Some Aspects of Social Development

M. S. GORE

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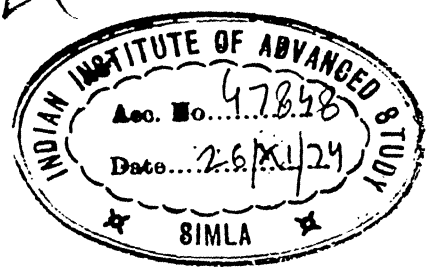

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Foreword

To mark the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the independence of India, the editor and publisher of the journal, "The Indian", Mr. K. Sital, extended an invitation to Professor M. S. Gore to visit Hong Kong and give a number of public lectures. The intention was to have the text of the lectures published thereafter. It was our privilege in the University of Hong Kong to suggest to Professor Gore the field of study for his lectures, and to arrange his programme in Hong Kong.

Between 19th., and 23rd., February 1973 Professor Gore gave four lectures to a variety of audiences at both the University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and in Kowloon for the Hong Kong Social Workers' Association. It is the text of these lectures, since revised and edited by Professor Gore, that are published in this book for a wider readership.

The book is jointly published by the two schools of social work, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, Professor Gore's own school, and my own department at the University of Hong Kong. As a result of Professor Gore's visit and the concern of members of the Indian community resident in Hong Kong we look forward to increasing co-operation between scholars of the social sciences in India and Hong Kong and other parts of South-East Asia, through further exchange visits and continuation of the work of exploring and evolving the application of the social sciences to the social development of Asian urban communities.

We are particularly indebted to Professor Gore for his pioneering role in this enterprise.

—*Peter Hodge*

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University of Hong Kong.
July 1973.

Preface

Four of the five papers brought together in this small publication are based upon the lectures that I delivered in Hong Kong in February 1973 at the joint invitation of Prof. Peter Hodge of the Department of Social Work, University of Hong Kong and Mr. K. Sital, Publisher of "The Indian", a monthly published from Hong Kong. These lectures were arranged at the suggestion of Prof. K. N. Vaid, then Visiting Professor in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Hong Kong. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking them all for the honour they did me by inviting me to deliver these lectures.

The subjects for the lectures were broadly indicated to me by Prof. Hodge but I was given the freedom to specify them and arrange them the way I liked. The idea of choosing "Social Development" as a theme round which to arrange my lectures occurred to me while I was reading Gunnar Myrdal's *The Challenge of World Poverty* — a book from which I have drawn a great deal, particularly in my first paper. In writing the subsequent papers I found very useful the various publications issued by the United Nations and the ECAFE on the general theme of social development. Additionally, I have referred to some of the papers that appeared from time to time in the quarterly *International Social Work* and in the book *India's Urban Future*. All these publications are fully listed in the bibliography given at the end.

The third paper in this collection was originally presented as an address to one of the Plenary Sessions of the XIVth International Conference of Social Welfare (Helesinki — 1968) and was later published by the Columbia University Press as a part of the proceedings of the Conference in a volume entitled *Social Work and Human Rights* (1969). The paper was included in this collection because its subject matter seemed closely related to the overall theme of social development. I am grateful to Shri S. D. Gokhale, Asst. Secretary-General of the International Council of Social Welfare for his permission to reprint the paper here.

The fourth paper in this collection was originally written for the *Economic & Political Weekly* (July 1971). It appears here in a somewhat extended and modified form. I wish to record my thanks to the Editor of the *Economic & Political Weekly* for permission to use the material.

I would also like to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, for making it possible for me to spend a month at the Institute and revise the manuscript of the lectures for publication.

M. S. GORE

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THE BACKGROUND

Before the Advent of Freedom

Most countries of the Third World gained their independence in the late 40's and early 50's of this century. Prior to independence, all these countries were poor and underdeveloped though they differed a great deal from one another in the degree of their poverty, in the stage of their techno-economic development, and even in the legitimacy of their claim to nationhood or to their historirity as a people, with a unifying and continuous tradition. They were generally characterised by high birth and death rates, low expectancy of life at birth, low rates of literacy and by education limited to a small elite. Their primarily agrarian economies were subsistence oriented except in some sections where the European masters had developed plantations of tea, coffee and rubber or where, as in India, a small local response had developed to the demands for cotton, oil-seeds, sugar and tobacco from local as well as foreign markets. Small new towns had developed and mud roads connecting them to the villages on the one hand and the larger metropolitan cities on the other had been laid down. The small towns served as centres of administration and as collection centres for agricultural produce: they

* Public lecture delivered under the auspices of the Department of Social Work, University of Hong Kong on February 19, 1972.

provided high school education and served as locations for lower and middle-level courts established by the alien rulers. These rulers had also laid down the major arterial routes of a railway system and developed a postal system using canoes, horse-carts, buses and railways as means of surface transport. In all these countries alien rule had been a modernising influence affecting their traditional legal, economic and military systems; in some of them, alien rule was also the first unifying influence which brought different ethnic or linguistic groups together. In India alien rule was accompanied by new systems of law and administration, by changes in education, and by the arrival of Christian missionaries. There was also the enlargement of internal and external trade. In India, the nationalist movement grew largely out of the impact of ideas and institutions introduced by the British. On the whole, the modernising influence exercised by foreign governments, traders and missionaries was more readily preceptible in the economic, political, legal and educational institutions. The familial and religious institutions proved relatively less amenable to sudden change: the social and religious movements which arose in response to the challenge of western ideas tended on the one hand to reinterpret and defend established practices and, on the other, to make a plea for new modes of adaptive change. They prevented the development of a breach in the continuity of social and religious traditions.

This was not uniformly the experience of all countries under colonial rule. Generally, it may be possible to say that the simpler cultures of Africa accepted social and religious change more readily than the more complex cultures of Asia. But even large scale conversions of whole tribes to Christianity did not always mean a change in their basic religious belief. Sometimes it meant only the substitution of a new deity for the old one with the existing complex of beliefs and and worship remaining largely untouched. This was also the case in India where large-scale conversion of the lower castes and untouchables took place in certain areas.

Since education was limited to a relatively small, urban elite, the new ideas that it introduced remained on the surface, accepted in part and as per convenience by the urban dwellers. The extent to which the urban elite in different countries served as agents for communicating these new ideas to larger segments of the native rural and urban population varied considerably from one country to another and even within a country from one region to another. The variations between countries were the result of several factors, not the least of which was the existence or otherwise of a major cultural tradition which bound the different segments and strata of the native society together through a system of inter-linked, if not universally shared, values and through the existence of a literary class one of whose major functions was to interpret the tradition of the group to every new generation. Wherever such a tradition had existed — as, for instance, in India — some members of the urban, educated middle-class thought it their responsibility to communicate their changed or "modern" values to others atleast in their own stratum and to those immediately below it. This they did by writing, public speaking and through the establishment of associations for the special purpose of propagating their ideas. But even in these countries "modernisation" was a weak force which penetrated society unevenly and influenced most the economic and politico-legal structures and least the social and religious frame-work.

The Post-Independence Situation

I have dealt with this pre-independence situation in the countries of Asia and Africa because it will help in understanding the type of overall, societal goals they set for themselves prior to and after independence. Prior to independence the goal was primarily political, viz. the attainment of freedom. Different parties and political leaders gave a different substantive content to the idea of freedom and what it would help achieve; but on the goal of freedom from alien rule they were generally united. On attainment

of freedom, many of the countries have experienced political strife and instability and between them witnessed governments which are as varied as monarchies, military dictatorships, parliamentary democracies and peoples' democracies. In most cases the political problems arose not because the new rulers tried to implement their pre-Independence promises nor because they had failed to do so. The strife has been primarily due to the fight for spoils among the rival political leaders, sometimes within the same party. Occasionally the strife has an ideological colouring, but for the most part it can be related to tribal loyalties and to rival ethnic groupings in many of the countries in Africa and Asia. Those who are in power have sought to use the demands of national security as a base for unity and consolidation but without a corresponding readiness to make the concept of a nation more meaningful to the less privileged groups in society.

Whatever the ideological hue of the governments in Asia, they are all faced with a common social and economic reality. The countries are poor with varying proportions of 30 to 40 per cent of their populations living below the poverty line. Poverty in their case means not only relative deprivation but the lack of the rudimentary requirements of life — adequate food, clothing and shelter. Inspite of poverty and the low level of industrialisation, most countries have witnessed rapid population growth and a firm trend of city-ward migration of rural peoples. The growth in population was due to the reduced death rates resulting from systems of public health that had been developed earlier by the colonial rulers. To-day more than half of the world's population lives in Asia. The migration to cities has resulted from the failure of the out-moded agricultural technology to support growing populations; the present percentages of urban population are relatively low — only about 10-20 per cent, but already, the absolute number of urban dwellers in Asia and Africa closely approximates this number in the developed world.

The countries are poor, but the poverty is not distributed uniformly. Typically, the countries are characterised by

great inequalities based partly on the traditional hierarchical structures of caste and race and partly on the varying abilities of different groups to utilise the new opportunities that arose in administration, commerce and incipient industry during the colonial period. Inequality breeds further inequality and most countries have witnessed a widening of income disparities since freedom.

The levels of education are low, with India having among the lowest percentage of literates in its population. Only a small proportion of the child population above the age of six attends schools regularly, though many more are enrolled. The proportion of girls who attend school is universally lower. Over the last two decades both these percentages have increased considerably. The system of high school and college education is primarily geared to office jobs and a few white-collar professions. In many countries the system of university education is not fully stretched.

Housing is inadequate whether in the rural areas or in towns and cities. But the problem becomes specially acute in cities where the individual cannot do much to rectify the situation for himself. He does not have the land nor the materials, nor the know-how to use urban building materials. City legislation forbids unauthorised construction as well as unauthorised occupation of open land. In the larger cities of Calcutta and Bombay over 70 per cent of the people live in single-room accommodation. About 16 per cent live on pavements and as squatters on open land. The water and sanitation services are woefully over-stretched.

The welfare services for handicapped groups are almost non-existent. Governments generally take the position that voluntary agencies should provide them. In India, social security provisions protect only workers engaged in organised industry and in government service. This leaves over 90 per cent of the work-force outside the scope of such provisions. The provisions themselves are inadequate and do not cover unemployment risk except for a brief period. There is no system of family assistance or assistance to

dependent children.

Most of these problems have been defined as problems following from the paucity of economic resources. And the solution sought for is the increase in the gross national product (GNP) through massive programmes of industrialisation and modernisation of agriculture.

But poverty as well as prosperity have their own social and psychological correlates. Developing countries have to attempt simultaneously to undo those attitudes and values which, while they made poverty bearable, impede development and they have to create new values and institutional frameworks that will be conducive to growth. This is a perspective that is only recently gaining acceptance.

The Economic Growth Approach and Problems

To the extent that economic development requires a physical infrastructure of roads and communication the need for it is easily recognised. Further, the need for education, interpreted as investment in human capital, has also received verbal support and has even led, sometimes, to indiscriminate expenditure of large sums of money on perpetuating or extending a system of education that is unsuited to meet the needs of economic development. The model of economic development followed by most countries in the first decade of freedom was such that it seemed to assume that larger financial inputs, with some relatively marginal organisational and technological (i.e. know-how) supports, would lead to increased production in all sectors of the economy. The factors relating to motivation for savings and hard work, the factors impeding labour and occupational mobility, the generally low standards of health and nutrition affecting production and productivity, the fact of rapid population growth and its tendency to nullify the beneficial consequences of economic growth were considered relevant but secondary in their immediate significance for the process of economic development. Sometimes it was assumed that given the necessary financial and

technical inputs the other conditions would follow by way of adjustments in peoples' attitudes, ways of thinking and habits.

However, economic development like every form of development demands a price. One form this price takes is the acceptance by people of an economic discipline involving, simultaneously, hard work and a readiness to postpone immediate gratification. This discipline to work hard and to effect savings may be self-imposed, as in the case of the Puritan entrepreneurs with their this-wordly asceticism about which Max weber wrote, or, it may be a discipline externally imposed as in countries where the State tries to mobilise resources through taxation or direct physical controls. Even where the discipline to save exists — as it did in the case of the Puritan entrepreneurs — it always imposes great hardships on the common man. In the countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A. during their early stages of industrialisation, the hardships took the form of long hours of work, low wages and non-recognition, if not suppression, of workers' rights. The European countries which industrialised in the 19th century did not have to come to terms with the strength of organised labour and they had the added opportunity of reducing the hardships of their own populations by passing on some of the burden to their overseas colonies which provided cheap raw materials for industry and later large markets for finished products. The U.S.A. did not establish colonies, but it could tap the vast resources of an expanding frontier and used cheap imported slave labour in its plantations.

