative data. If, as is feared in the fourth area, democratization, some substantive interpretation is necessary in assigning numerical or scale of measure values, this will be kept to the bare minimum, since the substantive values the researcher imputes may weaken the reliability of the theoretical model. The researcher intends to go further than just comparing numerical values for each factor. Some analysis must be made to show that a correlation really exists. Correlating raw numbers is not sufficient, since most numbers eventually can be made to correlate with one another. The human element of logic, reason and analysis will be used to prove that the numerical correlation is indeed indicative of a significant relationship. It is for this reason that the methodology will be not only quantitative and comparative, but also analytical.

¹⁰A detailed and precise explanation of the exact methodology used for each individual index is presented in Chapter II.

Hypothesis

The purpose of this thesis is to test the hypothesis that a measurable marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization is required before a political system can evolve and sustain a functional democracy. In order to test this hypothesis it will be necessary to formulate a marginal measure of the principal variables (economic development, social mobilization, political socialization and participation) based upon the data taken from the six national case studies, which have been selected because each of the six nations fits the definitional terms of a "developing nation" and of a "functional democracy". Each of the six test nations are developing nations in the sense that each, being neither absolutely underdeveloped nor highly developed, has attained a middle stage of economic development on the continuum of economic development. "Functional democracy" exists in all the test nations, as they have successfully maintained democratic political systems for twenty years or more. The six case studies were undertaken to discover if a significant relationship exists between the levels of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization on the one hand, and the level of institutional democracy on the other.

The measurement of a marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization is to be undertaken in a systematic manner. Several indices will be selected for each of the three variables and each index will be measured by a scale of measure. The scale of measure will calculate the significance of each index on the basis of one to ten. Values on all the scales of measure (of one to ten) will be held constant so that the different indices can

be compared. The scale of measure for each index will be discussed in Chapter II. The scale of measure will be used to plot ratio graphs for each index, variable, and nation. Ratio graphs will be constructed for each index by using different symbols to represent each test case. An arithmetic mean will be constructed for each index by adding together the levels of the six nations on the scale of measure and dividing by six. The arithmetic means of the indices for each variable will be added together and individual composite arithmetic means will be constructed for economic development, social mobilization, political socialization and democratization. An individual ratio graph will also be constructed for each of the six test nations. The indices of each variable will be added together and a composite arithmetic mean derived for each variable in order that the level of economic development, social mobilization, political socialization and democratization of each nation can be seen at a glance. The ratio graphs for each nation will also contain a composite arithmetic mean which will show the arithmetic mean of the three variables: economic development, social mobilization and political socialization. Each nation's ratio graph will contain two composite arithmetic means. The first composite mean will be for political socialization and social mobilization. The second composite mean will be for economic development, social mobilization and political socialization. These two different composites will illustrate the effect of economic development on the total picture of development. Finally one table will be constructed which will show the mean level of each of the test nations in each variable and index and also a composite arithmetic mean for each of the three variables: economic development, social mobilization and political socialization.

Significance of the Data

This experiment is an attempt to show that there is a significant relationship between the variables of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization on the one hand, and political institutions, on the other. The evidence which will be presented will illustrate that the level and growth rate of these variables will be reflected in the political institutions, so that a significant increase or decline in the composite level of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization will be reflected in the expansion or decline of functional democracy. If the data confirms the hypothesis this thesis may serve as a theoretical model by which countries can be studied and a prediction can be made as to what level of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization must be attained by a developing nation if it is to establish a viable functioning democracy.

CHAPTER II

THE MODEL

Economic Development

The level of economic development apparently has a significant effect on whether a nation will or will not adopt a democratic government. The amount of economic development present within a nation provides the basis for social mobilization and political socialization to occur; without a certain amount of economic development there seems to be little chance that the nation will adopt a government that is democratic. Thus, for the purposes of elaborating this model, it is essential to discuss the conditions which are needed for a nation to undergo economic development.

A pre-condition for attaining any level of economic development is the existence of an atmosphere favorable to development within the nation. The people must accept material progress and the national institutions must favor it. It is readily obvious why this is a necessary condition for economic development. If the people reject modern ideas and ways of doing things, there is little chance that economic development can occur. Likewise national institutions which are unfavorable to progress can hold back development or national economic change many years. To solve this dilemma the people must realize that progress is possible and they must be interested in acquiring material things brought about by economic development.

A second pre-condition of economic development is the recognition by society that wealth confers power and elevates people socially. Once society realizes this, economic development can occur more rapidly, since people provide the drive to elevate themselves economically and socially. A final and most important pre-condition for economic development is the attitude of national and local leaders. The leaders of a nation must favor and desire economic progress before progress is possible, as they are in positions to impede progress. Therefore, the nation, its people, leaders, and institutions must first favor economic development before it can occur.

The exact amount of economic development present within a nation is often hard to discern, since many factors affect a nation's level of economic development. For the purpose of this model the following indices will be used to measure the level of economic development: (a) per capita income; (b) per capita fixed capital formation.

Per Capita Income

In this research design the term vicious circle¹ is used to describe factors that apply to the environment in underdevelopment nations and that have a cause and effect relationship, so that they operate to imprison the national economy in its own shortcomings. This is the idea that a given effect acts as a cause leading to a similar effect. Thus, the "status quo" tends to perpetuate itself in a never ending circle of cause and effect. This principle can be easily demonstrated. Underdeveloped nations have low productivity rates which cause a low level of

¹Further discussion of the vicious circle is found in Walter Krause, Economic Development (San Francisco: Wadsworth, 1961), pp. 20-22; Gerald M. Meier and Robert E. Baldwin, Economic Development (New York: John Wiley, 1957), pp. 319-24.

real per capita income. Since per capita income is low, per capita consumption is also low. In spite of low per capita consumption very little capital accumulation occurs. Most of what is produced is used to sustain the low level of per capita consumption, thus little is left over as saving. A direct result of low capital accumulation is a low level of investment. A low level of investment contributes to the situation of market imperfections which create low productivity. Thus it is a possible to assume that a vicious circle exists--low productivity, low per capita income, low consumption, low savings, low investment, low productivity. This circle can be interrupted or started at any point on the circle.²

Per capita income as introduced in the vicious circle concept is an important factor for measuring development and can be measured by taking total gross national income and dividing by the number of citizens. The figure derived from this mathematic calculation reflects many other factors. It is reflective of human, material, economic and social resources as well as of external forces at work in the economy. For instance, it reflects the skill and efficiency of the labor force as well as the amount and kind of specialization. Likewise, it reflects the amount of adjustment in customs that has occurred within the nation and also the success of foreign exchange relations. In developing nations which are successful in making adjustments and using resources wisely there is a chance for higher per capita income. However in most developing nations per capita income is low due to low productivity and a booming population.

Per capita income for each of the six test cases was measured in

²Krause, p. 22.

United States dollars. A scale of measure, which has levels of value comparable to the scales of measure for all other indices, was constructed using a one to ten scale. The scale of measure is as follows:

1. 0-\$100
2. \$101-\$200
3. \$201-\$300
4. \$301-\$400
5. \$401-\$500
6. \$501-\$600
7. \$601-\$700
8. \$701-\$800
9. \$801-\$900
10. \$901-

The scale of measure was left open at ten to include all per capita incomes over \$901. The standing of each nation on the scale of measure for per capita income was then recorded on a ratio graph (See Appendix, Figure 1). The following symbols were adopted and used on all of the ratio graphs to indicate the six cases on all ratio graphs.

Chile _____
 India - - - - -
 Israel
 Lebanon ___ . ___ .
 Philippines _____
 Uruguay -.-.-.-.-
 Arithmetic mean

The levels of the six test cases were averaged together to derive an arithmetic mean for per capita income, which will be noted on the ratio graph.

The basic vicious circle used above to introduce the concept of per capita income is overlapped by other vicious circles which show a close relationship between per capita income and the level of consumption and investment in developing nations. The low level of income is a result as well as a cause of low demand. Low per capita income leads to low demand, which likewise means low investment and thus capital deficiency. Backward people with poorly developed resources are faced with another

vicious circle. Consider the economic life of the low income agricultural people in underdeveloped areas. These unskilled and uneducated people live an economic life determined by custom and habit. They use outdated methods of farming and outdated capital equipment. They have low per capita incomes and consume most of their own produce. They live in a subsistence economy in which there is little division of labor and productivity is very low. Their level of saving is low and thus their effect on the demand market is low. Over-all in this low income-low production segment of a developing nation's economy there is little desire or attempt to change. This continued low level of income and low production has a detrimental effect on the nation as a whole. It lowers total average per capita income and the total national product. Since a high level of income and production is desirable for economic progress, this segment of the national economy is a drag on the rest of the economy. It is obvious that the development of natural resources depends on the character of human productive resources. If human resources are backward, natural resources likewise cannot be developed. Resources are unutilized, misutilized or underutilized as a result of illiteracy, population size, deficient knowledge, lack of skills and immobility.

Per Capita Fixed Capital Formation

Fixed capital formation is the value of purchases and construction of fixed assets by private and government enterprises. This definition excludes such things as government spending for defense, private expenditures on durable goods and the value of newly discovered natural resources. This definition follows closely that given in the United Nations Yearbook of National Account Statistics which includes in gross domestic capital formation the following:

- a. all expenditures connected with the acquisition of land
- b. all expenditures on new construction and major changes in residential buildings
- c. all non-residential buildings
- d. new construction and major alterations and repairs
- e. all vehicles used in public transportation
- f. other capital expenditures on machinery and equipment.³

Thus fixed capital formation includes all expenditures which add to the value of national capital goods.

Due to the lack of available statistics this design presents per capita fixed capital formation for 1958-1966 (See Appendix, Figure 2). National income was subtracted from the gross national product to determine the amount of gross domestic fixed capital formation for each year. The yearly gross domestic fixed capital formation was divided by the total population for each year to determine per capita fixed capital formation, which is a more meaningful figure since it takes into account the effect population has on investment. The statistical results should be considered approximations not only because crude methods were used to find the per capita fixed capital formation, but also because there is a lack of sophistication in the methods used in collecting statistics by the individual nations and in their reports to the United Nations.

Per capita fixed capital formation is an important index of economic development since it shows what part of the total national product is being reinvested in the economy per person. An increasing amount of investment is necessary to maintain a nation's rate of economic growth. The productivity of a nation can be improved by savings which are in turn invested in capital goods such as machinery, factories or public utilities. If capital formation is such that it creates more production than

³United Nations Yearbook of National Account Statistics, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (New York, 1967), pp. xvii-xxiv.

is really needed for consumption, a nation may save the surplus which can then be ploughed into the economy in the form of more capital investment. Capital formation is essential if a developing nation is to be able to produce enough for its increasing population and if it is to save enough to reinvest each year in more capital goods thereby creating more total capital accumulation. A high and increasing investment in per capita capital accumulation is essential in the maintenance of a vitalized economy.

A scale of measure was constructed to measure per capita fixed capital formation. The scale of one to ten is as follows:

1. 0-\$10
2. \$11-\$20
3. \$21-\$30
4. \$31-\$40
5. \$41-\$50
6. \$51-\$60
7. \$61-\$70
8. \$71-\$80
9. \$81-\$90
10. \$91-

The per capita capital accumulation was measured in United States dollars and the scale of measure has levels that are comparable to those in the other scales of measure. A 10 was given to all nations that invested \$91 or more in per capita capital formation for the year presented. The level of each nation on the scale of measure for per capita fixed capital formation is to be recorded on a ratio graph using the same symbols for each test case as given before. An arithmetic mean will be drawn by averaging together the level of each test case for each year.

Social Mobilization

Social mobilization is a process of change that affects the population in countries which make the transition from the traditional to the

modern way of living. It is a process which involves the disintegration of previously held social, economic and psychological commitments. When social mobilization occurs within a nation changes occur in institutions, expectations, experiences, group patterns, occupation and residence. Social mobilization is not identical with the whole process of modernization but is illustrated by some of the major aspects of modernization. In this paper social mobilization is considered to be the process of erosion of major types of old social, economic and psychological commitments which make people available for new patterns of socialization. Research by Karl W. Deutsch has indicated that the changes involved in social mobilization tend to influence and at times transform political behavior.⁴ Deutsch has also stated that these changes tend to go together in certain historical situations and stages of economic growth.⁵ The statement that the processes of social mobilization tend to fit together in history and in economic development implies that the occurrences can be identified and that they recur in all countries that undergo such a process of change. Thus for the purpose of this design major areas of change, such as an increasing literacy level, urbanization and daily newspaper distribution can be discerned and measured to provide an indication of a nation's level and rate of social mobilization.

Deutsch's statement that social mobilization changes tend to go together in historical and economic development suggests that there is a recurring association between the changes. One social mobilization change indicates other changes, which means for a research model that

⁴Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," American Political Science Review, LV (September, 1961), p. 493.

⁵Ibid.

not all indices need to be used to discern the significance of social mobilization present within a nation. This linkage is an empirical fact which can be observed. Any form of social mobilization,

such as the entry into market relations and a money economy (and hence away from subsistence farming and barter) should be expected to be accompanied or followed by a significant rise in the frequency of impersonal contacts, or in exposure to mass media or communication, or in change of residence, or in political or quasi-political participation.⁶

Therefore this design will enumerate and discuss the measurement and importance of three major indices--urbanization, literacy and newspaper circulation--which can be used to indicate the level of social mobilization present within a nation.

Urbanization

Urbanization is the process which involves moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other occupations and a change in the pattern of behavior. Three conditions must be present before urbanization can occur. First, there must be a relatively large national population, since a large population is required if urbanization is to occur. Second, there must be certain technological advancements before urbanization can happen. Agricultural technology must develop to such an extent that people living in urban areas can be supplied food products before a settled existence is possible. The third factor necessary for urbanization is a developed social organization which will allow an exchange of ideas.

The urban civilization process can be regarded as the transition from a predominately static, socially inequalitarian agrarian society depending immediately upon nature, with a low degree of labor division based on a more informal social organization, to a dynamic and in principle equalitarian industrial society.⁷

⁶Ibid., p. 494.

⁷Nels Anderson, Urbanism and Urbanization (Leiden, 1964), p. 125.

In this model urbanization must be defined in a demographic context, that is, the degree of urbanization present in an area is defined as the proportion of the population resident in urban places. This demographic concept of urbanization is transcended by other uses of the term in which urbanization is seen as a social process which has brought about great transformations in the way of life. Urbanization will be measured by a scale of measure of one to ten. The scale is as follows:

1. 0-10%
2. 11-20%
3. 21-30%
4. 31-40%
5. 41-50%
6. 51-60%
7. 61-70%
8. 71-80%
9. 81-90%
10. 91-

The levels of the scale of measure are comparable to those of the other scales of measure used for the other indices. A ratio graph will be constructed giving the level of each of the six test cases. The levels of the six test cases will be averaged together to derive an arithmetic mean for urbanization.

