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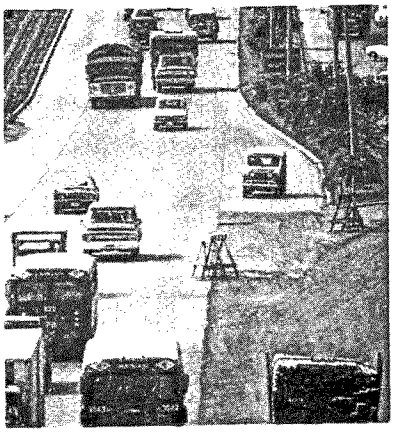

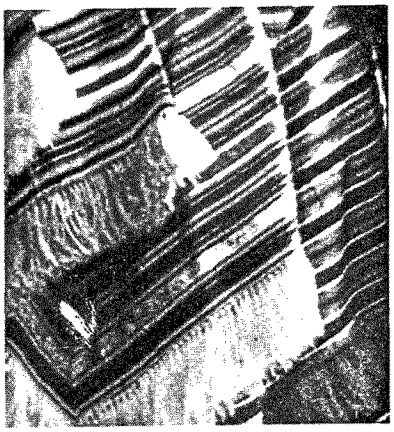

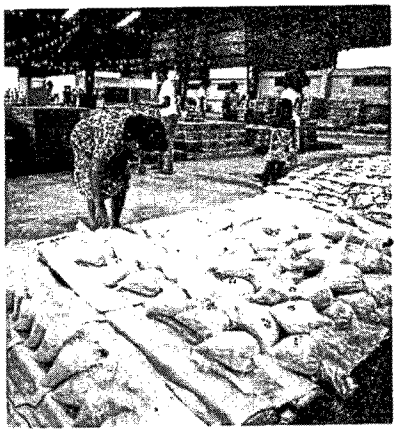

BASIC NEEDS

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Soedjatmoko

Indonesian National Development Planning Agency for Social and Cultural Affairs

It is impossible to view with any degree of equanimity the statistical indications, reflected in the 1978 World Development Report of the IBRD, that by the year 2000 the total number in the world of absolutely poor will be 600 million, of which 540 million will live in the low income countries. If one, then, thinks of its human implications and of what such a situation could do to the possibilities for the growth of open societies in the future, the prospect simply becomes too appalling to contemplate.

It should be realized that in the low income countries especially, poverty is not a new phenomenon. There are whole regions, or pockets within those countries, in which absolute poverty has been endemic for generations. In these areas, one finds a markedly shorter life expectancy, a much higher infant mortality rate than the national average, severe malnutrition, and as a result a large percentage of people stunted in their physical, psychic, cognitive and social capabilities, affecting their capacity to respond to, and interest with, their environment. It is not too difficult to visualize what the presence of a large underclass of permanently damaged people could do to the prospect of a free and open society. It makes development theories which accept the inevitability of absolute poverty lasting two or more generations unacceptable to any self respecting nation, however poor.

It is against the background of the incapacity of earlier develoment strategies to deal with the problem of poverty through the trickle down effect of economic growth, that the so-called "basic needs" approach to development was developed as a direct attack on poverty. Rejecting the implications for the developing countries of the "Limits to Growth" report to the Club of Rome, the Bariloche Foundations in Argentine was the first to develop, on the basis of certain assumptions regarding resource availability and environmental constraints, a world model which tried to show the feasibility of meeting the basic needs of people all over the world. This approach was subsequently taken up by the ILO in 1976 in the document "Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One World Program", and has since become part of the accepted phraseology of the international development community. The Basic Needs approach, then, constitutes an attempt to come to grips directly with world poverty by meeting the basic needs of the lowest 40% income group, in the fields of food, nutrition, health, education, housing, as well as through employment, and income generating activities coupled with family planning. It is predicated on a policy package consisting of a relatively high growth rate (6-8%), redistribution of income and—up to a point—wealth, re-orientation of investment, and a review of consumption and production patterns. Subsequently, the concept has been broadened to include certain non-material human needs which together can be taken as quantifiable determinants of the quality of life among the poor.

Even though the basic needs approach originated in the Third World, a strong trend has recently developed in the Third World rejecting the concept of basic needs. This reversal

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* The views presented here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Indonesian National Development Planning Agency, to which the author is adviser. This article is the second of the Ishizaka Memorial Lecture Series delivered by Dr. Soedjatmoko in Tokyo on March 19, 1979.

in attitude does not stem so much from the concept itself, as with the manner in which the concept was perceived and used by industrial countries in their dealing with developing countries. The supply of social services to meet basic needs does, in fact, require mainly domestic and not foreign financing. The basic needs approach was, therefore, perceived by many in the Third World, and not without some justification, as a means for some industrial countries to reduce their aid levels by tying, and thus limiting, foreign aid resources to basic needs projects. It also provided them at the same time with an excuse to do so while being able to sound a high moralistic note, as if they had discovered poverty in the developing world, and as if they were more concerned about the poor than the elites in the developing countries themselves. It allowed for an easy way out in a setting that was characterized by a general disillusionment among major donor nations with the results of foreign aid over the past two decades, and by the growing deterioration of the economic situation in their own countries as well as internationally. This was creating difficulties in maintaining sufficient domestic political support for existing foreign aid levels. The suspicion also arose that the popularity of the basic needs approach in industrial countries reflected an unexpressed desire on their part to keep the Third World as non-competitive, largely pastoral societies, although maybe a little better fed, housed and educated.

The Primacy of Absolute Poverty Elimination: I

Irrespective of whether such perceptions are correct or constitute too unfair a dismissal of genuine concern with world poverty, the basic needs approach has undoubtedly added to the conceptual and operational tools of development. But even in terms of its own stated goals, as well as in relation to the question of freedom, the basic needs approach has serious deficiencies when it comes to reaching the absolutely poor. Although certainly not so intended (by its authors), basic needs could be met in authoritarian or paternalistic ways, which do nothing to remove the sense of powerlessness and dependency of the poor.

After all, a zoo is also a place where basic needs are being met. But it should also be possible—and it certainly is necessary—to meet these needs in ways that release their creative energies, that build up their self-reliance, and their confidence in themselves, making them in this way freer persons. It has, fortunately in a way, turned out that the simple provision of basic social services does not automatically lead to their use by the poor in general. Only if the poorer communities organize themselves and participate actively in their planning and utilization, is there a chance that the facilities provided will actually be used and will assume their place in the life of the community. However, even community participation, experience has shown, does not ensure participation by the poorest among them. Often, the relevant information about new facilities or opportunities does not reach them. What is more difficult to remedy however is, that many of them are tied up, during the whole day and part of the night, with all the members of the family who are old enough to work, in very low-paying, very unproductive work, simply in order to ensure their continued subsistence. They have no time to spare to go to the village healthpost, or participate in any voluntary type of community activity, nor can they afford to take the risks involved in any new opportunities opened by a variety of government programs in rural development or food production. Only assured higher income from work or from welfare support, would enable them to abandon the mere survival strategy which they have had to adopt to stay alive.

We know in fact very little about the dynamics of the survival strategy which enables the absolutely poor and their families to survive after a fashion. We do know how totally dependent they are on the fluctuations of wages and food prices. They cannot afford to reject any wages offered, however low, nor to postpone the purchase of foodstuff when prices are high. But we really don't know enough about the social structures and the cultures of absolute poverty, to enable us to break the pattern of powerlessness, of exploitation and permanent indebtedness that keeps them in a state of dependency bordering on slavery. Still, this has to be done, if the larger amount of external resources made available to them

is not to flow back to people in the city or their richer fellow villagers.

We also don't know enough about the geography of poverty: where the absolutely poor are exactly, nor do we know enough about the specific causes of each particular situation. Often, the absolutely poor are to be found in small isolated islands, or in remote mountain valleys, where history has passed them by. But sometimes they live close by, in places not too far from more developed areas, but isolated by the poverty of their natural resource endowment. Generally, they are in quite large numbers, found among the landless in the countryside, and many are women. They live with their destitution unrecognized, because of the persistence of the myths about village life among the urban elite, in which social harmony, mutual help and spirit of shared poverty is assumed to prevail, while in reality sharp distinctions in social stratification have developed, and traditional mutual obligations have been replaced by contractual monetary relationships. And there are of course, the very poor in shanty towns and city slums, and those who sleep on sidewalks and under bridges. Each situation requires different ways of reaching them. In many cases, breaking the isolation through linkage with wider transportation and communication networks will be enough to activate them. In other cases, the key lies in breaking the pattern of exploitation and dependency, through releasing people from their indebtedness, while at the same time providing them with alternative, and less exploitative ways, of financing their activies, or through opening alternative employment opportunities. But quite often, too, the land on which they live is so poor and remote, and the resignation of its people so great, that solutions may not be easy. It will require specific concentrated efforts and the application of the best minds of the country, from the universities, from the voluntary associations, or from the businessworld, applyng their entrepreneurial ability in order to find the less obvious solutions that are still within the reach of these people. And as a last resort, there is of course the possibility of resettlement.

It is clear therefore, that the absolutely poor cannot be reached and helped through a generalized basic needs approach. It will require the laying on of a special track before they can overcome the specific mental, physical and social debilities associated with absolute poverty, and become responsive to the opportunities offered through the basic needs approach and to the community activities which make these facilities meaningful. Such a *special track* in the development strategy must have *first claim on the total national resources of the country,* if the attack on absolute poverty is to be effective at all, and if the persistence of absolute poverty is not to have a permanent effect on the nature of the society that development is supposed to bring forth. It also requires a special effort from economists and social scientists to help us understand better the phenomenon of absolute poverty in its various manifestations and to get an operational handle on the problem.

The Basic Needs Approach: II

It goes without saying that the special track has to lead into the more general effort at overcoming rural and urban poverty and backwardness thus also reducing the dualistic character of the economy, through a general basic needs approach. I have dealt elsewhere at some length with the various programs that this approach involves, and will therefore on this occasion only stress those aspects which have a bearing on our general topic.

The limited experience in various countries thus far, has shown that the supply of basic services are only fully utilized if they become integral parts of the self-organisation and self-management capacity of the urban and rural poor. But it is with this revitalisation of the countryside and the informal sector in the cities that the modernizing bureaucratic state has the greatest difficulty. It has proven to be extremely difficult to reverse the trend towards overbureaucratisation of the countryside in favor of an essentially hands-off policy which allows, with or without the help of non-governmental voluntary organisations, grassroots organisations to develop, for cooperative effort in the marketing of agricultural produce, the purchase of fertilisers and pesticides and other needed commodities, in water management, in developing credit unions and building associations, or non-agricultural entreprises. It takes a while for the rural bureaucracy to realize that accountability to their members of the informal leaders

elected to hold formal positions in such organisations, constitute the greatest educational and self corrective mechanism, and the greatest force towards rural emancipation. It also takes time for a traditionally paternalistic bureaucracy to realize the crucial importance of decentralisation. Also, that it should not feel threatened by the growing capacity for self-organisation and self-management, and that the security risks perceived are outweighed by the developmental dynamics released in this way. It opens the way towards village autonomy and active village participation in development planning and implementation. Another obstacle is the fact that many governmental programs aimed at increasing food production and the supply of credit facilities to generate income and employment are directed towards individual villagers. This tends to further atomize the village rather than stimulate organisation. They also tend to ignore existing patterns of social stratification, and the desirability for the poorest villagers to organize themselves separately as an essential step towards improving their local bargaining position, in the defence, or the promotion of their own specific interests.

Just as the attempts to reach and help the absolutely poor require the breaking up of traditional social structures that keep them in a state of permanent indebtedness and dependency, the more general effort at integrated rural development through a basic needs approach, also requires structural reform to overcome the impediments to its effective implementation. This implies land reform, improved land tenure practices, and the consolidation of fragmented small holdings into higher yielding farm systems through group and cooperative organisations. Also, the adoption of price policies for different foodstuffs favors the rural area than the urban, in a manner which stimulates food production and increases rural income, while at the same time ensuring improved calory and protein intake among the urban poor and rural landless labor. In general, the economic revitalisation of the countryside through the basic needs approach also needs changing the terms of trade between the urban and the rural sectors to the advantage of the latter through realignment of import and export duties, and a review of the exchange rate in order to change the relative valuation of labor and capital in favor of labor.

The basic needs approach also requires industrial policies giving priority to labor intensive industries and labor intensive production processes compatible with the requirements of efficiency: policies favoring capital intensive industries serving small rural entreprises (e.g. processing plants, cold storage facilities, motorized fishing boats, owned, or about to be owned, by cooperatives of primary producers); locational policies ensuring proper geographical distribution of industries throughout the rural areas, and where possible with forward and backward linkages to local production and service capabilities; policies which prevent modern sector entreprises to compete unduly with local entreprises in the rural areas, using local materials; and finally, policies directing new investments in the modern sector to support these policies.

In addition, it needs an increase in the number of non-exploitative linkages between the modern and the rural sectors, the development of a network of agricultural support services, road systems and transportation facilities, once rural institutions and capabilities have become strong enough.

The basic needs approach therefore calls for institutional reform at the national level and macroeconomic policies that are supportive of it. Without them, any achievement in rural development will eventually be short-lived. It is therefore a fallacy to assume that the basic needs approach could ever be a development strategy by itself. At best, it is an essential element of one which requires fundamental changes in the pattern of growth underlying the development strategy.

The basic needs approach is often seen and presented, as a means towards more equitable distribution of income as well as of the development burden. Shifts in the patterns of growth coupled with an emphasis on basic needs, undoubtedly have an improved distributive effect.

There are however some cases when income distribution will not be adequate to achieve a more equitable society. The initial distribution of wealth may be so skewed, or baseline productive capacity may be so low, that redistribution of assets may be inevitable. Even then, in large, populous developing countries an unusually high growth rate and a rapidly expanding modern

sector, may still not be able to absorb the large labor surplus resulting from the modernisation of agriculture. Therefore, irrespective of whether a strategy pursued is that of growth before distribution, growth with distribution, or distribution before growth, a separate effort to eliminate successfully absolute poverty with a first claim on national resources, will still be necessary. No development strategy which treats absolute poverty as a residual problem will do. We will have to turn development thinking upside down.

Once absolute poverty and all attendant physical and mental debilities are overcome, a great deal of developmental energy among the poor may be released. In those regions in India where this has happened, we were also witnessing major shifts in the distribution of economic as well as political power between the lower and the higher castes, amounting to a quiet social revolution. Because it is almost an autonomous process, it is accompanied by a great deal of rural violence. Nevertheless, it is an ongoing process which undoubtedly will profoundly change both Indian politics and culture. As the Indian experience shows, the emergence of the poor into the political and economic life of the country, is a process that is uneven and very much dependent on the local coincidence of protective and stimulating political leadership, and aptitudes, drives and organizing capacity among the poor.

Obviously, even when absolute poverty has been overcome, the basic needs approach among the poor is still essential. Income, food, nutrition, and health, including clean water, might be the most urgent ingredients of such an approach. Then efforts at combining legislation on the national and regional levels, and the development of organisational capability could follow. Community organisations and activities should not only have access to relevant information in sufficient quantity, but should also become part of an informational universe at the local and regional levels. The amount and kinds of information usually dispensed through extension workers or the village chieftain, simply won't be enough to provide the mental stimulation and the awareness of opportunities that the revitalisation of the poor requires. This includes not only access to information and information channels but also shared control over information channels. The decentralisation of information networks, and the democratisation of their control would be essential preconditions for such success.