The strategy of economic development which was available for Western Europe is not available for the newly independent countries. While industrial labour in these countries is not as strongly organised as in developed countries today, it is yet strong enough to exert some influence and it is becoming sufficiently aware of its own rights not to accept the proposition of higher production in the present for the promise of higher wages in the future. While labour may not always resort to strikes it can still withhold cooperation by "going slow", by delays and by high

rates of absenteeism which are various forms of sulking, non-cooperation or just plain indifference.

Moreover, the developing countries cannot pass on their burden to other countries as the colonial powers did. It is true that in large, sub-continental nations, in the early stages of development, a kind of intra-national "colonialism" develops in the form of regional imbalances in economic development. But there are clear political limits to such a development in democratic societies. The countries which are now poor have to achieve higher levels of development in a world where they can neither look to expanding frontiers nor to other poorer countries which can be colonised for supply of cheap agricultural product or cheap labour. They also encounter a situation where the aspirations of the poorer segments of the population are high and rising. Though the people are illiterate, the process of political education during the struggle for independence has given them some idea of what they can legitimately demand.

Quite apart from the political factor, it is also true that the gross poverty and low levels of nutrition cannot generate the necessary motivation or the physical fitness for hard work and higher production. The strategy of development which assumes that worker motivation can be taken for granted or that workers will routinely respond to the rationale of "ultimate" benefit for themselves or of prosperity for the abstract entity of the nation is a strategy that is not likely to succeed. The idea that distributive justice is something that can follow as a second step after economic growth has taken place is found not to have worked well in the developing countries. In the larger developing countries of Asia, the annual growth rates achieved by the economy have been generally low. In India, it has been between 4 and 5 per cent at its best. The inflationary pressures are high and the prices have risen by more than four times their level in 1950. Attempts at economic development in the context of social and regional inequalities inevitably imply greater sacrifices and privations for the poorer section of the population. They will resent this unequal burden and the political framework will face major challenges in maintaining law and order

because this resentment will express itself in varied forms of unrest — strikes by industrial workers, riots based on communal or ethnic tensions (where particular groups serve as scapegoats), protests and strikes by students who are poorly motivated and involved in the education system and food riots during periods of extreme stress. In democratic polities opposition parties will cynically exploit this situation even though they may themselves offer no radical alternatives. Even non-democratic political regimes may find it difficult to achieve developmental goals in the context of gross inequalities.

It is against this background that the concept of the primacy economic development has had to be reconsidered. Most developing countries in South Asia have a planning machinery which has been in existence for about two decades. Planning during the first decade, i.e., in the 1950's, was characterised by this emphasis on economic development with a secondary place given to social services and with only a marginal allocation for social welfare services. While the planning for economic objectives was goal-oriented and sought to create certain types of infrastructure in a time-bound programme, the planning of social and welfare services was *ad hoc* and geared only to an expansion of existing services. The social plans were not articulated with economic planning nor were they specifically linked to the social goals — e.g. secularism, equality and democracy in the Indian context — in such a way that the operation of social services would lead closer to the goals. Social service programmes were not subjected to criteria consistently derived from these goals.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Concept

The re-examination of the concept of economic development has led to its broadening into the concept of social development. The United Nations and its many associated

agencies have had a great deal to do with the gradual adoption of this new concept by the developing countries. The concept of social development is inclusive of economic development but differs from it in the sense that it emphasises the development of the totality of society in its economic, political, social and cultural aspects. In this sense social development planning is not concerned with planning exclusively for social services, any more than it is with the exclusive planning of economic growth. There are many areas, apart from social or welfare services, wherein the "social" perspective has a relevance. Prominent among these are areas relating to population policy, policy relating to urbanisation, industrial location and environmental pollution, policies relating to regional development, policies of income growth, income distribution and land reform, policies governing administration and peoples' participation in planning and in the implementation of plans.

Social development is thus not a plea for a larger allocation for social and welfare services, though such allocations may be justified on other grounds; it is really a plea for an integrated view of the scope of development which should embrace development in all its varied facets. Such a view would not result in a plan for economic development which is expressed only in terms of financial and raw material allocations but would indicate simultaneously the political, social-structural and cultural goals and infra-structures that are necessary both as a means to achieve economic development, and as ends in themselves. A social development perspective cannot permit of propositions in which economic development comes first and is later followed by steps to ensure distributive justice through a modified incomes policy or through provision of an extended network of tax-supported social and welfare services. In this sense social development — as distinct from economic development — involves planning for simultaneous development on many different flanks.

But social development means something more than merely economic + political + social + environmental development. It is not merely an effort to provide *ad hoc*

growth targets in each of the separate sectors of planning. This type of social developmental planning has existed in all developing countries. Most of the national development plans provide for economic, physical, infrastructural, educational, health and welfare targets of growth or expansion. Social development planning requires the perception and delineation of the nature of inter-relationships between the different sectors. As stated earlier, social development is an integrative concept and this integration depends upon clear enunciation of the values and the type of society toward which planning is to be undertaken.

Models of Development

Developing countries have before them several models of development and they may follow one of these either as a result of choice or circumstance. It is customary to identify and group them in terms of the dichotomy of capitalist and socialist models of development, though, in a strict sense, classical capitalism cannot be reconciled with planning. Actually the words capitalist and socialist are not as distinct in their meaning and implications as they used to be. There are atleast two different dimensions along which the terms capitalist-socialist are interpreted. One of these dimensions is provided by the extent to which the economy is controlled by the State. To-day, after the depression of the 30's and the Second World War, there is hardly any government which leaves the economic forces in the country to operate freely without some measures of State regulation. But there are differences in the patterns of State regulation. At one end is the pattern where regulation is effected through legal and fiscal measures in an economy which is otherwise considered to be open or free for the exercise of private initiative. The other end is the one where the economy is directly controlled through State ownership and leaves no role, or only a very minor role, for private enterprise.

The capitalist-socialist lable was traditionally expected to reflect also rejection or acceptance of the concept of social

justice and the right of individuals to be provided social services equally without reference to their ability to pay for these services. The stereotype of the socialist state holds out the hope that all citizens will receive equal opportunity for personal development irrespective of race, religion or parental income. Even where the socialist states have given up in practice the ideal of a complete equality in rewards for all types of work, they are still committed to the idea that the disparities in income should be minimised.

In actual fact the adjectives "capitalist" and "socialist" do not help to neatly divide countries either in terms of the minimisation of inequalities or in terms of the adequacy of social or welfare services freely available to the citizen. Some of the Scandinavian countries, which are not socialist in the sense of their adopting a system of State monopoly of ownership of the means of production, have minimised income differentials to a greater extent than the socialist states and offer a wider network of social and welfare services to ensure equality of opportunity for individual development and advancement.

Apart from the capitalist-socialist differentiation there is the other dimension of a democratic-totalitarian polity along which States are differentiated. The democratic State may have either a capitalist or a socialist economy, though in the old stereotype, capitalism and democracy on the one hand and socialism and totalitarian rule on the other necessarily went together. In the world today one can see countries which combine these two pairs of characteristics in different ways. Apart from the capitalist-democratic and socialist-totalitarian countries there are some totalitarian-capitalist States, which maintain a facade of democracy but effectively deny the basic civic liberties to their citizens, and there are others which are aiming to develop a democratic-socialist polity. The choice of the "socialist" or "capitalist" models of development — however inadequately these are defined — will tend to influence the types of social services that are planned, the percentage of population covered through them, the legislative measures that the government may take to strengthen or weaken labour organisations, the types

of incentives that may be offered to entrepreneurs, the definition of policy relating to distribution of essential commodities and even the relative priority given to the production of luxury and essential goods.

The Model and The Compromises

The developing countries which are universally poor and have in most cases a colonial history had made certain ideological commitments during their struggle for freedom. Politically, they were committed, at least initially, to a representative democracy and economically they were committed to work for improving the lot of the common man. The economic goal did not always commit them to any one system — capitalist or socialist — but it left them with enough initiative to undertake regulatory legislation of any degree of restrictiveness. In course of time some of the countries have developed economies in which the State and private entrepreneurs have both a role. Some other countries have called themselves socialist though, as of the present, they have acted only to nationalise foreign owned industrial and business enterprises without necessarily legislating against all private enterprise.

Even on the political front many of the developing countries have not been able to sustain their democratic framework. Parliamentary forms of government have given place to presidential forms which in turn have sometimes given place to a rule by a military junta. The constitutional proprieties are sought to be maintained by a great deal of sophistry but otherwise under the pressure of internal strife and, sometimes, external danger to national security, governments have found it necessary and convenient to take on more and more powers whittling down, in the process, the freedom of the individual citizen.

However, all governments in underdeveloped countries are under pressure to maintain a pro-common-man posture. This implies not only a statement of long-term goals of economic development, but also the immediate provision

of some measure of social and welfare services to raise the level of living of the common man. This, in its turn, may imply that if any economic discipline has to be imposed to engender a higher rate of savings, the burden of such economic discipline exercised through direct taxation will fall more heavily on the middle and upper income groups who alone can make the sacrifices. These sacrifices are necessary not only for the somewhat marginal contribution they can make to the total available resources in the country but also for their symbolic value. However, in the absence of efficient enforcement and an adequate distributive machinery even for essential commodities the burden of direct taxes is often passed on to the poorer sections of the population through the mediacy of inflation, tax evasion and the emergence of a parallel economy based on "black" or unaccounted income.

Need for Austerity

The discipline that a government can impose on society is based only partly on the use of the stick; it depends also on the spontaneous acceptance of the need for such discipline by the people. The law of the land provides the government with the stick that it needs, but it will gain the moral authority to use the stick only when those in authority, whether in government or in administration, themselves lead a life conforming to the norms of economic discipline. The people will accept their deprivations more willingly — in the interest of the nation (!) — when they find that those in power practice what they profess. Conspicuous simplicity on the part of the rulers and their readiness to punish the deliquent promptly, irrespective of the class origin of the deliquent, is essential for establishing the credibility of a government's austerity measures requiring people to make sacrifices.

In a poor country, the net addition that can be made to the quality of life of the common man or to the total resources available for development as a result of the

sacrifices made by the well-to-do will always be limited. This means that there is a simultaneous need for considerable ingenuity on the part of the planners for identifying patterns of development which are labour intensive rather than capital intensive. Expenditure on buildings, on prestigious but functionally non-urgent machines, equipment and gadgets, on imported cars and expensive furnishings would have to be reduced. Ways may also have to be found for multiple utilisation of physical plants and other facilities which are bound to be in short supply.

People's Participation

As already stated the willingness of the people to accept sacrifices without allowing them to warp their lives depends upon the credibility of government's performance and on the lead given by the elite in society. This willingness also depends upon the degree of people's participation in the process of planning. While the broad or strategic decisions of over-all planning and planning in relation to capital intensive projects may have to be taken at higher levels of national and regional government, there is a great deal of planning and implementation that can be left to people at the local level. In the highly stratified societies of Asia, participation by the common man in any deliberative process is difficult to achieve.

There are major hurdles in ensuring such participation in societies which are highly stratified and are culturally divided into different ethnic communities. In some of the south-east-Asian countries, the existence of large national minorities — the Chinese and the Indians — has complicated the task of ensuring effective political participation by all groups. In India the existence of religions minorities and the claims of regional-linguistic loyalties has created difficulties at the national level and the differentiation based on caste has vitiated local, regional politics. Not uncommonly, ethnic differentiation of the types mentioned above coincides with economic stratification. Effective

political participation by different groups is difficult to achieve in this context.

The very low percentages of literacy and education in the general population also present a major difficulty in the process of communication and participation. The elective democratic polity is based on certain assumptions of relative homogeneity and a community of interest in the electorate. The absence of such homogeneity poses problems of national integration and the low levels of literacy and education make for serious difficulties in communication except at a very gross level. Both these factors are obstacles in the way of motivation for participating in political and decision making processes except in the form of voter participation during elections to legislatures. The lack of political participation by the mass of people is the cause and consequence of poor mobilisation of the people in governmental programmes of development. It is said that in countries with a single party regime this work of mobilisation is done by members of the cadre working among the people and setting up new deliberative structures of workers' committees, neighbourhood committees, etc. This they are probably able to do in the context of cataclysmic changes brought about by civil war, the emergence of charismatic leaders during this process and also the reordering of political power relationships in the community. But a great deal is also due to the effective physical force that can be exercised by a government which does not have to seek a popular election and which wholly controls the media of mass communication.