The definition of urban population is complex, even though it is generally taken to mean population resident in cities. Population classified as urban varies from country to country. Urban areas are often delineated on the basis of administrative, political and cultural criteria as well as demographic criteria. This presents a problem for a researcher when comparing the degree of urbanization found in different areas. When handling urbanization in developing areas, it is very essential to keep in mind that the frequency and sophistication of census taking often needs improvement and that published figures may be misleading. Thus one can see that the comparative study of urbanization is

first hampered by the problem of obtaining comparable data for the countries to be compared. The comparative study of urbanization is also hampered by a methodological problem, which is the lack of a rationale for any certain minimum size. Since the degree of urbanization present in a nation is defined as the proportion of the total population who live in urban units, an established minimum size for delineating urban areas would be desirable. However, even if a rationale could be formulated for a universally applicable minimum size limit, the conventional measure of the degree of urbanization would show only one dimension of urbanization. It is possible that the same degree of urbanization would be present in two countries, but there could be an entirely different urban structure in each country. Some countries may have a low percentage of urban population but the total number involved might be very large, whereas in other nations there may be a small part of the population involved in urbanization, but the percentage of urban population could be high. To solve this dilemma Jack P. Gibbs has suggested that the conventional measure of the degree of urbanization be supplemented with a measure of scale.⁸ For Gibbs the measure of scale would include two different properties. It would first give a distribution of urban population among different size classes of urban units and, second, it would give the same distribution with the number in each size class considered as a proportion of the total population of the country.⁹ However, Gibbs finds a close correlation between the scale of urbanization and the degree of urbanization and accepts the use of the degree of urbanization

⁸Jack P. Gibbs, "Measures of Urbanization," Social Forces, XLV (December, 1966), p. 170.

⁹Ibid.

as a sufficient indicator of urbanization on the basis of the high correlation found in his study. Thus, for the purpose of this model, the level of urbanization, as first defined above, will be sufficient to indicate the amount of urbanization present within a nation.

The degree of urbanization present within a developing nation is an important part of social mobilization and is a very important factor in the development of democratic government. Gerald Breese has discussed the process of urbanization in developing nations and draws the conclusion that "there appears to be a correlation between the degree of urbanization and the emergence of self-governing countries."¹⁰ Other writers, such as Robert C. Frield have noted that in most developing nations modern politics tend to involve mostly westernized urban groups.¹¹ In the past, cities have been the main arenas of politics and the principal means for the diffusion of nationalism and other modern political ideas and behavior.

The effects that urbanization can have on the state of national political affairs are a very important index to consider when building a model to ascertain the probability that a nation will develop some form of democratic government. Urbanization creates many problems which governments in newly developing nations must solve. The solutions which these governments decide on often affect the success of the government and its chances to remain democratic in form. The increased size and density of population agglomerations affect the ways in which man makes a living and creates highly complex forms of economic organization. The

¹⁰Gerald Breese, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries (New Jersey, 1966), p. 40.

¹¹Robert C. Frield, "Urbanization and Italian Politics," Journal of Politics, XXIX (August, 1967), p. 505.

increase in the division of labor and the increase in specialization have led to a more interdependent society which in turn has brought new forms of coordination and integration. All of these changes, whether they have already occurred or are now occurring in developing nations, create a problem for government. How able are the governments of newly emerged nations to solve these problems? How much should government intervene? These and other questions, which arise as a result of this part of urbanization, test the ability of a new government to regulate and yet remain democratic.

The increase in the size of cities leads to a breakdown of informal social controls and an increase in formal control--laws, police, courts. The breakdown in informal social controls is largely responsible for increased personal disorganization, which is seen in higher crime rates, more mental disease, and increased juvenile delinquency. Thus the breakdown in informal social controls can create a situation of political instability. How the government of a new nation handles the problem of political instability influences the level of democracy which is present within that nation. An increase in the size and density of population, greater interdependence of the social order, the breakdown of traditional social controls and the inability of the inherited social institutions to handle new problems of urban life have led to the expansion of the functions and powers of the governments of all nations.

The level of urbanization present within a new nation affects the role of government and also the political ideology of that nation. Philip M. Hauser has noted that significant changes in ideology result from a higher degree of urbanization.¹² Increasing urbanization has

¹²P. M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, The Study of Urbanization (New York, 1965), p. 26.

caused some of the foremost political issues of the time. Some of these issues are: What is the role of government? What are the requirements for governing? How do central, regional and local governments cooperate? What type of local government is best? What political positions should urban and rural areas have? Urbanization, therefore, is a very important factor to consider when the level of democracy present within a nation is being measured, since the way new governments meet the problems created by urbanization determines the level of functional democracy that is present. Urbanization has increased the amount of government intervention, modified the nature of representative government, challenged traditional ideologies regarding the role of government, introduced new political issues, changed the relationships between central, regional and local governments, and outdated many forms of local government.

It is essential to remember when discussing urbanization as it is taking shape today in newly emerged nations, that there is a difference between the urbanization as experienced today and that experienced by the advanced nations. For this reason reactions of new states may differ from those of older nations that experienced urbanization. A different political situation exists today as compared to that prevalent when the advanced nations first experienced rapid urbanization. The world today is characterized by an unprecedented degree of international organization, which stimulates not only economic growth but also urbanization. The pace or level of urbanization may be accelerated for developing nations as a result of actions by an international organization. For all these reasons, the antecedents and consequences of urbanization may differ from those observed in the past.

A second difference which exists in urbanization experienced by

advanced nations and that faced today by emerging nations is a difference in the forces making for urbanization. Today, as a result of a changed political framework in new states, central planning plays a greater role in urbanization. Differences in urbanization can also result from different colonial heritages. In underdeveloped areas some cities are a product of colonial experience, a product of foreign factors, not indigenous factors. Therefore in many emerging nations there is a larger urban population than is justified by the nation's level of industrialization or economic development. A difference in urbanization can also be a result of the availability of twentieth century technology. The availability of such things as electricity, autos, and telephones, affect urban growth. Differences between urbanization in advanced areas and in emerging areas are also a result of differences in the ratio of the population to resources and the level of living. In emerging areas the ratio of population to resources is higher than that which existed at the start of industrialization and urbanization in the West. In developing areas a greater population per land area and a lower death rate necessitates a different type of governmental policy from that adopted by the western nations.

Differences in urbanization experienced by advanced and emerging areas are also a result of a difference in the basic outlook and value system. The basic outlook and value system of the West can be exemplified by the Protestant ethic, whereas in the emerging areas there is a Buddhist, Catholic, Hindu or Islamic tradition. In the West the outlook was rational rather than traditional and involved a willingness to defer immediate gratifications for more desirable ones. The Protestant ethic emphasized achievement and success as distinguished from status and prestige. It embraced interrelationships that were impersonal and

utilitarian as contrasted with those that were personal and sentimental. Therefore the process and consequences of urbanization in developing areas may differ from those in advanced areas of the world and makes urbanization an important index to take into consideration when developing a model to determine the level of functional democracy present within a nation.

Literacy

Literacy rates are generally viewed as one of the most important indicators of political development in emerging nations. Karl Deutsch uses literacy as an indicator of social mobilization. Seymour Lipset has found a positive relationship between literacy and democracy in developing nations. According to Lipset education and enrollment per 1,000 population at three levels, primary, post-primary, and higher educational is consistently related to the degree of democracy.¹³ Education broadens mankind's outlook, allows men to understand the need for tolerance, increases man's capacity to make rational electoral choices, and restrains him from adhering to extremist doctrines. Public opinion research, as reported by S. M. Lipset has shown that the higher one's education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values.¹⁴

There is no consensus regarding the minimal proficiency required before a person is considered literate. A person who is classified for literacy statistics reported by one nation might be classified as illiterate by another nation. Another problem in establishing literacy statistics that are comparable is the problem of age-group. Some nations

¹³Seymour Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," American Political Science Review LIII (March, 1959), pp. 78-79.

¹⁴Ibid.

report only adult literacy, while others report all persons of school age and over. For the purposes of this model literacy must be defined as functional literacy not minimum literacy. Minimum literacy is the level at which a person recognizes his name when he sees it, but this is only useful if his literacy can be raised to the level of functional literacy. A person who has functional literacy is one who has enough knowledge and skills in reading and writing to allow him to engage effectively in all those activities in which literacy is normally assumed in his culture or group.¹⁵ It is obvious why at least a functional level of literacy must be used for literacy statistics. If a taxpayer cannot read he may be cheated by the tax collector. He could pay 10 pesos in taxes and get a receipt for 5 pesos. Small infractions on democracy such as this can grow into larger ones, therefore a functional level of literacy is a necessary check on government and government officials. The problem of which age-group to use in reporting literacy statistics should be solved in favor of the group aged 15 and over. Obviously not all school age persons can be considered literate, but by age 15 they should have a functional level of literacy. In this model literacy will be calculated for the population age 15 and over who have a functional level of literacy or specifically who read in one language. Literacy will be measured by constructing a scale of measure, which is as follows:

1. 0-10%
2. 11-20%
3. 21-30%
4. 31-40%
5. 41-50%
6. 51-60%
7. 61-70%

¹⁵Sir Charles Jeffries, Illiteracy: A World Problem (New York, 1967), p. 11.

- 8. 71-80%
- 9. 81-90%
- 10. 91-

The level of literacy will be found for each of the six test cases and will be presented on a ratio graph. The levels of each of the six test cases will be averaged together to derive an arithmetic mean for literacy, which will also be presented on the ratio graph.

Literacy is a very important indicator of social mobilization, since the literacy level is a good indicator of the general susceptibility of people to modern economic and political life. Most emerging nations are highly traditional in culture and social structure. An individual's position in such a society is a function of kin membership, land caste or linguistic grouping. "These factors, together with their economic base of agrarian poverty, constrict social participation and loyalties, and tend to separate the mass of the population from the national, metropolitan elite."¹⁶ In most new states it is the educated elite who carry the aspiration for modernization. The desire for modernization creates a demand for skilled manpower, a better standard of living and the opportunity for social mobility. Governments of new nations are hard pressed to meet these demands, which often make new governments more unstable. The new government faces a hard-to-change combination of mass illiteracy and scarce educational resources. It is usual in new states that higher education has been withheld from the native population or has been confined to a small wealthy or fortunate minority which, as a result of education, is separated from its countrymen in outlook and style of living. The Congo, a good example of this,

¹⁶Richard L. Merritt and Stein Rokkan, Comparing Nations: The Use of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research (London, 1966), p. 202.

had at the time of independence only 17 university graduates out of a total population of 13.5 million.¹⁷ Even today education is a selective thing in developing nations. A recent sample study by the Stanford Research Institute shows that the social composition of foreign students studying in the United States from underdeveloped areas is highly selective. Three-fourths of those in the sample study were from large cities. One-half had fathers who held Bachelor of Arts degrees and one-third were supported by their parents.¹⁸ This is a very select group when compared to the typical population in emerging nations, which is rural, ill educated and poor. This would seem to indicate that education is a decisive factor within a nation. If one cannot say that a high level of education is a sufficient condition for democracy, evidence suggests that it is close to being a necessary condition in today's modern world.¹⁹ S. M. Lipset has found evidence that in less advanced areas literacy is related to democracy.²⁰ Lebanon, the one member of the Arab League, which has kept democratic institutions since World War II, is the best educated of all Arab states. It has an 80% literacy rate, which places it in the upper levels of literacy in this model. (It should be noted that Lipset's literacy figures for Lebanon do not agree with those reported by the United Nations). In the rest of Asia east of the Arab world, only the Phillipines and Japan have maintained democratic regimes without the presence of large anti-democratic parties

¹⁷Ibid., p. 203.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Lipset, American Political Science Review, LIII, p. 80.

²⁰Ibid.

since 1945. These two nations are among the world's leaders in educational attainment. Japan has a higher educational attainment than any European state and the Phillipines ranks second to the United States in proportion of people attending high school and universities. Thus, from previous examples, literacy is a very important index in a nation's background, if that nation is to develop democratic government.

Seymour Lipset, in his book Political Man, has illustrated, by comparing groups of nations, the significance of literacy within a nation.²¹ Lipset's group of more democratic European states is almost entirely literate, while the group which is less democratic has an average literacy rate of 85%. By way of contrast, those Latin American states classified as less dictatorial have a 46% literacy rate. The significance of these comparisons can be illustrated by a survey of the world's current literacy rates. Literacy is less common in Asia and Africa, where most developing nations are located, than in Latin America. Generally not more than 10-15% of the native population of African states can read and write. The following table shows the distribution of literacy throughout the world. By looking at the table it is possible to see that illiteracy is prevalent in areas in which most of the developing nations are located. Thus literacy must be included as an index to discern the amount of social mobilization present within a nation. It is an index which enables the populace to accept or reject a democratic government, as well as accept and adapt to other processes of modernization.

²¹Lipset, Political Man, pp. 51-53.

TABLE I
WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF LITERACY²²

Area	Total Population In Millions	Per Cent of Adult Literates
Africa	198	15-20
Asia	1376	35-40
So. and Central America	162	56-60
Oceania	13	89-90
Europe	393	91-93
USSR	186	-----
No. America	168	96-97
World Total	2496	55-58

Daily Newspaper Circulation

Communication comes from the Latin world, "communis" which means common. When one communicates, whether he does so by the oral method or by media, he is trying to establish a commonness with someone. It is an attempt to share information, ideas and/or attitudes. Therefore, it can be said that communication answers some basic needs in every society, needs which are part of the process of social mobilization. A developed system of communication allows the populace of a nation to survey their environment and enables them to reach a consensus. Communication performs a third useful service for society in that it socializes the new members of society. Originally society had only oral communication, but

²²Merritt and Rokkan, p. 205. This 1959 table is the most recent table which shows both population and literacy.

as society changed so did the form of communication. Mass media developed parallel to the other institutions of society, such as schools and industry, and is closely related to some indices of general social and economic growth, such as literacy, per capita income and urbanization.²³ At any given time one can develop faster than the others, but in the long run these developments tend to even out. Therefore, when a state has attained a relatively high per capita income, urbanization, and literacy level, usually it has a relatively advanced media system.²⁴

Daniel Lerner has established that the pattern of communication interacts with other patterns of power, wealth, and status found within a society.²⁵ This is simply to say that an institutional variation in one is accompanied by regular variation in others. Daniel Lerner has drawn the conclusion that when an oral communication system exists usually the area is rural and the people are illiterates who live under a nonrepresentative political system. On the other hand when the communication system relies on media, such as newspapers, radios, and/or television, the nation tends to be more urban, the people are literate and live under a more representative government.²⁶ Observations made by Lerner in his studies of the Middle East, as presented in The Passing of Traditional Society, show that there can be little doubt that modern communication has been influential in developing nations. Therefore some indicator of communications found within developing nations must be included as a part

²³Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, Communication and Change in the Developing Countries (Honolulu, 1967), p. 7.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Daniel Lerner, "Communications Systems and Social Systems: A Statistical Exploration in History and Policy," Behavioral Science, II (October, 1957), p. 266.

²⁶Ibid., p. 267.

of social mobilization, since it is communications which expose tradition oriented peoples to new and better ways of living.

In hopes of keeping this model simple and yet include all significant factors, one communications factor has been chosen for use as representative of the level of communication found within each developing nation. Daily newspapers, the selected index, might be supplemented with such indices as the number of radio receivers or television sets within a nation, but it was not believed that this is necessary. Newspapers are representative of the type of communications available within a nation and are one of the few indices for which there is adequate and reliable data. Newspapers have a multipurpose role within a nation. Newspapers inspect government actions and many times represent the people in checking on government activities. Newspapers are also usually the chief advocates of national development. In these ways newspapers and the level of their circulation have a very influential role in emerging states. Daily newspaper circulation will be found per 1,000 population for the period starting in 1953 and ending in 1968. A scale of measure will be constructed for daily newspaper circulation and will be as follows:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|-----|-------|---------|
| 1. | 0-10 | copies | per | 1,000 | persons |
| 2. | 11-20 | " | " | " | " |
| 3. | 21-30 | " | " | " | " |
| 4. | 31-40 | " | " | " | " |
| 5. | 41-50 | " | " | " | " |
| 6. | 51-60 | " | " | " | " |
| 7. | 61-70 | " | " | " | " |
| 8. | 71-80 | " | " | " | " |
| 9. | 81-90 | " | " | " | " |
| 10. | 91- | " | " | " | " |

The levels of each of the six test cases will be recorded on a ratio graph using the same symbols for each test case as before. An arithmetic mean will be found by averaging together the levels of each test case for

each year.