Redressing Structural Disparities: Regional Development and Indigenous Entrepreneurship: III

If rural development through the basic needs approach enables a former colony to overcome one major structural deficiency, i.e. the dualistic character of its economy, there are other structural imbalances inherited from both the colonial and pre-colonial periods which need to be redressed. The new post-colonial nations generally emerged with a strongly developed center, symbolized by their primate cities, and an underdeveloped periphery. Historical trading routes added to the uneven development among the various regions of the country, an imbalance which lies at the root of the many international and inter-ethnic tensions, rivalries and conflicts which have marked the history of the post independence period of many of these nations. A development strategy which takes these structural imbalances for granted, is bound to run into considerable political problems, when economic growth turns out to aggravate rather than to reduce these problems. This therefore calls for one other track in the development efforts, namely regional development aimed specifically at removing the cause of such tensions and pursued simultaneously with economic growth.

There is also on this point another imbalance which will have to be redressed, i.e. the one between the foreign and the domestic sectors of the economy. Colonial rule was characterized by the domination of the foreign sector. There were few indigenous entrepreneurs of any significance while the mediating role, connecting the traditional hinterland and the colonial center, was entrusted largely to particular ethnic groups, who were either indigenous to the region, or whose immigration was encouraged by the colonial rules. The transformation in the post independence period from an essentially colonial economy to a national growth economy turns around the development of an indigenous entrepreneurial class, capable of standing on its own, and no longer de-

pendent on the foreign sector in its country, or on other external economic forces. In many of these countries, these indigenous entrepreneurs came after independence from the western educated upper class, often after some experience in the government bureaucracy, either through the civil service or through the government entreprises. The development of an independent entrepreneurial middle class however, does not only depend on this relatively small number of people, but will in the long run depend in large measure on a developing nation's capacity to turn small traders and entrepreneurs in the cities' informal sector, as well as in the countryside into modern businessmen.

The developmental potential of these traditional peddlers, artisans, and small entrepreneurs, is often overlooked in the more conventional pursuit of economic growth. A development strategy which aims at social justice by overcoming structural imbalances, as well as by broadening the social base of development, cannot afford to overlook this potential resource. Regional and rural employment creating development may in this respect also become an important factor in the development of such a middle class.

A former colony which wants to lay the foundations for equitable development then, will have to make a deliberate effort at overcoming the structural disparities it has inherited, while pursuing economic growth. This leads to four separate but interdependent tracks along which it will have to pursue development goals simultaneously. The first track deals with absolute poverty and which should have first, an uncontestable, claim on total national resources.

The second, into which the first leads, is rural development through a basic needs approach. The third track aims at removing other structural imbalances that have to do with the center-periphery, city-countryside, modern-traditional, and intraregional disparities and imbalances. It also includes the separate, but in many ways overlapping effort of building an indigenous entrepreneurial class. The fourth track is the development of the modern sector.

Growth and the Modern Sector: IV.

Beyond the need to give priority to labor intensive industries in the modern sector and to enlarge—as much as is consistent with efficiency standards—the labor intensive component in production processes, development studies have paid relatively little attention to the kind of modern sector development which would fit an overall employment generating equity model. Whatever the development model used, the modern sector constitutes the main engine of growth. Until rural sector modernisation and industrialisation has managed to develop its own internal engines of growth, overall growth will very much depend on the dynamism of the modern sector. The two sectors, however, do not automatically dovetail.

The methodology to bring this about and to stimulate the growth of the modern sector in this direction, however, is woefully inadequate as is the theoretical underpinning of such a methodology. The problems to be faced therefore are many. It is obvious for instance, that the small scale rural and informal urban sector industries need in their initial stages, some protection against the more efficient, more capital and technology intensive modern industries. Very little is known about how to do this effectively and efficiently without harming longer term growth. The new Indian five-year plan has drawn up a now continuously expanding list of products that should not be manufactured by the modern sector, but reserved for the rural areas and the informal sectors. Even when this policy is effective, it remains uncertain whether production of these goods in rural areas and informal sectors will actually take place on the scale needed and envisioned. A great deal more thought should be given to this legitimate problem, and a great deal more experimentation is needed as well.

Another area requiring more study and experimentation is the potential complementarity between the modern and the modernizing traditional sectors, through for instance, the development of forward and backward linkages of a non-exploitative nature with productive capability in the rural areas and the informal sector of urban or rural-based high technology industries. Particular forms of technical assistance to such small scale entreprises owned by weak segments of the population should be developed as well.

Present approaches, popular in many UN agencies, which set up nationwide advisory systems to assist small businesses in solving

their problems, seem ineffective. Other possibly more localized, specific methods will have to be devised, especially those which do not further enlarge the central bureaucracy in rural areas. A more effective search should also be conducted towards forms of collective ownership of high technology processing facilities of rural produce, like cold storage plants for fish, or sugar mills, by its primary producers.

The equity problem exists in the modern sector itself, as a result of the natural capitalist tendencies towards capital accumulation, concentration of wealth and economic power. The problem however is even more fundamental. The democratisation of the modernizing bureaucratic state, necessary for continued development, equitable growth and stability, requires the effective prevention of collusion, and even marriage, between economic and political power. In some developing countries such collusion, leading to the concentration of politically protected wealth in a small number of families, has already led to a breakdown of the political system or fragmentation of the country, or both. Prevention of such possibility then, calls for the detachment of government entreprises from the exclusive control by particular segments of the bureaucracy, in order to prevent these entreprises from becoming their private fiefdoms, and also to prevent them from gaining control over the government bureaucracy. It also calls for the democratisation of control of state entreprises in general, and the development of a broad basis of social ownership, through participation of their workers, labor-unions, associate cooperatives, consumers, as well as of course, of the government. Already at an early stage, anti-trust legislation, applicable both to government entreprises and to private corporations will be necessary. There is also a need for explicit conflict of interest regulations, and openness and public accountability in business transactions between government and private companies. It may also be necessary to develop effective means for social control of large private corporations, through taxation and investment policies, including capital gains tax or other forms of redistribution fo retained earnings, and also through legislation governing labor-management relations, including workers' participation in management and forms of equity sharing.

There is already a large body of experience in many industrial countries on various forms—expressions of different ideological and philosopohical orientations, and even a few experiments in some developing countries, which developing countries should do well to draw lessons from, when it comes to shaping production relations in the modern sector in ways which will not reduce the incentives towards economic growth, but at the same time will also make them serve other social ends. There is actually no reason why capitalism, domestic as well as international, should reserve its more socially responsible face only for the industrial world, while pursuing 19th century styles of operation in the Third World. In this respect, important lessons could also be drawn from some of the very significant experimentations, e.g. in Sweden and the United States, in the organisation of work in the production process, with a view to provide greater job satisfaction, preserve human dignity, and prevent alienation and loss of morale.

A modern sector structured in this fashion need not be inimical to private foreign investment. It may, in fact, reduce potential hostility of critics who tend to look at the presence of transnational corporations as a major source of rigidities hampering adjustment to a more equitable development pattern, and to the democratisation of the modernizing bureaucratic state. Such a modern sector might even be capable of absorbing much larger foreign investment at lower political cost. At the same time, there is an urgent need for new, non-conventional forms of private investment. Some of these have been suggested in a study of the Trilateral Commission. They are: technology transfer, including local production, separate from equity and management participation; gradual transfer of ownership to local entrepreneurs, with the help of a special disinvestment fund; broadening of production sharing arrangements beyond the now generally accepted area of the extractive industries; and transfer of know-how of medium and small scale industries with the help of donor government funds to private entreprise. Some of these suggestions are of special importance for the development of the rural and urban informal sectors in the first three tracks of a multitrack development strategy. It is in these areas

that industrial countries could significantly contribute to an equitable development pattern which is increasingly responsive to the needs of human freedom. It would also dispel the notion that in the final analysis private foreign investment in developing countries, often closely allied with the holders of power or their extensions into the bureaucracy or the domestic private sector, feels most comfortable in authoritarian situations where social unrest can be suppressed.

This picture would not be complete without some reference to a new phenomenon in the pattern of international resource flows: the international capital markets, which have in the most recent years been responsible for a considerable amount of lending to developing countries. Important as the phenomenon is, it should not be overlooked that these markets serve mainly the middle income countries. Also, large borrowings from the capital markets make governments of developing countries excessively concerned with maintaining their credit worthiness. To this end, and to enable in that way their international bankers to roll over these generally short term credits, the flexibility of governments to meet needs of social development and other developmental goals is reduced, and the development process becomes seriously stalled. Apart from the vulnerability of the system in general, a political backlash against this kind of borrowing may develop with serious consequences for both the borrowing government, and for North-South relations in general. It is primarily for this reason that the availability of funding through the international capital market should therefore not be seen as a substitute for development aid, or as a valid reason for the reduction of aid levels.

One final element to round out this picture, is corruption. There are of course various kinds of corruption, from petty pilfering because of inadequate pay scales to more serious forms resulting from a genuine, and almost innocent, lack of awareness that certain practices considered normal in a decaying patrimonial state, are no longer acceptable in a modern state. Still other forms of corruption stem from the development of many grey areas where the rapid expansion of the economy has outstripped the legislative and bureaucratic capacity to regulate, and are therefore without effective regulations. One of the most serious forms of corruption however, is the result of competitive pressures on transnational entreprises from different donor countries for government contracts or concessions. The brazenness with which large amounts of money are dangled before government officials is not only a measure of the greed of some of the transnational corporations, but also of the contempt, often with racial overtones, with which they hold people in developing countries. Without an international convention, cooperative action among governments in developing countries, and self-policing mechanisms in the international businessworld, these practices can hardly be curbed, except when the greed of corrupt officials prices these countries out of this particular market. The point here, however, is that such collusion of interests and malpractices seriously reduces the nation's capacity to make the social and political adjustments which changing developmental needs require, in order for the government to retain credibility, legitimacy and political viability, at very high economic and political cost when the backlash occurs.

The Elite: Soft or Tough?

Development pursued along these four separate tracks will enable, the structurally and historically disadvantaged parts of the country and segments of the population, to develop along with the growth of the modern sector, the main engine of economic growth in the first stages of development.

In this fashion, a broad social base for the development effort may be established, encompassing the whole of the country and population, including the socially and economically weak. It will also make possible the development of an integrated internal market, from previously fragmented markets of colonial times, characterized by low effective demand. A growing integrated domestic market will in turn stimulate the growth of the modern sector, something that is becoming of prime importance as the external markets for export oriented industries fall away, or become seriously limited as a result of growing protectionism in the industrial countries. An effective development strategy pursuing its pluralistic objectives therefore must effectively

conciliate the conflicting demands between the modern sector and the other developmental tracks. At the same time, it should be realized that the needs for the various tracks may conflict with each other only in the first stages of development, and may become increasingly complementary as development progresses. Nevertheless, it will not be an easy task, especially when we consider that in many ways the analytical tools that would help us make the proper judgements in conciliating those requirements are still weak or nonexistent. At the present, it may very much depend on the intuitive political judgements of the developmental leadership.

Recent history in Latin America and Asia has shown that not all developing countries have the capacity to switch from the conventional growth model to an equity model. Such countries have experienced extreme polarization, violence, and even societal breakdown. It seems that there is a point when the growth process along conventional capitalist lines becomes irreversible and has to be increasingly maintained through repressive policies. In such countries, the engine of growth, in the words of E. Iglesias, is fuelled by the consumption needs of the upper and middle income strata. This has led to patterns of consumption and production which imitate those in industrial countries. The neglect of the capital and intermediate goods sectors in such economies has increased their external dependency. The unequal income distribution of this type of growth has led to well entrenched concentration of economic power, often with close connection with the centers of power in the modernizing bureaucratic states. They constitute a major source of rigidities preventing the state from adjusting to new develoment requirements, like the wider dispersal of economic opportunities and power, for the sake of continued, but more equitable growth.

The most difficult adjustment, however, follows from a basic needs approach, and especially from the commitment to the eradication of absolute poverty, through a multitrack development strategy, because this requires a fundamental reallocation of national resources, affecting the lifestyle and consumer habits of the country's elite.

The IBRD's World Development Report projections about the magnitude of absolute poverty by the year 2000, do take into account the variety of growth patterns with different distribution effects. It does however, though not explicitly, seem to take existing consumption patterns of the elite in these countries to continue to be imitative of the international ones. The fundamental question on which hinges the success of an anti-poverty multitrack development strategy, is whether the elites in these countries have the will and the strength to forego the lifestyles of affluent consumer societies.

There are powerful factors that work against the adoption of a lifestyle of frugality and consumption restraint by the elite. Japan modernized in relative isolation. It has a vigorous upper class which lived frugally. It is this frugality of their lifestyle, together with the traditional social discipline of the Japanese peasantry, which made capital accumulation possible, allowing Japan, in turn to industrialize rapidly. The overwhelming impact of international communications, travel, education and the demonstration effect of the affluent lifestyle of industrial nations, sometimes very close to the borders of the developing country concerned, makes it well nigh impossible now to repeat the Japanese example. Also, most often the elite in these countries have themselves been poor for long, maybe too long, making it very hard for them to curb their expectations and their fulfillment. There are also deep seated cultural obstacles in many traditional cultures where wealth is seen as the outward manifestation of power. The traditional nobility, even when it was losing power during the colonial period, generally maintained the display of wealth and style of spending, as the external manifestation of rank and position, if not of power. If in the history of many capitalist societies wealth created power, in many developing countries emerging from traditional norms of social and political behavior, power was a necessary condition for the creation of wealth.

Another set of obstacles have to do with the presence of a sometimes large international community in a low income country. The demonstration effect of their affluent lifestyles on the local elite, which is as good as, and sometimes even better than the ones they are used to in their own country, should not be underestimated. It raises the question as to what extent it would be possible to attract good business personnel, and a high

quality of foreign experts and advisers, if limits were to be set on their lifestyle during their period of stay. This problem is further complicated by the competition between business entreprises from different industrial countries, playing up to local greed in order to land sizable contracts, thereby fueling it even more. In addition, present mechanism for transfer of science and technology inevitably makes part of the elite share, to some extent, cosmopolitan culture and its affluent lifestyles.

It is obvious then that the commitment to deal effectively with the problem of absolute poverty as a first priority with first claim on national resources, constitutes a major test for the robustness, strength, vision and creativity of the country's elite. The elite may refuse to face up to the problem, may prefer to drift with the status quo, by which after all it has done rather well, and let the future, i.e. their children, take care of itself. It may even seriously believe that "catching up" with the West and imitating their lifestyle and spending habits, is the name of the game, rather than frugality and creative productiveness. Such an elite, carried along by the tide of an externally fuelled, dependent but expanding modern sector, weak in its self indulgence, may well find itself at some point, faced with the necessity to be "tough" in the suppression of discontent and social tension. If on the other hand, the elite can find within itself the toughness, the strength of character, social vision, and moral responsibility, to stick to a commitment to bring up the whole country and all its people, in the process of development towards a materially better, more just and freer society, and to forego an affluent lifestyle for themselves, the management of the conflicting requirements of development, equity and freedom, while still extremely difficult, becomes feasible. It will then be possible for a developing country to accept the massive redirection of national resources, and to direct the determination of its people to develop their own scientific and technological creativity for the specific solutions of their country's problems in ways that are consonant with their basic values and purposes. It will also be possible for the elite to exercise voluntarily self-restraint in their consumption habits out of a sense of social solidarity with the weak and the poor. There is most likely no other way. The need for social solidarity and consumption restraint on the part of the elite in order to be able to maintain both the stability and momentum of development, is such that only a strong authoritarian regime, could meet it. Notions of catching up with the West may also be destructive to the maintenance of social solidarity and national unity required by a country grappling with the problem of poverty. The authoritarian imposition of consumption restraint, and the redirection of resources however will require a strengthening of the bureaucratic character of the state. But at the prevailing level of bureaucratic efficiency this may turn out to be self defeating, irrespective of whether such a bureaucracy is oriented towards the left or the right.