Problem of Motivation

The challenge of social development is not so much, or even primarily, a problem of mobilising money resources but rather a problem of motivating and mobilising people. Poor countries have by definition a paucity of material resources and while a certain amount or proportion of them must necessarily be found, borrowed or commandeered, a

good proportion of them would have to be substituted by human labour, enthusiasm, ingenuity and creativity. In such mobilisation, equality and democracy are not only desired end-states, but necessary means and instrumentalities in the present.

The problem of motivation and mobilisation of people runs through the whole spectrum of social development programmes. It is a necessary part of all efforts at economic development and also of efforts to ensure utilisation of all services.

As pointed out earlier, economic development calls for hard work and for a capacity to save, to forego immediate gratification and to make sacrifices. This, in turn, demands a change in the perception and the values characteristic of a given culture. If the sequence of hard work, greater production, saving for reinvestment and achievement of higher levels of production is to be seen in practice it requires a certain approach to life characterised on the one hand by economic rationality and, on the other, by a type of non-rationality which makes hard work a virtue or an end in itself. Similarly when people belonging to different castes, different language groups and different tribes have to live together in urban communities and have to be welded into a new entity based on the concept of nationality, there has to be a change in their attitudes toward one another. Such a change involves acceptance of new loyalties, and the subordination if not rejection of older ones. The value of secularism provides the basis for this change. For the individual, the value is its own justification, though, for the nation, practice in conformity with it may seem to serve a function. Again, industrialisation requires man to accept a way of life based increasingly on science and technology. He finds himself under pressure to explain his own attitudes, evaluations and choices on grounds of science and rationality.

What is true of motivation for economic development is also true, in a different sense, in the area of social service development. While services cannot be provided without material resources being available, services will not be utilised unless people are motivated to use them. If family

planning services were fully utilised even to the extent that they are available in India, they would themselves make a major contribution to national development by restricting population growth and reducing the number of mouths to be supported by each family out of its meagre income. Education services are not fully utilised in the rural areas and it is estimated that less than half the children enrolled in the first year go on to complete the five years of primary school. Sanitation and preventive health measures cannot be fully imposed. People will not use latrines even where they exist and will not easily adopt more hygienic practices of disposal of faecal matter. Parents do not bring their children for vaccination and do not participate fully in general programmes of immunisation when they are organised. Where public sector industry has sometimes provided good housing to its low-paid employees, the latter have tended to sublet the additional space and convert it into extra income, in the process, overloading and bringing down the quality of the services and amenities provided.

The fuller utilisation of available services demands a change of values attitudes and behaviour patterns. For example, the acceptance of family planning involves a change in the quality of the husband-wife relationship requiring greater communication and an attitude that sexual intercourse is an end in itself, a change in the value set by the society on the child-bearing capacity of woman, a de-emphasis on the birth of a male child and an understanding and acceptance of the fact that, in the context of limited incomes, fewer children mean greater provision and opportunity for each child. Parents will not send their children to school, support them through a period of years and deprive themselves of the chance of an additional income unless they value education in the abstract and also see its relevance in their own lives. People will not change their personal sanitary habits unless they have learnt to see the cause-effect relationship between unclean habits and ill-health. They will not willingly accept vaccination for their children so long as they think that small-pox epidemics result from the wrath of the village deity.

The problem of motivating and mobilising individuals for hard work and for making their contribution to the community and the problem of motivating individuals to fully utilise available services are not as different as they may seem. We are inclined to look at one as the contribution that man makes and at the other as a benefit he derives, but both depend upon the values and beliefs he holds. Social development involves and is contingent upon the establishment of an appropriate system of values.

On the other hand, it should be equally apparent that the values and beliefs of people are also related to the objective conditions of life. They will not use the services offered to them unles they see the use for them. At the level of subsistence and poverty at which most people in developing countries live what they ask for is work, food, clothing and shelter. Without adequate work and food, lack of education and protien and vitamin deficiencies in diet do not appear as problems. To the houseless, lack of shelter is a problem, not lack of privacy. The levels of aspiration of people are subdued under conditions of extreme poverty and they aspire only for what they see as possible of achievement.

This means that while there is a clear need for the creation of a social infrastracture, it is important at the same time to give careful thought to the order of priorities, the specification of standards and other matters of policy which will ensure a fuller utilisation of the services brought into existence. Also it is necessary to remember that even in the implementing of economic policy there are certain social dimensions that have to be borne in mind. The integrating principle is provided by the concept of equality and social justice.

SOCIAL POLICY ISSUES

Distributive Justice

The first priority in any poor country is of course to seek

economic growth; but this growth is to be measured not exclusively in terms of the GNP. It has to be measured also, and among other things, in terms of the number of additional jobs created. This may mean lower productivity per person but on the other hand if the economy grows without corresponding increases in number of the jobs the country will have to bear the cost of supporting unemployed persons through programmes of social assistance of one variety or the other. A job oriented economic development programme has the advantage of maintaining the self-respect of the individual. From this point of view even subsidised programmes of producing hand-spun and hand-woven textiles are better than any system which reduces the recipient of State assistance to the position of a social dependent because he is considered to have individually failed to find a job and make a success of his life.

The other important social guide-line for economic growth is that it should be regulated in a manner that it reduces economic disparities. Disparities can be between persons, groups or regions. In all cases, however, the tendency is for those who are already advantaged to add to their wealth and improve their relative position. Rich persons, rich communities and rich regions generally tend to grow richer. This happens because they are better motivated and better equipped to benefit by the facilities that government can offer, they have capital resources which they can mobilize, they have better education and technical skills, they are more familiar with the rules and procedure of government and know how to manipulate them to their advantage. As a result the benefits of public supported programmes of social and economic development often go to the better off sections in the community. But the goals of social equity demand that economic policies be so devised and operated that the poorer and weaker individuals can have access to opportunity and are helped to benefit by them. This may involve concessions and modifications of qualifying clauses to counter the initial handicaps suffered by certain groups. This is, however, not merely a question of stating a broad policy. It calls for detailed, operational

guide-lines and a continuous monitoring of results.

Large-scale investment of public funds for promoting economic growth is always accompanied by inflationary pressures. If the interests of the poor have to be protected, the State must organise an effective distributive system through which essential commodities will be made available to the people at regulated prices. In the absence of such a system, and in the context of the perennial shortage of most commodities in developing countries, available goods will be cornered by hoarders and sold for the highest prices they can fetch. This will affect the poorer sections of the population most adversely.

Strategies of location of industry can also do a great deal to prevent the imbalances in growth that normally result from a simple calculation of profitability. While the criterion of "profitability" must be maintained — for, in the last analysis, that is the index of efficiency of operation — consideration must also be given to the principle of ensuring balanced growth in different geographical regions. This problem has a special relevance to large countries of sub-continental dimensions. Regional distribution of industry can also be an instrument of a population policy directed at a better distribution of urban growth and urban migration.

Population

Equally important for economic growth, but vital even from a purely social point of view, is an effective programme of checking population growth. The programme cannot gain acceptance only on grounds of national interest. It must find legitimacy and meet needs in the life of the individual citizen. But even at the level of calculation of economic gain the programme cannot achieve a major break-through until the current income levels of peasants improve making it unnecessary for them to depend upon every marginal addition that even young children can make to a family living at a level of bare subsistence. Limits can also mean

security in old age — a much needed assurance in a country which offers no other form of security. Besides, though the life-expectancy at birth has increased in most countries of Asia, the rates of infant mortality continue to be high. They are estimated to be about twice as high in Asia and three or four times as high in Africa as compared with Europe. High infant mortality is a disincentive for the adoption of family planning. Improved child health services are a necessity even from the perspective of population control though in the short run they may accentuate the rate of net population growth.

Very few countries have given a priority to population control in their development plans and even fewer have shown any marked achievements in this respect. The rate of population growth in most Asian countries is between 2 to 3 per cent. In the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand it is between 1 and 2 per cent.

Control of overall population growth is only one aspect of population policy, though in the context of the economic situation in developing Asian countries this has occupied most of the attention of planners. There are other questions of massive rural-urban migration, of age-composition of the population, of spacing of child-births, of sex-ratios in cities which are of great relevance from the point of view of their social implications. The changes in the age structure of the population have a bearing on education, on available labour force and on the proportion of dependents that have to be supported by society both in the younger age-groups and among those who have ceased to be economically active.

Health

Health is another area where an overall policy perspective has to be developed. Western countries have developed a very expensive system of health care — whether this cost is borne directly by the individual or by the State. The developing countries may not be able to copy the model.

While clinical care will necessarily have to be provided, it is even more important to organise an effective, preventive health service. This is difficult to do. A person who is ill goes to a doctor and takes the medicine prescribed. But a person who is not ill does not give the same measure of cooperation in a programme of prevention. Even from the point of view of the medical profession, there is much more prestige, as well as profit, to be had in the practice of clinical medicine, and little of either in preventive medicine.

Among preventive health services those which ensure protected water supply and sanitation should receive high priority. They are the two strategic areas for prevention of disease in all age-groups. Next in importance are the services for child and maternal health. The foundations of physical and mental health are laid in the early stages of childhood and adolescence. Whatever can be done to protect and promote the health of a child will serve his own individual interest as well as the interest of the nation. Good food is a basic requirement of good health. While developing countries may not be able to provide an adequate and balanced diet to all their citizens, they must still do all they can to provide it at least for the young. For the school-going population the school system can serve as a convenient delivery point for both health and educational services. A balanced meal provided to all children in the public school system should form part of a school health service. Additionally, services would have to be provided in the community for the mothers of young children and other children outside the school system.

Education

In the sphere of education an important policy question relates to the level of education at which major financial investments should be made. From an economic as well as social point of view it is of the highest importance that universal literacy in the adult age group and compulsory primary education for children between six and eleven years

of age should be achieved. For a variety of reasons India has not achieved these targets and this is true of other Asian countries as well.

Considerable expansion at the high school and college level has taken place in India — including professional education for law, engineering and medicine. In countries with high income disaparities and socially imposed stratification expansion of higher education benefits primarily the middle and the upper classes. Besides, if the rate of economic growth is slow the production of college graduates and highly qualified professionals soon exceeds the effective demand that exists for them. This is what has happened in India as well as some of the other developing countries. Such lop-sided development of education implies a waste of scarce resources and takes place at the neglect of the needs of the poorer segments of the population.

A broadening of the base of the education pyramid at the primary school and high school stage should be the first priority. Along with such broadening of the education base a qualitative change must also take place in the overall direction of education. In the present system. in India, school education is not organised as an independent stage in itself but rather as a preparation for college life. The emphasis is mainly literary and the individual completing his primary, middle or high school education is not equipped for any particular type of work. While primary education may necessarily have to be a general preparation it could be more work-biased than at present.

At the middle and secondary stages definite courses for teachnical and vocational careers should be available to those who do not wish to continue to the stage of college education.

A fact that has become amply clear from the experience in India as also in the advanced countries is that equality of opportunity at the point of entrance to the educational system does not ensure effective equal opportunity for students from the lower strata of society. If the formal equality of access is to be converted into a real equality, the system of education would have to be given special

social services in a country but also for the political and administrative machinery of the State. As has been pointed out earlier, acceptance of the claims for distributive justice on the part of the poor increases the burden of sacrifices required to be made by middle and upper income groups. These sacrifices may involve acceptance of a wide variety of taxes, taxation at a high level and limitations on ownership of land and urban property. The socialist countries question basically the right of the citizen to own property in his individual capacity.

Can the State impose these sacrifices? Myrdal in his books *Asian Drama* and *The Challenge of World Poverty* has raised this question in terms of his concept of the 'soft' States and the 'hard' States. As he points out most of the developing countries in Asia have accepted at the verbal level of declared objectives the responsibility of the State to meet the claims of the poor; but he finds that their political leaders have been unable to implement their promises. At the administrative level he identifies the problem of curruption and nepotism which nullify governmental efforts to respond to the needs of the less privileged. But the problem is more basic and has to be considered at the political level itself.

In a democratic context various interest groups are expected to organise themselves and fight for their programmes through the electroral and parliamentary machinery. But the poor and the under-privileged do not have the financial resources and the skills required for building up organisations to serve their interest. Who then will provide the leadership for their cause? Is the commitment of the power elite to the declared social objectives sufficiently strong so that they will force through legislation and administer it effectively even when such measures affect their own interests or the interests of the groups from which they are drawn? If they are unable to do so, are they at least sufficiently committed to values of a democratic policy that they would allow to the poor a free vote and the effective freedom to organise themselves?

These are questions that are not currently answered. To

the extent that we concede that the progress toward the removal of poverty and the equalisation of opportunity is slow we are admitting that the questions have so far been answered in the negative. Yet there are one or two countries which are struggling to find answers to the problems of social development within the open, democratic polity and one must wait and withhold judgement.

