

THE ROLE OF BASIC NEEDS AND PROVISIONS IN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

In contrast with familiar patterns and criteria of development planning for nations and regions, this paper advocates an approach based on systematic inventories of individual and family needs for social assistance within a given population, and of public and private provisions to meet such needs. Criteria for identification of such needs are considered, together with some methodological and substantive implications of this approach for planning and development in administrative units.

Laissant à l'écart les principes et les critères traditionnels appliqués à l'organisation des projets de développement national ou régional, l'auteur de cette étude propose une méthode fondée sur la préparation systématique d'inventaires des besoins d'assistance sociale éprouvés par les individus et les familles d'une population donnée, tout en tenant compte des ressources publiques et privées disponibles pour satisfaire ces besoins. Il propose certains critères pour la détermination de ces besoins, et décrit quelques implications de sa méthode, qui préconise la planification et le développement dans le cadre d'un système de blocs administratifs.

INTRODUCTION

At first glance this paper would seem to be misplaced in a journal devoted to native studies with an emphasis upon northern North America. As the careful reader will note, however, such is far from the case. Indeed the principles enunciated in the following essay could well serve almost as a blueprint for development after land claims in Canada. Although the political situations are different, the demonstrated poverty of large numbers of Jamaicans and the equally impressive poverty of such a large number of native people in Canada is so strikingly similar in its oppressive nature, that the parallel parameters for development far outweigh the differences of locale and polity.

There are some obvious and striking similarities between native people in Canada and Jamaicans. Large proportions of these populations are either rural or the urban poor. Both have suffered historically from the vagaries of international trade situations and a very few products over which they lack any significant market control. Until very recent years they were for all intents and purposes politically disenfranchised and substantially ignored by constituted governments. They were both genuinely colonial peoples for whom such pitiful services as were available were designed and managed by dominant groups representing other cultures.

Smith outlines some basic needs in the development of essential social services for this type of population. The thesis is simple: that people who are hungry, ill, poorly housed or clothed, effectively prevented from technical opportunities or even recreation, will remain poor no matter what "economic" development takes place. It is critical, he implies, to provide genuinely universal social services, covering diet, housing, education etc., before economic development can be effective. In a sense these human services are generating factors in economic development.

The truth of this is evident in human development in Canada over the last two decades. Significant new educational programs are clearly beginning to have an effect upon the well being of native people. Such recent programs as the increase in family allowance payments and the development of child tax credits - programs whose impact is most clearly felt by the poor - have had a dramatic effect upon individuals and families. A corollary of these developments has been the encouraging growth of native answers to native problems: now we see the creation of native directed and operated social service agencies, from Alberta Native Counselling Services and the Dakota Ojibway Child and Family Services to housing agencies, police forces, probation services and new training institutes.

This paper then presents a model for social development as a necessary precursor of economic development. Hopefully the type of comprehensive planning for development cited here will ultimately become a reality for all native people in Canada.

Samuel W. Corrigan
Editor/Directeur

When I was asked to address this conference on social and political services in Western Canada, I accepted after hesitation, in the belief that Caribbean experience on this topic might be of some interest to you. Further reflection led me to doubt the relevance, however great the possible interest, of a discussion of social services in societies so different from your own as the West Indies. Accordingly, since the conference's central preoccupation is with 'Social and Political Services in the Developing West,' given my unhappy ignorance of the current conditions, including service needs and supply structures, I shall talk about the possible role of social services in economic development; and specifically about the ways in which sociological studies of basic needs for social assistance and current service provisions may serve as frameworks for their evaluation, and for planning their future development within the broader context of regional and national economic plans. In the process I shall draw, where appropriate, on certain data from Britain and the Caribbean to develop my argument. Though as a stranger I am neither competent nor have any wish to offer any political comments on the Canadian scene, and shall not do so, nonetheless if this argument is sound, it may have political implications.¹

Having first indicated what I regard and do not regard as individual needs for social assistance, I shall summarize two studies of such needs and provisions in contemporary Jamaica, and shall then argue that adequate welfare provisions are essential elements in economic development and perhaps provide its most appropriate measures, as well as its most general and obvious goals and purpose. Following that I shall try to distinguish an individual's basic needs for social assistance from other kinds of needs, and in conclusion I shall outline some enquiries which together permit objective analyses and evaluation of current welfare provisions in any liberal democratic state or region thereof, such as Western Canada, and thus provide a method and guidance for plans to rationalise and develop the service sector within the broader framework of development planning for the total economy.