There is therefore a need, not just for another development strategy, but for an alternative concept or ideology of development and modernisation which does not simply aim at growth with the consequent affluence of the few, but which aims at sufficiency for all. Such alternative should also encourage the elite to restrain voluntarily its consumption patterns by not only considering the level of international standards of well being, but also the capacities and limitations of their own society and its poor majority. This concept of development is based not on the pursuit of individual interest and competition, but on social solidarity and cooperation.

The need to solve the problem of demography and poverty forces on such elite the necessity to use science and technology primarily for specific social ends, which are different from those of industrial nations at present. This will also require different attitudes, not only towards science and technology, but also towards nature and mankind's relationship to it. This in turn raises fundamental questions about man's place on earth, the meaning of his life and the ultimate questions regarding it, including his relationship with his fellow human beings, forcing him to redefine himself and his culture.

At the same time the revitalisation of the poor, the release of their creativity, their participation in national life, if brought about successfully through the management of the conflicting requirements of development, equity and stability, and through the growth of an indigenous information universe as an

essential instrument in this process of emancipation and national integration, would profoundly affect the nature, depth and direction of the modernisation process, thereby changing the elite as well. The determination to work out a different development trajectory in order to solve the problems of demography and poverty, therefore, may ultimately lead to the emergence of different civilisations.

The Role of Foreign Aid

At this point, a few words are in order about foreign assistance. The question here is how it can support the multiple development goals of economic growth, equity and freedom. In recent years we have seen an expansion of the concept of aid from its conventional role that includes support for the basic needs approach. In fact, a discernible shift has taken place in the aid policy of many donor nations, heavily emphasizing, and even exclusively limiting foreign aid to basic needs programs.

As basic needs requirements have only a very small external component, this tends to reinforce the inclination to reduce aid levels to the level of absorptive capacity of the countryside. The fallacy of this perspective is obvious. The basic needs model is not a substitute but a complement of a development strategy. In a multitrack concept of development it becomes even more obvious. It can therefore be argued that the sincerity of the concern of donor countries for poverty, freedom and human rights, is tested by the degree of their support to the basic needs approach, their willingness to provide assistance to basic needs programs and the elimination of absolute poverty, in addition to their support for the national development program of a country in general.

Serious support for an absolute poverty elimination program and a basic needs approach, would have to take place on both government to government and people to people levels.

It should be clear that such international support should avoid providing the kind or mode of financing social development and rural institution building, which would automatically lead to the further bureaucratisation of the countryside. Special emphasis should be given on people to people programs which deal with the specific problems of absolute poverty, especially in searching for local or regional patterns for solutions. Government to government programs could concentrate on the poorest areas which are beyond the reach of the usual bureaucratic machinery and its administrative methods. The search for patterns through experimentation is of course valuable by itself, but it could also be considered inputs for subsequent, more generalized governmental programs. It is especially in local experiments of this kind where voluntary associations on both sides, cooperating together, could provide valuable assistance. Rural infrastructure building and programs for ecological improvement, implemented through community action and institutions at the village level, could have an income and employment generating effect on the absolutely poor, paying wages which are at least competitive to those paid in agriculture.

Foreign aid would also be needed in order to strengthen local research and development capacity, necessary for the development of the technology appropriate to the modernisation of the agriculture and non-agricultural sectors in the countryside and in the informal urban sector. The next required step on the technological ladder would not only depend on technological requirements, but also on their social implications. We are concerned here with the social structure in which each piece of technology comes to place. The basic question is which step on the technological ladder will strengthen present ownership among the poor, or stimulate future private or collective ownership by the poor.

Aid could also be effectively used for the development of financing institutions which would provide both investment funds and operating capital together with technical assistance for the very small businesses in the rural and informal sectors needed for the upgrading and modernisation of small entrepreneurs. These finance institutions should also be capable of assisting cooperatives and other voluntary associations in the informal and rural sectors, to acquire and to own, cooperatively, high technology equipment needed for unavoidable technological jumps in order to increase productivity. Technical assistance mechanisms including assistance in the field of organisation would also be neces-

sary here. Organisational assistance would of course have to be given by indigenous voluntary groups, leaving the technical assistance for the operation, management and maintenance of the equipment in the hands of foreign voluntary groups.

Conversely, high technology processing centers of agricultural produce could, at first be owned by outside capital, provided disinvestment funds through foreign assistance could be made available in order to ensure the eventual ownership by the people in the countryside.

Finally, foreign assistance could be used, both in the donor country and in the receiving country, to sustain the study of development and to help make the search for a democratic development theory and its economic, social as well as political, policy implications at the macro and micro levels, attractive enough to draw the best minds in their respective countries. It is also conceivable and desirable that such a search be conducted jointly by interdisciplinary efforts among Third World and First World scholars and practitioners.

SUMMARY

In our search then for a democratic development theory capable of bringing about social transformation of developing societies through economic growth and social justice, in ways which uphold freedom and with the promise of continuously enlarging scope, the foregoing analysis suggests the hypothesis that such a theory should include the following elements:

— That a multitrack development strategy would make possible redressing the structural imbalances by dealing directly with the social structure of inequality. Coupled with policies aiming to provide equal access to and protection of the law, equal opportunities for employment, education, health, communication and culture, the multitrack development strategy would enhance the possibility of equitable development.

— That such a multitrack development strategy would also enhance the possibility for freedom from want and from oppression.

— That a special absolute poverty track, and the more general basic needs approach, within the context of an employment and income generating rural development policy, together with the structural changes needed to support this, would not only enlarge the possibility of attaining freedom from want, but would also enlarge positive freedom. These various tracks call for methods which enlarge choice, and opportunities for initiative and participation in decision making, by the poor themselves without which any poverty program will remain ineffective.

Still many questions remain. What should or could be the non-material reward system which could reinforce an equity development ideology of this kind?

What are the characteristics of the kind of solidarity-making leadership that could pursue such a development strategy?

How does a bureaucratic and professional elite internalize the restraints upon itself which such a course demands, and what are the limits to the specific restraints it is willing to bear, regarding for instance the freedom to travel abroad, to choose occupations, to produce, and for civil servants to own property?

At which point will an elite prefer to use its freedom to leave the country rather than to serve its hardships, as has actually happened in some countries?

The balance between equitable distribution and incentive is a function of the particular culture concerned, but what cultural motivations can be brought to bear on affecting this balance?

These are the kinds of questions which have to be illuminated. They require a great deal of thought in the search for a democratic development theory. They in fact define the concept of freedom in the development effort of poor populous countries which are bound to remain poor for a long time.

Equality has often been seen as incompatible with freedom, and there is such historical precedence for the validity of this view. A multitrack development strategy effectively managing an equilibrium between the conflicting demands of economic growth, equity and stability however, may find how closely related in the development process, equity and freedom are. They may in fact be two sides of the same coin. If this turns out to be correct, the prospects of freedom in development are less discouraging than what historical precedence and future projections seem to indicate.

This very provisional sketch of some of the elements which constitute a democratic development theory, capable of dealing with the political economy of freedom, may for all its incompleteness, at least direct the search for such a theory. It also suggests that the struggle for development in freedom cannot be successfully waged in isolation from the rest of the world. It requires a new international order which addresses the problem of the industrialisation and modernisation of the South in ways which do not increase dependency and authoritarianism, not only at the intergovernmental level, but also in the modus operandi of business corporations.

It also requires new patterns of effective economic relationships among Third World countries themselves. Such international economic factors have an important bearing on a nation's capacity to follow the different trajectory for its development which its commitment to equity and justice demands. These linkages then urgently deserve further study. At the same time, this sketch also suggests the importance of political and ideological motivation, of the resuscitation of cultural values, and of personal as well as national pride in such values, in determining a nation's capacity to develop in freedom. □

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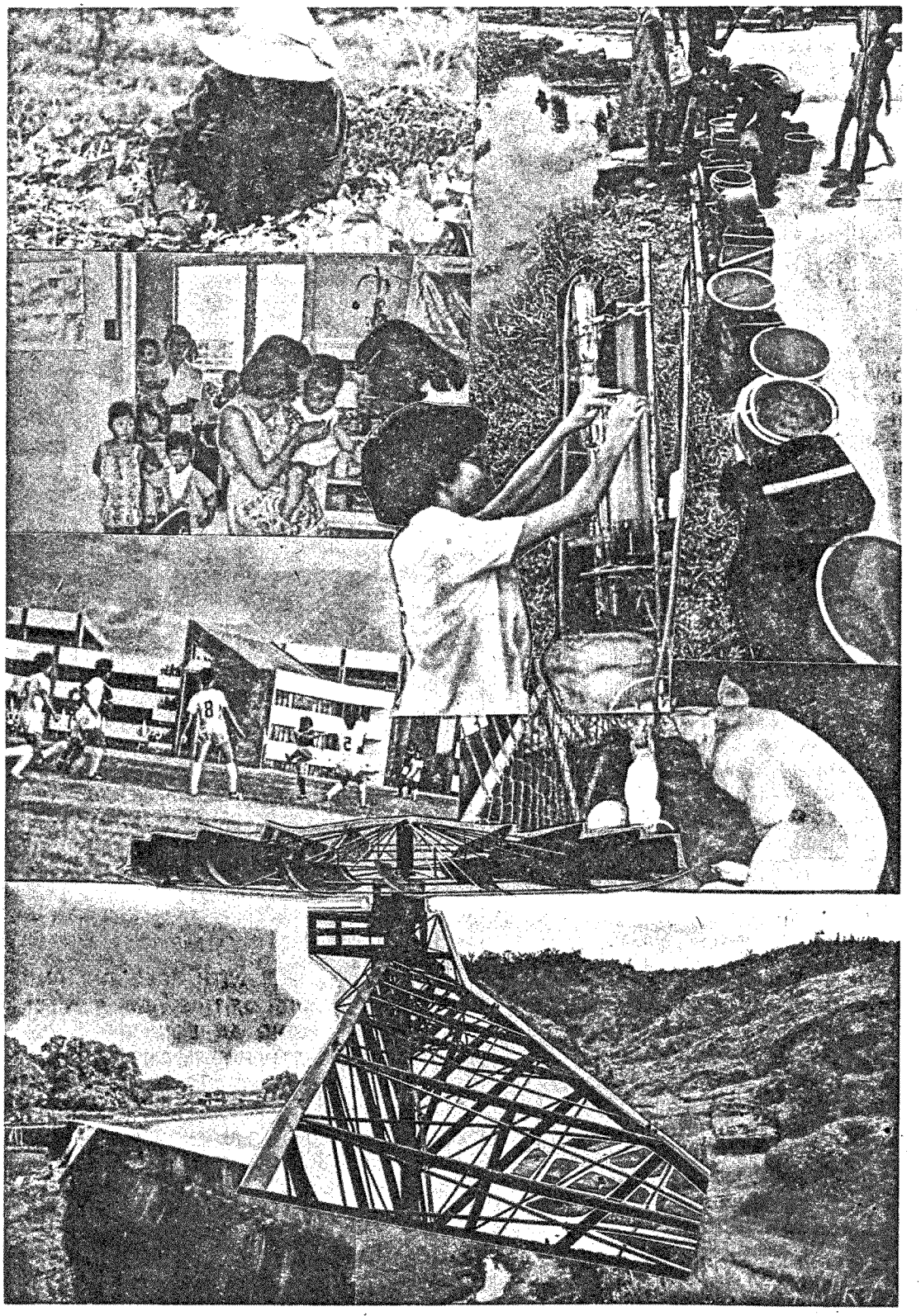

BASIC NEEDS ELEMENTS IN THE CURRENT FIVE-YEAR PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1978-1982)

Ernesto M. Serote
Instructor
Institute of Environmental Planning
University of the Philippines

Introduction

The current five-year plan of the Philippines is the fifth development plan since 1967. It is the second of the fixed-term plans (the earlier ones having been rolled over after a mid-term review) and the first five-year plan (the previous ones being of four-year duration). Unlike its predecessors, the current plan has been drawn up within the context of a medium-term plan (1978-1987) and a long-term plan that stretches up to the end of the century.

Unlike the previous plans, the current five-year plan has benefited most from the elaboration of the new alternative development strategy—the basic needs approach. Also, the country has had the benefit of a "sneak preview" of the basic needs approach-in-the-making when it hosted a few years back one of ILO's employment study missions whose findings and recommendations were made available as early as 1974[1]

To be sure, the concept of basic needs has preoccupied international development thinkers since 1966, at about the same time that the country started making comprehensive plans. For a decade however, the new alternative development concept had been vaguely referred to by other names like "redistribution with growth", "other development", or "self-reliance". It was in 1976 that the concept took a definite shape as a novel approach to the development of Third World countries. This was in the wake of the World Employment Conference held in Geneva in June 1976. Among the conclusions of that conference was the "programme for a basic-needs strategy of development".[2]

Immediately the new coinage became legal tender. Today, the currency that enjoys a high degree of acceptability among agencies dealing with development assistance is the basic needs approach. It has become the main plank of development plans of Third World countries.

Whether the shift represents a genuine recognition of the need for an alternative development approach or is merely an icing on the cake, as it were, to attract more development aid, it is hard to tell. But there is little reason to doubt that the basic needs orientation of the current plan of the Philippines has been motivated by both.

This paper reviews some of the distinctive features of the basic needs approach as culled from the growing literature. Against this backdrop it brings into focus Philippine officials' perception of the country's basic needs and evaluates the policy proposals for meeting these needs along the lines suggested by the new development strategy. Finally, it highlights the non-conventional Philippine approaches to meeting basic needs as a unique contribution of the country to further elaboration of the basic needs approach. More expository than critical, the method used in this paper is a cross between critical review and content analysis. The basic material is the plan docu-

[1] *ILO. Sharing in Development: A Programme of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines* (Geneva, 1974).

[2] ILO. "Meeting Basic Needs: Strategy for Eradicating Mass Poverty and Unemployment". (Conclusions of the World Employment Conference, Geneva, 1976).

ment together with a number of related papers.

