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*copy - N. Hoge*  
29 AUG 1977 PPC/PDA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

**ORIGINAL**

4 AUG 1977

FUNDS AVAILABLE  
CENTRAL SERVICES DIVISION

AUG 11 1977  
o/c 2590  
8/11/77

Dr. Willard L. Boyd  
President  
University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa 52242

Subject: Supplement to Grant No.  
AID/csd-3294  
*Amend # 3*

Dear Dr. Boyd:

I am pleased to inform you that pursuant to the authority contained in Section 211(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, a supplemental grant in the amount of \$200,000 is hereby made to University of Iowa. These supplemental grant funds are provided to support the activities which are described in your Proposal dated May 6, 1977 for the implementation of your program entitled "Political Conditions for Effective Small-Scale Rural Assistant Projects".

This supplemental grant is made to University of Iowa on condition that your institution shall administer the funds provided under this Grant in accordance with your May 6, 1977 proposal (including Budget Summary) and the Standard Provisions (as incorporated by Amendment No. 1) which have been agreed to by your institution. To the extent of an inconsistency between the Proposal and the Standard Provisions, and any other provisions which are made a part of this Grant, by reference or otherwise, the Standard Provisions shall control.

The new Duration Period for this Grant shall be August 11, 1977 through August 10, 1979.

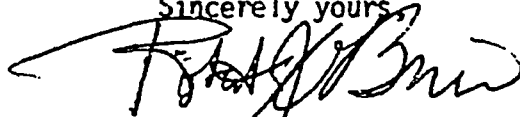
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The total amount of funds obligated under the grant is increased to reflect a new total obligated amount of \$465,000.

Please sign the Statement of Assurance of Compliance and the original and seven (7) copies of this letter to acknowledge your understanding of the conditions under which these funds have been granted. Please return the Statement of Assurance of Compliance and the original and six (6) copies of this supplemental Grant to the Office of Contract Management.

Sincerely yours,



Robert J. O'Brien  
Grant Officer  
Central Operations Division  
Office of Contract Management

Attachment:  
May 6, 1977 Proposal and  
Budget Summary

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

ACCEPTED:

BY: 


D. C. SPRIESTERSBACH

TITLE: \_\_\_\_\_

Vice President For

DATE: 8-22-77 Educational Development & Research  
Dean of The Graduate College

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

FUNDS ADMIN. RESERVED	
Approp. No.	72-114026
Allot. No.	446-30-099-00-34-71
Obl. No.	3072103
Obj. Cl.	2590
Amount \$	200,000.00
Proj. No.	930-0136
By	
Date	8/11/77

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211(d) Grant Program

Proposal of the University of Iowa

POLITICAL CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE SMALL-SCALE  
RURAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS

Submitted to  
Civic Participation Division, AID

May 6, 1977

Amount requested: \$ 199,987

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

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## I. THE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM

### Political Conditions for Rural Development

The Comparative Legislative Research Center of the University of Iowa proposes to undertake a two-year study to investigate the role of local leaders and the rural public in the implementation of small-scale development projects in less developed countries.<sup>1</sup> The study will use and extend the capacity which the University of Iowa developed under a 211(d) grant to investigate and assess the impact of local politics on rural development. At the completion of the study, Iowa will be in a position to advise the Agency on the design and evaluation of small-scale projects which will be politically viable and effective in assisting the rural poor.

As students of development, we approach our task with the assumption that the problems of development and underdevelopment are fundamentally ones of political economy, and as such, can only be solved through a simultaneous consideration of economic and political factors. Efforts which focus almost solely on economic factors, like those of many organizations engaged in dispersing foreign aid, or efforts which focus almost exclusively on political factors, fail to take account of the interdependence between these two dimensions of underdevelopment, and

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<sup>1</sup>We have formulated this proposal in a manner consistent with the current policies and interests of the Agency. We have been guided in our task by four Agency documents: "Implementation of 'New Directions' in Development Assistance: Report to the Committee on International Relations on Implementation of Legislative Reforms in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973," (July, 1975); "Revised Project Development Review and Approval System" (AIDEO Circular A-241, April 23, 1975); S.H. Butterfield, "Draft Summary Statement of a Practical Agency Approach to Rural Development," (AA/TA, February 28, 1975), and "A Conceptual Overview of Rural Development, No. 1", (Working Group on the Rural Poor, February, 1975).

can meet with only limited success.