THE NEED FOR SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

The basic needs to which I shall refer are those of individuals alone or as members of nuclear family groups. The social assistance under discussion includes all those provisions and services that routinely seek to satisfy such basic individual and family needs. Though I shall later try to clarify my concepts of an individual's basic needs for social assistance, it is as well to say here what they do not include. Firstly, in my usage the concept of social assistance excludes such provisions for social defence as police, prisons, probation services and other agencies established to deal with such social problems as deviance, violence or crime (Merton and Nisbet, 1961), defined by the prevailing culture as aberrations that threaten the social order. Secondly, since most Western states now provide schools, colleges and polytechnics or other training institutes for the education of children and youth, hospitals for the injured and sick, and health services for everyone, these provisions are taken for granted, and only figure in the following discussion insofar as individuals who need them fail to

obtain them, whether due to lack of information and initiative or for some other reason. Thirdly, having already distinguished individual needs for social assistance from collective needs for 'social defence' and social problems, it is necessary to distinguish between those individuals and families who need social assistance for a specific condition or reason and others who present the kinds of 'problem' that call for social casework. Normally these latter exhibit combinations of disturbed psychological and social conditions which require diffuse and prolonged efforts to counteract or correct them. Often such efforts to help do not succeed, since the social behaviour and adaptation of such unhappy individuals reflect deeply rooted and complex psychological conditions which require the professional care of psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers. In contrast the needs that concern us here are those which can be satisfied readily by provisions of social assistance of specific kinds to the individuals and/or families that have them, without further special casework or psychological treatment of the recipients. For present purposes the nuclear family is regarded as a very close primary group whose needs as a unit can be restated as the sum of the needs of its members.

I regard a need for social assistance as any condition or deprivation suffered by an individual or family that is culturally recognized as a legitimate claim for such help, provided it cannot be removed or remedied with the resources available to the sufferers, and provided that such needs do not derive from collective emergencies or disasters, such as droughts, hurricanes or earthquakes on the one hand, or through those complex and disturbing social and psychological conditions that characterise the 'problem cases' of social work on the other.

It is evident that many subjectively asserted needs for social assistance lack cultural acceptance and recognition. For example, in stratified societies not all of those conditions identified as needs for social assistance by members of privileged strata are likely to win acceptance by the less fortunate, and vice versa; nor are conditions identified in one ethnic group as legitimate needs for social assistance always accepted as such by another. There are also many instances in which the same condition characteristic of two individuals may be a genuine need for social assistance in one case, but not in the other, depending on whether one of these individuals has available the resources with which to meet his need.

These remarks imply that needs for social assistance will vary for persons of differing conditions and categories. Men, for example, do not need maternity leave, neither do children need jobs or the right to vote. Different categories of handicapped persons have quite distinct specific needs that differentiate them from one another as well as from the able-bodied. Likewise, given the cultural prescriptions and proscriptions by which they live, members of differing cultural or ethnic groups may have distinct norms and needs. It is therefore essential in any general survey of basic and other needs for social assistance to attempt a systematic, exhaustive inventory of the incidence and different varieties of such needs among individuals of differing sex, age, ethnicity, religion and occupation.

Individual needs for social assistance, basic or other, derive their status and definition from the culture and society to which the individual belongs. They accordingly vary as between cultures and societies, and also within a society at different points in time. For example, during World War II Sir William Beveridge drafted the fundamental paper (Great Britain, 1962) which *inter alia* proposed a comprehensive national health service for Britain, to be financed from tax revenues, and an expanded social security system that insured individuals against differing risks and disadvantages, such as old age, accidents and unemployment. When first published these proposals had little precedent in British society or political practice. Indeed they represented a virtually complete reversal of the policy orientations and popular views that had prevailed in Victorian Britain and early this century. Nonetheless as results of the first British postwar election illustrate, Beveridge's scheme found ready and willing acceptance among the majority of the British electorate, which returned to power a Labour government under Clement Attlee committed to institute the National Health Service and other of Beveridge's proposals. This decisive event, which marks the birth of the modern British welfare state, a prototype for several others, shows how cultures may change over time, and may then reclassify the same conditions very differently. It is therefore important for the student of needs for social assistance not to restrict attention solely to those conditions which currently enjoy institutional recognition and provision. These British developments also indicate the critical importance of collective endorsement, whether by means of a general election, referendum, or opinion polls and other surveys, of any innovations such as Beveridge proposed in the cultural classification of human conditions as legitimate grounds for social assistance. Planners designing social services should always try to anticipate or identify emergent needs of those for whom they plan to ascertain their generality and intensity, and to assess public recognition and concern about them.

AN INVENTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

My concern with evaluation and design of social provisions to meet the basic needs of individuals and families, and with the role of such welfare services in economic development and planning goes back to 1974-75 when, being then associated with the government of Jamaica led by Michael Manley, I thought that it should concentrate on the design and implementation of programs developed to meet priority needs of the people. This approach to economic planning clearly recognised the government's inability to satisfy all the varied and numerous demands upon its limited resources of money, materials and manpower. Given the appalling inequalities, poverty and insecurity that then prevailed in Jamaica, it seemed very likely that appropriately designed and directed inputs of men, money and materials addressed to these human needs would deliver optimal returns, from an economic as well as a social point of view, by relieving individual distress and by simultaneously motivating and capacitating disprivileged elements to participate actively in the community's economic and social life. Accordingly, with the Prime Minister's support and an