The Basic Needs Approach

The basic needs approach has emerged as an alternative development strategy after the failure of conventional approaches to alleviate the problems of mass poverty, unemployment and inequality. It is an approach which, as the ILO puts it, seeks to include as an explicit goal of development planning, the satisfaction of an absolute level of basic needs. The crucial shift is indicated by the word "explicit". For it may be noted that the satisfaction of basic needs and the general improvement in the standard of living of the poor had been *implicit* goals of past strategies that emphasized high growth rates. But the attainment of high economic growth did not automatically bring about increased standard of living of the masses. Instead, it led to high concentrations of income and wealth and therefore, inequitable distribution of productive resources and unequal access to social services in favor of a small percentage of the country's population. In 1972, the degree of inequality in income within developing countries was such that the richest 10 per cent of households typically received 40 per cent of personal income whereas the poorest 40 per cent received 15 per cent or less, and the poorest 20 per cent received about 5 per cent.[3]

Were the problem of poverty simply a matter of inadequate income, then the goal of eliminating poverty would have been achieved by raising income levels. But, as Paul Streeten explains, income-oriented development policies in the past proved to be insufficient measures in dealing with mass poverty. Says Streeten: "The basic needs approach is contrasted with the income approach, which recommends measures that raise the real income of the poor by making them more productive, so that the increased purchasing power of their earnings plus their subsistence production is adequate to enable them to buy and/or grow the goods in the basic needs basket. The basic needs approach, in the narrow sense, regards the income orientation of earlier approaches as insufficient or partial."[4]

Some of the reasons Streeten cites to support his contention are:

1) That consumers are not always efficient optimizers. Additional income is more likely to be spent on non-basic items.
2) The manner in which additional income is earned may affect the family health adversely, as when a working mother stops breast-feeding her baby prematurely.
3) Some 20 per cent of the poor are sick, disabled, aged, or orphaned children who are incapable of earning any income. Hence the need for transfer payments and public services. In fact, some basic needs like education, health, water, sanitation, can be satisfied more effectively by public services, through subsidies, or through transfer payments.
4) The income approach has neglected the need for appropriate products produced by appropriate technologies which create more jobs and give rise to more even income distribution and which, in turn, generate demand for such products.
5) The income approach neglects the importance of non-material needs which are both ends in themselves and a necessary condition to the satisfaction of material needs.

These shortcomings of the income-oriented approach notwithstanding, the basic needs approach does not necessarily do away with income approaches. The basic needs approach still recognizes the importance of income as a means of access to a good number of basic needs, especially household consumption goods. But it also recognizes the fact that income is not the only means. There are certain needs that must be provided by the community, such as education, health and sanitation, water, power, etc.[5] Access to these latter services by the

[3] ILO. *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs, a One-World Problem.* (Geneva, 1976), p. 22.

[4] Paul Streeten. "Distinctive Features of a Basic Needs Approach to Development". *Development Digest,* Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January 1978), pp. 119-128.

[5] The identification and classification of basic needs items is discussed in the next section of this paper.

poor could be enhanced by making such installations physically available and providing the proper institutional support arrangements to ensure their continued patronage and enjoyment by the target groups. The manner in which the level of incomes of the poor is raised, and the basic goods and services provided, also forms part of the main concern of the basic needs approach.

This suggests the application of a combination of economic, social, technological and institutional policies that are mutually reinforcing.

Economic policies. These include reforms in the price system in such a way that the poor can have relatively easy access to goods and services and production factors; rapid increase in employment and labor productivity especially among the rural poor; a progressive tax system and expansion of public financing of basic services to ensure the channeling of resources to the production of basic goods and away from the import or production of luxury items and special programs to encourage private savings among low-income earners and providing them with complementary opportunities to invest their savings profitably.

Technological policies encourage research and development of products and processes appropriate to developing countries. In combination with price policies, technological policies affect private decisions on the use of capital-saving, labor-intensive technology. They give emphasis on upgrading the efficiency of traditional crafts, introducing where possible, modern scientific knowledge in forms suitable to developing countries. The search for a proper combination of capital-intensive and labor-intensive technologies must be a continuing concern of a basic needs-oriented development strategy.

Institutional policies derive from the fact that poverty is largely the effect of structural causes and that nothing short of structural change can solve the problem of mass poverty. A government pursuing the basic needs approach has to exercise a strong political will to adopt and implement measures directly benefiting the poor. Only strong government intervention is capable of effecting the structural transformation of such nature and magnitude. In the words of Griffin and Khan, "institutional policies must be capable of changing the distribution of productive wealth (and consequently, the distribution of economic power) and increasing the participation of the poor in decision-making (and consequently, enabling them to exercise political power)".[6]

While the basic needs approach demands strong government intervention, it also recognizes the importance of popular participation. Effective involvement by the masses in the development process mobilizes local resources for the production of goods and services that benefit them directly. Institutional policies should offer opportunities for the deprived groups in society to articulate their needs and to satisfy those needs through the initiatives and efforts they themselves take.

Social policies pertain to measures that seek to improve the quality of the human capital. Particularly relevant social policies are those that improve access by the poor, disadvantaged and deprived groups to education, health, water, power, housing, and related infrastructures. Population policies and measures granting enhanced status and economic independence to women also form integral parts of relevant social policies.

Definition

At this stage we can define the basic needs approach as a selective approach that discriminates in favor of the poor, that seeks to raise their standard of living through a concerted attack on the causes of poverty (social injustice, inequality) and alleviating its consequences (malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, etc.). It is an approach, to return to Streeten, that starts from the objective of providing the opportunities for the physical, mental and social development of the human personality and then derives the ways of achieving this objective. Lisk adds: "Basic Needs Approach focuses sharply on human well-being insofar as its primary objective is to achieve a significant upward movement in the conditions under which people live and work, especially with reference to disadvan-

[6] K. Griffin and A. Khan, "Poverty in the Third World: Ugly Facts and Fancy Models", *World Development*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1978), pp. 295-304.

taged and deprived households and groups within a country's population."[7]

So far we have identified the following features of the BNA which we can use as framework for evaluating the Philippine plan: 1) the objective of BNA—to improve the quality of life of the poorest segment of the population; 2) the target of BNA—the deprived, disadvantaged groups who have not been benefited by past development strategies; and 3) the policy mix of BNA aimed at making a direct attack on the causes and consequences of poverty. One more issue remains, i.e., what needs are considered basic?

What are the basic human needs?

It is extremely difficult to determine the items that make up the basic needs common to all peoples at all times. This is because basic needs are country specific, and even within the same country needs vary from one locality to another. Needs also change over time as a consequence of changing income levels and household preferences. Thus one should not think of a "basket" of basic needs items but of a hierarchy of needs as well. As soon as needs are satisfied to a certain level a new set of needs—or a higher level of the same set of needs—have to be met.

This fact is true for individual households as well as for the country as a whole. The importance of a certain set of needs depends on a country's level of development. In the real world no country starts from zero. But the lower the level of development of a country there is to start with, the more difficult it is to determine which needs are more essential than others. This difficulty is echoed by Dr. M'Bow when he said:

> "In the present situation facing developing countries all needs are apparently essential, whether it is a question of providing food for all the inhabitants, housing them, building primary schools, universities and research laboratories, or developing communication infrastructure."[8]

Relative as most basic needs may be, there are, nevertheless, certain needs that are absolute and, ILO argues, "it is both legitimate and prudent to concentrate first on meeting basic needs in the absolute sense."[9]

But what constitute absolute basic needs? Again we turn to ILO for insight because its formulation is the most comprehensive, not to say authoritative, so far.

Basic needs, as formulated by ILO, include two elements:

"*First,* they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing are obviously included, as would be certain household equipment and furniture.

"*Second,* they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities."[10]

These are the core material basic needs. ILO also lists as indispensable elements certain non-material needs including employment, participation, and basic human rights. Employment is regarded as a basic need because it yields an output as it provides income to the employed (and hence, enhanced access to material needs). Employment also gives the employed person the recognition of being engaged in something worth his while, a sense of dignity and self-fulfilment. Also, people must get involved in making the decisions that affect them. All these are to be satisfied within a broad framework of human rights.

In a word, the core of absolute basic needs consists of material needs as well as non-material needs, the latter being both ends in themselves and as means to the satisfaction and full enjoyment of the former.

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[7] Franklin A.N. Lisk. "Popular Participation in Economy-Wide Planning", a paper read at the seminar on Basic Needs Strategy as a Planning Parameter, West Berlin, 20-29 June 1979.

[8] From an address by Unesco Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow at the 63rd session of the UN Economic and Social Council, Geneva, 8 July 1977. Quoted in *OECD Review '78*, p. 29.

[9] ILO. *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[10] *Ibid.*

Basic Needs and the Philippine Five-Year Plan

The current five-year plan of the Philippines does not brandish basic needs as its slogan. Rather, a more alliterative name is given to it as "an instrument for the democratization of development", and a more politically charged philosophy—social justice—underlies its various components.[11]

A closer reading, however, reveals an unmistakable preoccupation by the national planners with the same problems that bedevil the developing countries, the very problems that have brought about the conceptualization and formulation of the basic needs approach.

Dominant development problems

In the opening statement by the President following the approval of the plan, three inter-related problems which the plan was intended to tackle were identified: *mass poverty, unemployment and underemployment,* and *social justice.* These problems are elaborated in the text of the plan.

Mass poverty. Despite marked increase in the GNP per capita the condition of the poor "who comprise more than half of the total population has not improved, indicating an inequitable distribution of income and wealth." The preliminary findings of a study on family income distribution in 1975 substantiate this. The study revealed that the top 30 per cent of income recipients in the country received 63.9 per cent of total income. The middle 40 and lowest 30 per cent of families received only 26.4 and 9.7 per cent of income, respectively (Chapter 1, Sec. 3.2). The pattern of income distribution in the country is not unlike that of other Third World countries, as earlier shown in this paper.

Unemployment and underemployment. As of 1976 the unemployment rate stood at 5.2 per cent of the labor force. This seemingly low rate of unemployment is deceiving for a large underemployment rate of 10.7 per cent (categorized into visibly underemployed, 5.3 per cent, and invisibly underemployed, 5.4 per cent) was recorded for the same year. All together, the underemployed and unemployed accounted for well over two million persons out of a labor force of 15 million. The magnitude of the problem is compounded by the high dependency ratio of 88 per cent. This means that with over two million unemployed and underemployed another two million children and aged persons are left without adequate support. Given limited social security transfers, as is the case in the Philippines, the poverty problem is acute indeed.

The country's unemployment rate is slightly higher than that of the Third World (4.7 per cent) and almost twice that of Asia (3.9 per cent). However, the country's underemployment rate is three times lower than either the Third World or the Asian average which is 35.7 and 36.4 per cent, respectively.[12]

Social injustice. Although sporadic reference to the term is made in the plan, no clear cut definition is given of social injustice. However, it is safe to assume that the plan takes the term to mean any form of inequality both at the personal and geographical levels. Social injustice manifests itself in inequitable distribution of income because of inequitable distribution of productive resources and resulting in unequal access to basic material needs and social services. The geographical dimension of this problem is seen in the disparities between urban and rural areas, in pockets of poverty in urban areas, and in the existence of lagging regions *vis-a-vis* Metro Manila and its immediate environs. In 1971, for example, the more affluent Luzon accounted for 61 per cent of total family income whereas only 53 per cent of total families resided there, the Visayas, with 26 per cent of total families, earned 20 per cent of total family income; Mindanao, with 21 per cent of total families, accounted for 19 per cent of total income; and Metro Manila, for the same year, accounted for 17 per cent of total income although only 8 per cent of families lived there. The rural-urban disparity is also seen in the fact that roughly 65 per cent of the population live in the rural areas and yet the average rural family in-

[11] From the President's prefatory speech after signing the decree approving and adopting the plan.

[12] ILO. *op. cit.*, p. 18.

come is 57 per cent of the average urban family income.[13]

Regional disparities are also indicated by the phenomenon of premature migration from rural areas to urban centers, making urbanization—as the plan itself admits—more an aspect of poverty than symbol of growth. Regional differences also manifest themselves in unequal levels of welfare as shown by selected social indicators.

Other problems

Other major problems that the national planners have had to grapple with include balance of payments and price stability, energy requirements and sources, and environmental problems. These problems are no less important but their relative weight in the nation's scale of priorities puts them at a subordinate level to the first type of problems, as could be gleaned from the statement of national goals and policies.

National development goals

That the Philippine government is unequivocally committed to the basic needs approach can be seen from the statement of national goals which says:

> "The achievement of a much improved quality of life for every Filipino is the supreme national aspiration. Toward this end, the conquest of mass poverty becomes the immediate, fundamental goal of Philippine development. Development over the next decade towards the year 2000 will be a massive effort to provide for the *basic needs* of the majority of the population and to secure their enjoyment of the fruits of economic and social well-being in the comforts of a congenial habitat." (p. 3)

The target groups of Philippine development efforts may appear to be global and less selective as indicated by the phrases "every Filipino" and "majority of the population". But if one recalls that majority (more than half) of the country's population are living in varying degrees of poverty, he will not dismiss the plan's target group as unrealistic. The President, in his introductory statements identified this target group specifically. He said: "(Development) means getting down and reaching the poorest segments of our population: the urban and rural poor, the unemployed, the underemployed, the homeless dweller, the out-of-school youth, the landless worker, the sacada, the sustenance fisherman". (p. xxviii)

In its concerted attack on the problem of poverty the government is determined to exercise strong political will to effect the "social, economic and demographic revolution"—in short, structural transformation—that the basic needs strategy requires. The government has now taken the interest of the poor as its central concern "since there is no force in our society today capable of protecting the poor other than the government". (p. xxviii)

Thus, the five-year plan, which represents the first stage in a long, drawn-out strategy, lays greater emphasis on rural development and labor-intensive industrialization, with agrarian reform as the cornerstone of the program. (p. 3) At the same time, the plan seeks to enlist the participation of the people in the development process by engaging their initiative and resources. As a people-centered plan, it pursues economic development not as an end but as a means of promoting social justice, "according to all citizens a due and rightful share in benefits and obligations." (p. 3)

If the plan's objective and target groups run parallel to those of the basic needs approach, are its policy proposals and strategies also in accord with those of the new development strategy?

Poverty-oriented policies

A policy framework covering 18 areas of concern has been drawn up to guide the choice of programs to attain the above objective. These policies do not fall neatly into place in the categories suggested by ILO. They support the two-pronged strategy of human resource development and balanced economic development. Of these eighteen policies, ten pertain to economic development, 2 cover areas of social policy, 2 institutional, 2 technological, and 2 other policy areas.

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[13] "Philippine Development Strategy to Minimize Poverty and Satisfy Basic Needs with Emphasis in Rural Areas" (mimeo.) August 1978.

Economic policies. Among the economic policies directly contributing to alleviating poverty and redistributing wealth are:

1) An employment policy which promotes higher utilization of manpower under just terms and conditions. To absorb the unemployed and new entrants to the labor force, generation of more jobs in nonfarm activities will be pursued vigorously. The problem of underemployment will be tackled in all spheres: in agriculture, by minimizing the seasonal nature of agricultural activities; in industry, greater capacity utilization; in the service sectors, rationalization of operations; in construction, year-round infrastructure projects; and for the self-employed, a sustained support to cottage industries.
2) An income policy that ensures the maintenance of a minimum standard of living of employees without prejudice to the labor absorption capacity of employers.
3) A price stabilization policy including socialized pricing of essential goods and services to ensure access of low-income families to these basic needs.
4) A progressive tax system that increases the share of direct taxes, standardizes existing luxury tax laws, and maintains low sales tax rates on essential items.
5) A public expenditure policy of increasing the allocation of government revenues for capital formation especially for infrastructures and utilities in the countryside. Also, a growing share of social development in total national government expenditures in contrast to a decreasing trend in the share of economic development.

Wind power holds much promise in the country's vigorous search for alternative sources of energy.

Institutional policies involve a continued implementation of the agrarian reform program, this time focusing on the institutional support to ensure increased productivity, security, welfare and dignity of owner-cultivators. Structural reforms in government machinery—though not treated as explicit policy areas in the plan—are an imperative of effective development administration. In the section on plan implementation the plan pursues further administrative decentralization and increases the opportunities for local participation in the planning process. Another significant institutional policy is state promotion and regulation of efficient utilization, acquisition and disposition of land to maximize net public benefit. The declaration that land "will not be considered as a chattel but as a resource for the benefit of all" should guarantee access by all social groups to this hitherto inaccessible resource—land.