Our concern with the impact of local politics on the process of rural development is a result of our interest in the basic question of how LDC governments, and the donor agencies which assist them, can become more effective in raising the standard of living of the rural poor. We seek answers to the following aspects of that basic question:

- 1) What political conditions must exist, both within rural communities and between them and central governments, to raise agricultural production where small-scale agriculture is the dominant pattern?
- 2) What are the political conditions for a more rapid expansion of the informal manufacturing and service sector comprised of labor intensive small-scale industries located in the rural areas?
- 3) What political structures and activities are most crucial for the provision of welfare and economic support services—such as agricultural extension, marketing, and transportation—to the rural areas?
- 4) What political conditions must exist to insure that economic growth in the rural areas is not accompanied by excessive and intolerable inequalities between socio-economic classes and/or between regions?

#### Center-Periphery Linkage in LDCs

To determine the political conditions for rural development, we have in previous studies examined the institutions and processes through which rural populations are integrated into the national political systems of the countries in which they live. A gap exists in most less developed countries between the peasantry residing on the periphery and the central political institutions staffed by a Western-educated bureaucratic elite. We are aware of the other major institutional discontinuities which comprise

the basic cleavage between the developed and underdeveloped sectors of these dual societies. Bridging these gaps is essential if these societies are to develop into viable nation states. For until those on the periphery of the political system participate in that system and support and comply with the authority of central political institutions, neither economic development in the rural areas nor a stable polity will emerge.

Bridging the discontinuities in these new political systems requires establishing and institutionalizing linkages, or networks for communication and exchange of resources between decision-makers at the center and the rural public on the periphery. Three types of institutional linkages are most prominent in less developed countries: 1) those consisting of the state administration composed of the bureaucratic elite; 2) those consisting of a revolutionary political party composed of the ideological elite; 3) and those consisting of patron-client hierarchies composed of the political/entrepreneurial elite.

Of these three, linkages consisting of the state administration are the most extensive and pervasive in virtually every LDC. Such linkages, however, exist primarily as instruments of the center to penetrate the periphery. Central government officials are formally charged with bringing development to the people. This is a mission which conceives development as a process through which a traditional peasantry is transformed and assimilated into the modern center which is steadily expanding to embrace it. Agents of the center invariably have more resources to achieve their objectives than do local political leaders, but because they are frequently strangers in the communities in which they function, they are often unable

to implement the policies of the center without working through the local establishment.

Though sometimes significant, linkages consisting of revolutionary party organizations such as those found in China and Vietnam do not exist in most LDCs because of the special historical and economic conditions required for their development. As with the administrative state, however, the linkage apparatus of such political parties is primarily an instrument of the center whose mission is to penetrate and mobilize those on the periphery.

In contrast, patron-client hierarchies are linkages which represent the periphery at the center, and mediate between these two disparate sectors of the political system. Though normally overshadowed in scale by the state administration, patron-client hierarchies are found in almost every LDC, and constitute the most significant network through which rural populations and their leaders influence the decision-making process at the center. Patron-client hierarchies exist in a wide variety of organizational forms ranging from informal networks of individual political leaders in "no-party" systems in Sub-Saharan Africa to extensive political machines in both one-party (Africa, Mexico) and multi-party systems (Turkey, India). Despite their importance as the primary means through which peasants in LDCs participate in their political systems, patron-client hierarchies have only recently become an object of analysis by students of political development,<sup>2</sup> and do not appear in even the most sophisticated studies of

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<sup>2</sup> See John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics," American Political Science Review, 64 (June, 1970), pp. 411-25; Rene Lemarchand and Keith Legg, "Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa," American Political Science Review, 66 (March, 1972), pp. 68-90; James C. Scott, "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change," American Political Science Review, 66 (March, 1972), pp. 91-113; and Friends, Followers and Factions, edited by Steffan Schmid and James C. Scott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

economic development.<sup>3</sup> Administrators of developmental assistance programs have too often regarded patron-client hierarchies as impediments to development instead of recognizing their potential utility.