allocation of J\$10,000 from his office, I designed a survey questionnaire to determine as best I could the prevailing distribution and volume of individual and family needs for social assistance within the population (Smith, 1975b). In its scope, the survey included needs for employment, for income, for land, housing, literacy, education, vocational training, health services, for free or low-cost legal aid, for instruction in fertility control, and so on. Special attention was given in the survey to the needs of the aged, the destitute, and different types of handicapped persons who need assistance of different kinds. In the Jamaican context, the needs of children of single mothers and of poor families in need of help with their children are also important and were investigated, together with individual and family needs for social insurance and protection. To complement these enquiries, I also gathered data on non-commercial transfers of cash, kind or services as aid that had occurred during the preceding twelve months between the poor themselves, paying special attention to the social relationships involved and to the volumes, frequencies, directions and durations of such inter-personal transactions, in order that their aggregate value could be provisionally computed and compared with that of the institutional services offered by public and private agencies.

It is evident from this review of the topics covered in that Jamaican survey how great the distance is in terms of economic development, geographical situation and culture between Canada and these Commonwealth Caribbean territories. As regards the scope, scale and efficacy of public and private welfare provisions, the gap is probably much greater, for while Canada in its own way illustrates the Western liberal model of the welfare state, in 1975 and also today, Jamaica does not, despite the crushing volume and intensity of personal needs for social assistance within its population. Instead, these Jamaican conditions represent a pattern fairly widespread in agrarian Third World societies whose peoples' basic needs far exceed the resources, capabilities, and often the political will of their governments to meet them. It is relevant, then, in considering the Canadian welfare provisions, to relate them to those of another industrial metropolitan state such as Britain, rather than to Jamaica, Nigeria, or other Third World countries which lack both industrial capitalism and the democratic welfare state.

Excluding those structures classified above as means of 'social defence', for example, the police, prisons, probation service, remand homes and the like, together with its conventional provisions for education, until recently the British welfare state sought, and perhaps still does seek, to provide its population with free or low-cost medical and dental care, and with a wide range of health services which include provisions for the handicapped, the aged, the alcoholic, psychotic, disoriented, and other categories in need, such as pregnant women, nursing mothers and infants. It also provided state-owned and state-sponsored low-cost housing. It extended earlier provisions for free or low-cost education and training from the primary school to the university, and added or developed such supplementary school services as transport and career advice and placement for school leavers. It organized and subsidised social insurance to cover injury, accident, unemployment, retirement and other unavoidable reduction or loss of

income. Its welfare provisions also included maternity benefits, legal provisions to protect children against neglect or abuse and to supervise child adoption. In addition to unemployment and sickness benefits, old age pensions and the like, other supplementary payments from the Department of Health and Social Security are available where certain conditions of need are fulfilled. Following the recent riots in Liverpool, London and other major British cities, the present government announced various programs to reduce unemployment and frustration among the young, especially among young males of black or Asiatic descent. In so doing, it obliquely indicated some recognition of official responsibilities for ameliorative action to redress these categories of need. What has since been done to implement these announcements I cannot say, since British unemployment has steadily increased, but presumably there are Canadian equivalents for some or all of these British welfare provisions; and perhaps also Canada has some provisions that Britain has not got.

Comparison of Canadian and British social services will reveal their similarities as well as their differences, thus perhaps identifying particular programs which are presently not available in Canada, and others which are not adequate to the demand. By comparison with these British or Canadian structures, the social service situation in Jamaica ten years ago was primitive and inadequate in the extreme, however characteristic of Third World countries.

Nonetheless, together my two Jamaican surveys of 1974 and 1975 provide an appropriate basis for the evaluation and planned development of welfare provisions in industrial capitalist societies such as Britain and Canada, which combine political democracy with mixed economies of differing composition and structure. Accordingly I shall briefly sketch the second Jamaican survey to indicate its scope and its complementarity with that already reported.

Given my interests in assessing the volume and distribution of individual needs for social assistance in Jamaica and the adequacy and appropriateness of current provisions to meet those needs, this second survey sought to determine as accurately and completely as possible the set of service provisions available during the preceding twelve months to cope with the volumes and various kinds of need already surveyed (Smith, 1975a). At the same time I sought to learn the number, nature and variety, geographical and functional distributions, financial bases, staff complements and annual costs of each of the agencies that offered social assistance, together with the kinds of service they offered and the total number of clients each had served during the previous year. Simultaneously I tried to learn the status, forms and organizations of these differing agencies, their histories, and relationships with one another as well as with the public at large. The enquiry thus attempted an inventory of all social services, official and other, that operated in the island in 1974-75. For each of these units I tried to discover relevant details of its organization, staff complements and qualifications, budgetary source and composition, branch organization, operations and their outputs, together with the unit's relations with other service agencies, with various branches of government, with the churches, and with the public at large, particularly its affluent and needy sectors. The resulting compilation presented as nearly complete an inventory as I could make of the

institutional sources of social assistance available and operating in Jamaica during 1974-75, together with details of their geographical distribution, historical emergence, functional concerns and target populations.