Technological policies. The plan envisions a wide-scale application of science and technology adapted to the needs of domestic development. Linked to this is the policy of energy conservation through the use of appropriate technology. As envisioned in the plan, appropriate technology will find the most extensive application in the search for alternative sources of energy to minimize the country's dependence on import of fossil fuels.

Social policies. These cover a wide range of concerns to improve the living conditions of the general population, particularly the disadvantaged groups. Program packages under this policy area include provision of health, nutrition, housing, education and

Livelihood is a basic need that enjoys top priority through sustained support for the self-employed.

culture, manpower development, youth and sports development, children, women and workers' welfare, cultural minorities, social security, and like services and infrastructures. They also include a population policy that maintains both a population growth rate and a geographical distribution pattern conducive to national welfare.

Other policies

Two more policies not normally falling under the above categories are included in the plan. They deal with the spatial or geographical dimension of the poverty problem. These are: regional development policy and human settlements policy.

Regional development policy. It may be recalled that the problem of social injustice in the Philippines is as much a matter of inequality between social groups as between geographical regions of the country. Thus, in the provision of the basic needs, there are target groups as well as target areas: the former are the low-income families while the latter are the lagging regions.

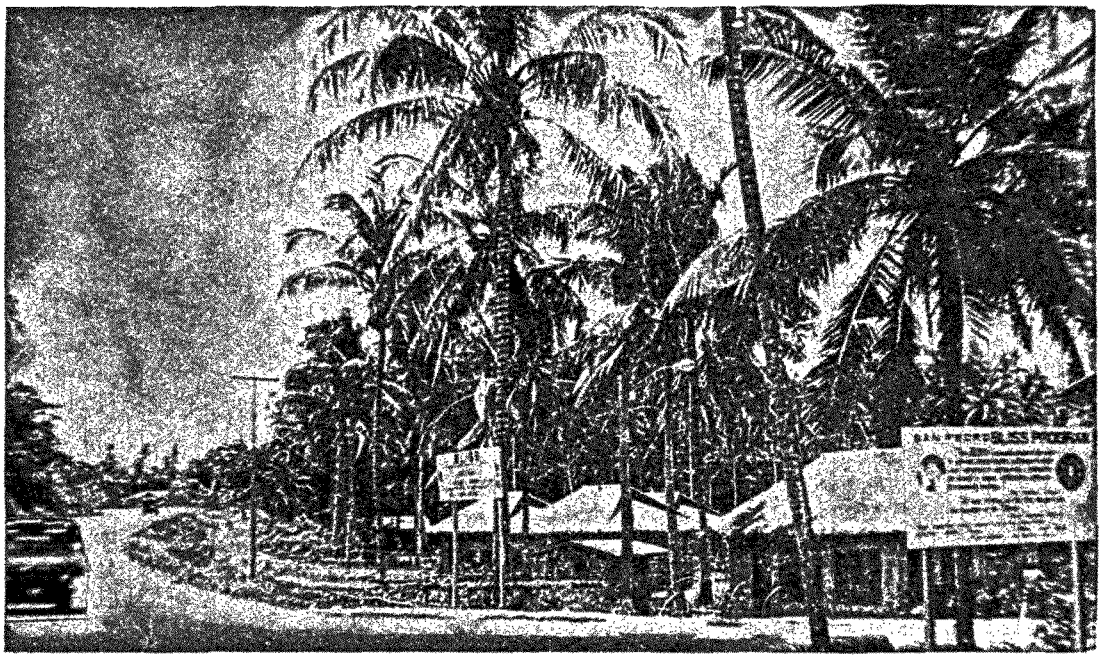
The regional approach to national development gives an added dimension to the basic needs approach—the spatial aspect. So far, the literature on BNA reflects an imbalance in the distribution of interest among development thinkers, with the socio-economic aspects receiving a disproportionately large share and the spatial aspects receiving less attention.

Yet, the effectiveness of the basic needs approach is limited by the extent to which development policies and programs are brought down to the level of regions, communities and households. Besides the obvious advantage of providing opportunities for local participation, the regional approach paves the way for the proper selection of area-specific program packages relevant to the peculiar problems and resources of particular areas. By identifying target areas—in the same manner that target social groups are identified—policy makers are able to decide on the proper policy mix that will bring about a more equitable redistribution of the benefits of national growth.

The regional approach to development, therefore, is probably the most substantial contribution of the country to further elaboration of the basic needs approach. By the regional approach, target social groups (low-income families) are seen in their geographical setting because some of their problems may have resulted from geographical peculiarities and that solutions to these problems may involve reorganization of the physical setting. The plan has put it rightly thus:

> "A major challenge for regional development is to minimize poverty as soon as possible and to modify the uneven distribution of income and basic services among regions, within regions and among social groups. The aggregate disparities in income levels and distribution among regions can be largely attributed to the differences in spatial distribution of natural resources, manpower, investments and entrepreneurship. The marked variation in the infrastructure base among regions and the imperfect mobility of commodities, labor and capital has left potential production and consumption centers in isolation." (Sec. 2.3. p. 55)

Philippine regional development strategy is two-pronged: one directed at the rural



A typical BLISS community in the rural areas.

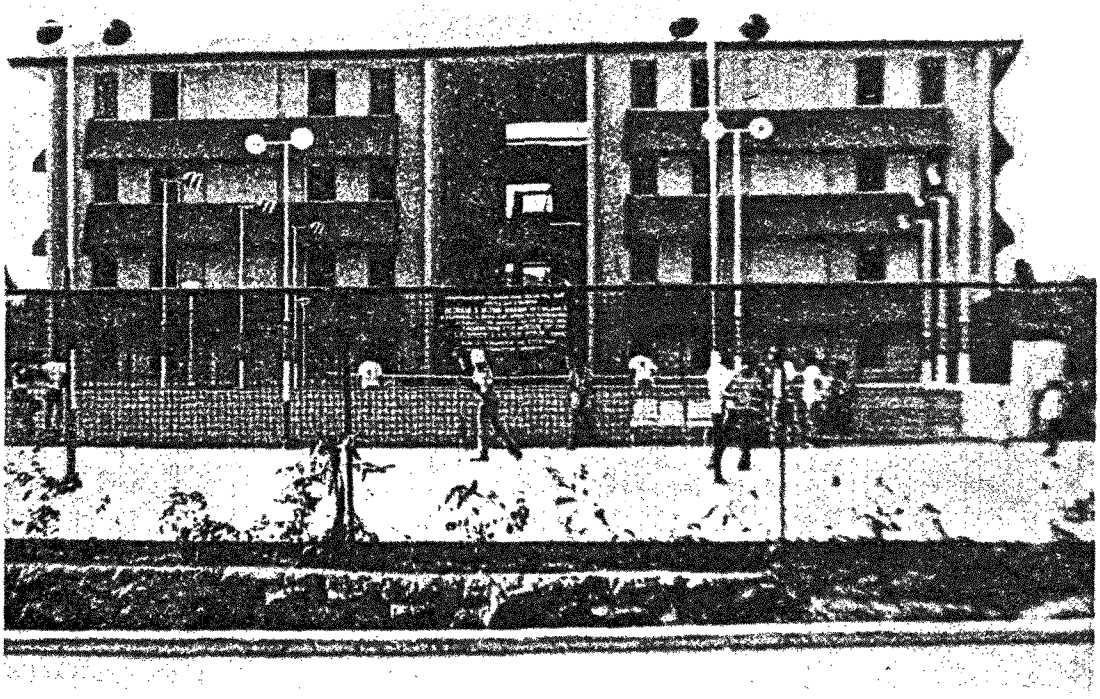
sector and the other, urban. In the rural sector, the integrated area development strategy is being followed while in the urban sector, the growth center approach is being applied.

The integrated area development is directed at maximizing the use of rural resources through the provision of complementary inputs from various agencies in income-generating activities and creating favorable conditions for marketing goods and services as well as upgrading human resources. This is done by providing hitherto underserved areas with basic rural infrastructures like feeder roads, village water supply, primary schools, health centers, irrigation works, and so on. Some eighteen depressed areas have been identified in the plan as future recipients of this integrated development package.

The plan also recognizes the importance of urban areas in regional development. Cities and towns provide, among other things, the market for rural produce. At the same time they offer goods and services of a type and level that may not be available in the rural areas. Higher levels of basic needs like secondary schools and colleges, hospitals, or telecommunications facilities may be available only in towns and cities.

For a well-integrated regional development strategy, therefore, the social, economic, institutional and other forms of linkages between urban centers and rural areas must be promoted. The plan envisions a network of urban centers ranging from metropolitan centers to regional centers to major and minor urban centers dispersed all over the country. Each center will then be provided with services and facilities appropriate to its level in the hierarchy, thereby improving access to these services by the rural hinterlands. This type of "dispersed concentration" of services and infrastructures increases accessibility in an economical and efficient way. It is also intended to contribute to the rational redistribution of the country's population.

Human settlements policy. Finally, the plan seeks to bring development further down to the community and neighborhood levels through the human settlements approach. The human settlements approach envisions the creation of communities and neighborhoods that promote a healthy and productive relationship between man and his environment. It involves the development of viable communities equipped with necessary services and facilities. These settlements



A BLISS project in Metro Manila.

are the actualization of the dream of a "congenial habitat" within which every Filipino will enjoy the satisfaction of his basic needs.

The responsibility for the creation of such communities rests mainly with the Ministry of Human Settlements. Only a little more than a year old as of this writing, the Ministry is still in the thick of organizational and institutional building activities. It is also in the process of conceptualizing programs and "selling" these programs to the people. In the short period of time that the Ministry has been in existence it has come up with programs and projects in line with its five areas of concern, namely: optimum land use, adequate shelter, environmental protection, economic viability of settlements, and use of appropriate technology.

Among the most promising of the Ministry's programs, one that will cater for all the basic needs of families at the neighborhood level is the Bagong Lipunan Improvement of Sites and Services (BLISS) program. As conceived by the MHS planners, BLISS consists basically of improvement of housing and land resource use, development of community livelihood activities and community cooperation and self-reliance.

The core element of the BLISS program is the provision of adequate shelter. But the Ministry also recognizes that shelter is just one of the eleven basic needs it has identified and wants to see satisfied in every neighborhood, the other ten being water, food, education, culture and technology, livelihood, medical services, mobility, sports and recreation, and ecological balance.

Due to the dearth of materials on the concepts and philosophy underlying human settlements programs (a lot more are happening than are being written about) and due to the fact that most of these programs are still experimental in nature, it would be extremely difficult to say more about them at this writing. Suffice it to say, and by way of conclusion, that the Philippine commitment to the basic needs strategy is further strengthened by the creation of a government agency that takes as its main function the identification and satisfaction of basic needs. □

MEASUREMENT OF BASIC MINIMUM NEEDS*

United Nations Secretariat**

Social Development
of
Humanitarian Affairs, Centre
Economic & Social Affairs Department

Development strategies to meet basic needs of people have emerged recently as an alternative to the growth-oriented strategies which were originally proposed for the Second United Nations Develoment Decade. The realization that economic growth, even where achieved, does not necessarily lead to social justice and equity, has stimulated an international effort to define more effective strategies for the remainder of this decade and for the next.[1]

The adoption of a basic needs strategy will have implications for planning and planners. Planning based on growth could centre on the national level, the more dynamic sectors, and the criterion of economic efficiency; planning for basic needs requires a spatial focus, a focus on the less dynamic sectors and on target groups, and a criterion of equity in distribution. The latter approach requires planning for people rather than planning in the abstract.[2] Indeed, traditional planning tools and traditional types of information available to planners may be inadequate for basic needs strategies.

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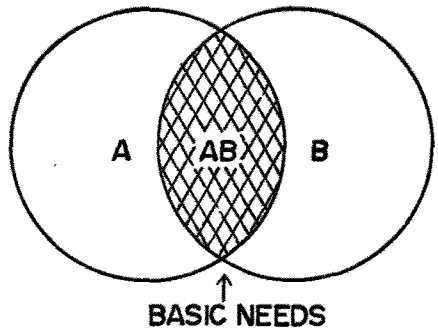
**Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Revised version of a paper presented at the Colloquium on Methods of Planning for Comprehensive Regional Development, Nagoya, 25 October to 1 November 1976.

[1]International Labour Office, *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem; Report of the Director-General of ILO* (Geneva, 1976).

[2]Enrique Brown y Guillermo Geisse, "Planificación para los Planificadores o para el Cambio Social?" *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales* 3 (1973): 11-26.



A = Needs defined by technical criteria

B = Needs perceived by the people

FIGURE 1

THE CONCEPT OF BASIC NEEDS

To determine what these basic needs are at a given time and place in planning, implementing, and assessment of the results of programmes to meet such needs is not easy. This paper seeks to examine many of the issues involved in defining and measuring what have been termed by the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) as "basic needs."[3]

A. Basic Minimum Needs as a Planning Concept

The premise for using basic minimum needs in planning is simple. Given a limited amount of resources to utilize for development, allocation of these resources should be such that the basic needs of the population are met. There is therefore a set of needs—and for each need a minimum level —which can be met within the limit of available resources. The goal of the planning exercise will be to determine this set of basic minimum needs and to allocate resources so that the needs can be met.

The key to the exercise is to determine that set of basic minimum needs. There are three difficulties which are readily apparent: (1) the set of needs which *should* be met is greater than the set of needs which *can* be met, (2) the set of needs which can be defined by planners on technical grounds may differ from that perceived by the people, and (3) the set of needs which must be met in one situation may well differ from the set of needs which must be met in another.

To express the matter in logical terms, as in figure 1, one could propose that, for every given area, there exists a set of needs which can be defined by technical criteria (A) and a set of needs which would be defined according to the perceptions of the people of the region (B). The two sets overlap and the conjoint set (AB) could be said to be the set of basic needs. For each need in that set, there can be said to be a minimum level which must be met to achieve satisfaction.

[3]United Nations, Centre for Regional Development, *A Programme of Research: Improving the Method of Planning for Comprehensive Regional Development* (Nagoya, 1975).

Operationalization of this concept of basic minimum needs is more difficult than to express it, since two types of needs are postulated: "objective" needs to be defined according to technical criteria and "subjective" needs to be defined according to popular perception.

1. *"Objective" Needs*

What is meant by a need? In commonsense usage, needs are taken to mean requirements of some sort. Thus, the International Labour Office (ILO) defines basic needs in a broad way:

> "First, they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing are obviously included, as would be certain household equipment and furniture. Second, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and education facilities."[4]

This type of need is defined normatively in general. Each society defines explicitly or implicitly norms about what levels of what things should exist in society. While there will be regional variations by level, the categories of needs given by the ILO are generally accepted. For many categories of needs, international standards have been set. Thus, a level of nutrition can be set as a standard, such as the minimum intake of 2,380 calories per head per day set by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).[5] Similarly, a housing target can be set based on space available per person, such as the target of 5.25 square metres for Asia noted in ILO's study of basic needs.[6] These can be said to be basic needs in their respective areas. Standards have also been set for levels of services to be provided. In India, for example, the present Five Year Plan defines a national standard of one health centre per district and one subcentre for each taluka.

While the standard chosen can be arbitrary, in many cases the minimum level defined is below a level on which human beings can function normally. In terms of nutrition, when an individual falls below a certain level of caloric and protein intake, he will suffer physical damage. In those areas where resources are available only to meet the survivability minima, how to allocate resources is rather clear-cut: they must be allocated to achieve those minima as quickly and completely as possible. Thus, for example, planning for an area with chronic famine would centre on how to counter famine regardless of other possible needs which can be met.