#### Findings on Patron-Client Hierarchies

The importance of patron-client hierarchies for linking the periphery to the center is one of the major findings emerging from a study of the relationships between legislators and their constituents in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey which the Comparative Legislative Research Center is now completing under its 211(d) grant from AID. This study has examined the creation of linkages between the periphery and the center through more than 10,000 interviews with members of parliament, local leaders, and peasants in the three countries. The findings are being systematically set out in a book-length monograph. Nearly a dozen research reports have already appeared (see Appendix C). Propositions about the nature of political behavior of rural populations and the roles of local political elites, derived from the research, can be summarized as follows:

1. Elected representatives play a significant role in the creation and maintenance of linkages between the center and periphery by developing local political machines in which they function as patrons of their constituents. In turn they serve as clients of political leaders of national stature who control central government institutions.

2. By attempting to establish linkages based on patron-client relationships, elected representatives are responding to public expectations that their primary duty is to obtain resources from the center to promote local development. Many elected representatives spend most of their time on self-help community development projects such as the building of schools, health clinics, irrigation works and roads, because such projects provide

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<sup>3</sup> For example, in a widely respected and useful analysis of rural development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Uma Lele of the World Bank notes the problems of creating an administrative infrastructure in the rural areas that is sensitive to local socio-political conditions. She does not, however, consider how local leaders, operating outside of administrative structures, might contribute to the development of the rural areas. See Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development: Lessons from Africa, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 127-61.

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their constituents with desired services and at the same time provide the representatives with an organization which can be used as a political base.

3. More than 90 percent of the rural population is capable of articulating the problems facing their local community, and two-thirds discuss these problems with their fellow citizens on a regular basis.

4. Three-quarters of the residents of the rural areas can identify the public officials who serve them--both civil servants and elected representatives--by name. Most are knowledgeable about the activities of these officials. Almost one-fifth, moreover, have discussed community problems with these officials, particularly those working at the grass-roots level. Residents of rural villages actually have a higher level of political knowledge than their counterparts in the towns.

5. Elections in the rural areas evoke a highly rational pattern of voting despite the effects of ascriptive, or "traditional" considerations. Incumbents are primarily evaluated in terms of their record in fulfilling the public's expectations of what they should do. Elections are essentially referenda on incumbents' performance, especially their performance in the area of constituency services such as bringing development projects to the districts.

6. Local development projects have a relatively high symbolic value, generating constituency support for local leaders and the central government at low cost.

7. These projects help build a local political infra-structure which can also be utilized by central government civil servants to implement other policies designed to achieve rural development.

#### The Impact of Local Politics on Rural Projects

Having explored the development of linkages through which the periphery is represented at the center, and through which the periphery attempts to share in the center's resources, we now propose to build upon our initial investigations by examining in greater detail the impact of local political conditions on specific problems of rural development. We propose to examine the developmental activities of local leaders and the rural public by examining a sample of fifteen to twenty small-scale development projects in each of the three countries which constituted the sites for our initial

study of center-periphery relations. The appropriateness of this approach, and the methodology through which it will be implemented, is discussed in section III. Because the methodology of investigation is in large part the result of our previous research experience, we first turn to a review of the existing competence of the Comparative Legislative Research Center in this area.

## II. GRANTEE'S EXISTING COMPETENCE

In 1971, the University of Iowa received a 211(d) grant to develop its capacity to do research on the role of elected representatives in the process of modernization. On the basis of this grant, the University established a research center which planned and carried out a research project on the role of elected representatives as links between the central government and rural populations in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey. The project served to develop the University of Iowa's research capability in this field, established ties between the University and scholars in the host countries, and generated a large and unique body of relevant data.