In analysis these service agencies were classified firstly as public or government-staffed and organized, and private or unofficial and voluntary. To explore further the complementarities and overlaps in the public and private provisions of social services, these programs and agencies were then classified in 22 categories by their primary purposes and target populations. For example, all units that dealt with infants and their parents were grouped together, apart from those which dealt with young children only, and from others oriented to children aged from 7 to 18 years. There were also other agencies which catered exclusively or principally for women, for the aged, for the destitute, the unemployed, ex-prisoners and other offenders, for adults in need of housing or training, illiterates and semi-literates, for the differing kinds of handicapped, for the sick, for those needing immediate material aid, for depressed local areas, for specific ethnic groups and social categories, for those with special needs for legal aid, consumer advice, housing, public information and counsel, and so on. Altogether these agency data gave a detailed and comprehensive account of the supply side of the Jamaican social service sector, which could then be compared with the demand side I derived by extrapolation from the preceding survey to the national population. As we shall see, this was not the only set of comparisons that could usefully be drawn from these surveys. Thus, despite great differences in the social milieux, levels of development, and welfare provisions of Canada and Jamaica, I hope to show that studies of similar focus and scope adapted to Canadian conditions can provide an excellent base for constructive evaluation of current welfare provisions, both public and private, and especially for planning their improvement within the context of wider programs designed to promote economic development.

THE NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT

As this conference is particularly concerned with social and political services in the "developing West", and thus with action to promote regional development as well as social and political services, it seems appropriate at this point to consider, however briefly, the particular concept of development employed by economists and others engaged in advising or planning development for states and regions.

Contemporary concern with development originated after World War II among West European economists and planners who were primarily interested in promoting the economic recovery and reorientation to peacetime conditions of their war-ravaged countries as efficiently as conditions allowed (Lewis, 1949: ii-v, 1968:119; Tinbergen, 1968:103). From this beginning concepts of development and development planning rapidly took root and were soon applied globally and served to distinguish countries as developed, undeveloped, developing or underdeveloped, primarily by use of such measures as the size of Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and their average

annual per capita values. By standardizing these measures as indices of relative development, economists and planners were able to compare the economic performance and capacity of any country at different points in time, to ascertain changes in the volume and composition of its economy. They were also able to compare the economies of different countries at the same and different periods, and so to identify structural features and other conditions of economic significance. Hence increases of the GNP and GDP on aggregate and per capita bases were treated somewhat uncritically as excellent measures of progress or growth, and economic development was virtually equated with economic growth as demonstrated by increases in these values at successive intervals. Development plans accordingly concentrated on the promotion of further increases in the GNP or GDP of the countries or populations for which they were designed. To a large degree these orientations and assumptions still prevail among economists and government planners. Moreover, having equated economic development with economic growth as registered by increases in the GNP, these economic changes were also often equated with processes of social development, such as 'modernization', so that economic growth was assumed to subsume corresponding measures of social development.

However, neither are social and economic development identical and coincident, nor is development, economic or other, always the same as growth. Economic growth can and often does proceed without parallel economic development, as when extractive and other enclave industries in many tropical Third World countries inflate with their outputs the annual GNPs of these dependent economies, though most or all of their output is routinely transferred to the metropolitan home countries under arrangements that insulate them from the local economies. There are many other situations and ways in which growth as represented by increases in GNP may proceed without corresponding development of an economy or society.

To grasp firmly the nature of the difference between these processes, it is perhaps simplest to conceive development biologically, as was generally the case until economists adopted the concept after World War II for their own purposes. In the biological perspective, development is that process by which the capacity of a given unit to act more efficiently and appropriately in differing situations and conditions improves and increases. The unit in question may be an organism of interest to biologists or psychologists, or a state, a society, a region, or some other social aggregate. Whatever its nature, it is easy to see that such a unit may grow without corresponding development, as for example when the population or its economic output increases without corresponding improvements in its performance capacities and capabilities. Indeed, there may be development without growth, or even occasionally with some contraction of volume, as when the capacity and organization of a productive unit improves, despite real reductions of its turnover and output, as sometimes happens due to movements on the world market. The North American passion for slimming perhaps most neatly illustrates the general awareness that some kinds of development may only be achieved by reductions of volume. Other examples of this process include those miniaturizations of working parts that have promoted the recent

phenomenal increases in the capabilities of computers and other electronic devices. But the contrary case, of growth without development, is also of interest. Biologically that condition distinguishes defective and normal members of a species, the former being unable to perform normally for individuals of their sex and age, due to some unspecified defect or defects that frustrate their expected organic development without however arresting their physical growth. In contrast with defectives who suffer from giantism, pygmies and healthy able-bodied dwarfs display high capacities for physical and mental performance despite their relatively small size.