Fortunately, most countries do not have permanent mass survival crises, although conditions may be far from adequate. This means that the levels of basic needs which must be met can be defined at some intermediate point between the survivability minimum and the optimum to be desired. When these levels are defined, they usually represent some norm such as "all children should go to school" and "everyone should have access to electricity" that are derived from a combination of what is already possible, given an appropriate allocation of resources, what the better portions of society already have, and what are internationally accepted norms for development. The specific needs and their levels will vary by country, and even by region within a country, although norms set are usually nationwide.

The range of needs which can be defined objectively is rather large and, to an extent, is bounded only by the limits of imagination. Once a society is beyond satisfaction of needs necessary for survival, some criterion must be applied in order to maintain a sense of perspective. Applied in many cases is the criterion of economic efficiency: the needs whose satisfaction leads to greater production and growth should be met first. An alternative is the needs perceived by the people.

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[4]ILO, *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs*, p. 8.

[5]Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development* (Rome, 1969).

[6]ILO, *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs*, p. 40.

2. *"Subjective Needs"*

For each society there is a set of needs perceived by the people that they feel should be satisfied as part of the development process. Planning based in part on the desires of the people for whom development is intended is now seen as necessary if plans are to be implemented, since this helps to ensure that opposition will not develop among the intended beneficiaries and will mobilize their active support—including their own resources—to assist in the effort being planned, and that the plan will reflect the realities of the area to be covered by it.[7] Indeed, community development has long emphasized the necessity of using the "felt needs" of the population as the basis for promotion of self-help activities.[8] More recently, studies towards the "unified approach" to development planning have emphasized the need for popular participation as the means of achieving this unification between economic and social planning.[9] It could be argued that for every defined population there exists a set of needs the satisfaction of which at definable levels constitutes the minimum level of acceptability for development programmes. This might be seen as a societal "utility curve." Plotting this minimum needs curve could greatly assist in making realistic plans.

This concept of need has arisen out of studies on motivation. Social psychologists were among the first to use the concept, needs being seen as a principal element of the individual's cognitive structure. A need in this usage is something which is so strongly desired by an individual that it directs his behaviour. It is usually recognized that needs can be generated by physiological deprivation or by a positive desire to have something. It is also recognized that those needs generated by deprivation are atypical and that usually one of needs is based on attaining certain goals.

Psychologists have postulated the existence of a hierarchy of needs, ranging from basic physiological needs, such as food and shelter, to more complex cognitive satisfaction of needs for self-realization. Satisfaction of needs tends to progress up the hierarchy: as lower order needs are satisfied, higher order needs come to the fore.[10] Thus, needs which will be felt by people and the levels of attainment required to satisfy them will be constantly changing over time. In this subjective definition, needs are highly variable.

Needs also reflect the cultural and social conditions of a people. Thus, for example, in many societies religious fulfillment is a need considered by the people to be as food and shelter.

It should also be noted that the set of needs which are perceived will probably vary over time. Certain needs perceived in a time of famine will be different from those perceived in a time of plenty. Similarly, many needs may be a result of current fashions. As a society is more influenced by external communications, these perceived needs may become more volatile. Needs can also be altered through actions of leaders, who may succeed in creating or modifying peoples' perception of needs, particularly where the people nave no clear perception of what their needs are.

Conceptually, it is useful to distinguish in subjective needs—those which are transitory and those which are held firmly. Concerning the latter the people have a set of cognitions which do not change over time. This can be said to consist of the basic

[7]United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Popular Participation in Decision Making for Development* (New York, 1975) (ST/ESA/31).

[8]United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development* (New York, 1971) (ST/SOA/106).

[9]United Nations, *Report on a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning: Preliminary Report of the Secretary-General* (New York, 1972) (E/CN.5/477).

[10]Abraham H. Maslow, " 'Higher' and 'Lower' Needs," *Journal of Psychology* 25(1948): 433-36.

needs perceived by the people. This distinction must be borne in mind in measuring needs.

3. *Basic Minimum Needs*

In practice, the categories of needs which can be defined by either an objective, normative approach or by a subjective, psychological approach tend to converge, at least, at the lower levels of needs. There is no doubt, for example, that there exist needs for food, shelter, clothing, education, and employment. Definition of non-material needs, such as spiritual satisfaction and self-identity, might be more difficult, at least on a normative-objective basis.

The definition of categories of needs, whether suggested normatively or subjectively, is less difficult than finding in each case a numerical meaning for the terms "basic" and "minimum." Except for standards for certain basic types of needs, such as nutrition and shelter, where a level could be defined below which survival would be impossible, there are few readily apparent minima. Indeed, any other objective minimum standard would be arbitrary. Moreover, in areas such as education, where quality rather than quantity is more likely to be critical once the problem of distributing opportunities is overcome, setting standards is rather complex.

With regard to the needs felt by the people for whom planning is intended, the problem is that definitions both of "basic" and of "minimum" will be shifting. The set of needs which could be called "basic," where satisfaction is, in effect, indispensable, will change as needs are met and are replaced by new needs, also perceived as indispensable. Moreover, changed situations can themselves alter the set of needs, as when a technological innovation creates a new demand for itself. Similarly, minimum levels will change to the degree that achievement of one minimum level will force redefinition of a new, higher minimum level.

Methodologically, the only realistic compromise for defining basic minimum needs is to combine normative and objective criteria with subjective factors. For each planning exercise, basic needs would be defined by society. This is the minimum which is acceptable to the societal leadership. At the same time aggregated individual needs in this context would be defined as the collective preference among areas of need.

What would be measured in that set of needs determined objectively and normatively would be the existing levels of attainment, together with the expressed preferences of the population for action and among areas of activity. Basic minimum needs would be a construct of objective needs weighted by the popular preferences among them. Practically speaking, this means that the planners would have to define the areas in which public action would be expected. The present levels of attainment of these needs would have to be measured and the people polled on their priorities for action and desirable levels. Then a minimum level would have to be established for each need area, based on its relative priority among the people, popular desires, and, if possible, a normative standard. Thus, for example, if housing were an area of interest, the normative standard of 5.25 square metres could be established as a base, but if the popular desire were for a larger amount of space, the latter would become the minimum standard. And if, as opposed to other areas of possible activity, housing had a higher perceived importance, it would be defined as a basic need.

B. Information Requirements for Basic Minimum Needs

Information is a raw material of the planner, forming the basis of his diagnosis, structuring his projections, and permitting him to evaluate the programmes which have been planned. The degree to which a planner will be able to plan in terms of basic minimum needs will depend on the degree to which he is able to obtain valid and reliable information about them.

As has been noted, basic minimum needs should be defined in area-specific and group-specific terms. This means the data on basic minimum needs also should be available on an area and group basis. In most countries, recent and reliable data on most basic minimum needs do not exist on an area or group basis.

Primary sources of data for planning purposes are national censuses, vital statistics collected as part of the civil registration process, and commercial accounts. These sources are designed to produce national statistics and national accounts. Consequently, coverage of many social indicators is rather restricted, although housing and occupational structure data are often available. Demographic statistics can also provide indicators of health and education levels. In fact, these types of statistics have been used up to now to develop national social indicators.[11]

There are a number of critical limitations in the data usually used for planning purposes that reduce the data's usefulness in planning for basic minimum needs. The limitations in most countries are such that a new data base is probably required for basic minimum needs planning.

First, census and registration data are incomplete in terms of measuring objective needs. Information is usually available on family size, monetary income, general mortality and morbidity, housing and education levels. Continuous data are usually not available about nutrition (unless a special study has been undertaken), use of health facilities, group participation, and patterns of saving and consumption. Even if the data are collected, the coverage, in many countries, is poor—particularly if the source is registration data. In one Asian country, for example, systematic collection of vital statistics stopped when local government units charged with civil registration were abolished. Thus, data on death causes were available only in urban hospitals, with planners unable to ascertain prevailing patterns of diseases in rural areas or urban slums.

Second, very few countries collect data on subjective needs. Indeed, only a few developing countries, such as India and Thailand, have household sample survey organizations. No country systematically obtains information on popular desires as part of the governmental information collection process, although this type of information on a national basis is collected by private polling organizations in a number of industrialized countries.

Third, available data do not usually reflect spatial aspects of development. Census figures, for example, are usually not broken down by region, except for demographic figures. Moreover, those that are presented in subnational series usually appear considerably late in the process of publication, and may not be classified according to planning areas.

Over the long run, it may be possible to institutionalize systems of statistics which provide necessary information for basic minimum needs planning. The United Nations has suggested standards for social and demographic statistics which could fill some of the existing gaps.[12] In the context of the ILO's concern with basic needs, the concept of a social accounting matrix to organize planning data has been suggested.[13] However, until these systems have wide application in developing countries, with data series based on planning regions, there appears to be no alternative to undertaking the collection of new data as an integral part of the subnational planning process.

Planners customarily resist acquiring new data as part of the initial planning process. Based on past experiences, it is often felt

[11]United Nations, Research Institute for Social Development, *Contents and Measurement of Socio-Economic Development: An Empirical Enquiry* (Geneva, 1970) (Report no. 70.10); United Nations, Statistical Office, *Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics* (New York, 1975) (Its studies in methods; F, no. 18) (ST/ESA/STAT/SER.F/18); Ray Horn, "Social Indicators for Development Planning and Analysis," *International Labour Review* III (June 1975): 483-506; Nancy Baster, ed., *Measuring Development* (London: Frank Cass, 1972).[See especially the articles by Donald McGranahan and by Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris.]

[12]United Nations, Statistical Office, *Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics.*

[13]Graham Pyatt and Erik Thorbecke, *Planning Techniques for a Better Future: A Summary of a Research Project on Planning for Growth, Redistribution, and Employment* (Geneva: ILO, 1976).

that obtaining new data is too expensive in monetary terms, takes too much time, and thereby would delay the production of a plan and, even might yield too much information to be useful. These legitimate concerns, however, must be conditioned by another set of factors. First, the cost of planning without adequate data may be higher than the cost of collecting data. Second, with few exceptions, such as preparation of emergency plans, the planning process itself extends over time so that data acquisition over a period of six months should not significantly retard the planning process. Third, whether or not new data are acquired during the diagnosis period, it must be acquired subsequently if the impact of development programmes generated by the planning process is to be assessed.

In determining whether the cost of obtaining new data outweighs the cost of planning without adequate data, some consideration should be given to the fact that the cost of data acquisition is related directly to the total volume and precision required of the data. For example, censuses are almost completely precise, since data are collected from every individual in the society. There is, at the point of collection, no error. Moreover, the volume of data collected in censuses is very large. Thus, the cost of executing national censuses is very high and much time is required to process and analyse the data. In contrast, sample surveys are used to estimate conditions in populations with data collected from only a small proportion of the population. While the precision is somewhat less than that of a census, the cost is similarly small.[14]

It can be argued that planners do not always required census-level precision to make effective decisions. What is required is information which allows the planner to allocate resources spatially with a reasonable assurance that he is not making major errors. In terms of planning for basic minimum needs, the planner would require an indication of a rough structure of needs, both subjective and objective, as they are distributed in space and among groups. The data would have to be used subsequently to determine whether the needs had been met and the programmes resulting from the planning process had had their desired impact on their intended beneficiaries.

Measurement of basic minimum needs should be seen in the context of obtaining new data in a cost-effective manner as part of the planning process itself. Concrete discussion on how to do this is based on a number of examples of information systems which were developed to measure the impact of development programmes on their beneficiaries. These included an evaluation of the Brazilian extension system,[15] evaluation of a river basin development project,[16] planning of a rural development programme in regions in four Latin American countries, designing for monitoring and evaluation of a land settlement programme in a Middle Eastern country, and designing for a rural development information system in a South Asian country.[17]

Practical experience, it should be noted, does not come from planning based explicitly on basic minimum needs. Few countries have yet adopted this approach, particularly in regional planning. However, the information systems which were utilized are compatible with the requirements of a basic minimum needs strategy. Moreover, in each case, data acquisition did not require more than one to six months, depending on the volume of data.

Measuring "basic minimum needs" is a matter of measuring levels of basic needs as

[14]Of course, national censuses are undertaken for purposes other than planning and the data generated by them are usually available for planners at little or no cost. But if the cost of the national census were added to the cost of planning, the total would be very high.

[15]Associacâo Brasileira de Crédito e Assistência Rural, *Availiacâo dos Trabalhos nos Projectos de Bem-Estar: Plano Basico da Availiacao* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973).

[16]Centro Nacional de Capacitación e Investigación Aplicada para el Desarrollo Regional y Local, *El Modelo PREB/CIADEC para la Evaluación de un Pequeño Proyecto de Desarrollo* (Maracay, 1973).

[17]The methodological aspects of the other information systems have not yet been published. Much of the subsequent discussion is based on unpublished material.

defined by planners based on externally provided standards and then analysing them in the context of subjective preferences of the population. The process of determining criteria for measurement can follow the pattern common to all questions of scientific measurement. These include:

(a) What will be measured? This means defining the concept of needs.
(b) Where will it be measured? The locus of measurement must be defined in terms of a universe, sampling units, and sampling methods.
(c) How will it be measured? Methodology of data collection must be indicated.

C. Criteria for Measuring Basic Minimum Needs

1. *What to Measure*

For objective needs, the measurement problem is less than for subjective needs. Objective types of need of interest must be defined by the planners, based on observation of the region and study of its problems. Usually needs can be said to fall into three broad categories: levels of living, factors of production, and services.

Levels of living refer basically to the physical condition of a person. Thus, they usually are measured by the presence or absence of certain goods and amenities. In some cases, an index is created according to whether an individual has a good house, potable water, certain types of furniture. and sanitation services. As an alternative, more complete data on housing can reflect a wider range of needs. In Venezuela and other Latin American countries, types of houses were used as a comprehensive indicator, since it was usually associated with the presence of other amenities.

Nutrition is an important area of need. Measurement of levels of nutrition is a field in which a great deal of efforts has been made, usually in the context of special nutrition surveys.[18] However, since information gathering for basic minimum needs cannot be based on a comprehensive examination of each need area, the approach taken in Brazil was to collect two rather less precise types of data which would give a reasonable indication of the level of nutrition in the population. Nutrition is based on both quantity of food and dietary balance. It was felt that people with a balanced diet would generally have a sufficient quantity of food and that therefore measuring the degree to which the average diet was balanced would give an adequate indication of the general level of nutrition. Families in a sample were asked about the frequency with which foods from specific critical food groups were consumed. In addition, families were asked to tell what they had eaten in their meals during the previous twenty-four hours. Putting these two pieces of information together, it would be possible to determine the degree of balance in the diet and from that to infer the level of nutrition.

For physical health, needs were measured in one Latin American country through studying the prevalence of infant mortality and the frequency of illness. It was assumed that low levels of health in a family would be associated with a higher than average infant mortality, measured as the percentage of children born to a family who died within the first six years, and a higher frequency of illness, measured by the number of days during the previous six months the mother or father had been ill. These two figures gave a reasonable approximation of levels of physical well-being for planning purposes.