Besides there is no assurance that a non-democratic policy will succeed better in carrying through a programme of social development. The "Strong Man" States have proved to be as vulnerable and "soft" when it comes to adjustment of basic conflicts of interest and the imposition of a social and economic discipline on the country. The "strong men" are often sitting on an insecure power base made up of narrow personal, ethnic or class loyalties. They are hardly in a position to repudiate the interests of those who support them. The political problem of social development basically hinges on the capacity of the poor, weaker segments of the population to throw up a leadership that will on the one hand organise and integrate these segments into a unified force and at the same time prevail as a dominant force in the political structure of the country — whether this structure is democratic or totalitarian.

2

Social Development Social Welfare and Social Work*

INTRODUCTION

There is a great deal of ambiguity in the conceptualisation as well as discussion of the terms social development, social welfare and social work as is evidenced by the considerable time that is spent on defining these terms at the beginning of every national and international meeting on the subject. Since such ambiguity exists, it is necessary for a writer to specify the meanings that he attaches to these terms so that his subsequent discussion can be better understood.

Social Development

In the historical context in which the term social development has evolved it has come to imply economic growth with social justice. This is, in a sense, a negative and somewhat truncated view of social development, but I believe that it is historically true. Social development arose as a corrective to the pre-occupation of national governments in developing countries with economic development or economic growth. This pre-occupation was found, on experience, to be limiting and self-defeating. It was limiting because pre-occupation with economic growth with no reference to its social parameters tended to neglect

* Public lecture delivered under the auspicies of the Social Workers' Association of Hong Kong on February 22, 1973.

the claims of whole segments of the population which not only could not benefit by such growth but tended, in fact, to suffer because of the increasing disparities between the rich and the poor, the normal and the handicapped, the privileged and the under-privileged. The pursuit of economic growth without any reference to its social determinants was self-defeating because experience over the period of a decade and a half showed that economic growth could not be achieved without social change and the creation of the necessary social infrastructure. Economic growth was sought to be achieved through a programme of rapid industrialisation and improved agriculture. Even if the goals of industrialisation and improved agriculture could be achieved, they could not be regarded as ends in themselves unless they resulted also in a better quality of life for all citizens. The fact, however, is that economic growth cannot be achieved in isolation and without reference to social values or social goals.

The injection of the concept of social justice introduces this social value parameter. Even social justice has a somewhat corrective overtone, since it seems to suggest a restoration of balance after imbalance has already resulted, But in the developing countries it is undoubtedly the foremost social value so far as national planning is concerned.

The social change required for achieving social development implies, and is sustained by, a change in the dominant social values. While no exhaustive list of these values and value changes can be provided, one can easily identify some of the more important of these. Casteism, religious bigotry, a belief in the privilege of the few based either on birth or property will have to be replaced by a rational, secular and egalitarian system of values. No larger national community can achieve even a relative integration except in so far as the narrower, particularistic loyalties are subordinated to more universalistic norms. Attitudes favourable to hard work, savings, occupational mobility and the small family would also have to be generated. The acceptance of these values has implications for all policies and programmes of growth. Political unification, legislative

and administrative measures for reducing economic disparities, a distributive machinery for essential commodities, a well-articulated population policy, a policy of regionally balanced development, an educational policy which simultaneously takes account of the need for social relevance and for an open opportunity structure in society, a health policy which emphasises prevention and ensures child health, a housing policy which imposes discipline on consumption of built up space and also develops more realistic standards for housing quality and finally a policy with reference to the needy, vulnerable and disadvantaged sections of the population are the various facets of social development which will reflect and sustain the new social values. Between them they describe the scope of social development.

Social Welfare

The scope of social welfare is more difficult to define. The reason is that the area of social welfare activity has changed from time to time. It has identified new needs as societies have passed from the primitive to the peasant or feudal, and industrial stages. It has also happened that some of the needs and the problems identified by welfare workers have later on developed into independent problem areas served by new professions. As Pusic has observed, there is a residual or subsidiary character about social welfare activity "in the sense of doing what others are not doing, not yet doing or no longer doing".[1] The term social welfare has been used in a restrictive as well as in a broad sense. When used restrictively, the term refers to the services oriented to the poor, the physically or mentally handicapped, the socially 'maladjusted' and, generally, the vulnerable groups in society. To begin with these services had primarily

[1] Eugene Pusic, Review of *Social Welfare in a Changing World* by Elizabeth Wickenden. *International Social Work*, Vol. IX, No. 2, April 1966, pp. 46 and 47.

an ameliorative or a relief goal. But in course of time, with advances in psychology, behavioural science and material as well as behavioural technology, the preventive, curative and rehabilitative goals have also been added.

The concept of the "needy" and the "vulnerable" has, of course, also varied from time to time. Apart from the poor, the handicapped and the socially deviant individuals, the term vulnerable has been extended to include women and children, industrial workers and socially disadvantaged groups like the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in India. It has been used to cover social security programmes, neighbourhood services for the urban poor, and adult and social education services in rural areas.

Sometimes used in an even more comprehensive sense, as in some of the international conferences, the term "social welfare" includes all the areas of health, housing, education, cooperation, mutual aid, and becomes coterminus with the scope of social development itself.

The restrictive definition of the scope of social welfare suffers from the disadvantage that it tends to focus narrowly on the "poor" or "dependent" losing sight of the contribution that social welfare can make to promotion of overall development. On the other hand, equating social welfare with social development loses sight of the many different disciplines and areas of professional practice that make up the scope of social development. By so doing social welfare loses its particular identity and function.

To my mind, social welfare has always sought to serve the needs of the "forgotten" individuals and groups in a society at any given point of time; it has done so largely within the framework of the society in which it has functioned but in so doing it has selectively emphasised certain values — progressively, charity, love, human dignity, equality and social right and de-emphasised certain others such as rugged individualism, competitiveness and survival of the fittest. Social welfare has thus been a force for change helping all the time the emergence of more humane values. The social context has determined the explicitness with which social welfare has been able to plead for, advocate,

or assert the needs, the causes and the rights of the 'pitied', 'despised' or 'exploited' sections of society. As the *laissez faire* model of the State gave place to the liberal and later to the welfare and socialist State, successively new values were legitimised and new patterns of meeting human needs emerged. One must admit that social welfare activities have not been the most important instrument for effecting changes in values and institutional structures of a society, but they have always pioneered in recognising new needs and have found ways of giving expression to the new values required to meet these needs. In the new developmental context, social welfare must on the one hand continue to offer special services to those in special need and must in addition show how by incorporating the principles of equality and social justice in the entire framework of society a country can in effect prevent the emergence of new problems of distribution and simultaneously provide the motivation for development.

Richard Titmus in his address to the International Conference of Social Work (The Hague, 1972) entitled "Developing Social Policy in Conditions of Rapid Change: The Role of Social Welfare" suggested that one could probably identify three highly generalised models of social welfare. He called them (i) the Residual Welfare Model, (ii) the Achievement-Performance Model and (iii) the Institutional-Redistributive Model. In the first one the organised community takes no direct responsibility for the well-being of the individual citizen; the dominant theme is one of individual autonomy and self-reliance; one's needs are met within the family or through market mechanisms; welfare institutions only enter where these mechanisms fail. This corresponds to the stage at which the *laissez faire* concept of the State prevailed and welfare was largely undertaken as charity or philanthropy.

In the second model, the society accepts some responsibility for provision of social services in the areas of health, education and social security, but the dominant philosophy is that the individual should pay for them through contributions to security schemes, or, where they

are offered selectively, the beneficiaries be selected on the basis of merit. This corresponds to the liberal-democratic State. The services are offered as social services through mechanisms of social security, pensions, unemployment insurance, contributory health insurance, etc. Basic education is available free to all, but higher education is available on payment or on assessment of special merit. The expectation is that the individual will strive and provide for himself. If he fails, the society may aid as and where necessary through welfare measures of public or private charity.

The third model accepts the cost of social as well as welfare services for every citizen as a charge on the public exchequer and provides services universally to all as also on a selective basis to those in special need. It accepts the right of all individuals to basic social and welfare services as a part of its concept of social justice and also because these services help prevent the disruptive effect of rapid change. Since these services are based on altruistic rather than competitive, individualistic values, they are likely to be more integrative. This approach to social and welfare services which seeks to ensure distributive justice through State supported institutions and programmes corresponds to the stage of a Welfare or Socialist State.

This third model of social and welfare services provides a bridge between the narrower and the broader perspectives of social welfare. It simultaneously recognises the need for some universal services available to the general population and some selective services for specially needy groups in society. They are both offered in the same attitudinal and value context. As societies move from the value of charity to the value of social justice, economic development as an exclusive preoccupation begins to appear redundant. The value that establishes the tie between the "normal" and the "handicapped" is the same value that legitimises the claims of the different interest and status groups in the population to a share in the resources of the community. The economic system, the social services system and the social welfare system are all linked by the same values, instead of the

economic system emphasising the individualistic, competitive values and the social and welfare services emphasizing the altruistic, philanthropic values.

To say that in the institutional-redistributive model, the three systems are linked by the same or mutually consistent values does not mean that the lines dividing their boundaries are unimportant. The systems and sub-systems call for different kinds of role competences from individuals who work in them. As knowledge advances, social life in one sense gets divided into more specialities, while at the same time new principles of integration are found to unify these specialities. But at any given point of time the different systems have different task orientations, they specify different role-expectations and require different types of competence.

Social Work

It is in this context that the relationship of social work to social welfare, social services and the economic system must be considered. Social work is one type of professional activity that has gained recognition as a profession only in the twentieth century. It is not uncommon to identify professions by the problem areas in which they operate rather than by the function they subserve or the contribution they make to society. Thus those who work with physically ill persons are called doctors, those who work with students are called teachers and those who work with the poor, the deviant or the dependent are called social workers. This is not a satisfactory way of characterising the nature and scope of a professional activity since not all those who work with patients are doctors nor are all those who work with students teachers. Similarly, not all those who work with the poor or the handicapped are social workers.

Professions are better identified by the nature of the contribution they make (to the persons with whom they work), by the type of skills they utilise, by their knowledge

base and work values. The contribution of social work is to enable the individuals, groups or communities with which it is concerned to function better in their social environment so that, on the one hand, they are able to grow and develop to their greatest potential and, on the other, and by the same measure, are able to contribute their best to the society of which they are a part. Generally, the individuals or groups with which social workers are concerned are handicapped or underprivileged in some way, but this is not necessary. Social workers are as concerned with prevention of disabilities (physical, social or psychological) and with fuller development of individuals and groups as they are with remedial and rehabilitative goals. Doctors, teachers, nurses, physiotherapists are all concerned with rendering help and providing cures and rehabilitation with different types of problems. Social work shares this concern with the other helping professions, but its distinctive contribution is that it looks at the totality of a person's (or group's) needs and seeks to meet them either by rendering a direct service or through referals and through collaboration and liaison with other professions. The social worker is concerned with the bare survival needs of individuals, with their needs for physical care and rehabilitation, with their needs, if any, for special education, for counselling, for intra-familial adjustment and with a wide variety of other needs. He does not have the skills or the resources to meet all these needs himself and then he takes the help of other professionals, but through all the various phases and types of help he keeps in touch with the individual and provides continuity and coordination to the rehabilitative process.

Social Work and Social Services

Having said that professions should be identified by the kind of contribution they make rather than by the broad area in which they work, it may still be conceded that there are specific problem areas and institutional settings with

which each of the professions is more commonly associated. Doctors work in hospitals or clinics and are primarily concerned with problems of illness; teachers work in schools and meet educational needs; lawers work in courts or in their chambers and represent their clients or advise them in matters concerning law as it affects the interests of the clients. Similarly, it is possible to say that social workers work primarily in and for welfare institutions and services. The scope of 'welfare' services and programmes has already been outlined. The typical welfare settings are provided by residential institutions for dependent children, protective homes for young girls, family welfare agencies, community welfare centres, welfare extension centres, youth welfare activities, child guidance clinics, institutions providing social work education, organisation of relief programmes, administration of governmental welfare departments, etc. In the area of social welfare, social workers play a role of leadership, but they also work in settings other than those of social welfare institutions. For example, social workers in India work in industry as welfare officers, counsellors, case workers and promoters of family planning; they work in hospitals as medical social workers; they work in schools and colleges as student counsellors and school social workers. These latter are often referred to as secondary settings.

The role of the profession of social work in relation to health, education and housing is not unimportant or less relevant to the profession because these settings are termed "secondary". Secondary only implies that in these areas the major goals of the agency may be somewhat different from those of social work, and social workers are brought in only to provide special help or to help in special situations. The nature of service provided by the social worker in these settings is essentially the same as in the 'welfare' setting.

