

JOAN M. NELSON

Access to Power

*Politics and the Urban Poor in
Developing Nations*



PRINCETON LEGACY LIBRARY

JOAN M. NELSON

ACCESS TO POWER

POLITICS AND THE URBAN POOR
IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Nelson, Joan M

Access to power.

"Written under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University."

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Underdeveloped areas—Political participation.
2. Underdeveloped areas—Politics and government.
3. Underdeveloped areas—Rural-urban migration.
4. Poor. I. Harvard University. Center for International Affairs. II. Title.

JF6o.N44 301.5'92'091724 78-70310

ISBN 0-691-07609-X

ISBN 0-691-02186-4 pbk.

ACCESS TO POWER

Written under the auspices of the
Center for International Affairs,
Harvard University

A list of other Center publications of related interest
appears at the back of this book

*To my Mother,
and the memory of my Father*

Acknowledgments

THIS book has been written over a period of ten years, and during that time it has accumulated a great many debts. A fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations in 1969 provided the initial impetus and funded not only my earliest efforts to delineate the issues but also a summer's research in Santiago, Chile, plus brief stops in Lima. The study continued from 1969 to 1972 as part of a broader research program on patterns of political participation in developing nations, conducted at Harvard's Center for International Affairs with funding from the Agency for International Development. During the last of those three years, I was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies of the Smithsonian Institution and benefited from that most stimulating group of scholars. During 1973-1974 a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Development funded additional work, and the Urban Institute provided logistic and moral support. Since that time, the study has crept forward with the assistance of the library and staff of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

During a decade's work at four separate institutions, I have benefited from the ideas and stimulation of a great many people. Most obviously, whatever contribution the study may make builds directly on the painstaking and often insightful work of those dozens of scholars whose case studies are cited throughout the book. During the summer of 1969 in Santiago, FLASCO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales) graciously provided office facilities and assistance. Many officials in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and in Promocion Popular, and the scholars at CIDU (Centro Interdisciplinario de Desarrollo Urbano y Regional) were generous with their time and patient with my poor Spanish. I owe thanks as well to several members of the Peace Corps staff and volunteers working with the Ministry of Housing who shared their insights with me. Alejandro Portes and David Collier, who were at that time doing field work in Santiago and Lima, respectively, also helped to shape my early thoughts on the topic. During the next several years I benefited

greatly from individual and group discussions with my colleagues in the Political Participation Program at the Harvard Center for International Affairs: Henry Bienen, Ronald Brunner, Shahid Burki, Wayne Cornelius, Samuel Huntington, Ergun Özbudun, Samuel Popkin, John Powell, and William Schneider. At later points along the way I received most helpful comments from Henry Bienen, Wayne Cornelius, John Freidmann, Donald Horowitz (who also suggested the title), Robert Kaufmann, Mark Leiserson, and Lisa Peattie. My ideas about the urban informal sector have also been sharpened by many discussions with Richard Webb. I owe special thanks to Richard Stren for detailed and thoughtful comments on the entire manuscript. Peter Promen and Linda Carson at the library of the School of Advanced International Studies have been unfailingly gracious and efficient in tracking down sometimes obscure articles and references. Woljie Lee and Shevaun McDarby patiently and efficiently produced an apparently endless series of draft chapters.

Finally, this study owes a great deal to my husband, Jacob Meerman, for his judicious mixture of encouragement and pressure and most of all for his constant intellectual stimulation.

Copyright © 1979 by Princeton University Press
Published by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey
In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press,
Guildford, Surrey

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data will be
found on the last printed page of this book

This book has been composed in VIP Baskerville

Clothbound editions of Princeton University Press books
are printed on acid-free paper, and binding materials are
chosen for strength and durability.