A second need area could be called "factors of production." While needs are often seen as exclusively social in nature, in practice there are economic needs as well. These range from a need for employment to needs for factors of productive inputs and infrastructure. The principal measure of need in this sense is probably net income, reflecting the overall return realized from productive effort. In most of the data cases to which reference has been made, the method of obtaining income was through a reconstruction of the previous economic year. This was especially necessary for farmers, much of whose income was not monetized (such as food produced for home consumption or sold through barter arrangements). The amount of detailed information which was required in this procedure was rather large, since it involved calculation not

[18]Michael C. Latham, *Planning and Evaluation of Applied Nutrition Programmes* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1972) (FAO Nutritional series, no. 26).

only of the value of the product but also of the costs of production. Such detail could be justified since it also provided data on the structure of production which was necessary for micro planning. The general procedure was to ask crop by crop or product by product:

(a) How much was produced?
(b) How much was sold and at what price?
(c) How much each productive input (ranging from seed and fertilizer through hired labour) cost?
(d) How many work-days did the person and family members themselves provide?

The exercise also permitted description, in the case of farmers, of the levels of factors of production, including amount of arable land, use of modern inputs (fertilizer, insecticides, certified seeds), and reliance on hired labour. Additionally, acceptable data were obtained on levels of employment. In one case in Venezuela it was found, for example, that the average farmer was working only half time, thus indicating the degree of disguised unemployment.

In general, the degree to which "factors of production" needs are measured may depend on whether government policy considers the income-generating activities of the population to represent a need. Clearly, however, a development strategy based on an overall principle of distributive justice would consider them a major area of concern.

Measurement of service needs is relatively straightforward. What is observed first is availability (Does the service exist in the area?), then access (Can the beneficiaries use the facility?), and finally use (Do the beneficiaries actually use the service?). In practice, the indicators tend to be based on availability (such as doctors per 1,000 population) rather than on use, which is a more appropriate measure; but in some cases a more complex measure based on a combination of availability, access, and use is prepared.

In one Latin American country, level of need for medical services was measured by determining whether a health centre was within a one-hour walking distance, whether it was constantly staffed, and, by asking a sample of individuals about how many families used the centre. However, in order to assure that a high level of use of the health centre did not, in fact, reflect an unfavourable health situation, the measure of use was modified to include the percentage of use for preventive rather than curative treatment. Need was deemed to be higher where there was (1) no health centre, (2) a centre existed but was not constantly staffed, or (3) centre users formed a low percentage of the population and (4) use was mainly for curative rather than preventive treatment.

Qualitative objective indicators are less common. By this is meant indicators of the quality of institutions of interest. There is, however, a commonsense approach which can be followed, as long as data are aggregated by community. For each institution, such as hospitals, schools, credit banks, and the like which affect a basic minimum need area, it is possible to make a qualitative rating based on a number of dimensions:

(a) What proportion of the intended beneficiary population for the institution actually use the institution?
(b) What proportion of the staff positions are filled? What proportion of staff meet minimum national standards?
(c) How close does the physical plant approximate the national optimum?
(d) Where national norms exist, to what extent do beneficiaries achieve national norms after using the institution (for such activities as educational attainment, health, or credit-worthiness)?

Indicators can be constructed for each institution of interest to the planner.

Measurement of subjective needs or preference is less common. However, there are now examples of use of subjective measure of job satisfaction as a part of employment studies,[19] as well as in the development of more refined measures of economic welfare.[20] Determination of subjective preferences has long been an aspect of "motivation research" in advertising. Thus, a

[19]Ray Horn, "Social Indicators," pp. 488-89.

[20]Burkhard Strumpel, ed., *Economic Means for Human Needs: Social Indicators of Well-Being and Discontent* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1976).

certain experience has been accumulated, although this type of measure has not often been used for planning, especially in developing countries. Common sense suggests that subjective needs will vary considerably over time and among places, so that measurement will have to make allowances for this.

A simple approach would be to ask a sample of people what they think they need. Replies however may not be particularly stable: in a drought, the perceived need tends to be for water; if the next day there is a cloudburst, the perceived need may well be for flood control. Public opinion researchers have frequently noted that, because situational factors have strong influences on opinions, the expressions of people in simple opinion polls and attitude surveys have tended to be poor predictors of behaviour.[21]

Measuring of preferences usually takes the form of asking people to either (1) select preferred items from a longer list or (2) make paired comparisons. In the latter, two alternatives, A and B,are presented in the form "Do you prefer A or do you prefer B?" (Or, "Is A a greater need or is B a greater need?") Then, A and B each are compared with C. In theory, it should be possible to establish an order of preference, due to a presumed intransitivity in the relationship, such as A > B and B > C then A > C. Unfortunately, in a reasonably large number of cases, this type of relationship has been found not to be intransitive and the phenomenon can be observed that an individual may prefer A to B and B to C, but also prefer C to A. It is suspected that one reason for this is that the alternatives specified in the question may stimulate the respondent to an answer which he would not have otherwise made. Thus, for example, a respondent may never have considered comparing A and C, and the question which poses the comparison may suggest it for the first time. The problem that the question itself may suggest a preference may help to explain why responses to "forced-choice questions" are so poorly related to behaviour.

Forced-choice questioning has a further disadvantage in that the depth of interest about a given alternative as well as the degree of information held about it, all of which are important in determining whether an individual's concern will be translated into behaviour, cannot be ascertained. What can be learned is that some of a set of posed alternatives are preferred in general, but not the nature of that preference.

To avoid intrusive questions which themselves suggest answers, some researchers then explore the respondents' ability to think about fundamental conditions. This method has been used in a number of studies in different countries, including Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela.[22] The procedure is to first ask, "What are the principal problems facing this community?" This identifies the universe of problems perceived by a respondent at any given time. And, since needs can be expressed as "problems," it represents his most perceived need. If more than one problem is named, the sequence then follows with, "Of these, which is the most important?" This identifies the most salient need, as perceived by the respondent. Then, a sequence of questions about this problem is asked, including "What do you think is the cause of this problem?" and "What do you feel are the possible solutions for this problem?" Since these latter questions are problem specific, it is not feasible to deal with their contents. Rather, the sequence has been coded in order to establish the degree to which the individual has "thought through" the problem. It is felt that a problem for which an individual can specify both cause and potential solution is one which is more "firm" than one about which an individual has not developed a set of cognitions. A feeling of personal powerlessness has been found to be closely related to the degree to which an individual is unable to fully define his most strongly felt problem.[23]

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[21]Milton Rokeach, "Attitude Change and Behavior Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 30(1966): 529-50; Leon Festinger, "Behavioral Support for Opinion Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 28(1964): 404-17.

[22]See, for example, John R. Mathiason, "Patterns of Powerlessness Among Urban Poor: Towards the Use of Mass Communications for Rapid Social Change," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 7(1972): 64-84.

[23]*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

TABLE 1. PERCEIVED PROBLEMS IN CIUDAD GUAYANA

Problem	Per cent of residents (n = 400)	Per cent of residents having opinion (n = 304)
1. Lack of running water or sewers	28.7	37.8
2. Lack of pavement or street repairs	19.8	26.0
3. Inadequate garbage collection	8.0	10.5
4. Public order problems	8.0	10.5
5. Lack of various other public services*	10.7	14.3
6. Personal problems	0.5	0.0
	75.7	100.0

*Lack of housing, telephones, electricity, etc. None greater than 5 per cent.

Using this set of questions for each community, it is possible to identify that group of needs (expressed as problems) felt by a substantial portion of the people living in the community. It is also possible to determine which of these has been cognitively developed and therefore is likely to provoke behaviour.

An example of the results obtained by this procedure can be found in one study involved in the planning for Ciudad Guayana, a new city in Venezuela. The application of the problem-solving sequence to a sample of lower-income residents found that the subjective needs were as given in table 1.

The perceived needs clustered around the two items of community services and infrastructure. The need receiving the highest number of mentions was usually characterized by having been thought through as indicated by clear definition. It should be noted, however, that the priority reflected in the popular perceptions detected in the sample survey differed from those seen by the planners stand, in fact, the conflict in priorities had already produced some problems between the planners and residents of the city.

2. *Where to Measure*

It would seem that the answer to the question, "Where should we measure needs?" is rather simple: needs must be observed at the individual level and aggregated. Most existing social indicators are of this type such as measurement of education by an average number of years of study or percentage of children in a given age group who are in school. Clearly the individual is, ultimately, the focus of development. It is thus sensible to collect data from individuals and aggregate the responses as averages or other descriptors of a given distribution. Vital registration statistics, censuses, and national sample surveys are usually conducted and analysed on this basis.

Given that it is possible to construct a new regional data base with special surveys, it is worthwhile considering whether the standard method of collecting data from such surveys—individual interviews aggregated to produce group information—is the best method to assess basic minimum needs. For comprehensive planning, the spatial dimension is critical. But standard surveys, when analysed, tend to produce data not easily divisible into area data. Analysis is typically based on artificially defined analytical groups whose composition is as much determined by the number of data sets available (number of interviews) as by information requirements. Except for data on large urban areas, data sets for given localities are often too small to provide much useful analytical data about any locality, particularly in terms of indices where two or more variables must be combined. To provide sufficient data using customary techniques would dramatically require increasing sample sizes, with an accompanying increase in cost.

More importantly, however, standard individual-based surveys lack information on the critical "community" variable. A community can be defined as a spatial variable encompassing that number of people who can interact with each other

consistently on a face-to-face basis. The size, in this case, can vary from a small village to a section of a city, depending on the pattern of interactions. The community is the location of a number of important non-individual factors required for planning. These include local voluntary organizations, leadership patterns, distribution of services and their quality (such as education and health), and such physical environmental variables as transportation and communicatioin infrastructure. The importance of community and other locational variables in establishing social indicators for local and intermediate levels has been underscored by recent work of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).[24]

To measure basic minimum needs, the community variable is important for a number of reasons. First, in determining existing levels for need categories such as education, health, and other aspects where remedies are provided through government services, it is possible to estimate the quality of the service at the community level. Second, and more important, data on voluntary organizations and leadership can include information on group preferences. For the planner concerned with acceptability of a plan, the preferences expressed by organized groups and leaders may be more important than the sum of average preferences of individuals. This is because in expressed group preferences, the effect of local political power is already taken into account, whereas an average of individual preferences may not represent this. Whether or not a preference is firm enough to lead to action depends on a number of factors, including the salience of the issue (how strongly it is felt) and the degree of understanding involved. Individuals with preferences may hold them weakly or with little understanding, whereas when an issue reaches the level of an expressed group preference, the salience and understanding of an issue tend to be present. Moreover, it is clear that the relatively more powerful in any group tend to lead others and that the leaders' preference is therefore likely to be more significant than that of the followers. This type of weighting is, of course, lost in preferences estimated by an average of individual responses.

Using the type of questions on problems used to measure subjective needs, it is possible to ascertain those needs perceived by community leaders, as well as formally recognized by organizations. Obtaining this information requires interviewing community leaders and, if possible, requesting the information through meetings with the organizations. This latter practice was done in Venezuela.[25]

It is quite possible that there will be a discrepancy between preferences expressed by organized groups and those expressed by individuals. If so, this is in itself an important indicator of possible political conflict within the communities, that can assist the planner in determining precisely which needs are basic. Indeed, where a discrepancy exists, there is a possibility of a change in preferences as individual preferences either change those of organized groups or are moulded through the process of participation.

In order to ensure that preferences are adequately weighted for power factors and provide essential spatial data for the analysis of basic minimum needs, a model based on data collection and analysis at the community level has been developed and applied in a number of countries, including those previously identified. In the approach taken in these countries, the population to be surveyed is defined in terms of communities, which are then to be classified (or stratified, in technical terminology) into types according to the dominant characteristics of the region. A sample of communities is then taken, which is sufficiently large to assure that all major types of communities in the region are represented. Each community is then studied, both through small-scale individual surveys and through in-depth interviewing. Individual responses are aggregated to the community level and the data are used to further de-

[24]UNRISD, *The Measurement of Real Progress at the Local Level* (Geneva, 1973) (Report no. 73.3).

[25]Centro Nacional de Capacitación e Investigación Aplicada para el Desarrollo Regional y Local, *Estudio Socio-Económico del Asentamiento Caicara* (Maracay, 1973).

scribe the communities. The community data are then aggregated to provide a regional profile of communities. This "system of community case studies" has been used as a basis for continued collection of data on the progress of development through systematic restudies of the communities.

3. *How to Measure*

The method of a system of case studies was adopted in order to obtain new data on needs in the countries noted earlier in response to the question of how to measure in such a way that data are available at a relatively low cost, with generalization possible according to spatial distribution in an area, and that a basis for subsequent data collection is assured. A sample of communities in a region is required in order to reduce cost. The samples chosen are based on a stratification method which ensures that the communities selected will be a representative sample of the types of communities existing in the region. In this sampling the concern is to have as large a number of different communities as resources permit. Within each community a rather small sample of individuals is taken, also stratified to maximize the representativeness of the sample. However, the precision of the individual-level sample in each community is not very high. The reasoning behind this approach to sampling is that, for planning purposes, the degree of precision required at the community level is much higher than at the individual level and, in effect, there will be little direct aggregation of the individual data at the regional level.

In a state in Mexico, it was found that major cultural factors of language and religion, as well as factors of modernization, were reflected according to established subdistricts. A sample of thirty communities was drawn from ten groups of subdistricts. A subsequent check of the reliability of the sample found that it permitted estimation of a known factor within 5 per cent. This meant that planners could be reasonably assured that the average taken from the sample was probably within about 5 per cent of the true value in the entire population.

The procedure followed, once the system of case studied was defined, was to collect data on needs, as well as on other programmatic factors, in each of the communities. This was done by sending in teams of interviewers to obtain information from interviews with families, with leaders, or with government officials, according to the type of data required. It was found that a team of five interviewers, usually drawn out of planning units, training institutions, or line agencies, could completely cover a community in three days. Thirty communities would require therefore about ninety working days for a team of five, or thirty working days for three teams.

To avoid the problem of delays in having data available due to tabulation at a central place, in a number of countries tabulation was made by field teams after each community was surveyed, so that only thirty sets of data had to be added up to provide regional totals. In one country, it was decided to process the information on a computer, but software problems led ultimately to a delay in data tabulation.

As an end result of this processing, information is obtained which can provide a profile of the communities in a given region; this consists of four types of data which can be used to identify basic minimum needs:

(a) data on the average magnitude and rough distribution (quartiles, for example) by community of objective needs measured at the individual level. For example, one could assert, as was done in a diagnostic evaluation for planning a rural development programme in one country, that the mean yearly net family income in the lowest quarter of the communities was equivalent to US$250, the mean in the highest quarter was US$405, and in the median community was US$200.Or, alternatively, the percentage of families who never visit a health centre in the median community is 10 per cent with a range from 90 per cent in the lowest community to 0 per cent in the highest community;

(b) data on the magnitude and rough distribution according to communities of objective needs measured at the community level. For example, data are obtained which indicate that the number of kilometres of paved road in the median community is X, ranging from Y in the lowest to Z in the highest;

(c) data on the average needs perceived

by residents in communities based on individual-level interviews. For example, one could develop statements such as, in X per cent of the communities the main problem perceived individually is potable water;

(d) data on the needs perceived collectively (as expressed by leaders and organizations) by the communities in the region. For example, it would be possible to assert that "improved housing" is considered to be a major problem in X per cent of the communities.

The four data sets can be further analysed in order to establish (1) the set of basic minimum needs, (2) spatial distribution of minimum needs, and (3) the relationship among needs as seen objectively and subjectively. If it is assumed that basic minimum needs are perceived externally and by the recipient people, it is possible to classify needs into a hierarchy.

The most fundamental needs, perceived as objectively requiring attention, are perceived as needs in most of the communities by individuals and also perceived as needs by organizations. These could be defined as those needs which clearly require major allocations of available resources.