In that project we focussed our attention on the activities of elected representatives in their constituencies, notably in their contacts with local political leaders, voters, and civil servants. To determine the nature of the linkage function performed by the representatives, we designed our research to explore the subject from three perspectives:

- 1) we examined the subject at the grass roots, by conducting a series of sample surveys of 200 to 300 adults in each of 12 to 14 parliamentary constituencies in each of the three countries;
- 2) we examined the subject at the center, by interviewing MPs from the constituencies in which we

had conducted sample surveys, and higher civil servants with whom they had contact; and 3) we examined the subject from an intermediate level by identifying and interviewing local social and political leaders in the MPs constituencies. We used survey research methods because we were embarking on the study of an entirely new subject for which little relevant documentary data existed, and on which there were few secondary sources. As a result, we have unparalleled experience with survey research in the rural areas of less developed countries.

The surveys which constituted the major part of our field work were planned in collaboration with scholars from the host countries. They were carried out in each constituency by student interviewers in the appropriate language. More than 10,000 respondents were interviewed for the project. Given the visibility and sensitivity of this undertaking, approval for the research was sought and obtained from the host governments prior to the collection of data. No objections were raised by these governments at any stage of the research. The data obtained have been made available to scholars in the host countries, and some of the basic findings have been published in periodicals in these countries.

The Comparative Legislative Research Center which administered the project has also developed extensive experience in the study of political leadership in other countries. It has obtained substantial support from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, has worked in collaboration with European as well as Asian and African scholars, and is engaged in a major study of the role of elected and non-elected leaders in the management of social conflict. Because it has conducted research in a variety of settings, the Center has an exceptional capacity to

determine how the relationships between political institutions and economic problems differ in developed and less developed countries.

In the course of the major research projects the Center has administered, it has gained highly specialized experience in identifying political leaders in a great variety of settings, conducting systematic interviews with them, collaborating with scholars in the host countries, and in coding and utilizing large files of data to answer specific research questions.

The Center has also undertaken to publish the results of its research in three forms. It issues codebooks to the data, enabling scholars at other locations to use the data expeditiously; it publishes research reports in the form of "Occasional Papers"; and it publishes a scholarly periodical devoted to the presentation of research findings to an international audience.

The Center utilizes the data analysis facilities of the Laboratory for Political Research of the University of Iowa, and draws on the unusual number of specialists in comparative politics and survey research in the University's Department of Political Science. The Center itself has the services of an administrative secretary and a clerk-typist, maintains its own extensive archives, and its own publications program. It is equipped to assist scholars and government officials outside the University of Iowa. The participants in its projects are full-time faculty members whose undergraduate and graduate teaching is closely related to their research. As part of the teaching program, the Center has attracted students from the countries in which the research projects have been conducted; these students have participated in the projects,

have obtained training in other fields of political science, have received University of Iowa degrees, and have returned to teach and to do research in their own countries.

### III. PURPOSE, OBJECTIVES, AND METHODS

#### Purpose of Study

The purpose of the proposed grant is to extend the capacity of the University of Iowa to determine the political conditions in the rural areas of less developed countries which favor the establishment and growth of small-scale development projects. The objective is to put the University of Iowa in a position to assist the Agency in designing small-scale rural development projects, providing guidelines for carrying out social soundness analyses of such projects, and advising in the evaluation of projects. We will discuss the utilization of the University's capacity in detail in section IV below.

We propose to concentrate our investigations on the political conditions surrounding small-scale rural projects. Such projects have distinctive advantages. They maximize the political participation of the rural populations both in determining the direction and implementation of development efforts and in defending the interests of periphery vis-à-vis the urban-based bureaucratic elite. Small-scale projects stimulate entrepreneurial activity on the part of the rural citizens, and growth of the informal manufacturing and service sector. They require less lead time and less administrative overhead to become operational than large-scale capital-intensive projects centrally administered. Such projects yield rapid and direct benefits to

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the rural populations and are consistent with their human rights--both political and economic. However, small-scale projects pose special problems for administrators of developmental assistance programs because they require the donor to assess the local politics, particularly the rural politics, of the host country.

Development administrators primarily concerned with assisting rural populations must therefore recognize the range of political variables affecting these projects. Small-scale projects offer great opportunities for developmental assistance programs because they can be easily targeted to help rural populations, require low capital costs, and need not be concentrated in one or two localities. Such projects, however, require the administrator to have more political knowledge than large-scale projects on which his primary task is guiding the work of other "experts".