Newspapers have been chosen as an index of social mobilization in this model because newspapers and the information they impart are influential in developing national culture. The basic social effect of information is to free man from ignorance. An adequate flow of information is required for knowledge to be shared and is necessary if ordinary citizens are to become part of the decision-making process. Newspapers in developing states must allow information to flow not only from the top of the political hierarchy to the bottom but must also provide a channel for the needs and wishes to flow up from the people. Communication in this sense gives the citizen an opportunity to take part in decision-making and in the process of modernization. The flow of information given by newspapers is also important in regulating social tensions. Communication serves as a temperature-controlling agent. It can raise the social temperature by raising aspirations when the developing nation is not ready to satisfy them. It can lower the social temperature of a nation by giving explanations, speeding up development, and holding out rewards. Thus communication is very useful in the process of development, since the media create a climate favorable to development and serve as a multiplier to stimulate growth.

Newspapers have three roles to play in a developing nation. They are watchmen, policy-makers and teachers. As watchmen they survey the horizon, that is, they help the different areas of the nation become aware of each other's existence and allow interaction to occur. An example of this is the exchange which occurs between the village and the city. Cities come to realize that villages must be modernized before any significant industrialization can occur. Villages become interested in things the cities offer; as a result villages begin to enter into

national political life, first to demand help in modernizing, later to express political opinions. Newspapers in their policy function help to make decision-making more widespread. The governments of developing nations want active participation by citizens and the citizens are asked to make difficult and important decisions. Information therefore must be exchanged in upward and downward patterns, thereby broadening the base for policy-making. An enlarged base of policy-making could not occur without the dissemination of information through the newspapers. Newspapers' third role is that of teacher. Newspapers help to bring new members into society with the skills and beliefs valued by society. Exposure to the news media helps citizens of underdeveloped states to accept new goals, attitudes and customs. Newspapers are very influential in forming tastes, since it is through newspapers that people are often first exposed to new and better ways of doing things. Newspapers have a very important role in social mobilization, since they widen horizons for the native population, raise their level of aspirations and focus their attention on development.

Political Socialization

Political socialization is a very important variable to consider when building a model to determine the likelihood of a nation developing some form of democratic government, since the "attitudes among the populace at large play a crucial role in the achievement of sustained economic growth and in the successful operation of political democracy."²⁷ Political socialization refers to the learning process by which political

²⁷Bruce M. Russett, "Social Change and Attitudes on Development and the Political System in India," Journal of Politics, XXIX (August, 1967), p. 483.

norms and behavior acceptable to the ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation. Political socialization is a continuous process that functions to perpetuate the national culture by means of the socializing influences of primary and secondary structures through which the young of society pass in the process of maturation. The socialization experiences of childhood and early adulthood, such as family, school, or a job are pre-political citizenship experiences. The individual is inducted into a sequence of decision-making systems with particular kinds of claims or demand inputs and certain policy outputs. Thus learning or socialization begins early in life and does not have to be the result of deliberate indoctrination. Most norm learning or internalization goes on imperceptibly. A well-functioning citizen is one who accepts or internalizes his society's political norms and transmits them to future generations. Therefore socialization of the populace is a very important factor in national development as the stability of the political system depends to a great extent on the political socialization of the members.²⁸ Obviously unless the body politic is in harmony with the on-going political values, the political system will have trouble functioning smoothly and perpetuating itself safely.

Political socialization is a process of induction into the national political culture and, as this occurs, a set of attitudes toward the political system is created. Therefore, as the national culture changes, which is often the case in developing states, socialization patterns change. The change is a matter of degree and involves different rates of change in the various subsystems of society. At this point, in most

²⁸Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," The Annals, CCCLXI (September, 1965), p. 1.

nations, the conservatism of primary groups becomes an important factor, since they often resist social and political change. Induction into the political system is the result of manifest or latent socialization. It is manifest when it assumes the form of explicit transmission of information, values or feelings vis-á-vis roles, inputs or outputs of the political system to individuals or groups.²⁹ Latent political socialization takes the form of the transmission of information, values or feelings vis-á-vis roles, inputs, or outputs of other social systems, such as the family which affect attitudes toward analogous roles, inputs and outputs of the political system.³⁰ Latent socialization is the first, most basic stage of political socialization in which more impact occurs. It is generally accepted that the first years of life in the family "political process" provide the most rapid and binding stage of socialization.³¹ As a child matures the rate of latent socialization drops off and the rate of manifest socialization increases. In school latent political socialization occurs, with manifest socialization becoming more important at the higher educational levels. In later experiences such as work, political parties, or exposure to the media of communication and to the government, manifest socialization is of greater importance. The early stages of political socialization are the same in all political societies, regardless of their degree of complexity. It is essentially a latent primary process, one that is in nature diffuse, particularistic, ascriptive, and affective.³² Political socialization in primitive

²⁹Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (New Jersey, 1960), p. 28.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 30.

societies tends to stop at this stage or involve only to a limited extent secondary and manifest socialization into specialized political roles. In modern states political socialization continues beyond latent socialization into a whole sequence of manifest political socialization experiences via the primary and secondary structures of society.

A discussion of the political socialization function in a society is basic to the area of political analysis, since it not only gives insight into the pattern of political culture and subculture, but also locates points where the elements of political culture are introduced, points which are very important when studying developing nations. By studying political socialization as a process which creates basic attitudes in society toward the political system, its roles, and public policy, it is possible to gain understanding of the essential conditions which affect the way in which these roles are performed and the kinds of political inputs and outputs these roles produce--inputs and outputs which can be critical in states which have acquired independence recently.

The statistics which could be very good indicators of political socialization are not published or are very unreliable. Both political parties and interest groups demonstrate the level of political socialization, but statistics regarding interest groups are not plentiful for all nations. Therefore this model must depend on political parties and the electoral realities of each nation to establish the level of political involvement present within an emerging nation.

Political Parties

Political parties are a phenomenon of modern and modernizing political systems and are clearly involved in the process of political

socialization. Political parties in this capacity have certain characteristics that set them apart from interest or pressure groups. Political parties usually have a manifest and permanent organization at the local level, with regularized communications and other relationships between local and national units. There is continuity in organization, which is to say the life span of the organization does not depend on the life span of current leaders. Also there is a self-conscious effort by the leaders at the local and national levels to capture and retain decision-making power alone or in coalition with others, not merely to influence the exercise of power. Political parties emerge in political systems in which those who want to take or keep political power have to seek support from a large public. Finally political parties may be characterized by their concern for winning followers at the polls or in some way trying to win popular support. Thus political parties are permanent organizations which attempt to control government by winning popular support.³³

The emergence of political parties is not only a useful institutional index of the level of national political development, but is related to the modernization process. Whatever the structure of the polity, parties serve as essential agencies of mobilization and help integrate local communities into the national political stream. Parties develop in two instances. First parties develop after a change has occurred in the attitudes of citizens toward authority. Ordinary citizens come to believe that they have the right to influence the exercise of power. In the second instance, the dominant political elite or the aspiring elite

³³Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development (New Jersey, 1966), p. 6.

may try to win public support in order to win or maintain power even though the public does not participate actively in the national political life. These changes in the political system which aid in the development of political parties may be said to be a part of over-all modernization. The patterns of participation in national political life change as technological innovation destroys old jobs and creates new ones and as it lessens the economic and political role of some regions and increases that of others.

Increases in the flow of information, the expansion of internal markets, a growth in technology, the expansion of transportation networks, and above all, increases in spatial and social mobilization appear to have profound effects upon the individual's perception of himself in relation to authority.³⁴

As a new nation becomes more urban, as its mass communications develop, and as education spreads, there is a greater desire on the part of the populace for political participation, which in most instances leads to the development of political parties.

Political parties in developing nations are important because they are essential agents for political socialization, but it would be invalid to assume that parties in new nations perform the same roles in the same way that Western political parties do. In the Western nations it is rightfully assumed that the political system in which parties operate is accepted by most of the populace as legitimate, that the public is loyal to the national state, and that there are more or less accepted relationships between political participants and the state and among the participants themselves. However in the newly emerged nations it is not possible to make this assumption. In the developing nations, parties are

³⁴Ibid., p. 20.

concerned with the problems of national integration, political participation, legitimacy, and conflict management. Since this model uses political parties to illustrate the amount and type of political socialization present, the primary question for consideration is that of political participation.

Political parties are specialized aggregation structures in modern society. Parties emerge when the number and variety of interests articulated is too great to get satisfaction by informal interaction.³⁵ New governments respond to the demand for participation in a variety of ways. The participation demand may be answered in any of the four following manners: (a) repression, (b) mobilization, (c) limited admission, (d) full admission. The emergence of a party system in a developing nation is no guarantee that the governing elites under the party system will welcome an expansion of political participation. A large problem in new states is that the first generation elites in the party system face participation demands before they can institutionalize party government. Thus when new elites are challenged immediately by those who want to share in power there is a great probability that repression will occur, especially if there is no clearly defined consensus on the maintenance of a representative system. Government may also respond to demands for political participation by using controlled participation or more simply mobilization. This is a result of the idea that one-party leadership is concerned with affecting political attitudes and the behavior of the populace as a whole. Thus the party may use the repressive powers of the state, a controlled mass media, and its instruments to affect national

³⁵Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Power, Jr., Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston, 1966), p. 102.

political attitudes and behavior. Therefore, in this instance, one-party government is used to facilitate mass mobilization while actually preventing mass participation. The regime can be concerned with developing a sense of participation while preventing the populace from affecting public policy, the administration or selection of those who govern.

Limited admission is the third possible reaction a government may have to demands for political participation. Governments may allow social groups to organize their own parties but deny them access to national power and restrict their participation in the system. It is in cases of prolonged limited admission that alienated parties develop. Finally a government may give groups and individuals the right of full participation through existing parties or new parties. This is the typical response to the demand for political participation in established democracies. The absorption of new political groups into the political system depends on whether the governing party is an ideological or an electoral instrument. If it is concerned with restructuring the values and behavior of its members and citizens, that is to say ideological, it often restricts membership to those who share its outlook. Alternatively when the party's leadership is concerned with winning elections, its program is likely to be pragmatic and it is likely to modify its program to attract a large part of the populace. Obviously new participation demands are better handled by electorally oriented rather than ideologically oriented parties. Where full participation is allowed it can be assumed that additional participation is not seen as a serious threat to system maintenance or that the commitment to participation is so overriding that it supersedes any concern for threats to the system of highly held values of the dominant elite. Therefore it can be seen that the way in which a new government responds to the demands for political participation has a

great bearing on the level of socialization which is present in a system.

Measuring this type of socialization is not an easy task. Perhaps the easiest approach is to ascertain the size of the electorate and how many actually turn out to vote in national elections. It is important to measure, if possible, party membership and participation. It would be helpful to find out how many activists there are in each party--that is, for the purposes of this model, how many pay dues. Also attendance of party meetings should be noted since this provides a key to participation. The amount of volunteer participation would be a helpful measure. Another possible measure would be the paid circulation of party newspapers and/or magazines. A very important index of the level of political participation is the number of parties in existence. The number and ease with which new parties can be created and participate in the political system is an important reflection of the amount of involvement which can occur in the political system. In this model only three definite and measurable categories are used to indicate the level of political socialization. These are:

- a. the type of party participation in national elections
- b. the size of the electorate in national elections
- c. the voter turn out in national elections.

The type of party participation will be measured by a one to ten scale of measure that describes all the possible types of party participation. The scale will be as follows:

1. parties are not very influential in the political system
2. one-party dominant system, no minority parties allowed
3. one-party dominant system, minority parties allowed but are unsuccessful in winning seats
4. one-party dominant system, minority parties allowed and are successful in winning seats
5. two-party system, no minority parties allowed
6. two-party system, minority parties allowed but are unsuccessful in winning seats
7. two-party system, minority parties allowed and are successful in winning seats

8. multi-party system, one party dominant
9. multi-party system, various coalitions rotate in controlling government
10. multi-party system, small party dominates system by joining with a major coalition.

Once the levels of the six test cases are recorded on a ratio graph, which is made up for each election since independence, an arithmetic mean will be constructed by averaging together the levels of the six test cases.

The size of the electorate will be measured by a ratio graph that is based on a scale of measure. The size of the electorate will be determined by deriving what percentage the electorate is of the national population. The percentage levels will be measured by a one to ten scale of measure which is as follows:

1. 0-10%
2. 11-20%
3. 21-30%
4. 31-40%
5. 41-50%
6. 51-60%
7. 61-70%
8. 71-80%
9. 81-90%
10. 91-

The levels attained by each of the six test cases for all the national elections for the past twenty years will be presented on a ratio graph, which will also contain an arithmetic mean that will be derived by averaging together the levels of the six test cases for the elections.

The voter turn out will be measured for all the national elections since independence on a ratio graph. The basis of the ratio graph will be a one to ten scale of measure which will be measured in the percentage that the voter turn out is of the total electorate. The scale of measure is as follows:

1. 0-10%
2. 11-20%
3. 21-30%
4. 31-40%
5. 41-50%
6. 51-60%
7. 61-70%
8. 71-80%
9. 81-90%
10. 91-

When the levels of all six test cases are plotted on the ratio graph, an arithmetic mean will be drawn by averaging together the levels of the six test cases for each of the national elections.

Democratization

To insure that this research model has some significance and that it can be used to ascertain the level of democracy present in any of the developing nations, the design must be carried out to one last stage, that of democratization. Democratization as used in this paper is meant to indicate the degree to which people can and do participate in their governmental system. Democracy, as defined earlier, is taken in a functional sense and indicates a political system which allows regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials. Similarly, it can be said that democracy serves as a social mechanism to facilitate decision-making among conflicting groups. Therefore, in terms of the functional view of democracy adopted by this paper, most of the national population influences decisions by choosing among the alternative candidates offered by opposing parties in regular elections. The level of democracy is reflected in elections which show group representation in and influence on government.

Democratization is essential as the fourth area of this design since it goes one step further than political socialization. Political

socialization is the learning process by which political norms and behavior acceptable to the ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation. Democratization is the next logical step, that is to say, it is the actual public participation in government. Democratization is an essential variable of this design, since it pulls together the other three variables and shows how much actual participation there is within any nation.

Elections

The major area that indicates democratization and hopefully the most measurable area is elections. Elections can serve as fairly reliable indicators of the degree of public participation and influence in national politics, when considered in three different ways: (a) electoral laws of the nation as found in the national constitution, (b) party representation in the national legislature, (c) regular turnover in the highest elected official. It is necessary to caution the reader regarding these factors. Douglas Rae aptly summed up the reasons for being cautious in relying on electoral laws and electoral results when he stated that "despite the volume of ... literature present knowledge about the politics of electoral laws is neither very general in scope nor entirely reliable in content."³⁶ Furthermore, "no general and precise propositions have been tested systematically against the recorded facts of electoral politics."³⁷ Thus with these cautions in mind, the author leads the reader into the last area of the model in hopes that democratization will be the most significant factor in discerning whether a nation does or

³⁶Douglas Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws (New Haven, 1967), p. 5.