Two intermediate categories can also be identified. First are those needs which are identified as critical by external observers but which are not perceived either by individuals or by organizations but are noticeable by both. This constitutes a set of needs for which perception can be created within the region, since it is already present passively. A second set of needs are those which are not perceived to be objectively necessary but are perceived by both individuals and their organizations to be important. This constitutes a type of need that probably has to be met regardless of its economic importance. Cases in which popular perceptions lead to programmes of investment in churches or temples in order to alleviate a perceived nonmaterial, higher-level need are examples of this.

Finally, there exist those classes of needs which are seen by only one of the three types of observer. These constitute a reservoir of areas for action or, if the objective case can be made, those areas where a special effort would have to be made to create a popular perception of needs before the programme could be implemented.

D. *Further Work on Data Acquisition Methods*

The method of data acquisition described above for measuring basic minimum needs has been found useful in a number of countries with different information requirements. It would, however, not be proper to suggest that this approach represents the only way to measure basic minimum needs. Other methods, including those based on establishing regional information systems within the context of routine data gathering through census, vital registration, and sample surveys, may be applicable, particularly where time and financial constraints are less stringent. Experiences to date do suggest several firm criteria for data acquisition, which would be applicable regardless of method:

(a) Data should be acquired based on some kind of spatial stratification to assure that the places where felt needs exist can be identified with reasonable accuracy;

(b) Data obtained from individuals should be aggregated at the community level to permit a spatial profile and their integration with other community-level data;

(c) The data acquired should be designed to be compatible with future data requirements so that, as a minimum, it will be possible to show whether the needs identified in the planning process have been met.

There is, in addition to these criteria, a possibility that there has been far more acceptance of the notion that popular participation in planning is useful for development than there has been elaboration of means by which this can be achieved. One lesson of the method discussed here is that the process of data acquisition through a system of community case studies implies a form of popular participation. This method may, in itself, serve as a vehicle for stimulating greater popular participation, since the key to participation in planning is that the planners genuinely know what are the people's needs and priorities. Planning based on obtaining information on basic minimum needs may, with little difficulty, provide the basis for a broad-based popular involvement in the planning process. □

PLANNING NEWS

PLANNING NEWS

IEP Elected As Lead Institute For ADIPA Research

The UP Institute of Environmental Planning (IEP) was recently elected as lead institute for the research project on the topic, "An Evaluation of Recent Policies and Programs with Particular Reference to Urban Poor," during the Fourth Biennial General Conference of the Association of Development Research and Training Institute of Asia and The Pacific (ADIPA) on October 8-13, 1979 in Seoul, South Korea. A project development meeting has already been scheduled to be held in Bangkok, Thailand, where the participating countries are expected to discuss a common framework for the study. The countries concerned, aside from the Philippines, are Bangladesh, India, Indonesia and Thailand.

Dean Leandro A. Viloria

Dr. Viloria Serves As Critic in International Confab

Dr. Leandro Viloria, dean of the UP Institute of Environmental Planning, served as one of the critics during the international conference on "Methods and Strategy for Integrated Development" held at Arlon, Belgium on September 23-29. Over 150 scientists, educators, and decision-makers from various countries attended this conference. Different methodologies of solving complex problems concerning the environment and integrated development as well as practical methods applicable to decision-making were discussed. Dean Viloria served as critic on "Integrated Development and the Environment."

PLANNING NEWS

Four Filipinos Participate in Seminar On Planning For Large SEA Cities

Four Filipinos participated in the seminar on "Planning for Large South East Asian cities—The Gap Between Planning and Implementation: Problems and Prospects" held in Berlin and Bangkok from September 9 to 22. The participants were Dean Leandro Viloria and Athena Azarcon of UP-IEP, Nathaniel von Einsiedel of MMC, and Jesse Kayanan of NHA. The seminar was sponsored by the German Foundation for Developing Countries and the Asian Institute of Technology. Featured in the seminar were papers from SEA countries. Workshops, discussions and field trips to various projects—such as urban renewal, industrial estates, and low-income housing—were held. During the conference, it was noted that the gap between planning and implementation in South East Asian (SEA) countries was due in part to the overlapping of functions and lack of coordination among agencies, the lack of qualified personnel to staff national, regional and city planning agencies, and the poor acceptability of planning because of its being a new field.

Delegates to the Seminar on Planning for large SEA Cities among whom are four Filipinos namely: Dean Leandro A. Viloria (extreme left, second row) and Athena F. Azarcon (second from left, seated) both of UP-IEP, Nathaniel von Einsiedel of MMC (third from left, second row), and Jesse Kayanan of NHA (fifth from left, second row). Dr. Annette Schirmer (fourth from left, second row) of DSE is Seminar coordinator.

PLANNING NEWS

ASPAC Regional Conference Held in Manila

The regional conference of the Asia and the Pacific Region (ASPAC) on Human Settlement Finance and Management was held last June 5-11 at the Philippine International Convention Center. The conference was well attended by planners from various member countries.

In the conference, Prof. Jaime Nierras of UP-IEP and the Ministry of Human Settlements read a paper, "Appropriate Architecture for the Philippines." He stressed two aspects of appropriate architecture for the Filipino: firstly, it seeks to effectively respond to the Filipino family's socio-cultural activities and secondly, it extensively uses readily available indigenous building materials.

Archt. Jaime U. Nierras

MURP Enrollment Reaches 106

One hundred and six students including two foreigners, enrolled at the Institute of Environmental Planning for the first semester of school year 1979-1980. Of these, twenty are recipients of scholarship grants from various government agencies, such as the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Ministry of Public Works (Metro Manila Finance and Delivery of Services Project), Department of Agrarian Reform and the City Government of Baguio.

New Graduates

20 graduates will be conferred their master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning (MURP) at the U.P. graduation exercises on April 20, 1980. Twelve of the graduates finished their courses through the regular two-year graduate program while eight finished through the special 10-month crash program. The graduates are: Arhleen Aguilar, Herminigildo Agustin, Apolonio Anota, Belen Anota, Josefina Castro, Angeline Chua Chiaco, Patricia Cordero, Zenonida Dizon, Flordeliza Gajeton, Zonia Galvez, Profirio Limpiada, Imelda Lintag, Graciano Malapira, Alice Reyes, Luvismindo Rondael, Ronaldo Rogel, Victoria Santiago, Federico Sugue, Edgardo Villena and Florencio Wee.

Meanwhile, 31 trainees successfully finished the six-month non-degree Special Course in Urban and Regional Planning (SCURP) which was jointly sponsored by the U.P.-PLANADES and the U.P.-IEP.

Fourth SCURP

The Fourth SCURP (Special Course in Urban and Regional Planning) began last September 3 with 31 participants from 13 various government agencies. The focus of the training is on Integrated Rural Development with Tanza, Cavite as the laboratory town. Among the government agencies represented were BOT, BFD, NPC, HSRC, NEDA (regional offices), Bureau of Lands, MPH, MLGCD, MAR, MNR, Ministry of Agriculture, Office of the Mayor of Olongapo and the Office of the Mayor of Tanza.

The six-month course aims to strengthen the capability of government agencies and private institutions involved in the planning and management of rural development programs and projects to support the new policy orientation of the government which is the development of the countryside.

The SCURP training director is Mr. Ernesto Serote. He will however be replaced by Prof. Lita Velmonte beginning Sept. 16 because of his study grant in the Netherlands.

PLANNING NEWS

Prof. Zenaida A. Manalo shown in dark suit above with other Humphrey fellows has been cited as the first Filipino Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellow.

Alex Cabanilla is back from Netherlands after completing a post graduate course on Multidisciplinary Investigation for Development Planning.

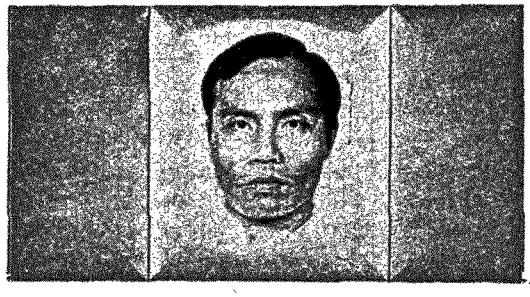
Rene Cerdeña, third from left, front row, with the other participants in the International Post-graduate Training Course in Ecosystem Management.

2 IEP Professors Attend Advanced Courses Abroad.

Mr. Ernesto Serote and Professor Zenaida Manalo left recently for abroad to attend advanced courses in planning. Mr. Serote will finish his Master of Science in Integrated Surveys for Development Planning which he started in Sept. 1979 at the International Institute for Aerial Survey and Earth Sciences in Enschede, The Netherlands under a UNESCO grant. His present study grant is jointly sponsored by the Netherlands Fellowship Programme for Technical Cooperation and the Republic of the Philippines. He is expected to finish in February 1981.

Prof. Manalo will attend the Special Program on Urban and Regional Studies (SPURS) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from Sept. 1979 to May 1980. She is one of the 27 first group of scholars under the Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowship Program.

Meanwhile, two other IEP staff members returned from abroad after attending post graduate courses in two European countries. They are Renato Cerdeña, senior research assistant and Alex Cabanilla, instructor. Mr. Cabanilla attended the course on Multidisciplinary Investigation for Development Planning for nine months at the ITC in Enschede, The Netherlands. He was a recipient of a fellowship grant from the Dutch government. Mr. Cerdeña participated in the International Post-graduate Training Course on Ecosystem Management at the Technical University of Dresden in the German Democratic Republic.



Ernesto Serote to attend another advanced course in planning research abroad.

About the Contributors

Soedjatmoko is adviser to the Chairman of the Indonesian National Development Planning Agency for Social and Cultural Affairs. He was a member of his country's delegation to the United Nations and other international conferences and organizations. From 1968-71, he acted as Ambassador to the United States. Besides being an international fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and having been conferred an honorary doctorate degree in Humane Letters by the Yale University and in Law by the Cedar Crest College, he also received the 1978 Ramon Magsaysay Award for International Understanding in Manila. His writing ability is well-known, especially in the fields of international politics, history, economic and social development, and culture. Several of his articles have been published internationally. His most recent works include: "National Policy Implications of the Basic needs Model," paper prepared for a seminar on the same topic organized by the National Advisory Council for Development Cooperation, The Hague, on 24 February 1978; "The Child in Development Planning," paper presented at the 24th re-union of National Committees of UNICEF in Europe, Brussels in April 1978; "Development and Freedom," "Development and Human Needs," and "Development and Human Growth," for the Ishizaka Memorial Lecture Series in Tokyo, 1979; and "An Indonesian Perspective on Security Trends in East Asia," a report published for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, USA in 1979.

Ernesto M. Serote, an Instructor in the Institute of Environmental Planning is currently on special detail abroad. In 1978, he received a UNESCO grant to attend the postgraduate course in Integrated Surveys for Development Planning at the International Institute for Aerial Survey and Earth Sciences (ITC) in Enschede, The Netherlands. He came back to complete his Master in Urban and Regional Planning course in 1979. That same year, he was appointed Director of Training of the Institute. He served for only a brief period in this capacity because he had to go back to Netherlands for his second scholarship; this time, the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation Grant for the Advanced Programme in Integrated Surveys at the ITC. Mr. Serote hopes to finish this latter course by early 1981.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TEN YEAR INDEX TO THE PHILIPPINE PLANNING JOURNAL 1969-1979

Cynthia M. Alvarez
Research Associate
Institute of Environmental Planning
University of the Philippines

Introduction

Over the past ten years (1969-1979), the *Philippine Planning Journal* has provided both information and insight to planning students and practitioners alike. Recognizing that in the multidisciplinary field of urban and regional planning we have made only modest progress towards solving the problem of inadequate documentation, this simplified index to the Philippine Planning Journal is being offered as an added feature of this issue.

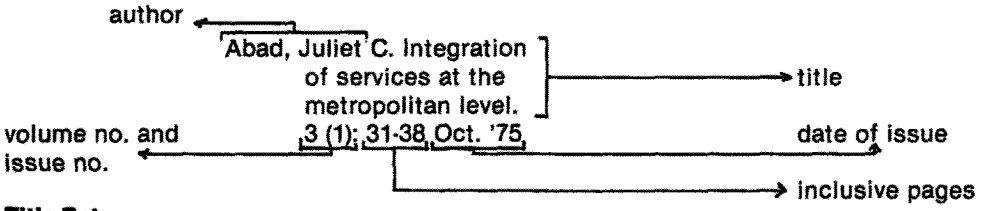
The index is envisioned to serve as an alerting tool to ideas, concepts and perspectives on gut issues in Philippine Planning. A five-year index to the journal appeared in 1973. To add comprehensiveness in subject coverage, however, all articles appearing in the first five-year period are also indexed in this compilation.

Alphabetically arranged entries provide the user with the basic triple approach of author, title and subject to the literature indexed. Subject descriptors are distinguished from the other entries by means of bold face type. The choice of subject descriptors was dictated by the frequency of use of these terms in planning circles. It was also influenced, to some extent, by the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, the Index to Philippine Periodicals and other published periodical indexes.

This Ten-year index is not innovative; but its use for indexing information within the sphere of Philippine planning is. Its usefulness can only be measured by the ease with which its users can gain access to required information. Indeed, new information in urban, regional and environmental planning is only as available as it is usefully stored, retrieved and utilized for the furtherance of knowledge. It is therefore hoped that this compilation, along with succeeding ten-year indexes will enable users to keep abreast of relevant information contained in the Philippine Planning Journal and truly serve its purpose in planning research.

SAMPLE ENTRIES

Author Entry



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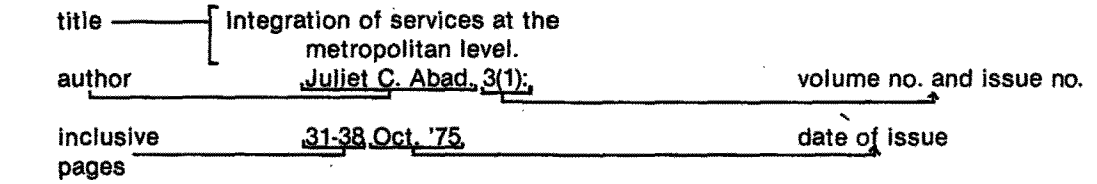
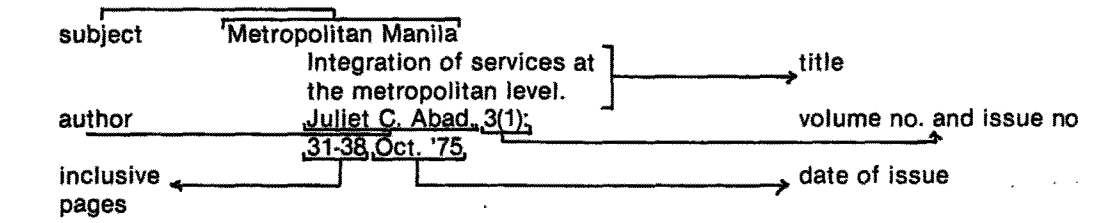


Subject Entry



Cross References

See Reference

See Reference—note directing the user fromm one subject descriptor that is not used to one that is used:

Greater Manila Area see Metropolitan Manila

See also Reference—a note alerting the user to other subject descriptors for additional or related information:

Cities and Towns—Planning
see also Cities and Towns; City Planning; Regional Planning etc.

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Mailing Address:

Business Manager
Institute of Environmental Planning
University of the Philippines
E. Jacinto Street, Diliman
Quezon City 3004 Philippines

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LITA S. VELMONTE, B.S.(Social Work), Dip. in Urban Studies, *Assistant Professor*

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