#### Questions for Investigation

To determine the political conditions most conducive to the establishment and growth of small-scale rural projects, we propose to address our inquiry to the following specific questions:

1. To what extent, and why, do local political leaders seek to establish small-scale development projects within their communities?
2. To what extent, and why, do local leaders other than politicians initiate and/or provide leadership for small-scale development projects?
3. How do the relations between different types of local leaders (political and non-political), and between these leaders and central government civil servants posted to the rural areas, affect the conduct of development projects?
4. How do existing authority relationships between these different leadership groups and the rural public affect the organization and operation of small-scale development projects?

5. What is the nature of public participation in the establishment and operation of small-scale projects, and what are the outcomes of this participation? Under what conditions is such participation most likely to occur?

We seek answers to these questions in order to determine the effect of different configurations of local leadership and public participation on the outcomes of small-scale rural projects. We are particularly concerned with the impact of these configurations on the rate of economic growth and the distribution of wealth within the local community, on the perceptions of small-scale projects by central government personnel and the rural public, and on the organization of future projects.

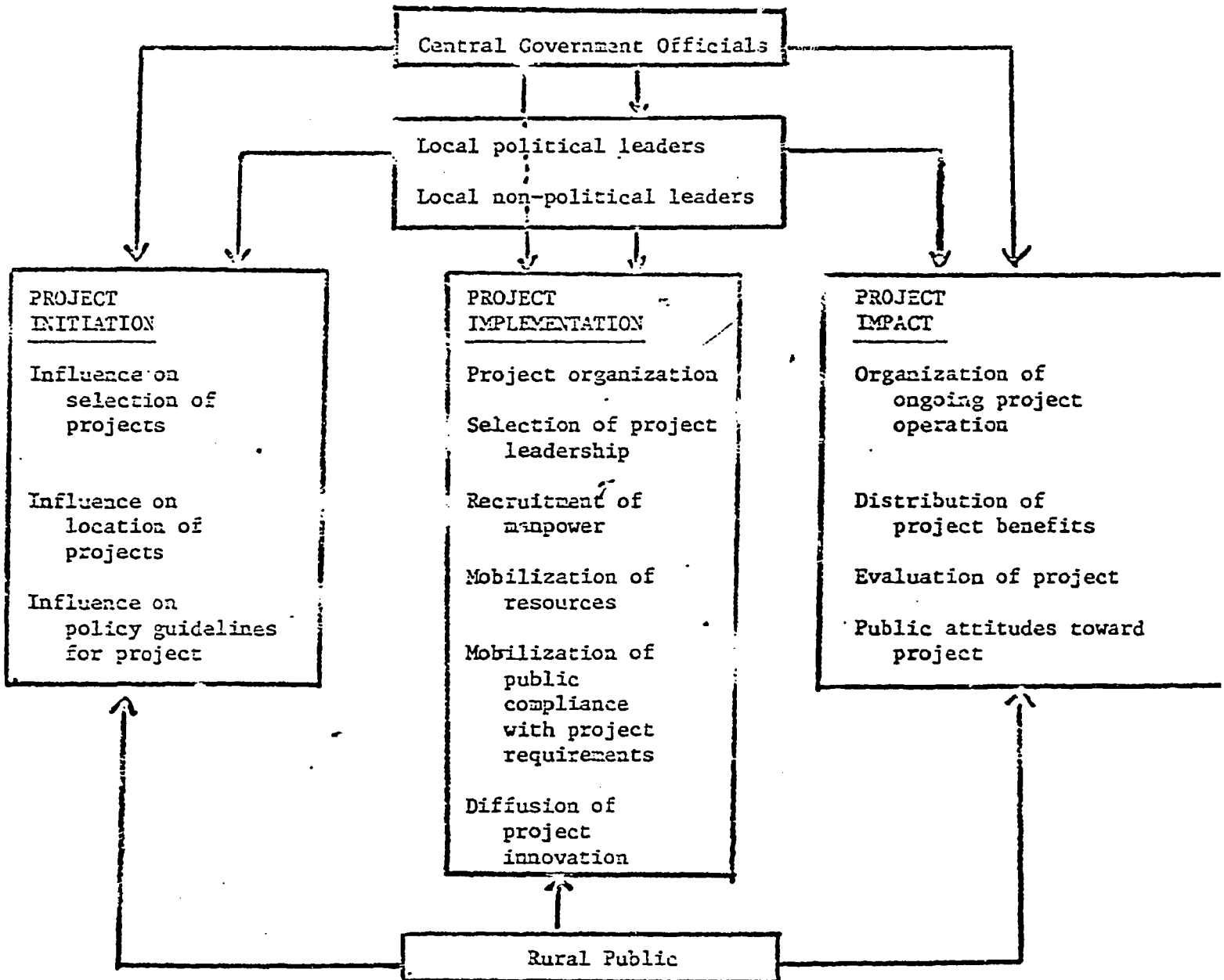
To answer these questions, it is our intention to study the initiation, implementation, and impact of a sample of small-scale rural projects in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey in the same communities in which we carried out our initial investigations in 1973-75. The relationships between the various configurations of local leadership and public participation, and the three phases of project development are shown in Figure 1. We will examine projects to promote the adoption of new agricultural techniques by small and moderate landholders; the building of feeder roads, irrigation ditches and other simple infrastructure; the organization of farmers' cooperatives and other local associations concerned with rural development; the establishment of rural health clinics and schools, and the setting up of craft and service industries.

