127-1



MKULTRA Subproject

At Dete of Original - Authorization	Period Covered	Pine Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Ogligation
6 oct 1160			1535.1009.1902	7,490.00
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Additional Authorizations	Period	Time Extended	Allotment	Appoint of Coligation
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NEWARKS:			

TO: TSS/OC .. 1. Date of Obligation: N/A 2. Purpose of Project: To study open 5. Project Monitor. FROM: TSS/CD Reom B-10

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127 03

Object Class _

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Date	Remarks and References	Obligations Incurred	Obligations Liquidated	Unliquidated Balance
27 OCT	mhullia luth. Sel 127	7490.00	- 1	7490.0
31 OCT 1960	mhulla lieth. Sel 127		7.190.0	
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1125-1024-1912

28 Oatober 1960

MEMORANDEM FOR: CHIEF, PINANCE DIVISION

VIA 1

: TED/Budget Officer

SUBJECT

Project MULTRA, Subproject 127 Invoice No. 1, Allotment 1125-1009-1902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above subproject. Payment should be made as follows:

> Cashier's check in the amount of \$7,490.00 bank, payable to the

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than Thursday, 10 Hovember 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files should not be closed.

> Chief TSD/Research Branch

> > I CORES THAT TO US ARE AVAILABLE

Attached

Invoice & Certifications Orig & 2 - Addressee

Distribution:

1 - TSD/FASS

RECEIVE



Pour Countines

47,490.00

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice No. 1 applying to Subproject No. 127 of MULITA, that performance is satisfactory, that seriormance is satisfactory, that seriors are being accomplished in secondance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in TSD/RB, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, TSD/Research Branch

Date

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject Bo. 127 of MALITAR which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DOI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent removands.

Research Director

Bakas:

The second

March 6, 1962

CF Accounting of I. Salaries of Coding Assistants 5,707.13 26.75 II. Travel 1.194.64 III. I. B. M. (25,000 cards) IV. Office Supplies, paper, postage etc. 591.85 Total Expenditures 7,520.37 Total Grant 7,490.00 (30.37)

s a true statement of the accounting of

I have examined and approved the submitts expenditures.



127

PRYSTPT

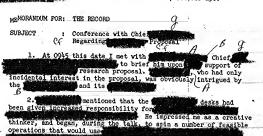
Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Treasurers Check No. 86223, dated November 7, 1969, in the amount of \$7,990.00, drawn on the ..., payable to the

Date: Nov. 14 1960



17 October 1960



deas in the form of projects. I offered the counter-suggestion that once he had his mental ducks in a row, it might prove useful for him to meet and others from there-in

KEE

A TSD/Research Branch

The state of the s

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT

- : Project MKULTRA, Subproject 127
- 1. It is requested that Subproject 127 be approved to support the research work of registered of subproject 127 be approved to support the research work of registered voters over a fifty year period.

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitu-

- dinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to
- In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behavioral characteristics of people.
- 3. This project vill be funded through the for security and cover purposes. The accounting for funds expended shall conform to the established procedures of that organization. Title to any permanent equipment shall remain with the
 - 4. The total cost of this project for a period of one year is estimated to be \$7,490:00 as indicated in the attached

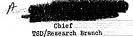


2 -

budget. Charges should be made against Allotment Number 1525-1009-1502,

5. No cleared or witting persons are concerned with the

conduct of this project.



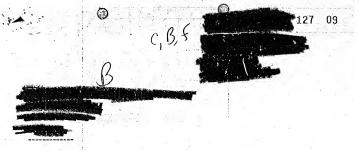
APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

Research Director

Date: @@ 207 1960

Attachment:

Distribution: Original only



Gentlemen.

Enclosed please find 10 copies of the outline for our project "Voting" for which we ask you for a support to the amount of dollars 7,490. If you find it possible to finance this research it will be executed by my research assistant as principal investigator under my supervision as head of the

The present research project is different from, although related to, the one presented briefly to you earlier. The reason is that we have in the meantime discovered the existence of this unique documentary material, which is described in the butline, and we think that an analysis thereof should proceed and hence benefit a study of contemporary political changes. I may note that we have not asked any other foundation to support this project. So far our experience with foundations has been that they react unfavorably to research in the field

of political sociology.

I remain at your disposal for any further information you might desire regarding the present project.

Sinceraly yours.

c, f



6 October 1960

METRARORS	POR:	COMPTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

BUBJECT

1 MAULIRA, Subproject 127

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memorands, Subproject 127 has been approved and \$7,490.00 of the over-all MULTRA project funds has been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should be charged to Allotsent 1525-1009-1902.

f

Chief TSD/Research Branch

27,800

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE COLIGATION FOR THE PERSON OF THE PERSON

AUHORENS OFFICE

Research Director 30

Distribution: Orlg & 2 - Addressee

> 1 - TSD/CC >1 - TSD/PASS

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT (: Approval of Funds to Support Study of Voting Behavior

ATTENDANCE

6. C. F

Request for \$7,490.00 to support the proposal

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitudinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behavioral characteristics of people.