Another point that may be made about the relationship of social work to the area of social services — the secondary setting — is that here, since the social worker does not provide the leadership, his skills of working with other professionals are tested. Some of the co-professionals may be

"superior" to him in the organisation, some "subordinate" in status and with reference to others his status may be unspecified. All these types of relationships create certain strains and it is not unusual for social workers to complain that the doctors with whom they work in hospitals or the heads of schools where they work as counsellors, do not understand or do not value the role of the social worker. Matters of relative professional status pose other problems and are compounded by the conflicts and insecurities in concrete institutional situations. But, despite these strains, the role of social work in secondary settings in industry, health, education, and housing is gradually being recognised. However, in developing societies such recognition is often marginal and restricted largely to the major cities.

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Case of Community Development

The relationship of social work to social development is still undefined and in an exploratory stage. In India, social workers have tried in the past to be involved in some of the programmes of social development with only partial success. In the 1950-s when the Community Development movement was launched by government, social workers sought an *entre* into the movement but the only area where they stabilised themselves as an important professional group was the area of training, particularly, the training of social education officers.

The reason why the social work profession sought to enter the field were both practical and "philosophic". It was felt that in a poor country poverty was the most important single problem. Any programme that sought to remove poverty by a simultaneous attempt at a change in the knowledge, attitudes and practices of a whole community was a programme to which social work, with its community organisation skills, could contribute. The setting in which the community development programmes were to be

undertaken was the rural setting in which professional social workers did not have a great deal of experience. Even then the schools of social work tried to re-orient their regular programmes and also accepted additional responsibilities for undertaking the training of social education organisers to be able to make themselves useful. The practical reason why the profession wanted to enter the C. D. programme was the scope that it offered for large scale employment.

However, as stated earlier, social work could not stabilise its involvement in community development except in the training programmes for various categories of workers. The reasons for this failure were several. The profession was still young. Except for one institution, all the other schools of social work had come into existence only about 5-7 years before the community development programme was launched. The potential contribution of social work had yet to be interpreted to the community. Social work training was primarily oriented to problems of urban areas. The post-graduate trained social workers looked for jobs at the middle and upper levels in the hierarchy. Positions at these levels were considered primarily administrative and persons from the revenue and other administrative services were preferred. Finally, though the community development programme was conceived as a programme of community change, in practice it tended to emphasise physical targets and the distribution of material commodities, and it generally focussed on agricultural development to the exclusion of all other aspects of development. Social workers had no special advantages of training or skill in this area over workers with other backgrounds.

The Social Education Officer's role which was considered the appropriate one for social workers, was never properly defined and was somewhat inadequately rewarded. Social workers would have preferred to have the Social Education Organiser function as the main coordinator but that coordinative role had been given to the Block Development Officer. The social education officer as a functionary hung loose in the organisation. He did not belong to the education

department which had responsibility for school education nor did he have a distinct community organisation role. He tended to be in charge of a somewhat diffuse programme of social, cultural and adult education activities for which he had no ground-level supporting staff. In course of time the redundance of this functionary was recognised and some of the States abolished the post.

The contribution that the social work profession made to the training programmes in the community development movement was, however, an important one and helped to establish its interest in programmes of development. It gave rise to considerable rethinking among social workers about the role of social work in poor countries. Social work had been criticised for being over-concerned with the handicapped and dependent, oriented primarily to urban areas, and being dependent on institutional settings. Social work education in India tried to make marginal changes to meet the criticism by developing rural placements in field work and offering a course or two on community development as distinct from community organisation. Basically, however, the problem was that the community development programme emphasised, despite its philosophic stance, the material and technical inputs rather than the community itself. In such a programme one position from which a professional social worker could have made a major contribution was the position of the chief coordinator at the block level. Very few social workers got recruited to this position. The other position in which social workers could have contributed was that of the worker who worked at the level of individual village communities — the village level worker. But the salary attached to this position could not possibly attract post-graduate trained social workers.

In many ways, though the village level worker was a low level functionary, he could have made a material difference to the way the movement developed. But considering the large numbers in which such workers were needed they could only be recruited at low salary levels. This in its turn determined the basic educational background of the potential worker. Most V.L.W.s were high school graduates

and there was no established programme of professional social work education at this level. In fact, some schools of social work at that time stood away from the newly created training programmes for village level workers on the ground that no meaningful social work education could be given at the high school graduate level. These training programmes were organised either directly under government auspices or in some cases by a few Gandhian institutions which had rural work experience and which even otherwise depended upon persons with lower levels of formal education for their normal work. While Gandhi was alive his aura had attracted a number of highly educated individuals to work in rural areas, but even at that time the mass of "constructive" workers came from among those who had barely completed school education.

What has been said above applies with some variation to the family planning movement and the role of social work in relation to it. Social workers have participated in the movement as instructors in training institutions, as research personnel and as administrators. A relatively smaller number of them has been involved at the field level.

The question of the level of education at which professional education is offered is of considerable importance. If, the profession is identified by the kind of a contribution that it makes then educating persons to make such a contribution demands also a certain appropriate level of prior educational preparation. What this level should be will vary somewhat from country to country but if professional social work involves at one end the skills of planning, administration and policy formulation or skilled case work and group work, and requires at the other end nothing more than the performance of routinised or simple functions of distributing commodities, then obviously it would be difficult to devise one single programme to provide well motivated workers for both these types of requirements. You would have to think in terms of a series of linked but graded programmes of training and education and workers trained at all these levels would be doing a welfare and/or a developmental job.

Like most professions, social work has tended to shy away from the concept of varied levels of professional education and professional functioning where the functionary at each level would be called a social worker. But it is obvious that there is a need for functionaries at various levels. If the social work profession would like not to call all levels of functionaries social workers, the profession may find some other labels for them, but it is important unles social work is to lose all relevance in poorer countries that social work identify the contribution that it has to make to the preparation of functionaries at each of these levels and ensure that they are linked to each other through some system of academic recognition. In doing this it should also be recognised that in the preparation of social workers disciplines other than social work have also an important contribution to make.

National Service Scheme

It is not an accident, in this perspective, that schools of social work have been involved more meaningfully in the newly devised programme of the National Service Scheme for student youth. The programme seeks to involve college youth in service activities for the community. The leadership is provided by college teachers and some students. The schools of social work have been involved in conceptualising and working out the details of the scheme: they have participated in organising training and orientation programmes for college teachers, and as the programme expands, they will be able to provide the social workers that will be needed for programme coordination in individual colleges and universities. The schools of social work have felt at home working with college teachers and college students and through them working in urban as well as rural communities. The social workers who may subsequently find employment as N.S.S. coordinators in individual colleges will also be in their familiar institutional settings in which and from which to operate.

Social Work and Social Context

In any effort to relate social work to social development, a certain clarification of the role or contribution of social work in the development context becomes necessary. Traditionally, social workers have worked in the welfare field and it was not uncommon to define the role of social workers by saying merely that it consisted of meeting "welfare needs". Sometimes the welfare needs were listed but often they were left ambiguous. It has been pointed out earlier that the welfare needs may be defined, in a relative sense, as the needs of individuals or groups who at a given time in a given society are considered handicapped, dependent or deprived. But which individual or group is considered deprived or handicapped or in need of assistance depends among other things on the material resources available to the society, the level of knowledge and technology which would provide the tools for doing something about the need or handicap and, above all, upon the larger values that the society accepts. For example, poverty will tend to be defined in relation to the level of living of the vast majority of people in a given society. Also, if the standard of living of the people is so low that they face the problem of bare physical survival, it is unlikely that other problems, e.g. those of psychological strains and tensions, would normally get differentiated and identified in society for specialised treatment though such problems many also exist in that society. Advances in knowledge — particularly in psychology — have helped identify emotional needs which when met adequately in the early stages of life can ensure normal personality development and prevent the warping of individual lives. The recognition of certain situations as problematic depends also on the values accepted by that society. Slavery, serfdom and discrimination based on caste or race are not problems except in so far as the values of human dignity, equality and social justice are accepted. The relevant values in each case may not be universally accepted in a society but they have to be sufficiently widespread and legitimised to make the emergence

and support of organised professional action possible.

In so far as the material conditions of life and the nature of values characteristic of a society tend to influence the perception of a "need" they also tend to determine the significance that that society attaches to individuals who seek to meet that need. If the need so identified is considered important either from a cultural, economic or political point of view or if it is such that even the most privileged may at some time or the other experience it — e.g. the need for relief from illness and physical suffering — in their own lives, then the profession or occupation which helps in meeting the need will be rewarded well. For, such rewards — whether material or other — motivate individuals to join the profession and develop the specialised skills. Other "needs" may be recognised but considered marginal or not recognised at all. And in a few cases even the articulation of some needs may be regarded as subvertive of the social orders.

What has been said above about professions generally applies to social work as well. Social workers have certain skills in human relationships, in modifying and changing individual attitudes and values, in communication, in mobilising community resources around "welfare" needs, and in conceptualising a generalist role in relation to the varied and specific needs of individuals and groups. These skills are important or unimportant depending upon how the process of development is conceived. If development is based upon a material input-output model and if the human factor is conceived of passively as a responding, dependent factor, social work has no specific contribution to make to the development process. On the other hand, if development is conceived in human and not mechanistic terms, the social worker will have a meaningful role to play.

It should be said at once that the social worker can lay no exclusive claim to the various types of competence listed above nor to the many others that would be needed to meet the challenge of social development. But social work can certainly claim to be one of the professions that provides some of the necessary skills and abilities needed for

social development. It is from this point of view that an attempt should be made to outline the various tasks that social work can undertake — singly or with other professions — to promote social development. The following is one such attempt.

Development Tasks for Social Work

Social work must uphold and help to promote in its normal pursuits as also through special programmes undertaken for that purpose, the broader social values which are necessary for social development. The most important of these values in developing countries is equality. Since it cannot be asserted that all individuals are either alike or equal in their abilities, the acceptance of the value of equality means primarily the equalisation of opportunities for all individuals to grow to their maximum potential. Acceptance of the equal rights of all citizens reflects itself in a democratic polity. From equality is also derived the value of social justice, which argues the need for providing compensatory benefits to those who are otherwise at a disadvantage — socially, physically, mentally, economically or in any other way. From equality also can be derived the value of secularism in so far as it asserts that the fact that individuals belong to one religious persuation or the other should make no difference in the opportunities available to them for participating in and contributing to national life. Equality also requires that universalistic norms keep the accessibility channels open to all who have the skill, the ability, the aptitude or the talent required for particular functions in society. Secularism and universalism also derive strength from the value attached to rationality which in its turn is strengthened by an acceptance of science and the scientific method.

Another value important for social development is the commitment to national unity. By its nature it is a restrictive — somewhat non-universalistic — value in that it seems to be derived from a certain particularistic attachment

to the concept of a nation. But developing societies need such a commitment because in its absence what they may obtain is not a commitment to the world community but rather a relapse into tribal, casteist and religious loyalties. Important from the point of view of economic development are also the values of hard work, dignity of labour, and postponement of gratification or reduction of individual wants. Willingness of workers to move to places where work is available and, in this sense, a loosening of the village and linguistic region ties is also important for industrial development. Another important attitude is the willingness to accept change, i.e. adaptability to changes, in work-techniques and to differences in patterns of living. Such adaptability is necessary for those who migrate from rural areas to large cities with the process of industrialisation and urbanisation.

A question has often been raised whether social work can really work to assert any system of new values except to the extent that these values are already accepted in some measure by influential elements in the community. My own view is that social workers can do a great deal for canvassing and extending values which have gained acceptance and support, even if only at the verbal level, from the elite sections of society. Even here when they come up face to face against organised interests individual social workers may not be able to find solutions in concrete situations though as a group through their professional organisations and through the use of communication media they can contribute to bring about a change. Social workers in this sense can promote social reform and undertake social action in a limited sense. I doubt whether social workers as a professional group can participate in movements of social action which raise issues of law and order. Short of this and depending upon their ingenuity and skills of mobilisation, social workers can and should represent, argue for and press the interests of the disadvantaged. This is their work and mission. In this sense they will serve as agents for modifying and changing the legal, social and financial structures in the direction of equalising opportunity as

well as rewards.

Social work should identify the dysfunctional consequences of industrialisation, urbanisation and the rapid development of market oriented agriculture. In all these social changes it is always the poorer sections who suffer. They have neither the resources, the skills nor the staying power to withstand strain, to buy services or to utilise new opportunities. Social workers must be able to institute services which will smoothen the change by providing rehabilitative, re-training and community support facilities. Stabilisation of the labour force in their new urban surroundings, the promotion of population contriol, the facilitation of land reform are important areas of social policy in which social workers may be called upon to help in a variety of ways.