#### Sites for Study

We plan to return to our original set of localities because we possess a rich body of relevant data on the extent to which linkages exist between

Figure 1

TYPES OF INFLUENCE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,  
LOCAL LEADERS AND THE RURAL PUBLIC ON THREE  
PHASES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

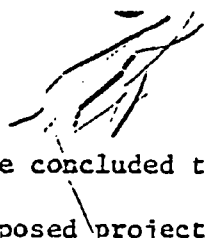




these areas and the central political institutions of the three countries, and on the attitudes of the rural population, local leaders, and elected legislators regarding their problems of development. Since such data is unavailable for alternative locales, a return to the areas in which we have previously done much research enables us to build on a uniquely valuable body of information.

A return to Kenya, Korea, and Turkey is also highly desirable from the standpoint of effective research organization. The Comparative Legislative Research Center has developed close collaborative relationships with several highly competent social scientists in these countries, and with the academic institutions with which these scholars are associated. We have also developed cooperative relationships with government officials in these countries, which should facilitate obtaining approval for our further work.

In proposing to document the origin, implementation, and impact of one to three small-scale development projects in each of 35 localities we have two considerations in mind. First, because our primary goal is to determine the political conditions for rural development, we wish to examine development in as many different settings as feasible. Only in this way can we control for some of the major socio-cultural variations that exist among rural populations in less developed countries. These include the overall level of economic development in the community, the nature of the indigenous culture and relationships of authority, and the proximity of the community to major urban areas and centers of central government administration. Since our original study sites were carefully



selected to represent these variations, we have concluded that these 35 localities would be ideal sites for the proposed project.

Second, in order to determine the impact of local leaders and public participation on rural projects, we intend to compare projects in which local leaders and members of the public have played a major role with projects in which they have not. We also will compare projects initiated by the central government with projects which have been locally initiated. These considerations give us a typology for selecting projects as depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2

FIVE TYPES OF RURAL PROJECTS ACCORDING TO INFLUENCE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, LOCAL LEADERS AND RURAL POPULATION

Level of Participation by Rural Population	Locus of Project Initiation	
	Local Community	Central Government
HIGH	1. Projects initiated by local leaders and providing for participation of the rural population	2. Projects initiated by the Central Government, and administered in cooperation with local leaders and the rural population  3. Projects initiated by the Central Government and providing for the participation of the rural population, but by-passing local leaders
LOW	4. Projects initiated by local leaders, but not involving participation of the rural population	5. Projects initiated by the Central Government, and administered in cooperation with local leaders but not involving participation of rural population

We recognize that the socio-cultural setting of rural development projects varies significantly within and across less developed countries. By focussing on a representative sample of localities in Kenya, Korea, and Turkey, we can take account of many, though not all of these variations. While some of our substantive findings will not be directly generalizable beyond the countries in which we propose to conduct our study, we expect that our basic methods and findings will be applicable to national and sub-national settings elsewhere in the developing world. This is partly due to the fact that the hierarchy of patron-client relations which we regard as a critical factor in rural development exists in most LDCs. It is also due to the fact that the methodology for identifying local leadership configurations and for studying local politics, which we are perfecting, can be used to assess local political conditions in a large variety of countries even when the conditions themselves differ significantly.