3. Funds will be affected through the mechanism. Project participants will remain unwitting of true sponsor.

TSD/Research Branch

Distribution: Orig & 2 - TSD/RB

(29 Sept 60)



127-Bane

September 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO: SId G.

SUBJECT: Project Proposal, Category B.

Attached is a proposal from which we encouraged during our visit there lost October. You will note in the comment from that caution is recommended, principally for security reasons and only secondarily for methodological reasons. His point is well taken as are the detailed criticisms by My predisposition to support this category B proposal rests on three considerations: a) methodological questions do not outweigh the basic potential this project has, b) lengthy correspondence with the investigator has us partially committed to some kind of support, and c), the small amount of money requested is a good investment in international research.

I do not believe we can be damaged institutionally by supporting this kind of research. I recommend that it be funded.

c, f

Enclosure

١

August 19, 1960



To begin with, let me excress my unstinting and unqualified enthusiasm for the general concept behind the project. Though we know very well that there is little hope that we will ever be able to conduct a real longitudinal study, covering several decades, we have often spoken about the need for such a study. This proposal fills a gap; it does so by utilizing data-already in existence. The costs seem unimal, the opportunity unique, and the promise great. The data ought to be exclided.

To exclute fully the unique data requires, however, a more complete statement of what the analysis of "that individual act of voting" contributes over and above what could be infarred from an analysis of voting statistics by election districts, differentiated according their coology. Usually the incact of 'the colitical situation" on various obtegories of voters is infarred from aggregate data. Such inference can be made only on the assumption that the factors rewealed on the aggregate level operate on the whole and as a rule on the individual lavel as well. The proposed project offers an opportunity to test this assumation by examing a series of election: It is capable of locating the individuals (i.e. their social status) who account for heightened or slackened interest and for changes in the alignment.

I should like to use that the string of the

In this was wain, I should like to see a somewhat clearer indication of just how the mand data will be smolouced. For example, the crossess [page 4] mentions the influence of early complement on later behavior as a factor contribution to a testification of the state of the stat

Pirthermore, I would be immensely interested in a comparison of stable volers whose carty lovalities showed no change and floaters who switched one or more times. How immortant the synths and correnalities are sopposed to status massaments mobility?

Thinks at this, but there is a tendency to confuse conditions that make for stability in the party system with factors that make for stability in the injuridual. The importance of keeping the two secenate is indicated by a processition, that recently has found wide acceptance, namely that the floaters are an element that accounts for stability in the system

because they not as "mediators" and because party appeals are addressed to the

The hypothesised relationship between turnout and consensus, on the one hand, and the importance of different kinds of issues and personalities, on the other, fescinates me, especially when the differential impact of issues, ocraonalities, etc. on different categories of social status is considered.

I have the following reservations. The proposal fails to indicate fully how the panely design is auxitied to be applied to the oroblem of generations and political biance. The ouestions given as illustrations (e.g. coints 1 and 2 on rage 4) tend to caphasise static and cross-sectional analysis of aggregate data. I would like to see a clearer indication of how data about individual votors will be employed.

Nor doss it strike me that a technically refined analysis of the press and other political records, which is of necessity deals only with a highly select sample, would rive a more reliably assessment of the "political situation" that dominated an election than the use connectent histories. The configuration resources could be better employed in more complete statistical analysis of the voting behavior, which might in turn clarify the forces which moved the electorate.

I am altogether at a loss imming at the medition of "records of personal political discussions." The description of the data gives no hint of how such a record is to be debaised.

Similarly, I fail to see how the "emergence of leadership-followership traits" is to be exclored. "Mak is the reference to the records of approximately 3,000 research? I think that this tind of long-term panel design should not be used to gage what happens during a single sampaign. The Lazarsfeld-type of panel, based on interriews, is a much better tool for this.

The sample figure of 75,000 sooms entirely grasomable in view of population mortality and the number of variables to explored. But I am confused about the 3,000 figure mentioned on man 4 (bottom)? Also, I take it that individual voting records are to collated with individual consumidata. Yet, page 2 # A refers to the voting records of all cliffold voters but mentions consus records for voters culv.

A rather minor point related to the statement on the bottom of page 3.

Do the criteria really eliminate only 5 to 10 per cent of the male adult population?

Elimination of the 21 to 30 year age group would, in view of the then prevailing

life exceptancy; but the figure much higher.

Let me summarise that, note that and ing the many questions I have, the study fascinates me. The major innoration would the use of individual data in a long-run longitudinal abidy. I should like the hypothese which relate the two the outcome of specific lections and to major political franks equivalent to the ranal design to be spelled out in greater detail; It would than be possible to test them both on the individual data and on satisfies for various districts and regions in the design to be eluciation of findings obtained by the more conventional methods of political coolegy and panel data would, in my mind, able a major contribution to knowledge.