Two implications of this distinction are of interest here. Firstly, whether the units under discussion are organic or other, development involves enhancement of their adjustive and performance capacities. In human societies such development normally proceeds through increasing differentiation and interdependence of the unit's activities, components, and their relations, and typically finds expression in more efficient, complex and comprehensive networks of interaction and communication that multiply the variety, number and range of linkages between members of a given society. If so, then improvements in communication structures and processes that involve societal development may proceed without corresponding increases in the unit's GNP. On these grounds, much as Pericles long ago ranked Athens above Sparta in civilization and development, today most people would regard liberal democratic societies as more developed than totalitarian units of identical GNP and average per capita levels. These differences are institutional and of marginal interest to macro-economics, though objectively most relevant for development planning as well as for assessment of development levels.

DEVELOPMENT AND THE SERVICE SECTOR

The preoccupation of development economics and planning with aggregates and values of material products, whether of commodities, of energy, or capital goods, is easily understood in the context of the adoption by economists of certain concepts and of GNP growth rates as decisive measures of development and progress, given that, following conventional ideas, such products figure more prominently in the GNP than other utilities. Even energy can be computed in millions of barrels of oil, tons of coal, or other materials from which it is extracted; and like the other products referred to, these are often marketed abroad and figure prominently in world trade. Excluding finance, shipping, insurance and banking, services are less easily exported and are normally treated by economists as of secondary or marginal significance for economic development and growth. True, all systems of national accounting routinely contain tables that assign values for such activities as government, internal transport and distribution, which are all service functions, and they also distinguish the amounts paid to employees from other costs of production and sources of disposable income; yet even non-Marxist economists treat labour as a commodity like clothes, food, drugs, various kinds of equipment, automobiles and housing. In consequence the exponents of economic planning and theorists of

economic development concentrate their efforts and attention on increases in the production of material items, whether of capital equipment, buildings, energy or other commodities in their projections and estimates of GNP and analyses of its composition. Likewise, economic development plans routinely give priority to strategies that promise to increase outputs of material items and energy rather than services in the short, medium and long term. However, the marginal place and role assigned to service activities in these economic theories and development plans may be questioned on various grounds.

Of these grounds, the most important is also the most primitive and basic. Briefly, labour - most obviously in market and wage-based economies - is not a commodity, but a service, however constrained and controlled. Despite Marx, this is also true of systems of slavery and forced labour, which simply mean systems of forced human services, and not human commodities. Indeed the economist's pet category, commodities, is a genuine conceptual junk yard. Besides material objects such as buildings, machinery, ships, food, metals, textiles, etc., whether raw or manufactured, it includes art, literature, houses, land, money, cattle and human labour. By thus assimilating labour in a category dominated by material items, economists disguise and hide the essential difference between labour and all other requisites of production and economic activity. But if labour is distinguished from capital and consumption goods as a service, then that service alone represents nearly or over one-half of the GDP in modern economies. Moreover, if human labour is an essential requisite of economic activity, so too are those services on which its availability and performance depends, such as health, housing, transport, education and training. Taken together, these service components account for more than half the GNP, and their development should thus have priority in plans aimed at economic growth as a sector with high potential for further growth.

A major object of development planning and primary condition of economic development, namely the provision and maintenance of full employment (Tinbergen, 1964:118-119, 1968:104) as a goal, commits the plan to fulfill the basic social needs of able-bodied adults (Madge, 1968:126; Rein, 1968:1468). Of course, few economists would admit that the achievement and maintenance of full employment - minus the two to three percent of the labour force who are normally jobless even in contexts of 'full employment' - are service objectives, since they see 'full employment' as both the result and the prerequisite of optimal economic activity and growth. Nonetheless, as one of the central goals of economic planners, full or increased employment is consciously advocated on moral as well as strictly economic grounds as an obligation of modern states to provide their citizens with adequate opportunities for useful occupation. As partial compensation for failure to do so, since World War II several democratic Western states have developed systems of social security that seek to insure their citizens against loss of income as well as morale due to unemployment (Garvetz, 1968:517-519).

For much the same reasons, similar ambiguities surround the economist's classification of health, housing, education and training as services in modern welfare states, since these conditions are all essential for effective participation

of individuals in the economy, as full employment and increased productivity are inconceivable for a labour force which lacks health, housing, appropriate education and training. Separately and together, they are thus essential conditions and modes of optimal economic activity and development, even when classified as social services. In much the same way, though rarely if ever classified as services, adequate infrastructures of roads, ports, railways, electricity, communications and the like are indispensable for efficient industrial production; but they are no more indispensable than appropriate numbers of trained personnel having the skill and experience necessary to maintain the plant and its productive operations efficiently. Such supplies of human capital depend not only on the educational structures and processes through which the various types of personnel receive their training, but also on health delivery systems that keep them fit for work, housing provisions that enable them to live within reach of their workplace, and the material infrastructure that services them as well as the industry. Not only are the educational systems in modern states largely designed to produce such annual outputs of necessary human capital or resources in the way of trained manpower having the motivations as well as the skills to man the various economic, administrative and other organizations and activities without which the economy would flag and fail, but so too are state provisions for their citizens' health and housing. Should we then regard the educational provisions that generate such annual outputs of skilled manpower as the economy and polity require as social services, addressed to individuals, rather than as essential components and conditions of the industrial economy and polity? These and similar issues seem to me to indicate some weaknesses in the conventional classification by economists of various activities and provisions as services, productive or other, since the several functions seem to fall into several distinct categories simultaneously.