Printed in the United States of America by Princeton
University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

Contents

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xv
INTRODUCTION	3
I. THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF URBAN POVERTY IN DEVELOPING NATIONS	14
Defining and Measuring Urban Poverty	14
Who Are the Urban Poor?	19
The Dual Urban Economy	24
Dualist Theory: An Assessment	28
<i>The dualist model and urban income distribution</i>	28
<i>Informal-sector productivity and income trends</i>	33
<i>Worker satisfaction in the informal sector</i>	38
The Prospects of the Poor: Socioeconomic Mobility	43
II. THE RURAL EXODUS	48
Why Do Migrants Move?	49
Who Migrates?	58
Prior Urban Experience and Prospects for Adjustment	65
Chain Migration and the Choice of Destinations	69
III. MIGRANTS IN THE CITY	72
Economic Assimilation	72
<i>Finding work</i>	72
<i>The quality of employment</i>	76
<i>Education, credentials, and employment</i>	77
<i>Contacts, home-place ties, and ethnic networks</i>	82
<i>Long-term economic assimilation</i>	86
<i>Commitment to the city and economic behavior</i>	88
The Social Adjustment of Migrants	91
<i>Family, covillagers, and coethnics</i>	93

<i>Squatter settlements and social integration</i>	100
<i>Migrants, social disintegration, and psychological disorientation</i>	105
The Political Integration of Migrants	109
<i>The theory of the disruptive migrants</i>	110
<i>An alternative hypothesis: the passive migrants</i>	112
<i>The rural inheritance</i>	116
<i>Commitment to the city and political behavior</i>	121
IV. THE URBAN POOR AS A POLITICAL CLASS	125
The Theories	126
The Evidence: Political Participation by the Urban Poor	130
Social Cleavages among the Urban Poor	140
<i>Ethnic and home-place divisions</i>	140
<i>Stratification</i>	141
<i>Occupation and political organization</i>	144
<i>Industrial workers as a labor aristocracy?</i>	150
Class Consciousness among the Urban Poor	156
Alternative Patterns of Political Participation	163
V. TRADITIONAL LEADERS, PATRONS, AND URBAN POLITICAL MACHINES	168
The Concept of Vertically Mobilized Participation	168
Traditional Leaders in Urban Settings	172
<i>African urban chiefs</i>	172
<i>Non-African traditional urban leaders</i>	175
<i>Traditional leaders and modern politics</i>	176
Patron-Client Ties and Clientelism	178
<i>Clientelism in urban settings</i>	180
<i>Types of urban patrons</i>	181
<i>Urban clientelism and politics</i>	189
Urban Political Machines	191
<i>Characteristics of political machines</i>	192
<i>Conditions favoring political machines</i>	195
<i>The choice of machine tactics to mobilize mass support</i>	197
<i>Machines and party discipline</i>	200
<i>Machine-style politics in developing nations</i>	201

Vertical Mobilization, the Urban Poor, and the Political System	202
<i>Vertically mobilized participation and political learning</i>	202
<i>Vertical mobilization as an obstacle to autonomous participation</i>	205
<i>Vertical ties and improved conditions for the poor</i>	207
<i>Vertical mobilization and the political system</i>	209

VI. ETHNIC POLITICS AND THE URBAN POOR 214

Modernization and Ethnic Identity	215
Ethnicity and Class in the Urban Setting	218
Political Action Where Lower-Class Status and Ethnicity Coincide	223
Lower-Class Identity and Organization within Multiclass Ethnic Groups	237
Organization among Urban Poor across Ethnic Lines	242

VII. SPECIAL-INTEREST ASSOCIATIONS AMONG THE URBAN POOR 249

Neighborhood Associations: Why and Where Are They Formed?	252
<i>Incentive to organize: commitment to the neighborhood</i>	253
<i>Incentive to organize: physical and legal status of the neighborhood</i>	254
<i>Capacity to organize: community cohesion</i>	256
<i>Capacity to organize: the history of the neighborhood</i>	258
<i>Capacity to organize: leadership</i>	261
<i>Incentives for political participation: the relevance and accessibility of government</i>	263
<i>Party competition and neighborhood organization</i>	270
<i>Alternative sources of aid</i>	272
<i>The geographical incidence of neighborhood associations</i>	273
Neighborhood Associations in Action: Structure, Goals, and Tactics	275
<i>Structure</i>	275