omments on Proposal submitted by

- 1. Being of a cautious nature, I would be less optimistic than the investigator concerning the completeness of the state of the lovestigator in the lovestigator, would only eliminate 5 to 10% of the male adult population. If the entire population were the lovestigator, which I assume means men, women, and children, then I wonder if percentage of 5 to 10% is not somewhat lows and, also, that he may not have trouble obtaining his 25,000 voters. This is a guess on my port but I would think worth asking for further auditance.
- 2. Investigator states on page 1, "the availability of these records means that the political history of every voter in a given district can be followed objectively and in detail for a period of up to years. " We really should remember that to be eligible to vote, the male must be 30 years and own a house. The question that immediately hit me was how many elections could such an individual participate in? If 30 is the minimum age, we obviously will not have too many who have lived to the age of stand are still active voters, and this is the only way we can get an individual record over a period of typears. He must own a home at the age of 30 which certainly would depend on the economic situation in during the years indicated. Thus, we must be concerned with the percentage of population that would meet the qualifications at 30; how many elections would occur, how long does the average voter live during this period. All such questions certainly bear on size and type of sample that one can obtain from the data available and should be known before the study progresses too far, or rather before the becomes too deeply involved. in my mind, these questions must have been satisfied to the investigator but unfortunately they are not too well reflected here in the proposal. It would seem reasonable to have these questions arswered first, either the first phase of the study or in a revised research proposal.
- 3. On page 2, under Populations to Study, the Investigator mentions selecting eight political subdivisions from that these political districts represent a full political spectrum lodgy, ranging from conservative to Communist. He then proposes to use these districts for the data years old. However, in the rest of the proposal, he does not state, at least clearly to me, techniques by which one would analyze the data in relation to present political activities or voter behavior. There would be approximately evers intervening which would not be taken

f C. Into consideration according to this proposal, thus, if conclusions were to be drawn upon the detailed data from the fit would have to be based on the assumption that the intervening Systems had little effect on present day behavior. The investigator undoubtedly has some rational here that has escaped me.

- 4. Section D. questions the study. Present research, according to the investigator, will be concerned with social status, ecological patterning, and political situations and how they are correlated with Increased political involvement which he states symbolizes the growth of democracy. Social status, he says will be defined in terms of occupation, age, marital conditions, family size and condition of residence. This, I believe, is to be drawn from the census data-again without having seen the data. I wonder whether such things as condition of residence will be recorded, or if so, how meaningful it will be. In addition, social status term, here, evidently is not used in the sense that one might use it in this country. The population he is studying is already pretty well defined, particularly with the reculrement that the voter own his place of residence. Another point in relation to the status structure of society is raised as a result of the investigator's statement on page 4. He indicates that the relation of the changing status structure and development of political parties will also be examined. That, as the gap between the top and the bottom of status structure of a society narrows, this society becomes more homogeneous in terms of social class. The political structure becomes more differentiated and more political choices become possible. That the eligibility requirements have already narrowed status structure to quite a homogeneous sample is stated before and I am not sure that a great deal could be expected from this particular hypothesis, although it might be interesting to see what comes out of it.
- 5. The political situation mentioned in the same purggraph in section D. is to be defined by content analysis of newspapers. Again, the reader sincerely hopes that a) the material is available from an about the such an analysis is meaningful. Newspapers would, at that time, particularly, be directed to a relatively small population, their influence might well be questioned. This factor would, of course, be dependent on the literacy rate during that period and the circulation of the newspapers. In addition, some understanding would be necessary to determine the objectivity of newspapers reflecting the characteristics of the candidates or even their interpretation of the statement of the issues. Even today, we doubt that all newspapers reflect in an equally objective fashion. Certainly, other sources might supplement this information.
- 6. The Investigator hopes to discover factors contributing to voter's 'hability and instability," as well as the Influence of "early commitments on later behavior" and the "emergence of leadership-fellowship traits. "It appears that this study may add some information, although it is doubted that much can be found on these records. Also, it is doubtful that we can learn much by our concept of leadership-fellowship traits from such data. This particular section is very vague and gives us very little information about how these factors would be explored. The investigator intimates that a partial answer to this question is availability of records, of pennonal political discussions. This is the first time these records have been mentioned and the references not at all clear. Evidently, such records are available for 3,000 people, but one wonders what sort of record are available for 5,000 people, but one wonders what sort of record are would have of pennonal political discussions over the pennonal political discussions were the pennonal political discussions were pennonal pennonal political discussions were pennonal pennonal political discussions were pennonal pennona

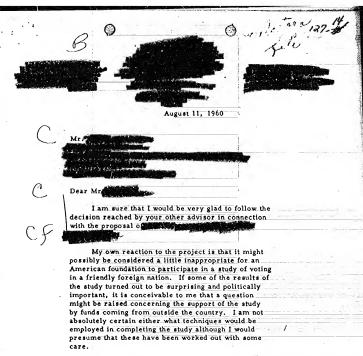
The above portion of this memorandum may seem relatively condemnatory of the study. This is not the impression that I wish to leave. We have there, as stated before,





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an opportunity to examine records hitherto not available. They appear to be sufficiently unique and complete that they may hold promise in contributing to the general field concerning voting behaviors. It is recommended that very sectious consideration be given to either requesting revision of this proposal answering the questions raised above, or to grant money for a more comprehensive examination of the voting records to determine exactly what can be feasibly accomplished with the data.



In summary, my personal feeling is that I would move rather slowly in authorizing this request.

Sincerely yours,