³⁷Ibid.

does not have some form and/or degree of functioning democracy.

Electoral laws have a definite bearing on the ability of groups or the general public to organize and to participate actively in their national government.

Electoral laws are those which govern the process by which electoral preferences are articulated as votes and by which these votes are translated into distributions of government authority (typically parliamentary seats) among the competing political parties.³⁸

Each nation's written constitution must be consulted to find the answer to one question of importance to this model--Is the political system open to all parties? This model cannot proceed to the second index of democratization, measuring actual party participation, before ascertaining whether the written constitution places any limits on party participation. The model hopes to make a relevant correlation between party participation that is allowed under the constitution and party participation as it really occurs in the national legislature. That is to say, it is hoped that such a relationship does exist and can be shown by contrasting what participation the constitution allows with what participation occurs. A restrictive constitution is bound to be reflected in a restricted or a low level of party participation and vice versa. If only one party is permitted by the constitution, it is logical to assume that functioning democracy may be impaired or non-existent. Likewise constitutional bans on a party or several parties may indicate some form of authoritarian government. Therefore it is likely that democracy has its best chance to flourish under a constitution which does not limit party participation.

Some limitations by electoral laws must be accepted as not

³⁸Ibid., p. 14

impairing democracy. Such a limitation would be the prohibition of a party or parties which advocate violent overthrow of the government. This is a practice which is found in some of the established democracies and must not be considered as one which automatically indicates an authoritarian government. Constitutional limits beyond this point must be viewed with caution as to their intent and effects.

The use of written electoral laws is a relevant and important part of this model, as electoral laws can, when used in correlation with actual party participation, indicate the probable presence of competing political groups. Since competing political groups usually are present in a true democracy, electoral laws can prove to be an essential factor in ascertaining the existence of democracy. If electoral laws are restrictive, it is reflected in less representation of the various national interest groups by parties. In this situation it is likely that there will be less political interplay within the nation. Restrictive electoral laws are prone to dampen democratic interplay and are therefore an important index in a model seeking to discover the level of democracy present within a nation.

The membership of the national legislature reflects functioning electoral laws and is significant in illustrating the degree of the general public's and group participation in national elections. It must first be understood that measuring the degree of national legislature's responsiveness to the general public using interest group or class representation in the legislature is impossible in the confines of this design and in light of the fact that these figures are not reported for most nations. However, measuring the number by type of parties having members in the national legislature is believed to be indicative of the aforementioned index. David Apter has shown this relationship by putting

forth the idea that parties were originally formed to implement the objectives of interest groups and that parties later became an essential political institution.³⁹ Thus in most nations it can be assumed that each party has some interest group backing and/or is directly involved with some specific interest group. This is especially true if parties are taken as pluralistic groups and are thus held to be groups containing a coalition of many different interests. Measuring the number of parties having members in the national legislature and the number of seats held by a party can be done by taking a rundown of the members of the national legislature and dividing them according to party affiliation. The type of party which this representation indicates may be ascertained by studying the parties and election results of the nations used to illustrate this model, and noting whether the party is a majority or minority party. Over a period of elections, three or more, the number of parties in the legislature and their status as minority or majority parties reflects the degree of public participation. It is a significant factor in revealing whether or not all parties, in particular, minority parties, that have the right to participate do exercise the right to participate in the national legislature. This factor is doubly significant when it is noted that lack of working minority parties may indicate that there is a limitation on the type and degree of democracy present within a nation. It can be inferred from observing the number of parties, the seats they hold and the types of parties that are prevalent in the national legislature that parties are representing the various interests of the nation. Since the representation of interests is central to a functioning democracy,

³⁹Harry Eckstein and David E. Apter, Comparative Politics (Glencoe, 1963), p. 329.

the number and types of parties found in the national legislature is indeed an important index in any model which endeavors to discern the presence of functioning democracy in any emerging nation.

The national chief executive is usually viewed as being synonymous with government. In most political systems the executive plays a large and important role in the use of political authority. The executive, in addition to being dominant in rule enforcement, today has become involved in the legislative and judicial areas of rule making and rule adjudication. In most cases the increase in power held by the chief executive has come as a result of changing conditions within the nation. It is natural that the executive should have increased power since he is in a sense the essence of government. Furthermore it seems likely that the highest executive position within each nation will continue to increase its power. This model, realizing the importance of the highest functioning national executive, must endeavor to ascertain if there is a regular turnover in this governmental position. The turnover of elected officials is a partial index of democracy which illustrates something of the responsiveness of leadership to the people.⁴⁰ Little change in the executive might indicate that the executive has entrenched himself in office regardless of the sentiments among the rank and file. Going a step further one must not assume that rapid turnover in the executive is a sign of effective control by the rank and file; it could be a sign of instability within the nation. Thus it is apparent that turnover in the executive should follow some regularized schedule, which in some way allows the selection of an executive representative of a majority of the

⁴⁰Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, Comparative Politics (Illinois, 1968), p. 153.

interests present within the nation.

In this model the consideration of national executives must be limited to two types--parliamentary and presidential. The dictatorial executive is deleted because this model is built so as to eliminate nations with authoritarian forms of government. The collegial executive is omitted since none of the nations chosen for the study have this form of government. The most used form of representative government is the parliamentary executive. In a parliamentary government the executive is divided into two parts: the head of state and the head of government. The head of state, which this design omits, has mostly formal powers and has as his main function the appointment of the head of government. Real political power rests with the prime minister or the premier and, for this reason, this model must be concerned with the turnover of this official. The head of government is either the leader of the majority party in the legislature or he is a person who can organize a coalition which has the support of parliament. Thus the prime minister is the most important national executive who has real political power and who is representative of the people, even though it is representation indirectly through the political parties. The length of term served by the prime minister may vary from nation to nation, but it is important to ascertain that this position does regularly and peacefully change hands following normal constitutional procedure.

The second type of national executive is the presidential type. The presidential executive often forms a strong, stable center of power in new nations, and thus makes them a bit steadier on the road toward self-government. The presidential executive is a very powerful national leader, since he is both chief of state and political leader of the government. Under the presidential system the chief executive serves a

set term of office after his election, which in some cases may give him a broad public mandate to solve national problems, and he is generally somewhat independent of the national legislature and judiciary. It is essential in a democracy that the president serve a limited term and that there be regular, peaceful change in the presidency. The turnover in the presidential executive and the parliamentary executive can be measured by referring to at least three past national elections to ascertain who filled the chief executive's post and how long he held the position.

A discussion of the regular turnover in the chief executive is included in democratization because it is an index of functioning democracy. If the turnover is not regular, then it is possible that some form of authoritarian government exists. Likewise, if the turnover is not by established, peaceful, and constitutionally prescribed methods, it is possible that the chief executive is dictatorial or is not meeting the needs of a majority of the populace. In either case some doubt as to the existence of a functioning democracy would be raised. Since democracy requires a chief executive who is responsive to the people as a whole, this is a very important index of the existence of democracy.

Democratization or actual participation in the national political system will be measured by a one to ten scale of measure. Ten will indicate a political system in which democracy is institutionalized, that is, a political system which has: (a) a wide franchise and frequent elections, (b) party participation, (c) election fraud infrequently, (d) executive turnover in a regular, legal manner. It is not necessary to delineate the whole scale of measure for political participation because all the test nations will fit into the level of 10. Lebanon is the only test case which presents any deviation. In 1958 Lebanon suffered a

crisis in government which was quickly corrected; therefore, for 1958 Lebanon was given the level of 8 on the scale of measure. A ratio graph will be constructed for democratization or participation and, by averaging together the levels of all the test cases, an arithmetic mean will be derived for democratization.

CHAPTER III

VARIABLE RELATIONSHIPS

An examination of the levels of development of the six test cases shows that a significant relationship exists between the three variables, economic development, social mobilization and political socialization, on the one hand, and the level of democratic institutions, on the other. An exhaustive survey was made of each test nation to find each index in raw numbers or percentages. The raw numbers or percentages were computed from United Nations' materials, reports by the individual governments, and general references, such as the New York Times Index and Keesing's Contemporary Archives. Each raw number or percentage was then converted to a constant value on a one to ten scale of measure so that the raw numbers and percentages could be compared without the loss of accuracy. The scale of measure for each index was then plotted on a ratio graph for a period of years or a period of elections, depending on the index. An arithmetic mean was made for each index by averaging together the level of each test case for that index for each year or election. An arithmetic mean for the indices of each variable was then plotted on a separate ratio graph and a composite arithmetic mean was derived for each variable. The arithmetic mean for each of the three variables was used to give the researcher a medium level of attainment which might be expected to exist in developing nations. After each index and variable was plotted on separate ratio graphs (see Appendix, Figures 1-12), national graphs were plotted for each of the six test

cases (see Appendix, Figures 13-18). A ratio graph was constructed for each test nation using the arithmetic mean of that nation for each of the three variables and for functional democracy. Two composite arithmetic means were drawn for the three variables, economic development, social mobilization and political socialization, for each test case. The first composite mean was the result of averaging together only social mobilization and political socialization. The second composite mean was the result of averaging together economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization. The two separate composite arithmetic means illustrate the effect the level of economic development has on the total level of development. In most of the six test cases, the composite arithmetic mean for social mobilization and political socialization was higher than the composite arithmetic mean for economic development, social mobilization and political socialization.

The relationship between the variables of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, on the one hand, and functional democracy on the other, is more readily seen in Figure 19. Figure 19 is a chart which presents accurately the information given by all the individual ratio graphs, and has the advantage of being readable at a glance. Figure 19 gives arithmetic means in raw numbers of percentages and in scale of measure for each index and variable and also the composite arithmetic mean for each variable, index, and test case. The means for each index, variable, and test case were averaged together in each column, both horizontally and vertically, to find mean totals for the individual indices, the three variables, and the test cases. The mean totals were averaged together to discern what level of development is present in all six test cases. The composite level of development for the three variables, economic development, social mobilization and political socialization was 6, which is a medium level. The existence of a medium level of overall development in the six test cases.

which have had functional democracy for the past twenty years, suggests that there is a significant relationship between the three variables of development and the existence of democratic institutions.

The variable relationships become clearer when each variable is approached individually. Economic development is the first variable to be considered, since each developing nation must develop a minimum composite level of economic development to sustain functional democracy. A glance at Figures 1 and 2 reveals the level of each test case for the two indices of economic development: per capita income and per capita fixed capital formation. It is noticeable that Chile, Israel, and Uruguay rate above the arithmetic mean for the two indices of economic development and close to or above the composite arithmetic mean for economic development as given in Figure 9. Figure 19 shows the great variations which occur in the level of economic development. India's level of 2 was the lowest level of economic development. Israel had the highest level of economic development with a level of 10. Since the mean total for economic development was 5.5, which was rounded to 6 to make Figure 19 more uniform, it can be seen that the test nations as a whole demonstrated a medium level of economic development.

Not only was there wide variation among the test nations in total economic development, but there was also wide variation among the test nations for each index of economic development. Israel's \$919 per capita income, or 10 on the scale of measure, was the highest level of per capita income. India, with a \$78 per capita income, or 1 on the scale of measure, was the lowest. The mean total for per capita income was \$392, or the level of 4 on the scale of measure. Per capita fixed capital formation shows the same divergence. Israel attained the highest level with a \$292 per capita capital formation, or 10 on the scale of measure,

and India again was low with the level of 2, or a per capita capital formation figure of \$11. The mean total for per capita fixed capital formation was \$90, or the level of 6 on the scale of measure. It is interesting to note that only Israel and Lebanon (see Appendix, Figures 15 and 16) have arithmetic means of economic development which are above those for social mobilization and/or political socialization. The three nations, India, Lebanon and the Philippines, whose level of economic development falls below the mean total 6 for economic development on Figure 19, have maintained functional democracy for the past twenty years, so it may be that there are certain factors present within each of the three nations which mitigate the effects of a low level of economic development.

A minimum composite level of social mobilization is necessary to sustain functional democracy in developing nations. The literacy level, the level of urbanization and the daily newspaper circulation were used to measure the level of social mobilization within each of the six test nations. Only the Philippines and India consistently rated below the arithmetic mean for each index of social mobilization and below the mean total for social mobilization. Figure 3 presents the level of urbanization of each of the test cases except for Lebanon and Uruguay. Urbanization figures regarding Lebanon are not available and the only urbanization figure available for Uruguay was for 1961, in which Uruguay had 82.2% urbanization. Israel and Chile again attained a level of urbanization which was above the mean total for urbanization in the four test cases given. Urbanization levels varied from a low of 18% or 2 on the scale of measure in India to a high of 82.2% or 9 on the scale of measure in Uruguay. Figure 4 gives the literacy level of all six nations. Again Chile, with the level of 9 on the scale of measure, and Israel, with the

level of 9 on the scale of measure, placed above the mean level of 7, which is the mean total for the six cases averaged together. It is interesting to note that Uruguay also has a literacy level of 9, which is above the mean level of the six test cases, so that Uruguay may have placed above the mean level for urbanization if complete raw data had been available. The ratio graph on the literacy level reveals a clustering of the nations, that is, five of the six test cases have attained a level of five or better on the index, literacy. It can also be noted that all the test cases, except Israel, show a gradually increasing literacy level. Israel's literacy level has decreased due to the influx of people from world areas which are not highly literate. Literacy levels varied from a low of 24% or 3 on the scale of measure in India to 88.9% or 9 on the scale of measure in Israel. In daily newspaper circulation, only India and the Philippines had levels which were below the arithmetic mean of 7 for newspaper circulation. Again one can notice that the nations placing both above and below the arithmetic mean for daily newspaper circulation cluster together. Looking at all the indices of social mobilization, it is clear that India and the Philippines have low levels of social mobilization, since their mean totals of 2 and 4, respectively, do not place them close to the mean total for social mobilization. But again some caution must be used in declaring that their political systems cannot sustain functional democracy. Both India and the Philippines have functional democracies, so it may be that there are other factors which are not easily measurable that affect the level of functional democracy present within a nation.

Figure 10 presents the composite arithmetic mean for social mobilization, which reveals that the six test cases had higher mean levels of literacy and daily newspaper circulation than urbanization. A glance at

Figures 14-18 shows how the level of social mobilization compares to the levels of economic development and of political socialization within each of the test nations. The level of social mobilization is higher than the levels of economic development and political socialization in Chile, Lebanon, and Uruguay (see Appendix, Figures 13, 16, 18). In Israel (Figure 15) social mobilization has attained a higher level than political socialization, but does not have a higher level on the scale of measure than economic development. In India (Figure 14) social mobilization is at a very low level on the scale of measure, but is higher than the level of economic development. Also in India, the great divergence between the high level of political socialization and the low level of social mobilization should be noticed. A similar situation is presented by the Philippines, in which social mobilization has a higher level than economic development, but is quite a bit lower than political socialization (Figure 17).

Political socialization was measured by finding the level of each test case for each national election for the past 20 years for the three indices: (a) type of party participation, (b) the size of the electorate, and (c) the voter turnout. The ratio graphs may appear somewhat lopsided because some nations have had a different number of national elections during the past 20 year period. Therefore the arithmetic means for the indices of political socialization are often jagged as a result of averaging together only a few national election levels.