Social workers must develop new services which will increase the utilisation of available social services in the areas of health, housing, education and population policy. Very often utilisation of services requires not only attitudinal change, but some material facilities as well. Child care services can relieve women for greater economic participation and mid-day meals in schools may help stabilise school attendence, improve children's health and indirectly subsidise family budgets. Youth counselling and vocational information programmes can help young students to get more out of available facilities for vocational training. Social service projects for college students may help the middle class student to a better appreciation of the problems that he studies in textbooks and will simultaneously help in providing voluntary manpower for social or welfare services. Programmes of continuing education can help urban workers to improve their job skills and promote upward mobility. They can help women to adopt better practices of nutrition, child care and housekeeping. They can help the farmers to keep abreast of the latest developments in better seeds, better fertiliser mixes, better pesticides, better methods of crop rotation or crop planting. Social workers have a role in creating these supportive services through urban and rural community self-help programmes.

If social workers are to help effectively in anticipating needs at different stages of development and in creating service structures to meet them they must participate in the planning and policy formulation processes at the local agency, local community, village, district, state and national levels.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The implications of orienting social work to meet the challenges of social development flow over into the preparation of social workers themselves. Some of these implications for social work education are outlined here.

Inculcation of New Values

We have seen that one of the important tasks in social development is to encourage the emergence and stabilisation of certain new values. If social workers are to help in this process then they must themselves subscribe to these values. It need not be assumed that because social workers have had the benefit of a college education and have been exposed to urban influences they necessarily subscribe to the new values which are important for a modern, developing society. On the contrary we may find that the young entrants in the schools of social work are not very different from the other educated, middle class young persons. They sincerely believe that they are modern and that they subscribe to new values, but they have never understood what the implications of some of these new values may be in their own lives. Castelessness is easy to profess, difficult to practice. Most of the young college graduates have known no friends outside their caste, except in the colleges and schools. They have been brought up in the norms of their own caste, will marry within their own caste and marry at the behest of their parents. They are unlikely to have entertained an untouchable in their homes

and have probably had very limited contact with persons of other religions. They may feel sympathy for the poor but have had no opportunity to see their lives closely. They do not know how their servants live in their own homes and cannot imagine what the dimensions of providing equal educational opportunity for their children really are.

One of the first tasks that social work education in developing countries faces is to communicate to the dominantly urban student body the meaning of the new values which they have learnt as words but have not understood. Unless the social workers inculcate these values in their own life they cannot become agents of the change. This will require them to overcome prejudices which they don't even know they possess.

The inculcation of new values cannot be achieved through class lectures. It requires that students see examples to follow in their teachers. Additionally, guided observation and work experience as a part of supervised field work are essential. The field work agencies will have to be chosen from the point of view of giving students this learning opportunity.

Local Teaching Materials

At least as important as field work and example by teachers is the role that locally prepared teaching material can play in interpreting the operative significance of new values in the national, cultural setting. Concepts of equality and individual dignity have to be understood not in the abstract or in the context of the American class or caste situation but in the context of the people and the social hierarchy of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaysia or any of the other countries where the training programme is located. This applies not only to the larger social values, but also to the values more specific to the profession of social work. The need for teaching materials based on local experience and establishing a continuity with the local tradition is urgent from every point of view.

Emphasis on Structural Modification

Another important requirement is that the social work curricula be so designed that they enable the student to keep the broader issues facing the society constantly in their mind. There will have to be a distinct shift from an emphasis on individual readjustment to social structural modifications. While social workers will and must continue to work with individuals and small groups in the course of their professional careers they must be able to see the problems of these individuals and groups as part of the larger social, economic and political processes taking place in society.

This will enable them to focus on community programmes and on preventive measures as much as on the curative or remedial measures necessary for tackling the problems faced by their clients. This will call for a greater emphasis in the curriculum on courses which interpret the social, economic and political dynamics of the society in which they live and work. It will also call for greater knowledge of the development programmes and their operation. Time would have to be provided in the curriculum for knowledge on demographic problems and population policy, on the problems of industrialisation, urbanisation and urban migration, on the consequences of the green revolution, on the manner in which change has affected different segments of the population in different ways and of the implications of this differential impact. These problems will have to be viewed in their social, psychological, economic and political aspects. The interpretation must be such that the student does not give up the tasks of social work as meaningless or marginal, but is encouraged to think and devise ways of mobilising the community to solve the problems through acceptance of new values, new institutional structures and services. He should become an activist and must for that reason develop the skills of writing, speech and action in the community.

Preparing for Policy Formulation

A thorough grounding in the socio-politic-economic dynamics of society is also essential if at a later stage in their careers social workers are to participate in the planning, administering and policy formulation relating to welfare services. If, however, he is to participate in the total social development planning he would need a deeper understanding of the functions fulfilled by the different sectors of development and their resource needs. This insight he may gain with experience and opportunity but it would be facilitated if he can have the benefit of special training at some stage in his career. It seems unlikely that all the knowledge and the techniques required for inter-sectoral planning could be imparted as a part of the first social work education curriculum even at the post-graduate level. Preparation for planning and policy formulation requires not only a broad basis in social sciences but also a certain capability of interpreting factual data which have to be specially collected or culled from available records. Training in research, in data interpretation and in data utilisation is an essential part of a planner's skills. Such research may or may not be theoretically sophisticated, but it minimally demands the ability to work with aggregate data at various levels of the administrative or political units. It would be necessary to develop specialised training programmes for participation in social development planning. It is generally unlikely that the schools of social work with their present faculties will be able to provide this type of training.

Different Levels of Education

It has also emerged clearly from our earlier discussion that atleast in developing countries there is a need for social work oriented personnel—whether you call them social workers or by some other name — at two or three levels of education. A single category of post-graduate trained social workers will not meet adequately the demands of the rural

areas or even of the smaller, urban welfare agencies. It may be necessary to organise training at the post-high school, the under-graduate and the post-graduate levels. The important thing, however, is to ensure a continuity of values and basic approaches at all these levels and to devise a system of credits whereby a person who has obtained his first qualification can over a period of time accumulate additional academic credits and obtain a higher qualification.

Social work education will have to devise a more flexible system wherein social workers in employment can work towards obtaining their basic or higher level qualifications through short-term, full time courses or longer duration, part-time courses.

Faculty Composition

The schools of social work would need to re-equip themselves somewhat differently in their faculties to shoulder some of the added responsibilities. Even assuming that the specific task of training personnel for inter-sectoral planning is left to other training institutions, the faculties of the school would still need to represent a better multi-disciplinary mix than is commonly noticed in schools of the region. The schools should have at least one representative each from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, economics and political science. These specialists will have to be brought in on the basis of their known or potential interest in matters of social welfare and social policy. In the absence of such a commitment on the part of the social scientists serious problems of integration and community of interest may arise. The schools on their part must be able to give them professionally challenging work or else they will find themselves always on the margin and may not stay on in the institutions.

The schools of social work in the developed countries do not necessarily offer a good model for faculty organisation for schools in developing countries. More recently, though, the programmes of the western schools have themselves

tended to change and accommodate a wider variety of disciplines and interests. They have also sought to develop social policy as a special area of social work practice. But there is much greater need for such a development in the developing countries, though, as in everything else, the paucity of suitable personnel and other resources in these countries is directly proportional to the need for them.

Community Role of Schools

Schools of social work in the developing countries have often bemoaned the absence of well-developed welfare institutions of the remedial type which could provide good field work centres. They should have to meet their problem in two ways. First, they must pioneer and get the community to set up such agencies and services: but simultaneously they must also see that their real need goes beyond the traditional pattern of welfare agencies and that they have to develop patterns of services in the open community and in relation to other development agencies and programmes. The very experience and opportunity to participate in building new services should serve as excellent field work experience for students under training. Most schools in the Asian region have had to pioneer new services and to serve as unidentified field counsellors to existing agencies in the community.

Schools of social work must also strengthen their research potential and capability if they have to participate in social developmental tasks. Nothing persuades better than a clear statement of facts. But often the facts are not available. Much research in developing countries will have to begin at the level of fact gathering and presentation to high-light descriptively the problems that demand solutions.

Just as schools of social work may have to work for greater community consciousness to facilitate development of new services, they may have to educate the community in using professional services. One of the schools in India has a small but long-standing programme to promote the use of

professional services in the field of child and family welfare. Even apart from this programme it is true that the schools of social work have had to get recognition for their graduates and for the need for professional education in social work. This is true of all countries.

It should be clear from the above discussion that the schools of social work which aspire to train their students to meet the challenges of social development have a difficult role and that they need to have a second look at their curricula, forms of course organisation, faculty structures and their conception of their own role in the community.

Social development is an ambiguous concept and a complex undertaking which involves different kinds of tasks in different countries whose only common denominator is that they are poor and technologically backward and want to be prosperous and advanced. Any effort to list out a single set of functions for social services, social welfare services and social work is bound to be unsatisfactory. I have tried to identify as many of the common elements as I could. It would probably have been better if I could have drawn on the experience of different countries in meeting this challenge; but I have avoided doing so, first, because I do not have the necessary equipment for such a task and, second, because I was afraid of getting lost in a maze of particular illustrations losing in the effort a conceptual analytical continuity of discussion. This inevitably has led to some abstractions and to some unwarrantedly generalised statements. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in showing the links successively between social development, social services, social welfare services, social work and finally, social work education.

3

Social Work— Its Human Rights Aspects*

The origins of social work can be traced to the early beginnings of human society and the origins of the concept of human rights can be traced at least to those societies in which the rule of law, as different from rule by the whims of an autocrat, came to be established. But the substantive goals pursued by social work and the nature of its activities have differed from society to society and from one period in history to another and equally the scope and content of the rights of the individual as recognised by society have also varied according to time and place. Even today there is considerable variation between countries in what goes by the name of social work and certainly there is a great deal of difference in what the countries concede in practice by way of human rights to their citizens. It is, therefore, imperative that if a discussion of the human rights aspects of social work is to proceed intelligibly, it should be accompanied by a statement of the society and the period of history with reference to which the discussion is to be undertaken.

So far as human rights are concerned the point of reference is clear and specific. We are referring to the rights listed in the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. While every one of the articles may

* First published in *Social Welfare and Human Rights*—Proceedings of the XIV International Conference on Social Welfare, New York. Columbia University Press, 1969, pp. 56-68.

not have equal significance for social work the declaration as a whole, the fact of its existence, its tenor and some of its articles have a great deal of significance for social work values, goals, functions and practice. It will be my endeavour in the course of this talk to underline some of this significance and to do it with one question at the back of my mind: viz., what are the points at which the pursuit of social work raises issues involving human rights?

The Declaration

The Declaration of Human Rights is a long and complex document. Its 30 articles are spelt out in 50 paragraphs, all tersely worded. The Declaration is an affirmation of values, a statement of aspirations of world conscience on behalf of the common man and an indication of the direction in which the United Nations would like the nations of the world to move. The Declaration covers a wide range of rights and value affirmations. It covers what are usually referred to as political and civil rights under a representative form of government; it covers the right to nationality, freedom of movement, and the freedom to seek asylum; it affirms human dignity, equality and the right to freedom from discrimination or exploitation; it covers the freedom of thought and conscience; it covers the right to social security, to an adequate standard of life and to the opportunity for the free and full development of the individual's personality. Finally, in a very significant addition, it refers to the duties of the individual to his community in which alone the free and full development of his personality can take place.

Relevance of the Declaration for Social Work

The relevance of this Declaration for social work lies mainly in the fact that it unequivocally recognizes the worth and dignity of the human person and asserts that

he has a right to "seek the free and full development of his personality". Social work also proceeds from the same basic assumption that the human individual is worthy in himself independent of the material or social conditions in which he may be found and that it is important to provide him with every facility for the full development of his potentialities. Without the acceptance of this value much of social work activity would lose its meaning and sense of purpose and would look rather like a response based on the social worker's sense of sympathy or pity. While such sympathy and fellowfeeling have been strong urges for social work in all societies and while they have been legitimised by religion and social usage, there is increasing recognition of the fact that by themselves they provide only one and a somewhat inadequate orientation to social work activity. The acceptance of the dignity and worth of the individual and the value of promoting his development is the other — and more important — orientation in social work today. In this acceptance one finds a common emphasis in the Declaration of Human Rights and the values basic to social work.