#### Methods of Investigation

The data needed to assess the impact of local leaders and mass participation on rural development fall into two categories. Some are contained among the data gathered for the research project we are currently completing. Others will require additional field research.

The following data are already in hand:

1. Data on the social landscape of each local community, including aggregate data on level of economic development, demographic characteristics, political participation, ethnic loyalties, and rates of socio-economic change during the past decade.
2. Identity of local leaders, including both political and non-political leaders, and both legislators and other politicians.
3. Perceptions of existing problems and their possible solution among

general public, local leaders, and civil servants.

4. Level of political knowledge among local citizens and local political leaders.

5. Political and social values among local citizens and local political leaders.

6. Expectations of leadership roles among the local public, and elected and non-elected leaders.

7. Patterns of communication among local leaders and between local leaders and the central government.

These data, which we already have in hand, can be subjected to analyses which will provide the foundation for our further work on rural development projects. A part of our work therefore will consist of further analyses of existing data.

New data of the following kinds are also required:

1. Documentary data on the origin and evolution of particular small-scale development projects in the rural areas.

2. Data on project costs, both initial investment and recurring operating costs, and data on project outputs, i.e., pupils in schools, miles of road completed, number of hospital admissions, production of factory, agricultural productivity.

3. Data on project organization, number of local inhabitants participating in establishment of project, number of local inhabitants subsequently involved in project.

4. Data on the perception of projects by local leaders, members of the local public, and by civil servants; data on the perception of how each project was initiated, organized, who benefitted, and what its future implications are.

These types of data will require field work involving both documentary research at the relevant ministries of the central government and in local government authorities, and informal, open-ended interviews with local political leaders, elected representatives and other local leaders whom we had previously interviewed in a structured, systematic manner.

Grant Organization and Timetable

We propose to undertake the research outlined above beginning in the fall semester, 1977. During that term, Professors Barkan and Kim, as principal investigators for the new project, will contact their collaborators in the host countries. They will also seek the collaboration of an additional American scholar specializing in rural development with the aim of getting additional advice on sources of data and suitable indicators for the measurement of rural development projects.

At the end of the fall semester, Professors Barkan and Kim will make a trip to their research sites to discuss details of the research organization with their collaborators in the host countries, and to recruit student assistants. They will devote the spring term, 1978, to further analysis of existing data at the University of Iowa.

The gathering of additional data in the field will begin in the summer of 1978. Professors Barkan and Kim will direct this work personally. We expect that its completion will require three to six months. This work will involve the evaluation of central and local government reports on the projects under investigation, extensive on-site observations of the projects, and open-ended interviews with the principal participants. Our principal respondents will be the local leaders and elected representatives we have previously identified in the localities in which we have worked, and a sample of active participants in the particular development projects being studied. Where necessary and appropriate, surveys of the general public will be undertaken to assess the impact of a given project on the rural poor. We do not, however, need to conduct systematic sample surveys

of the rural population as we did in 1974.

In the organization of this research project, we intend to reconstruct the research teams we employed during 1973-75. We shall again seek the collaboration of Professor Seong-Tong Pai of Seoul National University, Professor Ilter Turan of the University of Istanbul, and Professor John J. Okumu of the University of Khartoum. Similarly, we contemplate directing the field research from the same academic research organizations we previously used: Seoul National University, the University of Istanbul, and the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. As before we will train students from these institutions to serve as interviewers.

The analysis of the open-ended interviews and of documentation on rural development projects will be a more time-consuming process than the analysis of closed interviews. It will require a high commitment of time from the principal investigators. We expect to hold a conference at the University of Iowa among all the principal participants in the research project during the spring, 1979, to evaluate the newly collected data. We expect to be able to write reports of the results during the summer, 1979 (see Figure 3).