COLLECTIVE NEEDS

All the service sectors just mentioned, namely health, housing, education and training, require substantial capital outlays in the form of hospitals, schools, polytechnics, housing estates and equipment for their maintenance and operation. As these structures also require substantial inputs of labour, they demand careful preparation, design and organization by those responsible for them, whether these agencies are official or such unofficial bodies as churches. Clearly the material outlays involved in constructing and operating the service sectors of modern industrial states are economically significant, as also the work of planning and administering them. However, not only are these provisions and activities important features and products of a modern economy, they are also its essentials as well. They accordingly figure among the goals of economic planning and development, along with airfields, highways, bridges, factories, grain production targets, and much else. The point is surely that education, health, housing, law and order are no less indispensable preconditions of modern economic organization and development than the more familiar requisites of energy, raw materials, manufactures and the like. Accordingly, to promote

economic development of an industrial society, it is necessary to plan optimal outputs of these services so as to ensure the full and efficient participation of the able-bodied population in the economic system.

The diametrical opposite of those strictly 'economic' utilities that satisfy our material wants are such activities as sport, entertainment, music, pursuit of the arts, literature and pure science, religious experience and the like, which clearly do not pursue material objectives. In modern society these activities contribute notably to full employment and to the GNP, as well as to the quality of life, the patterns and standards of living and total satisfaction of the populations that practise, support and finance them. In modern bourgeois societies, entertainment and sports have the organization and scale of minor industries; and this also seems true of certain Marxist societies in Europe and Asia. In addition, pursuit of the fine arts, music, literature, pure science and religious verities is clearly of no less significance for the people, or for their material and other inputs and outputs, than entertainment and sports. Added together, the market values of these 'minor industries' and their ancillaries may yield significant though modest fractions of GNP and the employed labour force. To their exponents, these latter pursuits have intrinsic values of aesthetic, intellectual or spiritual kinds which are regarded as superior to those of economic materialism. Thus if economics truly studies the satisfaction of human wants in conditions of scarcity, it somehow has to accommodate these non-material interests, and, in view of their generality, to include them within the plans for economic development of any society. This is so since, despite its common expression in terms of GNP, economic development refers to and consists of improvements in the organization and capacities of particular populations rather than mere increases in their capital endowments and/or material outputs. Thus insofar as these and similar pursuits are felt by people to be important to the quality and pattern of life, these values cannot be ignored in planning or computing the economic status and progress of those populations. As we learnt millenia ago, "Man does not live by bread alone;" and any notion of the pattern or standard of living of a modern industrial society which excludes sport, entertainment, religion, art, science, enjoyment of natural beauty, literature and the like, but includes oil, butter, metals, grain and drugs on the one hand, guns, missiles, nuclear bombs, submarines, and armies on the other, is absurd.

To their devotees, sport, arts, literature, drama, music, science and religion are ends in themselves, and are thus sufficient rewards for the efforts invested in them. For those multitudes who provide their audiences, the spectators, listeners, readers and others, such displays of athletic prowess, artistic skill, religious devotion or scientific and technical brilliance are frequently the most outstanding expressions of the human spirit and abilities available for observation and experience. Without the chance to enjoy these matchless events, life would lose much of its joy and meaning for large numbers of people whose collective output in material production contributes to the GNP. On these and other grounds, such activities and the satisfactions they produce seem as relevant for economic planning and development as the production and consumption of cement, bauxite, coal, oil and the like. However, these pursuits differ signifi-

cantly from those basic needs that individuals and families may have for social assistance with which we are concerned.

Firstly, sport, art and entertainment, religion, science, literature and the like are collective activities and interests. Individuals who actively pursue them commonly have collective orientations, whether as communicators, composers, writers or performers, scholars or scientists. Typically, also, the society provides collective resources such as theatres, concert halls, stadia, universities, libraries, laboratories and the like for the pursuit of these activities; and nowadays industrial states support and promote them as liberally as they can, for economic reasons as well as their intrinsic value. Thus these essentially human interests represent collective needs of the society as a whole rather than basic needs of the separate individuals who compose it; and this is true even of those gifted persons who are driven to pursue such vocations by forces within that they can neither evade nor control. Unless such individuals fail somehow to have access to one or other of the collective agencies that specialize in their chosen field, then their basic individual needs will be satisfied by current collective arrangements. Otherwise the unsatisfied individual has a need which, although of differing kind, is not unlike that of another who seeks some particular kind of training, education or medical care without success. For present purposes, such will only be regarded as basic needs for social assistance if they prevent individuals who have them from participating fully and continuously in the social and economic life of their communities.

INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

It is important to distinguish collective from individual needs, since individuals can rarely, if ever, by their private and independent actions satisfy collective needs, whereas a collectivity can and normally does try to meet certain categories of individual need for its members. Insofar as individuals or families have needs which cannot be met with the resources at their disposal, such needs will either remain unsatisfied or they must be met by social assistance of some sort from some source, whether official or private. However, within the category of individual needs for social assistance, I wish to distinguish basic needs from other kinds of individual needs. Basic needs are only those which must be met in order that the individual may participate effectively and continuously in the social and economic life of the community, within the limits of his or her capabilities. It is only with the basic needs of individuals and families that I am here concerned; but as we shall see, this is a rather extensive domain. Insofar as some collective needs may be classified as basic on the ground that unless they are met, the collectivity can neither exist nor flourish, such basic collective needs will consist of the basic needs of its individual members, together with those conditions which are prerequisites for the organization and operation of the collectivity in its particular situation.

As defined here, other basic needs of individuals are those conditions that must be met in order that they can participate continuously and effectively in the society and economy within the limits of their competence. It is evident that

an individual cannot participate in either of these two systems, the economy and the society, without doing so in the other, since they are so closely and intimately interrelated. Thus immigrant workers in Western Europe whose relations with their host societies are asymmetric and marginal, do not have the chance to participate as freely and fully as natives in those economies. Neither, clearly, do black or coloured workers in the Republic of South Africa, since apartheid severely restricts their social and economic freedom. Likewise, women who are denied equivalent statuses with men as regards access to public institutions on the one hand, or to educational and occupational opportunities, including employment and promotion, on the other, are severely disadvantaged and often have unsatisfied individual needs as a result of such denials of their basic rights. In much the same way, immigrant and other workers who are denied effective industrial organization, as for example, by exclusion from trades unions, are thereby denied essential assistance against exploitation. Other basic needs commonly covered by civil laws include rights of free association, free speech, free movement, freedom of worship and occupation, and much else that we now commonly take for granted in Western countries, even though these freedoms have only recently been extended to all their people, are often honoured in the breach, and do not obtain in many modern states. Nonetheless it is evident that without such rights, individuals can neither participate freely and continuously in their society and its economy, nor as effectively as they otherwise would. It follows, therefore, that any systematic and comprehensive study of basic individual needs must study carefully the experience that individuals and families of differing categories and conditions have had of the police and the civil and legal authorities in that society.

It is well known that police are prone to stereotype negatively members of disadvantaged racial, ethnic and other social categories, and to behave accordingly. In some cases, such individuals may be killed or apprehended without warrant even in a society dedicated to the rule of law. Of equal interest are the many different situations in which poor plaintiffs or defendants lack adequate legal advice and representation in the pursuit of their claims in and outside the courts. The incidence and distribution of these individual needs must be systematically covered in any comprehensive survey of a population's basic needs; and where official or other agencies freely provide legal aid to citizens in need, whether in criminal issues only or for civil matters as well, the organization and efficacy of such assistance merit attention no less than the organization and efficacy of public health provisions. Likewise, individuals who are unable to participate according to their ability in the society and economy due to linguistic differences clearly need adequate opportunities to learn the language of those around them.

THE EXPANSION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

If basic needs consist in those conditions that prevent individuals from participating in the economy and society as effectively as they could, then clearly action to satisfy such needs should have direct and far-reaching impact

on the economy and its development. It should do so in at least two ways: firstly, by increasing the variety and volume of efficient human resources available for economic activities; and secondly, by increasing the effective demand of the service sector addressed to these needs within the economy. As regards increase of employment opportunities, these two functions overlap to some extent, since adequate provisions for increased and improved social services addressed to a population's basic needs will surely involve increased numbers of skilled personnel, together with extended physical provisions, such as offices and equipment, training facilities, and the like, to cope with the increased body of work. Insofar as these services achieve their aims, they equip and release manpower for productive employment in other sectors of the economy and so contribute to the increase of effective demand for consumer goods and services by those they have served.

The most immediate, though not the most important way in which comprehensive efforts to satisfy the basic needs of individuals within a given society will enhance its economy, is clearly by increasing substantially the volume, variety, value and output of its social service sector. This simultaneously reduces the economy's dependence for growth on its output of material goods, many of which require imports of raw material and energy, while promoting genuine economic development by simultaneously increasing, diversifying and integrating the economically gainful and relevant activities in the expanded service sector, and by promoting new linkages and forms of organization in the economy and society alike. In these ways, carefully planned and implemented programs designed to satisfy the basic needs of individuals within a population will enrich and promote social and economic development while reducing dependence on foreign imports or trade, since the increased economic activities of this expanded social service sector are all purely internal, in production, distribution and consumption alike.