Differences in Respective Approaches

However, even in this point of contact there is a difference of approach — a difference which may appear inconsequential on first look, but one which I believe is fundamental. In the Declaration everyone is entitled, as a right, "to the realization . . . of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality" (Article 22). Social workers accept the free development of personality of their client to be a basic value, but they are not always, in every society, able to regard it as a right of the individual nor do the societies in which social workers function always accept the obligation to provide the individual with the opportunities for such individual fulfilment. The right of the individual to social security, to a minimum standard of life and to

the provision of opportunities for free and full development — even within the means available to the State — has been recognized only recently and not in the same way by all states. Some recognize the right to work and pay and to protection of minimal income in the form of social security, but they do not necessarily grant freedom in religious, educational, or civic matters. Some grant these latter, but do not concede the right to social security and income maintenance. Social workers have had to work in all these situations. They have sought to render services when no 'rights' were recognized and when no law existed for the provision of special amenities and services to individual citizens and in a greater part of the world they continue to work in these conditions even today.

Typically social workers operate with the concept of needs — basic human needs — rather than of rights. The concept of needs can often go beyond the rights that are recognized in a given society. In this sense social work has a very different stance and approach from that which is suggested by the use of the word "rights". Rights give rise to questions of justice — or, at least of equity — in particular social arrangements. If the basic urge of a worker is for greater justice his stance tends to be more heroic and his action bolder. The social worker's urge is for healing alleviation and soothing and he tends to take on the less heroic, but no less useful, role of a constructive worker. The specific challenge he faces and the particular tasks he is called upon to perform are likely to vary from one society to another. The equation between human rights and social work is, I believe, also likely to change from society to society. It would be useful to explore this suggestion a little further by examining the relationship between human rights and social work in different types of societies.

Four Types of Social Contexts

All typologies are inadequate and typologies of societies are particularly unsatisfactory because of the complexity of

phenomena that they attempt to summarize. But typologies help by throwing certain aspects of phenomena into bold relief for purposes of discussion. In the discussion of the relationship between human rights and social work it might be useful to distinguish between societies on two questions: (i) does a society recognise the obligation to provide its members with the freedom, the opportunities and facilities to achieve the maximum development they are capable of?, and (ii) independent of its value commitments does the society have the material resources to enable it to provide the opportunities to its members? The two questions are too broad and vague to be made applicable to particular known societies. One may also say that it is never possible to make categorical distinctions of the type implied by the questions. It is difficult to characterize societies as having accepted or not accepted the whole set of human rights. They may recognize some without recognizing others. Particularly there is a basic distinction that may be made between the civil and political rights of the individual on the one hand and the right to social security on the other; societies which accept one do not always accept the other. Yet, I suggest, the questions are helpful in distinguishing between four types of social situations in which social work may be called upon to function. The consideration of the stage of economic development of a society becomes particularly relevant in respect of the rights of social security. We can first distinguish between societies which *in principle* recognize social security obligations toward their individual citizens and societies which do not. Each of these groups can be further sub-divided into those which have the means to accept the responsibility for providing these opportunities and those which do not have these means — or, in other words, societies which are economically 'advanced' and those which are 'backward'. Thus we have societies which have accepted obligations toward their members *and* have the means to meet these obligations and those which have accepted the obligations *but* don't have the necessary means. Also, we have societies that do not accept the obligations *though* they have the means and those which *neither* accept

the obligations *nor* have the means to meet such obligations.

Different Modes of Relationship Between Human Rights and Social Work

The four types of social situations pose different types of challenges and should give rise to differences in goals, methods and dominant concerns among social workers.

In all societies the basic concern of social work is to help individuals and groups to survive, to grapple with problems posed by their physical and social environments and to achieve the full development of their potentialities. The recognition or non-recognition of "human rights" by the society in which they work provides social workers with a value context which may help or impede their efforts and so will the availability or non-availability of material resources: In this sense the four types of social situations are likely to pose different types of challenges and give rise to differences in the goals, the methods and the dominant concerns characteristic of social work in each of them. I will attempt to follow up this possibility with reference to the rights to social security and standard of living (Article 21 and 25).

In a society which has accepted the obligation of the collectivity to provide security to the individual and guarantee a minimum standard of life, social work can become one of the major instrumentalities of giving reality to the promise held out by the recognition of his "rights". If this society is economically advanced the social worker will tend to be preoccupied with mobilizing resources, diverting them to particular areas which he considers of primary significance, and raising questions of the most appropriate way to provide assistance to the needy; as he finds that the basic problem of physical survival is gradually overcome, he will identify problems of social and psychological adjustment, organize his knowledge, refine his methods and move toward the establishment of a profession.

In a society where these 'rights' are not recognized social work will have to serve as a means of awakening the conscience of the society so that these 'rights' come to be recognized. In the period in which the rights are not yet recognized by a society social work will have to mobilize resources on the basis of humanitarian and religious appeals and seek to provide for the minimum needs of at least the most indigent sections of the population. It is unlikely that a profession can crystalize at this stage where those engaged in social work can look to no adequate recompense for their efforts and will often be expected to first utilize their own means and materials before approaching others for help.

In societies which are economically advanced and have therefore the means to provide security, but have not formally accepted the individual's right to security, it is likely, though not certain, that social workers will find less resistance in their efforts to bring about a value change and to gain acceptance for the principle of the individual's right to social security. Social workers are likely to find it easier to evoke a response to their appeal for support in a society which has the material resources, even if it has not formally accepted the obligation, to provide security to the individual. But, to the extent that such a society has not accepted the 'right' to social security the social worker will operate in an atmosphere of paternalistic charity and philanthrophy as different from an atmosphere characterized by the recognition of the dignity of the individual.

The 'right' to social security came to be recognized very recently in history and its recognition in most countries was associated with their increasing economic viability to accept the responsibility implied in recognizing such a right. However, in the total world context there are many countries today which are in principle responsive to the concept of an individual's right to social security, but do not have the means to formally endorse it. These are the countries which have some of the most idealistic political constitutions in the world but they are without the means to make their promises viable. Social workers in these countries face a

situation where policy makers concede the validity of their plea on behalf of the needy sections of the population but also simultaneously express their inability to help. This gives rise to an unreal atmosphere of lip sympathy for noble sentiments accompanied by an almost cynical inaction. In such a situation social workers are likely to be led to believe that their work in bringing about a value change has already been accomplished and that they have only to await the availability of material resources to be able to offer the services they consider necessary. But the value change may be only superficial since it has never been tested out in action and the non-availability of resources may only be a spacious excuse for inaction.

Finally, there are societies which have neither accepted the obligations towards the individual nor have the resources required to meet them. In these societies, social workers are on their own. They are called upon to work at two levels — that of persuading the community to recognize the 'needs' of some of its members and that of proceeding to meet them with the limited available resources. The services provided are likely to be directed to the barely physical needs of food, clothing and shelter since these are the only ones that are likely to gain support in the community. Social work will tend to be done primarily under religious auspicies and in a few cases with the help of individual philanthropists. Questions of human rights are likely to appear as somewhat remote to social workers and clients alike.

Limitations to the Use of the Typology

I have deliberately refrained from identifying particular countries or parts of the world as belonging to one type or the other — though in a loose fashion it should be possible to attempt such an allocation. I have refrained from undertaking such an identification not so much as a matter of strategy in an international gathering, but because I am conscious of the essential crudity of the typology that I have suggested. As stated earlier one cannot easily group

countries as having accepted or not accepted the whole list of 'human rights'. A country may accept some 'rights' and not accept others. Also, even in the same country particular rights may be accepted with reference to one section of the population — on ethic or religious grounds — and not accepted with reference to others. This is likely to happen particularly in respect of the civil and political rights of the individual. This may seem to violate the very concept of 'human rights' since these rights, if they have any meaning at all, are in principle indivisible. Yet, in practice, no country has an altogether clear record in respect of human rights and countries do vary in the thoroughness with which they accept one set of rights rather than others and also in the evenness with which they succeed in making them available to different segments of the population. All societies thus live in provertial 'glass houses' and, mixing metaphors, one may say that none of them can allow their members to lift and cast the first stone at other societies.

This situation suggests that one should seek to apply the typology no so much to whole societies but in respect of particular rights and particular groups in that society. It may even be that the availability or non-availability of means also varies with reference to particular groups or particular 'causes' within the same society. If one accepts the possibility that there would be variations within the same society in the recognition or non-recognition of different parts of the Declaration of Human Rights and even in the availability or non-availability of means to meet the obligations implied by the acceptance of these rights, one would also have to further accept the possibility that within the same society social work would face a variety of challenges and be required to take on a multiplicity of roles.

Neglect of One Facet of Social Worker Role

It has often happened that in societies which have generally recognized the values affirmed by the Declaration of Human Rights and have also the means to set up services

to meet the obligations implied in their recognition the efforts of social workers have naturally been devoted primarily to the operation and development of services in sectors where they come to be established. Not unusually this has led to a preoccupation with certain types of problems and services to the neglect of others. In industrially advanced countries social workers have tended to concern themselves with the urban, industrial working class families. It may, in fact, be true to say that professional social work arose largely in response to the problems of a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society. The rural segments of the population did not receive the same measure of attention.

This was a consequence of the assumption that in the rural sections the traditional institutions of the community would continue to adequately meet the needs of the people and also of the assumption that somehow the problems of change were more important than the problems arising from lack of change. Partly, the lack of organised resources and employment opportunities in the rural areas and the social workers' unwillingness to be consigned to rural hinterlands might also have contributed to this situation. The consequence of all these factors might also have contributed to this situation. The consequence of all these factors has been that the awareness of the existence of poverty and unmet needs in rural pockets has come with a shock to countries which have otherwise accepted the obligation to provide for a minimum standard of life for their citizens and which have also the requisite material resources to meet this obligation.

Simultaneously there has been another type of preoccupation and another type of a neglect. In some countries, the acceptance and acclaimation of the value implied in the political and civil rights listed in the Declaration of Human Rights has led to the social worker's preoccupation with his healing and remedial functions and to a neglect of his duties to serve as a watch-dog for basic human values. Often, therefore, when problems have arisen they have arisen with a violence and an unexpectedness that have thrown the

whole society into convulsions.

It may be asked whether the movement for human rights generally, including the political and civil rights,— is within the scope of social work activity. The answer could be conditional, but in societies which have consciously and articulately accepted representative, democratic governments and the equality of all their citizens the protection of the rights of minorities and the ensuring of non-discrimination through constructive action does form a part of social work. It is true that a measure of doubt, if not controversy, surrounds this area and I would therefore like to elaborate this point a little further. It has been suggested above that the stance of the social worker is likely to be gentler than the heroic stance of a rebel or a fighter but it need not, for that reason be less effective, and his role need not be less important to society.

Social Action and Social Work

Despite the suggestion that Social Action may be considered to be a part of the three or four important types of activities engaged in by social workers there has always been a lack of clear understanding of what exactly the scope of such activity would be. Specifically, the question remains unanswered whether the profession of social work can be actively involved in action which is likely to be a) not acceptable to all segments of a society, and b) likely to effect the organized interests in that society — though such action is in full conformity with the basic, well articulated values of that society? What, for instance, is the role of the social work profession vis-a-vis the Negro problem in the U.S.A., the Harijan problem in India and the problem of coloured immigrants in the United Kingdom? I think in any examination of the human rights aspects of social work this question becomes crucial. What is the role of the individual professional and of the profession of social work in situations where the value of the worth and dignity of the individual is denied in practice with reference to certain

groups even when the society proclaims this value and generally accepts it in regard to the other segments of society?

One way of responding to this situation is to say that individually in their personal lives social workers should not act in ways which would be in transgression of this value. This mode of response evades the issue by converting a question which is addressed to the profession into one addressed to the individual as a citizen. Obviously, even this response is valuable and shows the individual's commitment to a particular value. But, it is not adequate.

Social Action and Political Action

Another response is to say that any organized action in this area is in the nature of political action and should be avoided because a) it is outside the sphere of social work, and b) is likely to be divisive of the profession as a collectivity. This response merits serious consideration, because it implies a certain definite concept of the nature of social work and of political action. Let me say at once that I do not look upon social work as the only instrument of solving all human problems and I concede that the social worker in his professional role should avoid getting entangled in the actions of political parties. But having said that let me say that it is difficult to identify any major programme of social action which is bereft of all political significance.

The question that is important to ask is whether a particular problem which is sought to be solved is of central interest to social workers in their professional capacity to require them to act in the interests of their clients. I would like to suggest that if a social worker is working in one of the villages of India, in the working class area of London, Manchester or Birmingham, or in one of the racially torn neighbourhoods of an American metropolis, he cannot evade the responsibility of helping the deprived sections of the population in overcoming all obstacles to

their exercise of the basic rights given to them by law. In accepting this responsibility he need not follow the methods of the political agitator. Every profession has its own choice of means and methods. But from this perspective the question is not whether this sphere of activity belongs to social work, but rather how a social worker would respond in a situation such as this.