#### IV. LINKAGES AND UTILIZATION

At the end of the grant period, the University of Iowa will be able to

- 1) advise the Agency on the design of small-scale rural projects to assist the rural poor;
- 2) provide guidelines for social soundness analysis of small-scale projects for the rural areas of LDCs;
- 3) consult with the Agency on the evaluation of rural projects; and
- 4) provide LDC governments

Figure 3

GRANT TIMETABLE

DATES	S I T E S			
	University of Iowa	Kenya	Korea	Turkey
Fall, 1977	Planning of rural development project Barkan, Kim			
Winter, 1977		Preparation of field research, rural development project; consultation at research sites Barkan/Okumu      Kim/Pai      Turan/Barkan/Kim		
Spring, 1978	Analysis of existing data Barkan, Kim		Preparation of field research Pai	Preparation of field research Turan
Summer, 1978		Field research on rural development projects Barkan/Okumu      Kim/Pai      Turan		
Fall, 1978	Data processing Barkan Kim	Completion of field research Okumu	Completion of field research Pai	Completion of field research Turan
Spring, 1979	Data analysis conference among all principal investigators at University of Iowa Barkan, Kim, Okumu, Pai, Turan			
Summer, 1979	Completion of rural development project Barkan Kim			

with specialists on rural development among their own citizens who have participated as collaborators in the Iowa projects.

In the proposed project, we will test a series of hypotheses concerning the political conditions of rural development which run counter to common assumptions concerning the influence of rural politics on project effectiveness. As a result, we will be able to assist the Agency in designing and evaluating such projects from the point of view of their political viability. The hypotheses we will test suggest that the patron-client relations existing in the local politics of most LDCs are not necessarily impediments to rural development but are aspects of the political structure which can be used to facilitate small-scale rural projects which will raise the standards of living of the rural population. As a result of our study, we expect to be able to pin-point the local leadership configurations and the relationships between local leaders and rural populations which are most conducive to successful development efforts. We believe that we will be able to perfect a methodology for identifying the political conditions for rural development, one which is transferable from the countries we have specialized in to other LDCs.

We propose to develop specific guidelines to assist administrators charged with selecting, evaluating and monitoring rural development projects, to assess these projects in terms of their social and political viability. The outcome of such projects is determined not only by the effectiveness with which they use scarce economic resources, but by the manner in which they engage the support of local leaders and rural populations, by their effect on social and economic equality, and by



their consequences for human rights. We plan to establish criteria by which the probable outcomes of projects in these social terms can be anticipated.

The study we propose will be undertaken by faculty at the University of Iowa, in collaboration with faculty at other American institutions and institutions in the host countries. We will build on the extensive contacts between the Comparative Legislative Research Center of the University of Iowa and other institutions with which we have worked. One major result of our collaborative study will be the existence of a network of competent scholars, both in this country and overseas, experienced in working together, sharing a common teaching and training experience, in close contact through the effective publications program developed by the Comparative Legislative Research Center. The expertise of this group of individuals will be available to other scholars, to the Agency, and to LDC governments for specific policy advice. The expertise developed as a consequence of this project will extend beyond the nationals of the countries involved, since the universities engaged in the project attract students from outside their own countries. For example, the teaching and research program in the Department of Political Science of the University of Istanbul, heavily affected by the participation of its faculty members and graduate students in our projects, attracts students throughout the Middle East for whom the University of Istanbul is the major institution of higher education in the region. The Institute for Development Studies is similarly a focal point for students and faculty in East and Central Africa; Seoul National University attracts students from other Asian countries. In this way, the capability developed among the participants

in our work is diffused widely. To the extent that the ability to assess rural development projects in terms of their social soundness is increased both in the United States and in countries receiving development assistance, the capacity of recipient countries to absorb aid is increased.

We propose to draw up an inventory of personnel available in the United States and in other countries who are able to consult with development administrators on the design of rural development projects and on their evaluation. We will draw first of all on individuals who have been directly associated with our work in the past or on the proposed project, and extend the list to include graduate students and government officials with whom these individuals have worked.

We will utilize the existing publication program of the Center, described above, to disseminate our findings. The Center has specialized mailing lists of interested individuals and institutions in all parts of the world and its reports can therefore reach the most relevant audience directly and regularly.

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