Party participation was used as an index of political socialization. Figure 6 shows the different levels of party participation found in the political systems of the six test cases. Lebanon received a level of 1 on the scale of measure because parties are not yet of great importance in the Lebanese political system. India has the level of 4 on the scale

measure because it is a one-party political system in which minority parties compete and win some seats in the national parliament. Uruguay and the Philippines were given the level of 7 on the scale of measure because they have two-party political systems in which minority parties compete successfully. Israel received a level of 8 because her political system is multi-party but it is dominated by one party, the Mapai.¹ The arithmetic mean for Figure 6 shows a sudden drop in the sixth national election because only two nations have held a sixth national election in the 20 year period and, when their levels were averaged together, the mean was lowered.

Voter turnout in the national elections for the past 20 years was measured for all the test cases except the Philippines. The voter turnout ranged from a high of 81.6% or the scale level of 9 in Israel to a low of 53.6% or 6 in Lebanon. The mean total for voter turnout was 7 and most of the test cases tended to be at or very near the level of 7. A glance at Figure 8 shows that in Lebanon, voter turnout, that is the percentage of the total electorate who do vote, has been steadily increasing. In the other case studies, voter turnout appears to be somewhat erratic. The arithmetic mean for voter turnout shows an upswing in the fifth and sixth national elections, since only two test case levels were averaged together.

The size of the electorate, that is, the percentage of the total population that makes up the electorate, was measured for all the test cases except the Philippines. The arithmetic mean for the size of the electorate is an irregular graph line due to the disparity between the

¹In January of 1968 the Mapai merged with Rafi and Ahdut Avoda to form the Israel Labour Party.

levels of the test nations and because for some test cases voter turnout figures were missing. The graph line for Chile (Figure 7) shows a small but increasing electorate because 50% of the population of Chile is under 21 which is the national voting age. The size of the voter turnout varies from Chile's low mean level of 2(20.6%) to a high of 6(57%) in Israel. The mean total for the size of the electorate was 4, so it may be that the size of the electorate is not an exceptionally necessary index for all nations which have functional democracy. This idea is partially substantiated by Figure 11, which shows that the size of the electorate has a lower level than the composite arithmetic mean for political socialization. The mean total for the size of the electorate was 4, while that for all the indices of social mobilization was 6.

In the case studies (Figures 13-18) political socialization is at a higher level than economic development or social mobilization or than the composite level for overall development in only two test cases, India and the Philippines. This phenomenon may be a partial explanation as to why India and the Philippines have sustained functional democracy despite their low levels of economic development and social mobilization. In the other four test nations, the level of political socialization appears to be linked to the level of social mobilization. This observation does not hold for economic development, which may be at either a lower or a higher level than political socialization.

Before considering the level of functional democracy present within each nation, mean totals were found for each of the test cases for all three variables, economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization (see Appendix, Figure 19). The mean total for all the six cases averaged together was 6. The six test cases placed within the 3 to 9 levels on the scale of measure. All the test cases, except India

and Israel, placed in the 5 to 7 levels on the scale of measure. India, with 3, had the lowest overall level of development. Israel, with 9, had the highest overall level of development.

The level of functional democracy present within each of the test nations averaged out to the level of 10. Lebanon (Figure 12) had the level of 8 for functional democracy in 1958 due to a governmental crisis that was quickly settled. The other five nations demonstrated functional democracy consistently at the scale level of 10, since none of the nations had election irregularities, unusual restrictions for voting, or excessive restrictions on party participation. The arithmetic mean for functional democracy is also at a constant level of 10, since the other five test cases averaged with Lebanon keep the mean at 10. On Figure 19 the mean total for functional democracy and for the three major variables show some relationship. The mean total for the three variables, economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, was 6 and, of course, the mean total for functional democracy was 10, which illustrates the hypothesis that those nations with a minimum composite measurable level of overall development are likely to have functional democracy. All the test nations have evolved and sustained functional democracy for the past 20 years and have had as their working basis a minimum level of economic development, social mobilization and political socialization.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis tested the hypothesis that a measurable marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization is required before a political system can evolve and sustain a functional democracy. The hypothesis was tested by formulating a mean average of the principal variables (economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization) based upon the data taken from the six national case studies, which were selected because each test nation fitted the definitional terms of a "developing nation" and of a "functional democracy". The measurement of the marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization was carried out in a systematic manner. Representative indices were chosen for each variable and were measured by a one to ten scale of measure. The values on the scale of measure were held constant so that the indices of different raw values could be compared without the loss of significance. The scale of measure was used to plot a ratio graph for each index, variable, and nation. An arithmetic mean was constructed for each index and a composite arithmetic mean was computed for each variable: economic development, social mobilization, political socialization and democratization.

To determine the level of development of each of the nations, individual ratio graphs were constructed for each of the six test nations. The indices of each variable were added together and a composite

arithmetic mean was found for each variable so that the level of economic development, social mobilization, political socialization, and democratization of each test nation could be seen at a glance. Two composite arithmetic means were drawn on the ratio graph of each nation to show the effect economic development has on the total picture of development. It was found that the composite arithmetic mean for social mobilization and political socialization generally was at a higher level than the composite arithmetic mean for economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization. A table (see Appendix, Figure 19) was constructed to show at a glance the mean level of each of the test nations for each variable and index and the composite arithmetic mean for the three variables: economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization.

This experiment was an attempt to show that there is a significant relationship between the variables of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, on the one hand, and political institutions on the other. The evidence presented in the ratio graphs illustrated that the level and growth rate of each of these variables was reflected in the political institutions, so that a significant increase or decline in the composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization was reflected in the expansion or decline of functional democracy. It must be remembered that there are unmeasured indices that affect the level of democracy present within a nation. India and the Philippines have very low levels of economic development and social mobilization but are functional democracies. Variations which do not conform to the model have to be explained by the analysis of the political culture of the variant nation. Such an analysis would entail a study of the state's value system and require survey

analysis, which could only be carried out by field research within the nation. Such an analysis was out of the question for this researcher.

There was a divergence among the levels of the test nations on each index and variable. In economic development the variations ranged from a low of 2 in India to a high of 10 in Israel. The same variation can be seen among the indices of economic development. The low level for per capita income was 1 in India and the high was 10 in Israel. The same divergence occurred in per capita fixed capital formation. A great disparity was found to exist between the highest and lowest levels of social mobilization. The highest level of social mobilization was 9 in Israel and Uruguay. The lowest was 2 in India. The divergence was not great for literacy, in which five of the test cases had levels of 6 or better. The same phenomenon occurred in daily newspaper circulation when four of the test cases scored 9 or better. When the levels of the test nations were plotted for urbanization, it became obvious that either the nations were urbanized or non-urbanized, since none of the nations scored in the middle levels for urbanization. It was interesting to note that social mobilization had the highest mean total of any of the three variables with a mean total of 7. Political socialization had a mean total of 6, and most of the test cases had levels on the three indices of political socialization that were close to 6. Chile constituted an exception since she had a level of 2 for the size of the electorate, but this level was due to the fact that 50% of the Chilean population are under the legal voting age of 21. Lebanon also had a low level for party participation due to unique internal political structure.

The mean totals for overall development in the three variables, economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, showed adequate levels of development. All the test cases, except

India, had overall levels of 5 or better. India, it is presumed, has certain unmeasured internal indices that allow its functional democracy to continue.¹ The mean totals for economic development, social mobilization, political socialization, and overall development maintained approximately the same level, each being either a 6 or 7. Therefore, this study has supported the hypothesis that a marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization is required before a political system can evolve and sustain a functional democracy. The six test cases do have a marginal composite level of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, and they do have functional democracy.

The six national case studies were selected for this model because each test nation fitted the definitional terms of a "developing nation" and of a "functional democracy". Each of the six test nations are developing nations in the sense that each, being neither absolutely underdeveloped nor highly developed, has attained a middle stage of economic development on the continuum of economic development. Functional democracy exists in all the test nations, as they have successfully maintained democratic political systems for twenty years or more. The six case

¹There are a number of hypothetical variables which might provide a more thorough understanding of the viability of democracy in India. India has a traditional society whose leadership is still composed of traditional status groups. The masses still accept the traditional status system, therefore there is no strong threat to the status system. India's leaders have been charismatic persons and tend to be persons of high status. The charisma of India's leaders and the deference of the masses to India's status system has been exploited to support democracy. The Congress Party, which has enjoyed great authority since it led the Independence Movement and provided the nation with leaders, is dedicated to a democratic system of government. As a result of a sense of noblesse oblige, the leaders of the Congress Party have used their power for the good of the nation. The British influence may also have helped maintain democracy in India. The military is respectful of civilian leadership. The civil service is efficient and dedicated.

studies were undertaken to discover whether a significant relationship exists between the levels of economic development, social mobilization, and political socialization, on the one hand, and the level of institutional democracy on the other. This thesis, as a model, seems to provide a way to measure the indices of development of any nation which falls in the continuum of developing nations, so as to test its likelihood of developing or sustaining democratic political institutions.