Goals	276	
Tactics	279	
<i>The land invasion as a bargaining tactic</i>		284
<i>Associations' tactics and bureaucratic disorganization</i>	286	
<i>Federations of neighborhood associations</i>		287
Neighborhood Associations and the Broader Political System	292	
<i>Associations and outside involvement: autonomy versus control</i>	292	
<i>Neighborhood associations and benefits for the poor</i>	302	
<i>Neighborhood associations and political learning</i>		303
Occupation-Based Special-Interest Groups		307
The Potential and Limits of Special-Interest Groups	313	
VIII. PARTIES AND THE URBAN POOR		318
Why Most Parties Are Not Interested in the Urban Poor	318	
Types of Appeals to the Poor	324	
Populist Leaders and the Urban Poor		327
<i>The nature of populism</i>	327	
<i>Some case studies of populist appeals</i>		329
<i>The appeals of populism to the urban poor</i>		340
Marxist Parties and the Urban Poor	342	
<i>The limited efforts of Marxist parties among the urban poor</i>	343	
<i>Some case studies of Marxist efforts</i>		347
<i>The appeals of Marxism to the urban poor</i>		358
Reform Parties and the Urban Poor	361	
<i>Chile's Christian Democrats</i>	361	
<i>Venezuela: COPEI and Accion Democratica</i>		370
<i>Turkey: the reoriented Republican People's party</i>		374
Political Parties and the Urban Poor	376	
IX. CONCLUSIONS		381
The Urban Poor, Society, and Politics	381	
Evolving Patterns of Participation by the Poor		383
<i>Goals, techniques, and styles</i>	386	

CONTENTS

xi

Effects of Participation by the Poor	390
<i>Participation and the welfare of the poor</i>	390
<i>Participation and economic growth</i>	392
<i>Participation, stability, and political integration of the poor</i>	394
Lessons for Research	397
Lessons for Policy	400

NOTES	403
-------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	433
--------------	-----

INDEX	455
-------	-----

List of Tables and Figures

TABLES

1.1	Ratio of Expenditures on Food to Total Household Expenditures	18
1.2	Distribution of Incomes of Modern and Urban Traditional-Sector Workers, Peru, 1961	29
1.3	Distribution of Monthly Incomes of Self-Employed and Wage Workers: Seven Tanzanian Towns, 1971	30
2.1	Migrants' Plans to Stay in or Leave the City	54
2.2	Ratios of Males to Females in Major Cities in Some Developing Nations	56
2.3	Migrants Aged 30 and Younger at Arrival, as a Percentage of Total Net Migration	59
2.4	Migrants Moving Directly to the City as a Percentage of Total Citywide Migration	67
3.1	Time Required for Migrants to Find First Job in City	74
3.2	Rates of Unemployment among Natives and Migrants in Selected Cities	75
3.3	Native versus Migrant Occupational Distribution, Lima, 1965	80
3.4	Occupational Distribution of Male Migrants and Natives in Tainan City, Taiwan, 1967	80
8.1	Schematic Classification of Working-Class-Oriented Parties	326
8.2	Socioeconomic Character of the Wards of Greater Santiago	350
8.3	Support for Allende in Greater Santiago	351
8.4	Support for the Christian Democrats in Greater Santiago	367

8.5	Support for Alessandri in Greater Santiago	368
8.6	Revised Estimates of Support for the Christian Democrats in Greater Santiago	369
8.7	Voting Patterns in Caracas and Venezuela	373
8.8	Support for Major Parties among Low-Income Voters in Three Turkish Cities	376
9.1	Goals of Political Participation in Order of Increasing Scope	387

FIGURES

1A and 1B

The Urban Formal and Informal Sectors: Alternative Conceptions	34
--	----

ACCESS TO POWER