In conclusion it is necessary to sketch briefly the procedures by which this proposed expansion of social services could be organized and integrated with other areas of development planning so as to achieve optimal courses and rates of social and economic development, as well as growth in GNP. Of the essential preliminary enquiries on which any rational plan to expand, reorganize or develop the current set of service provisions in a given population must rest, three have already been mentioned, two of these with some extended illustrations from previous work in Jamaica. These three surveys are, first, comprehensive surveys of the distribution, variety and volume of basic needs of individuals and families in a representative sample of the target population, designed to permit extrapolation of their profiles to the total community for the preceding twelve months, and for other periods as deemed appropriate. Successive surveys and other studies of these distributions that focus on different periods of time should provide useful data on which to base estimates of current trends and rates that will affect and modify these distributions in the near future. Short-term projections may thus be developed from these data.

The second task is to undertake a systematic census of all agencies, operations and facilities that enter into the present structure of social services, in

order to determine, *inter alia*, their distribution by function, target population, status as public or private, by location, size, endowments, resources of money and manpower, as well as by their operational costs, procedures, relations and outputs over given time spans. Such data will indicate immediately opportunities for rationalization of the prevailing service structure by eliminating unnecessary duplication of provisions in certain local areas and for certain categories of need, while other areas and categories in need lack service facilities (Smith: *in press*). Other relatively low-cost opportunities for immediate improvement and rationalization of the currently existing service structure will include measures of economy to ensure that the public receives optimal return for its outlays from the system by redistributing service responsibilities between agencies that deliver equivalent functions at differing costs, by redistributing qualified personnel, funds, equipment and plant with similar objectives, and by rationalizing the administrative organization and working relations within, among and between the public and private agencies, in order to improve the quality and quantity of their several and joint provisions.

The third set of data required to guide plans for rationalization and development of the current social service sector consists of reliable and detailed information on public attitudes, opinion, and knowledge of these service provisions and of the differing needs they seek to satisfy. In polling public views and knowledge of these conditions and services, both public and private, special efforts should be made to determine the rank ordering by public opinion of these needs and current provisions, as well as popular assessments and experience of the latter, and popular expectations and wishes about their future patterns and volumes. These enquiries may involve successive surveys of differing population samples to identify popular priorities for this sector of relevance to planners. They should also provide firm estimates of public support for particular programs and development on the one hand, and of reservations or criticisms of others.

Together, the three sets of data just cited should furnish an appropriate basis and framework for the design of plans to improve and extend the social service sector by specific measures in specific directions and towards specific targets over successive time intervals within the contexts of more comprehensive development plans for the economy of the region or country.

An initial comparison of the prevailing profile and volume of basic needs with the service outputs and capacities of the various agencies at work in the area will show where demands for services exceed supply, both functionally and geographically, as well as the opposite, namely, those areas and conditions for which present service supplies exceed known demand. Insofar as individuals still need services that are currently available, and which they have sought in vain, clearly their unsatisfied needs indicate some shortages in the present supply of these services, and suggest measures for their expansion to meet current volumes of demand.

After working out preliminary programs for the rationalization of current service provisions within present resources, including geographical and functional rearrangements to eliminate irrationalities and diseconomies, the areas for which

current provisions are insufficient will be clearly revealed, thereby directing the attention of planners, social administrators and sociologists to the task of planning to achieve these targets within given periods of time. While further studies of specific sets of service needs and provisions undertaken to check or clarify findings of the early work will sometimes modify these estimates of shortages to be planned for, it is unlikely that the preceding profile of sectoral needs, trends, and their magnitudes will require radical revision. Accordingly, preliminary work on the development plan could begin while supplementary field surveys and other research are under way.

The sociologists, social administrators, social service personnel and others involved in developing these plans will need to establish positive priorities among various categories of need and locality, and tentatively to assign target magnitudes for increased provisions in each of these for successive periods of time. Once these goals are accepted, specialists in the social services can readily identify the precise numbers and nature of the various resource inputs that each requires to be realized. The production and supply of these requisites must then be carefully planned to assure their availability when wanted, in order that the time-limited goals of the sector and its various sub-sectors will be met. At this stage a number of alternative plans and strategies for the achievement of the common final goal, giving different priorities to different sub-sectors and assigning targets and input requisites of differing size for various time periods should be worked out for presentation to those planners who are specifically concerned with other spheres of the development plan for the region's economy.

At some point, decisions have to be made concerning the optimal, maximal and minimal goals of the social service sector and its projected expansion within the more general development plan for short-term, mid-term and long-term periods. To a degree, these decisions will depend on the estimates accepted by economists and by the political directorate of the contributions that planned increases in social services may be expected to make to economic development, to full or increased employment, and to the reduction of social needs, tensions and distress among the people. At that point, having first worked out alternative programs for this sector over the same and different time spans, the sociologists, social administrators and others concerned to integrate rationalization and development of the social service sector with the economic development plan will have to persuade economists, politicians and administrators of the material advantages for regional and national development of the proposals they advocate, and not merely of their desirability, equity or urgency. In the process they will have to discuss several of the issues raised above, and the measure of their achievement should be evident not only in the development of the social services and reduction in the volume of unsatisfied basic needs in the society, but also in the expansion, reorientation and improved results of current efforts to promote development.

NOTES

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