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A P P E N D I X

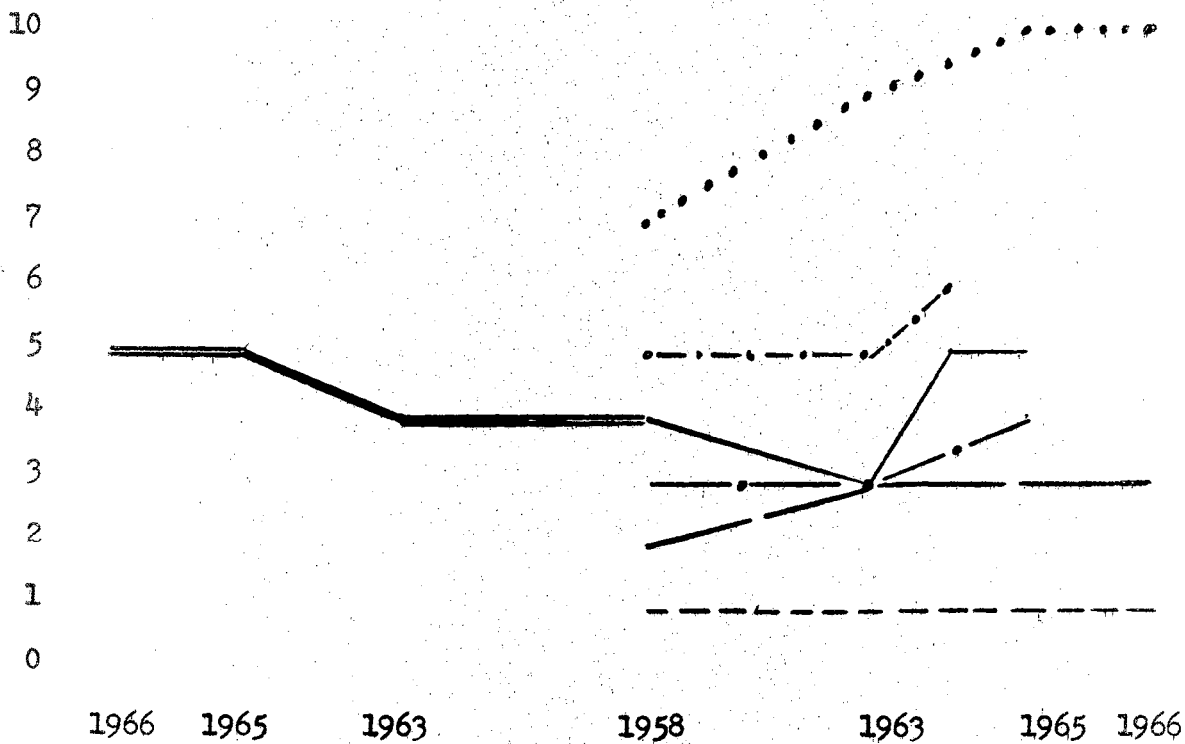


Figure 1. Per Capita Income

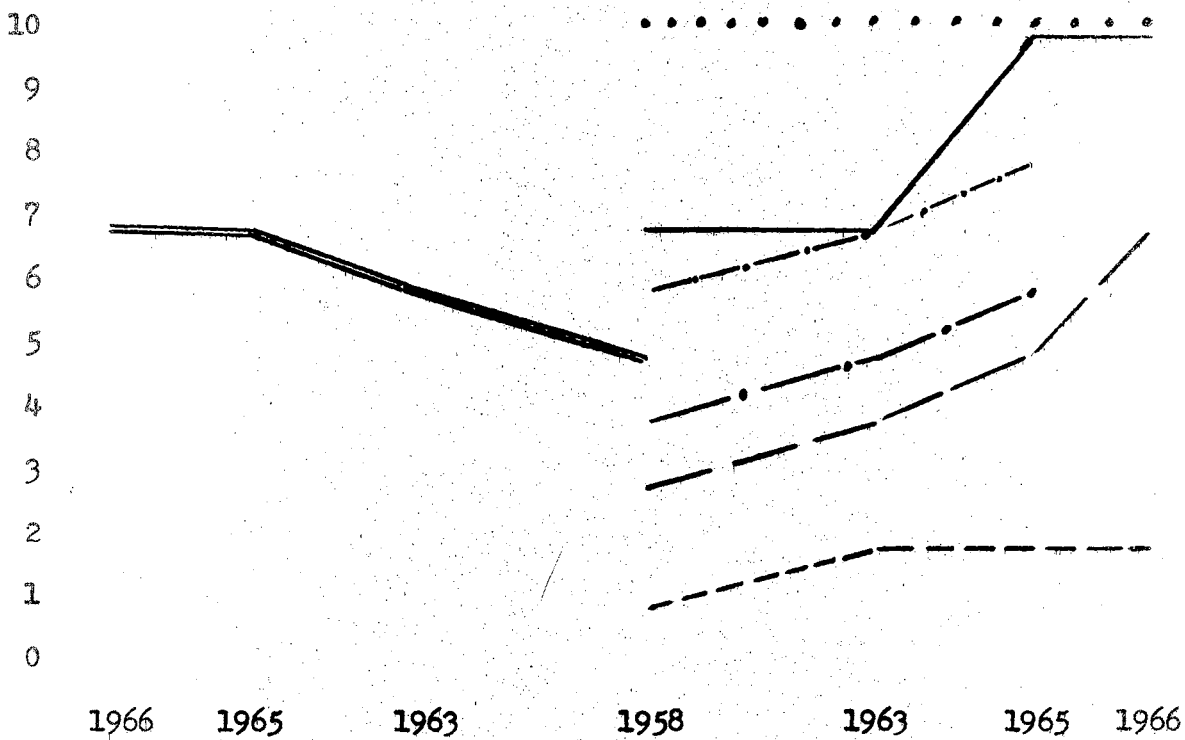


Figure 2. Per Capita Fixed Capital Formation

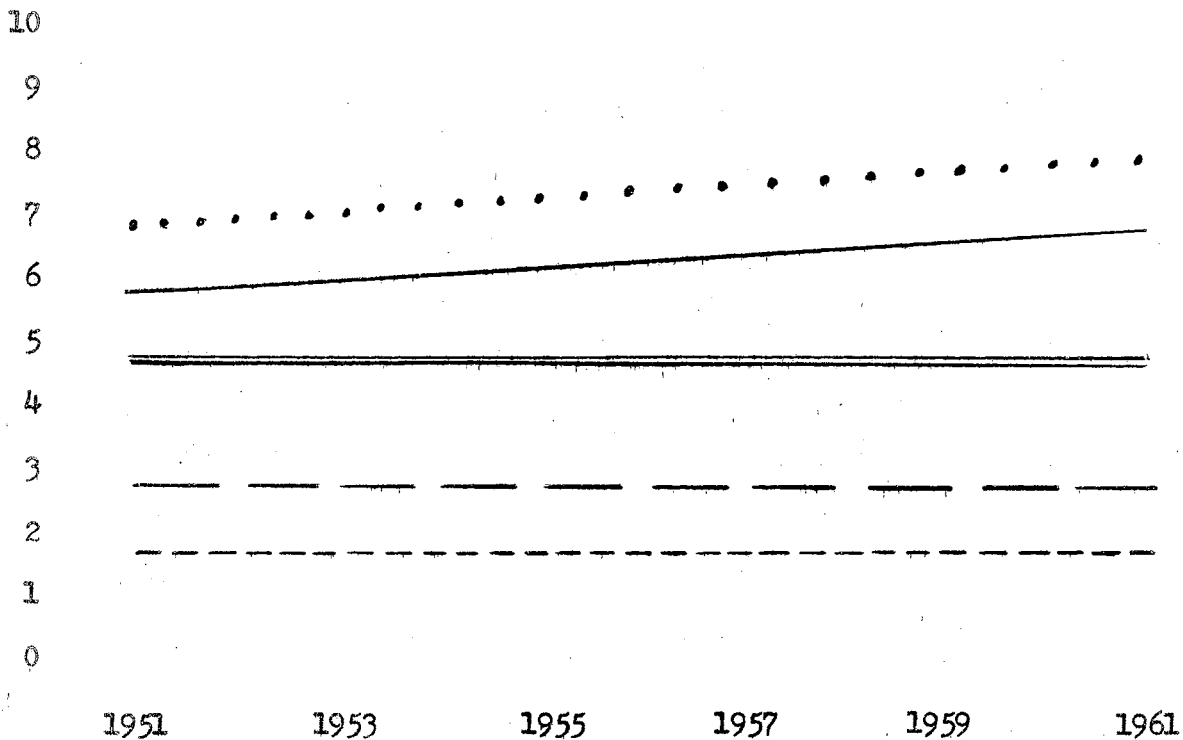


Figure 3. Urbanization

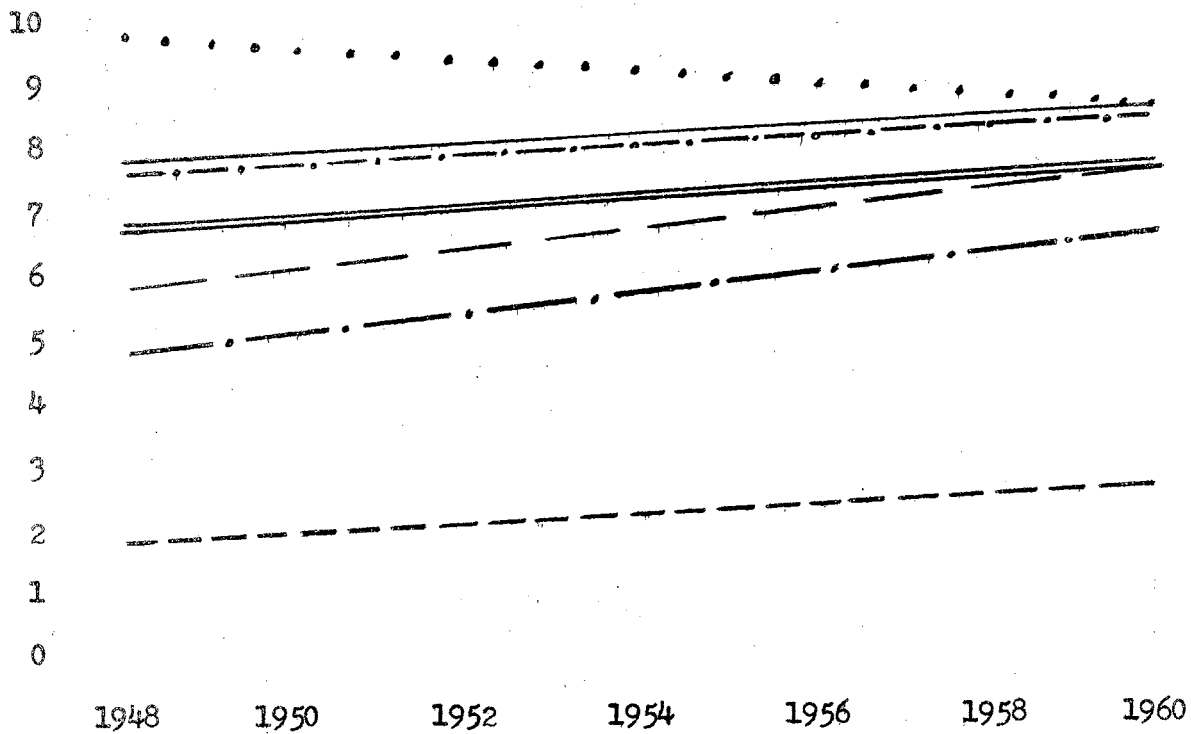


Figure 4. Literacy

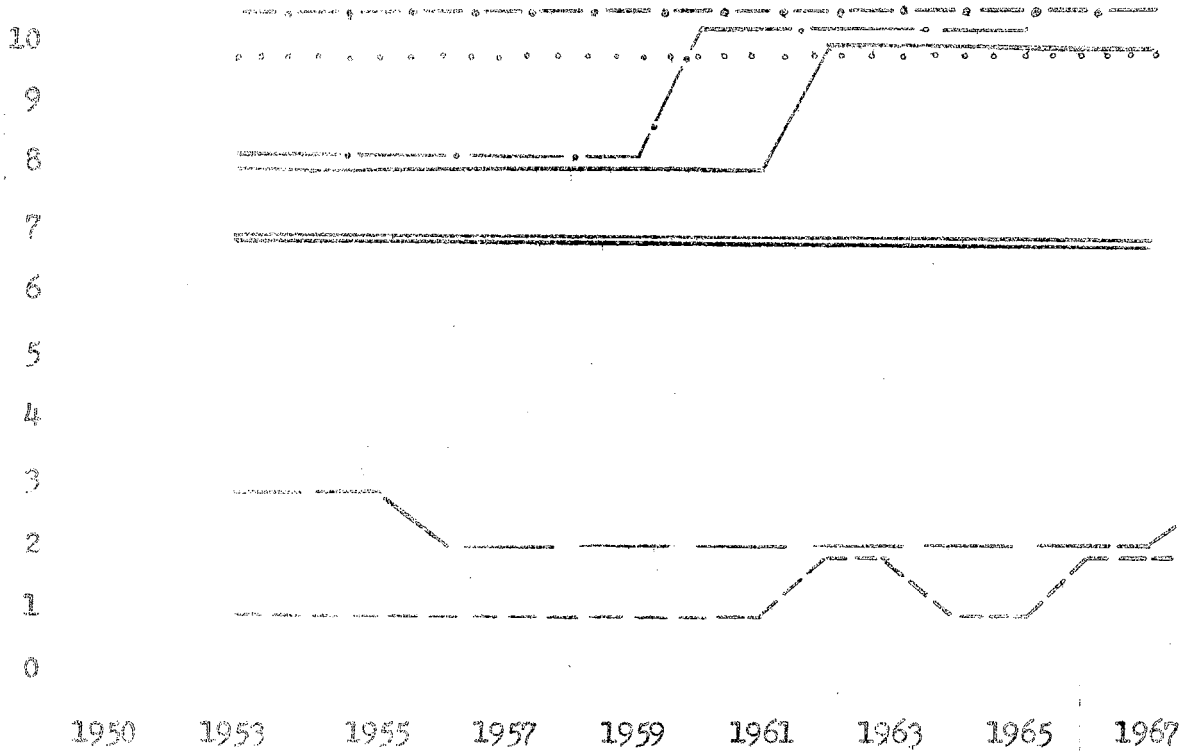


Figure 5. Daily Newspaper Circulation

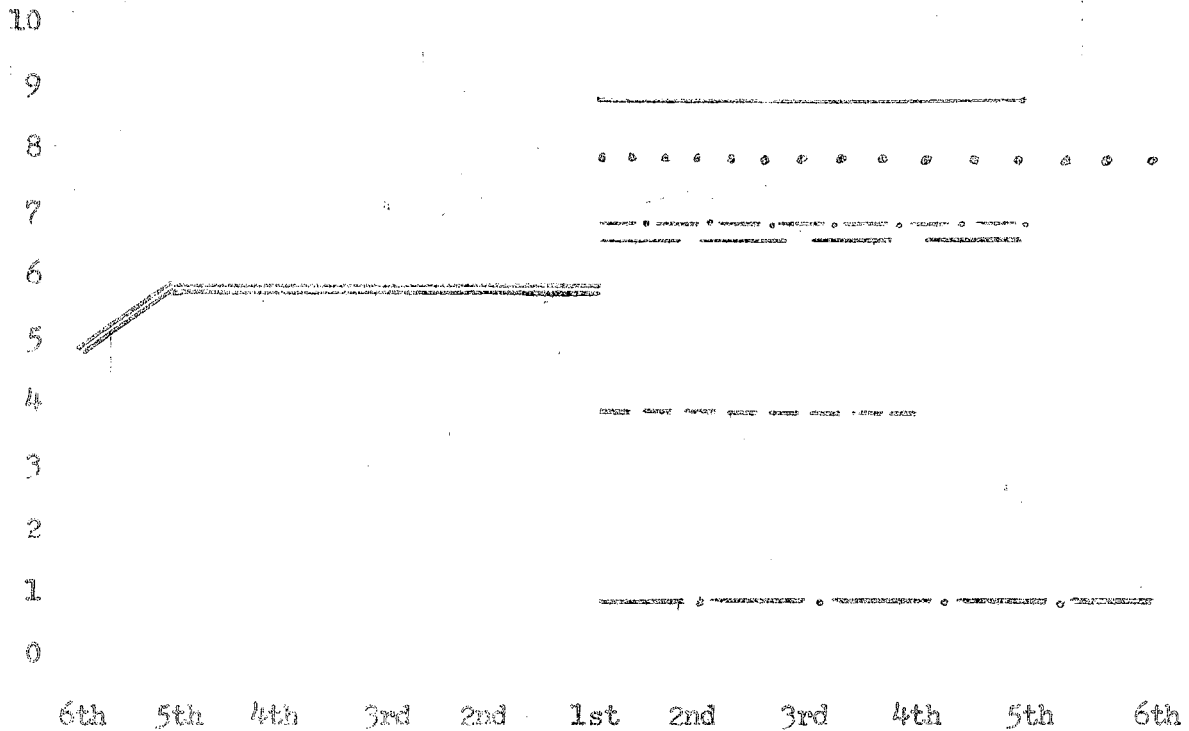


Figure 6. Type of Party Participation

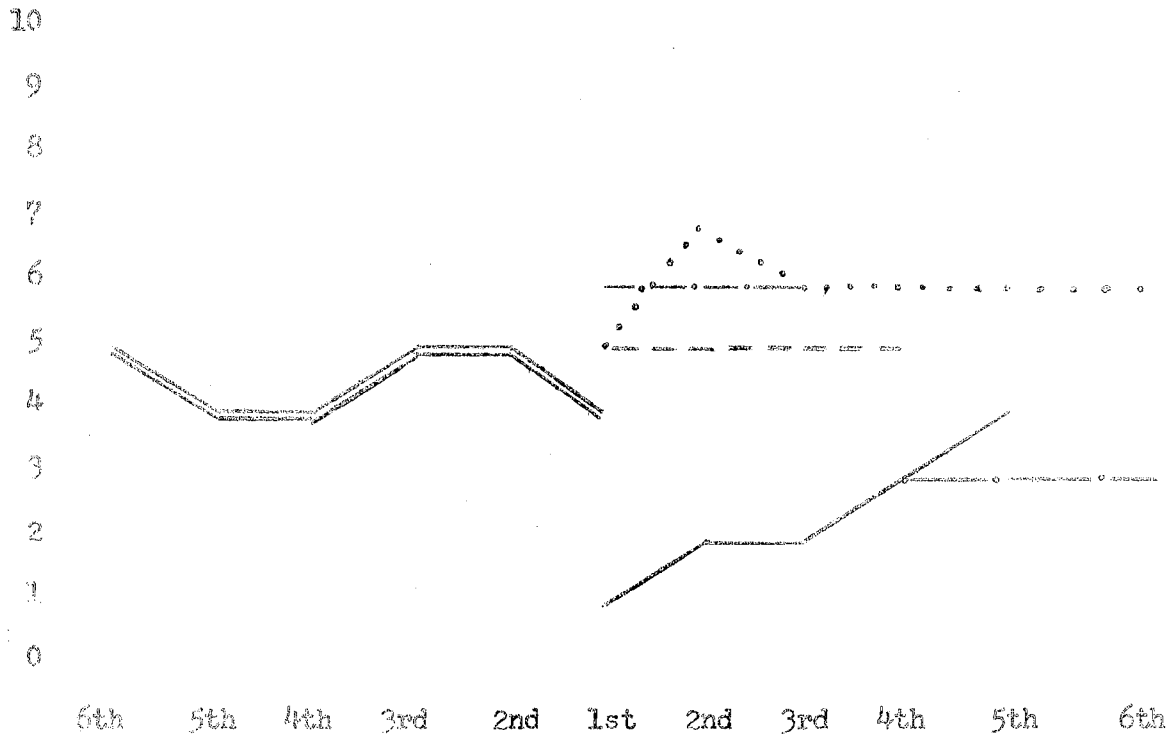


Figure 7. Size of the Electorate

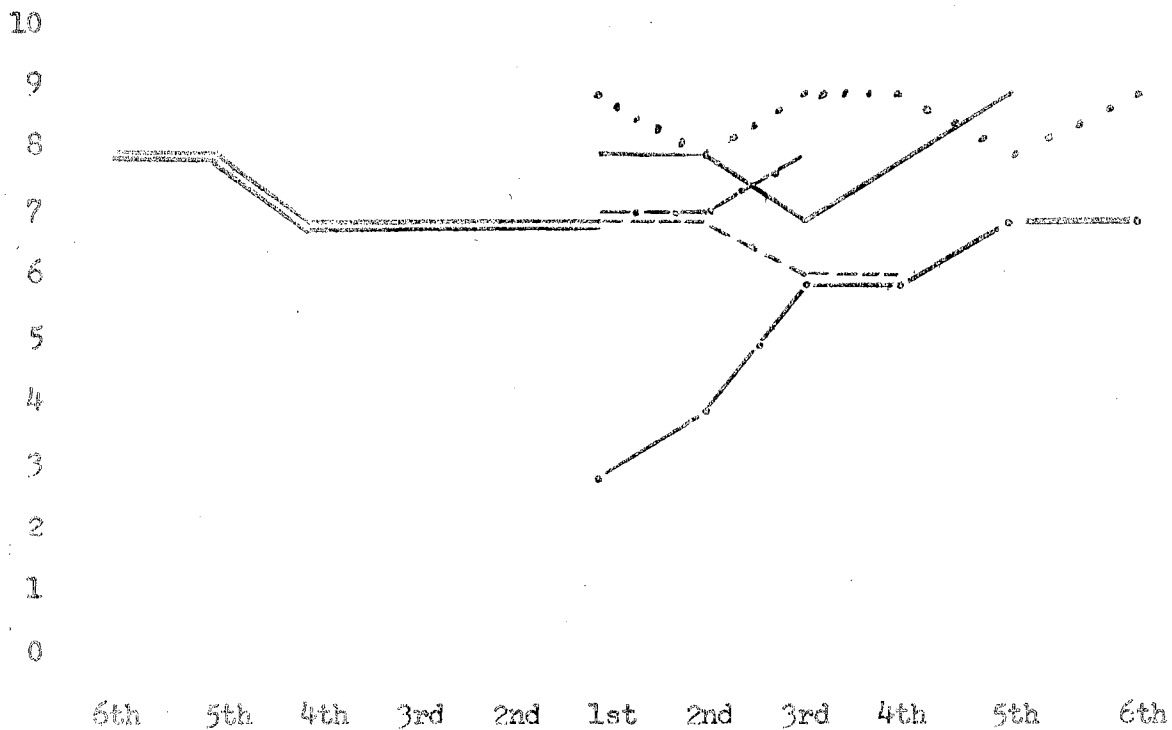


Figure 8. Voter Turnout

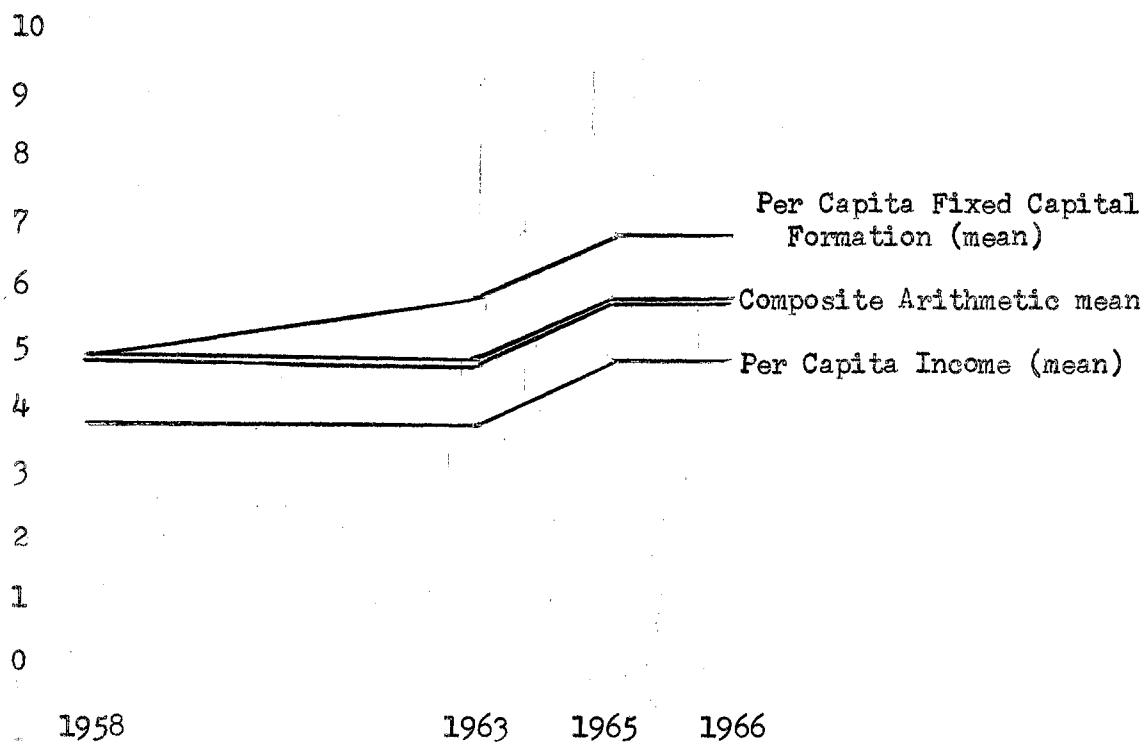


Figure 9. Economic Development

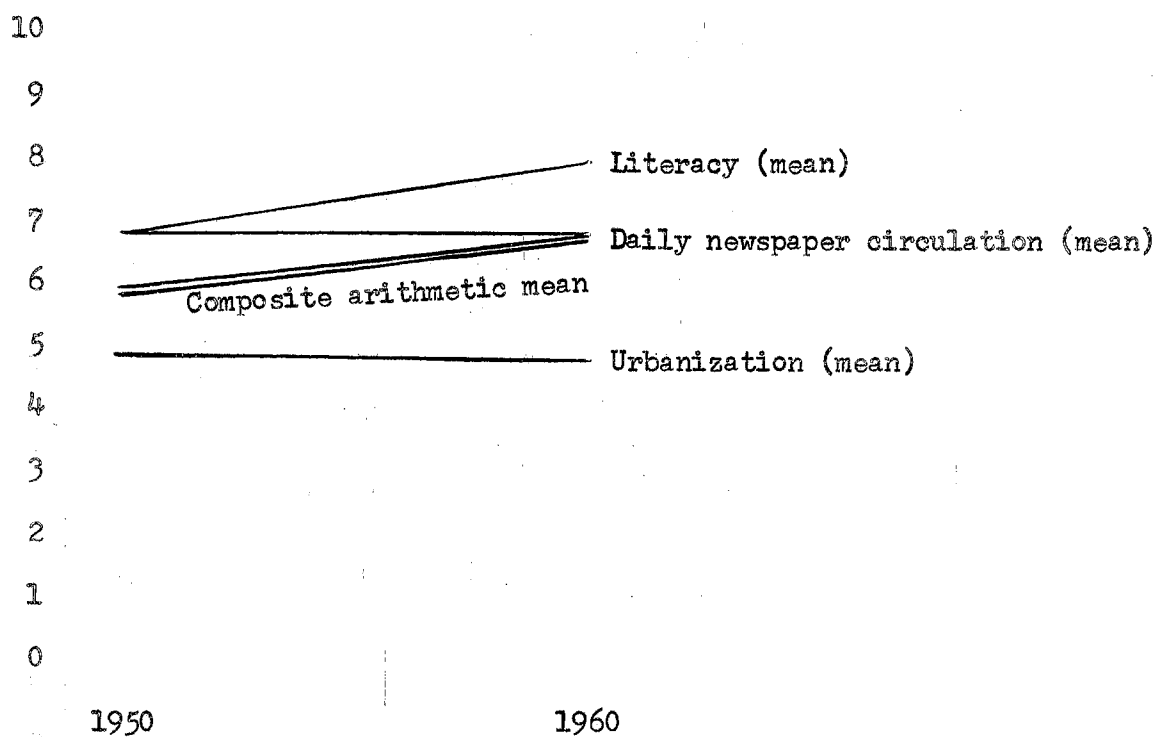


Figure 10. Social Mobilization

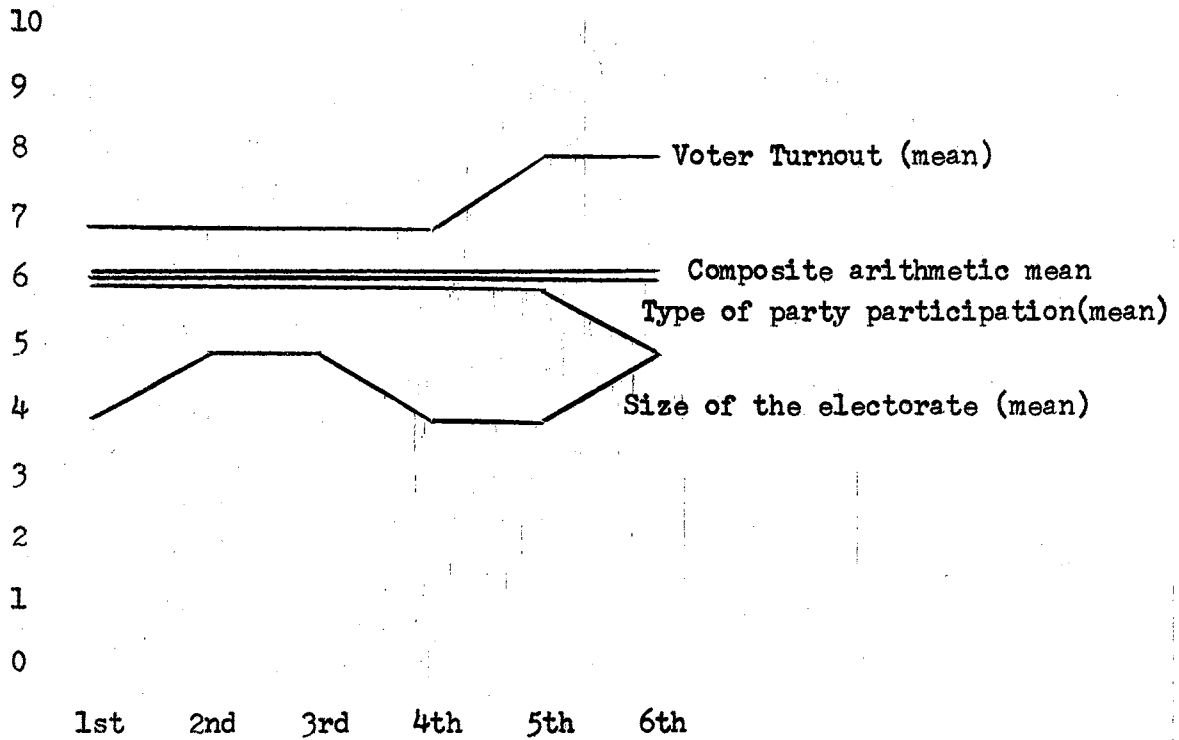


Figure 11. Political Socialization

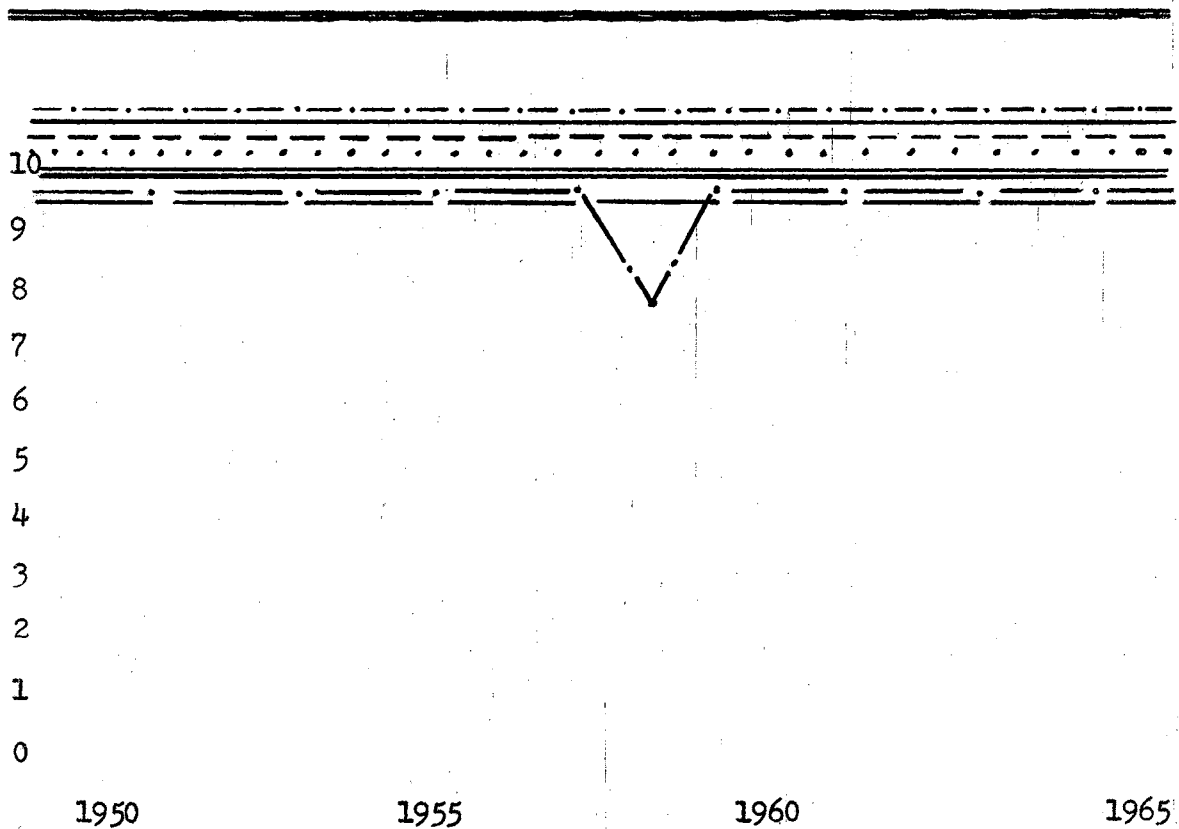


Figure 12. Democratization

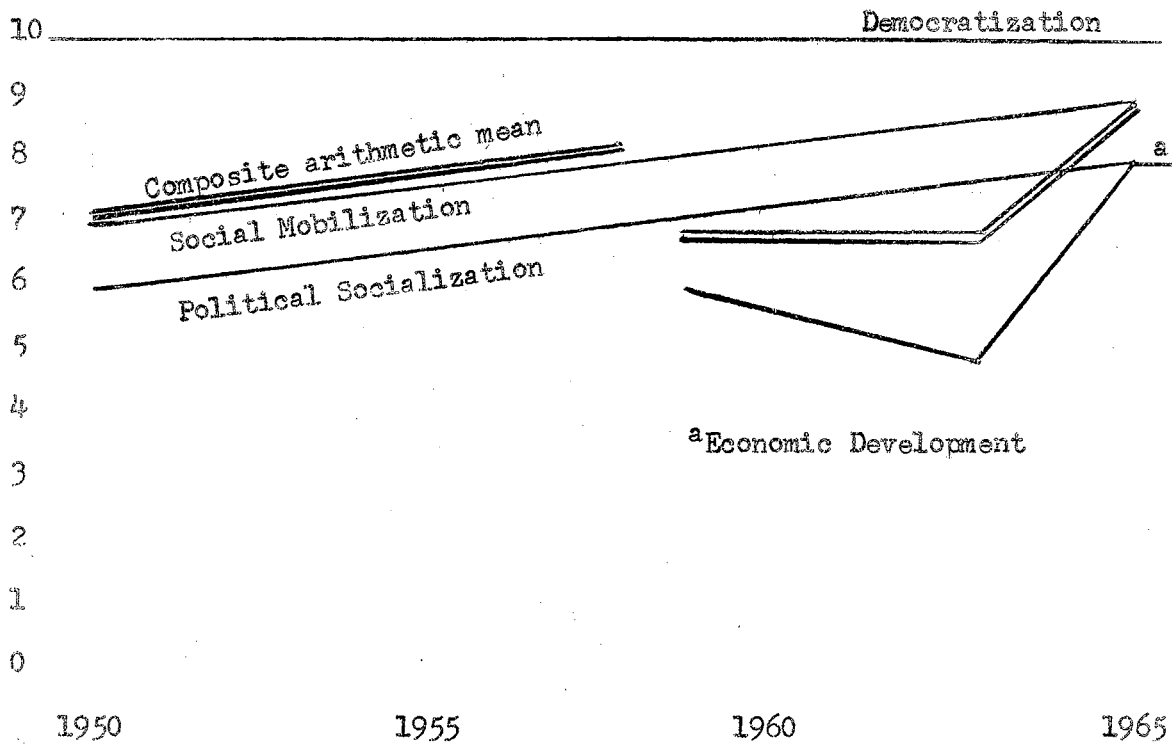


Figure 13. Chile

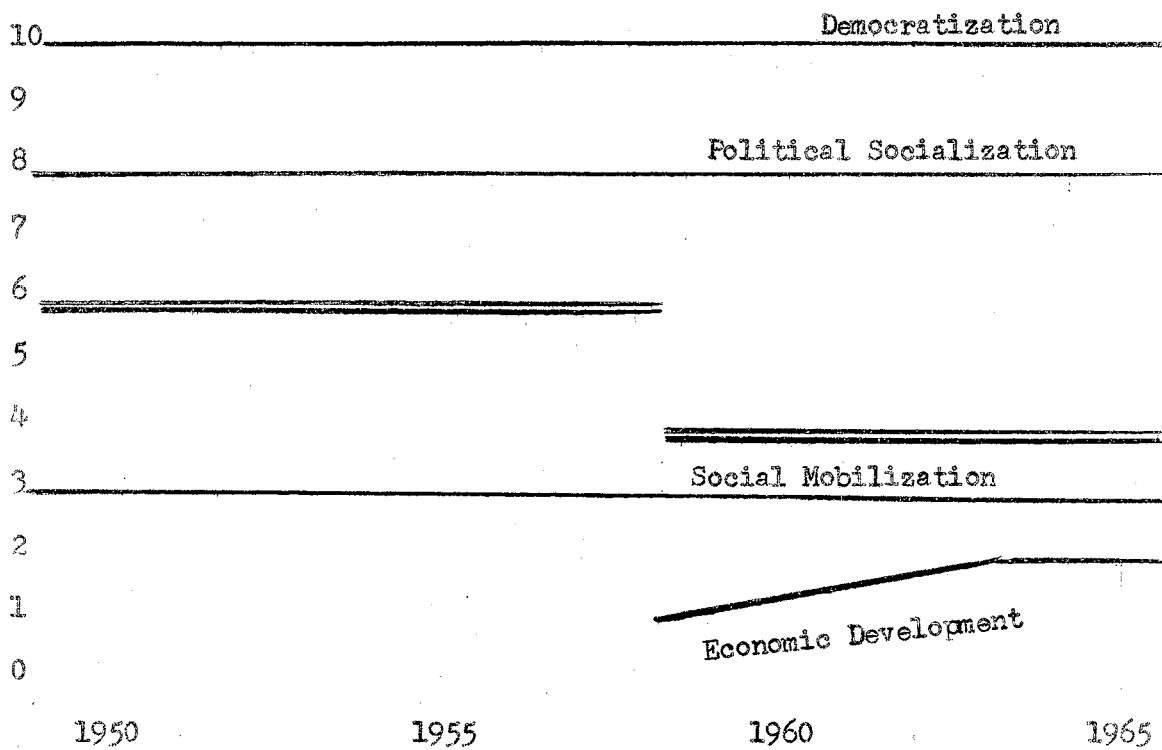


Figure 14. India

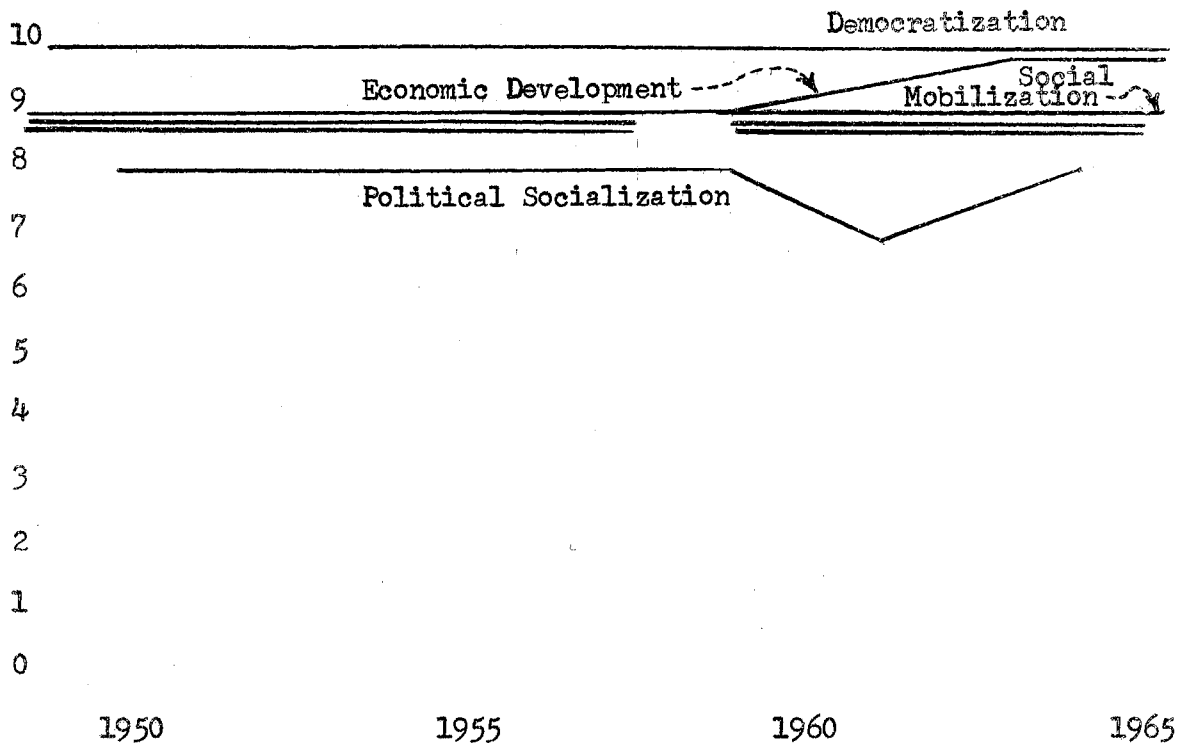


Figure 15. Israel

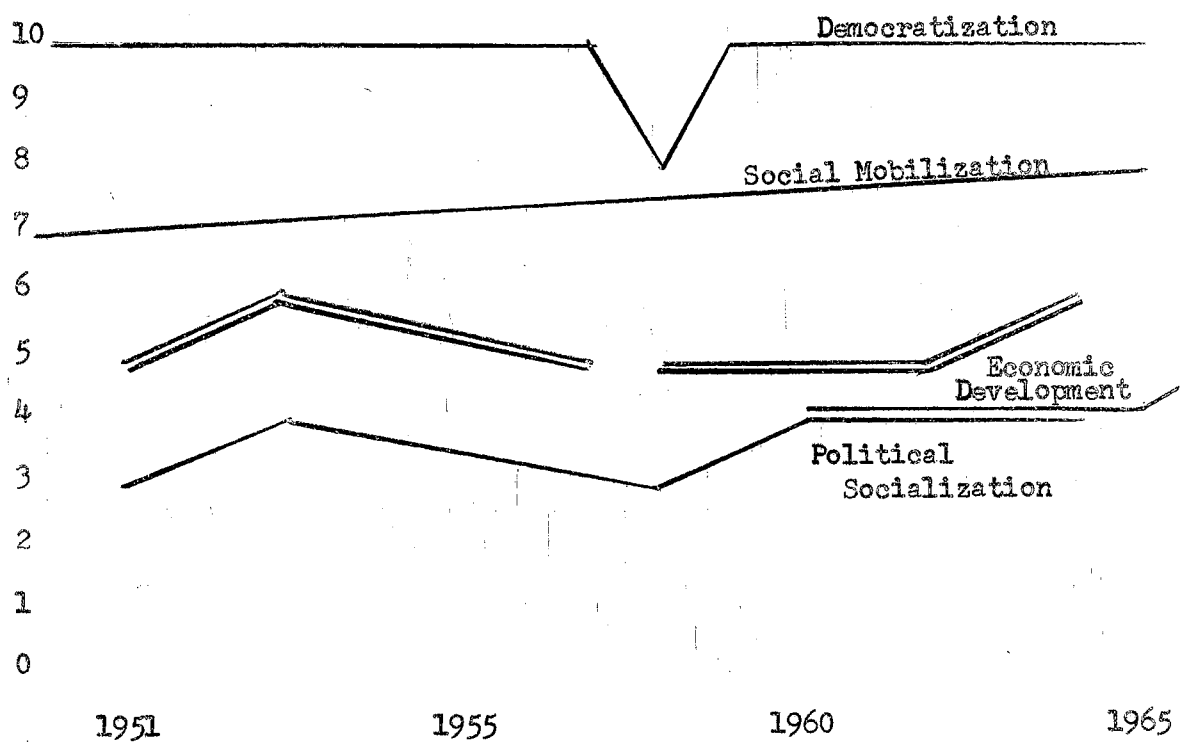


Figure 16. Lebanon

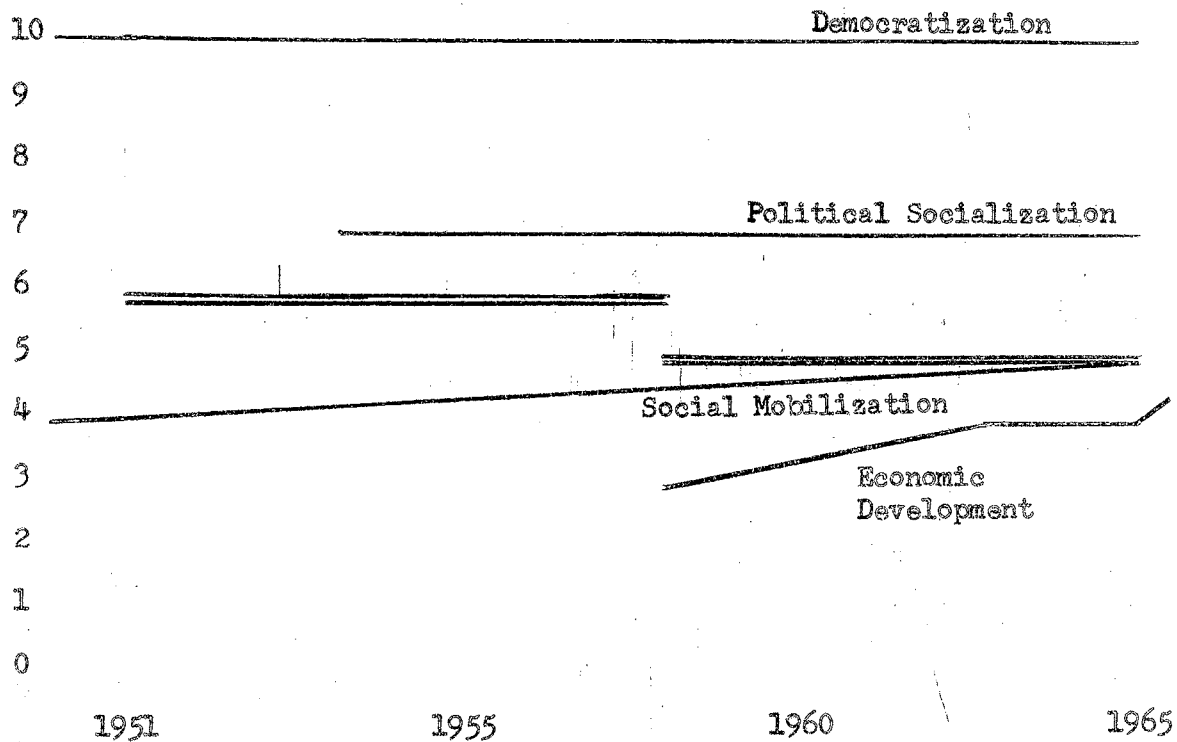


Figure 17. Philippines

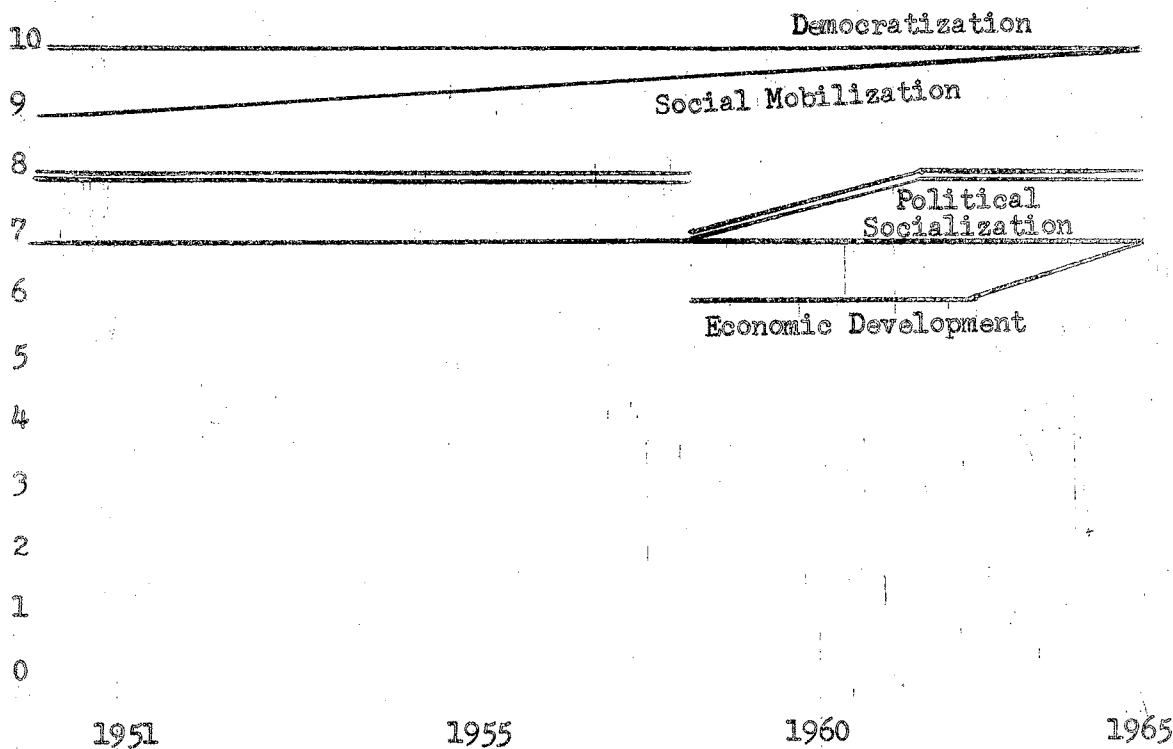


Figure 18. Uruguay

Mean/Coefficient	Chile	India	Israel	Lebanon	Philippines	Uruguay	Mean-Totals
Economic Development	7	2	10	4	4	6	6
Per Capita Income	\$372(4)	\$78(1)	\$919(10)	\$919(10)	\$212(3)	\$482(5)	\$392(4)
Per Capita Fixed Capital Formation	\$ 86(9)	\$11(2)	\$292(10)	\$ 44(5)	\$ 43(5)	\$ 63(7)	\$ 90(6)
Social Mobilization	8	2	9	8	4	9	7
Literacy	81.9%(9)	24%(3)	88.9%(9)	58.7%(6)	65.9%(7)	85.6%(9)	67.5%(7)
Urbanization	64.2%(7)	18%(2)	74%(8)	na	27%(3)	82.2%(9) ^a	53.0%(6)
Daily newspaper circulation	98 (9)	8 (1)	184 (10)	87 (9)	20 (2)	253 (10)	108 (7)
Political Socialization	6	5	8	3	7	7	6
Type of party participation ^b	(9)	(4)	(8)	(1)	(7)	(7)	(6)
Voter turnout	76.5%(8)	58.7%(6)	81.6%(9)	53.6%(6)	na	69.9%(7)	68.0%(7)
Size of electorate	20.6%(2)	48.2%(5)	57%(6)	23.9%(3)	na	55.3%(6)	41.0%(4)
Mean Totals	7	3	9	5	5	7	6
Democratization	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

^aFigure is for 1961 only

^bSee Chapter II for explanation

Figure 19. Summary

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