Characteristics of Professional Practice

There are certain inherent limitations to the practice of a profession — especially a profession like social work. A social worker has to have an agency to sponsor his action and a known client to whom his action is orientated. The pre-requisite of an agency means that the action of the social worker has to have sufficient legitimacy so that it will be supported openly at least by a section of the community. Also, the professional has to act with reference to, or on behalf of, a client — whether the client is an individual, or a group. As an individual practitioner he cannot argue a 'cause' in the abstract. Moreover, his methods must have the sanction of the profession. He cannot decide on the spur of the moment to pick up a poster and join a slogan-shouting group in support of his cause. Fortunately, this is not one of the methods of social work yet.

But where the conditions of the existence of a sponsoring agency and a client are fulfilled and where there are obstacles to the effective social functioning of his client the social worker's responsibility for intervention is clear. This responsibility is not fulfilled by the response that as an individual he will not add to these obstacles and that he will not be prejudiced in his professional conduct. Minimally, he will be required to work effectively to enable his client to use fully all the available services in the community. In this pursuit he will use all his skills of persuasion and, if necessary, all the help that law can give to remove impediments in the legitimate exercise of his client's rights and in the normal fulfilment of his client's aspirations.

Limited Usefulness of Law in Value Change

However, not all obstacles to the exercise of human rights or to the functioning of an individual with dignity and freedom are tangible and such as can be legally removed. Also, there may be shortcomings in the available law itself which need to be removed. The individual social worker working in the local community cannot therefore lean heavily on law to serve the interests of his clients. Legal battles leave scars and if the worker is interested in furthering more harmonious relationships he cannot always brandish his legal stick.

The fact is that there are serious limitations to what an individual worker can achieve by way of change in community attitudes and values through his local action. On basic issues, like the treatment given to minorities, attitudes in the local community are influenced and supported by attitudes in the larger society. At this level the individual social worker employed by a local agency cannot play an effective role. If social work is to serve as an effective instrument for giving reality to the formally accepted values and rights it will have to enter upon an action addressed to the whole society. This role has usually been assigned to a 'social reformer'. In so far as the social reformer questions and even rejects some of the widely held values and proposes the adoption of new ones in their place his role cannot be easily institutionalised and integrated into the activities of a profession.

The Profession and the Individual Professional

At this point the distinction between the scope of activities of the whole profession and the activities of an individual professional becomes significant. It is true that the work of bringing about a change in some of the values characteristic of a society, or a major segment of it, cannot easily be perceived as part of the activity of an individual professional, but, I suggest, that it can and should form a part of the activities of the profession as a whole.. The professional

organization at various levels and professional leaders in their individual as well as representative capacity will have to address themselves to this task. This is an important role for the profession to play. It is a role that differs from that of a rebel as also that of a repair man. It retains the constructive orientation of professional action. Yet it compels the profession to see beyond the fashions and prejudices of the present so as to identify and promote instrumental values and practices necessary for the realization of the goals of human dignity and equality which are at the core of the Declaration of Human Rights and which are basic to the practice of the social work profession.

The Human Rights Perspective

Even from this perspective social work will continue to be in the nature of an interventive action for the enhancement of the social functioning of individuals and groups. It will achieve this end through helping individuals and communities to grapple with problems of change at the social and psychological levels. But this perspective will lead social work beyond its confines. It will additionally identify and promote values and practices necessary for the realization of human rights through the use of means which are consistent with the rights of other individuals and groups. While this position is not unacceptable to social workers and will not appear new in its orientation, it has the advantage of clarifying what the moorings and long-term objectives of social work are. It will disturb the complacence of the individual social worker who may be tempted to acquiesce in the values of the local community even when they conflict with the broader sympathies of the profession. It will require and compel the organised profession to take clear positions on social issues. As distances are reduced by the development of faster means of communication we are going to be faced with the fact that the world is peopled by many races, that speak many languages. In the midst of a plurality of cultures and values there will be

need for the affirmation of one acceptable common denominator. The Declaration of Human Rights provides this necessary standard and direction to all constructive action.

Within the limitations imposed by the need for constructive action this perspective will give social work a role to play in societies which are economically advanced as well as those which are economically backward and societies which have generally accepted the values articulated in the Declaration and those which have not.

This exploration into the relationship between human rights and social work was begun in a tentative mood. Nothing has happened in the course of these last three quarters of an hour to make me feel more definite or dogmatic on the subject — however firm and definitive my tone may have appeared to be in the course of my presentation. I have tried to suggest that the relationship between human rights and social work can be understood better if we have an appreciation of the extent of value commitment to human rights which is characteristic of a society and its ability to transcribe this commitment into a programme of action. This commitment and ability to transcribe it into action may vary not only from society to society but even between groups in one society and with respect to different facets of the declaration of human rights. This varying equation between commitment and ability (or viability) provides one of the major determinants for the type of social work practice that will emerge or stabilise itself. And since this equation is a varying one our concept of the nature of social work will have to be broad enough to provide for the variations in practice.

Even as I conclude this essay in loud thinking I can sense the doubts that can be raised about the propositions that I have made. But then one of the few consolations available to modern man is that he is not always expected to answer all questions or settle all doubts. Even if he has raised additional questions or articulated better some of the older ones he is supposed to have fulfilled a useful purpose. I hope I have qualified myself by one of these latter considerations to gain the satisfaction of having been useful.

4

Social Development and a Strategy for Urbanisation*

Absence of a Positive Approach to Urbanisation

In much that has been written about urbanisation, particularly about urbanisation in developing countries, there is a note of apprehension, apprehension of an approaching catastrophe. Some of the facts relating to conditions of urban life, which will be mentioned later, lend legitimacy to this feeling of apprehension. But even in Europe and the U.S.A. where the physical conditions of city life are somewhat better than in Asia and Africa, life in the city is often depicted as a necessary evil rather than as a positive value. The reasons again are not far to seek. The high rates of crime, the sense of physical insecurity in what is sometimes described as the asphalt jungle, the strains and the tensions which result from an endless struggle to meet social, psychological and economic demands have tended to make the experience of city life seem negative and something to be tolerated, adjusted to, or escaped from. There is an absence of a positive philosophy about city life.

In India, Mahatma Gandhi would have nothing to do with cities. The India of his dreams was an India of self-sufficient, self-reliant villages which were linked to each other "in ever-widening, never-ascending" circles. He looked upon cities as economically exploitative and politically

* Paper presented for a seminar discussion under the auspicies of the Departments of Social Work and of Extramural Studies, University of Hong Kong. 21st February, 1973.

destructive of a true democracy. But Gandhi was at least consistent. If he was against cities, he was also against mass production of goods through modern industry and against a life built on the individual's compelling drive for more and more material goods, the need for which is stimulated through high pressure sales drives and enticing advertisements. He believed in a simple life of relatively undifferentiated wants which could be satisfied locally through village production or through a system of marginal exchanges between villages. He believed in an economy where the tiller owned the land he tilled and the artisan owned his tools. He was against both the feudal and the capitalist forms of exploitation of the worker by the non-worker. A society based upon a greater degree of division of labour, a greater specialisation in skills and a production of goods for the market rather than for oneself or one's neighbour is a society that must reconcile individual greed and social interest through external means of social control. Or else, unbridled market processes will lead to wastage and to an exploitation of many by some. His answer to the problems of nineteenth century capitalism was a return to a peasant economy and a village polity.

Since all developing countries are actively seeking ways of achieving economic growth and since they seek to achieve it through a process of industrialisation the solution that Gandhi offered for the problems of an urban and industrial society has no value for them. Historical experience indicates that large-scale industrialisation cannot be achieved without a simultaneous process of urbanisation. It is possible that modern technological development may at a future date make industrialisation possible without huge, multi-million agglomerates of population. Even so it will require the emergence of smaller cities and towns as an essential infrastructure for industrialisation.

Growth in Urban Populations

Even if we keep aside Gandhi's view of the city and its

role, we find that there is very little available by way of a positive view on the growth of the urban population all over the world. On the one hand, as the *1970 Report on the World Social Situation* (U.N. 1971) shows, in the developing as well as the developed regions of the world there has been a substantial increase in urban population. In each of the two groups about 130 million people have been added between 1950-1960 to those already living in urban areas. This has meant a much more rapid increase in the developing countries since they had started with a smaller base of urban populations as compared with the developed ones. In India the percentage growth of the urban population has been only about 2 per cent but even so the net increase has been of the order of 20 million. The present urban population of India is 109 million, which is roughly about a fifth of the total population of the country. The present population living in urban areas is small, but the absolute numbers are large by any comparison.

What is true of India is true of the Asian region as a whole. The regional level of urbanisation has risen only from 15 to 21 per cent between 1950-1970, but in a numerical sense Asia has more people living in urban areas (450 million) than the total population of Africa or Latin America or North America. (U.N. 1971. p. 5).

Nature of Urbanisation

It has been suggested that the developing countries are probably over-urbanised compared to the level of urbanisation achieved by European countries in the early stages of their industrialisation. What is certainly true is that many of the villagers who migrate to the city do so not so much because they are certain of finding industrial employment in the city, but because they find no employment in the villages. Unlike countries in Europe the Asian countries are witnessing a fall in their death rates and a consequent growth in the total population at a much earlier stage in their social development. The growing pressure

upon land and the inability of the traditional modes of agriculture to support the growing population has tended to drive many villagers to the city in search of employment. When they move away from the village they go not necessarily to the nearest town, but rather to the biggest town or city. It is these cities that can support a large proportion of people who are engaged in petty trades or casual work with no specific employment. This explains the rapid, selective growth of the larger cities rather than an even growth of most urban areas.

In India 56 per cent of the urban population lives in large cities of 100,000 and over, which constitute about 5 to 6 per cent of the total number of urban habitants in the country. The smaller towns of less than 20,000 population which make up about 60 per cent of the urban units in the country accommodate between them only 17 per cent of the total urban population. What is more, even the total number of the smaller urban units has shown a decrease in the last two decades.

The preference of the rural migrants for large cities has meant that these cities — particularly the multi-million mark cities — are growing very rapidly. With the exception of Calcutta, all the major metropolitan complexes in India have shown a growth rate of 30 to 60 per cent over the decennium 1961-1971. This growth is accounted for only in a small measure by the locally born persons, it is primarily a result of the large number of rural migrants who come to the city in the hope of finding a job.

The process of urbanisation has been uneven as between regions within the country. The three States which form the hinterlands of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras — the oldest of the modern cities in India — are the most urbanised with about 30 per cent of their population living in towns and cities. And even within each of these States urbanisation is unevenly distributed, most of the city-dwelling populations being located in one or two clearly demarcated areas.

Indian cities, even the smaller ones, tend to be multilingual since their populations are drawn from more than one State. In the case of Bombay and Bangalore, the

population speaking the local languages — Marathi and Kannada respectively — constitutes a minority of the total population of the cities, though they are the largest single linguistic groups. The multilingual character of the cities presents a major problem in the civic life of these cities and occasionally erupt, in combination with other factors, into riots based upon linguistic affiliations.

The large scale migration to the major cities has also taxed the civic services of these cities. The migrant population consists of individuals who mostly enter the cities at the lowest levels of the economic hierarchy. They are not the groups that contribute to the cities' resources and they cannot buy the services or the facilities they need for themselves either in housing, water, power, medicine, or education. The civic administrations are wholly unable to cope with the additional demands created by these groups and the result is a general shortage and a lowering of efficiency in all municipal services.

It is true that conditions of life in the rural areas are no better than in the urban slums to which a large proportion of the rural migrants shift. It may well be that consciously or unconsciously many of the villagers are recreating their rural environment even after they have moved to the city. The villages have often no water supply or drainage facilities and the dwellings of the poorer sections of the rural community are not very much better than the shanties which one notices in a city like Bombay. But there are two important differences. In the village context it is possible that a strongly motivated individual could provide himself with a neater house even if it is made only of mud walls and thatched roof. He can also maintain it better since the materials required for its upkeep are locally available. In the city the individual experiences much less autonomy: he is dependent upon the land-lord, the market mechanism and the availability of ready cash to the able to effect any improvements in his dwelling. The large numbers of people and the very high residential densities of the working class areas of most cities are not to be met with in the rural areas. When the villager attempts to use rural patterns of

adjustment to the problems of housing, water supply and drainage in the urban areas he creates an environment which has all the squalor but none of the advantages of a small community living in the midst of wide open farmlands. While urban conditions are no worse than the conditions of the rural poor, the problems they pose are much too large and serious to be tackled at the level of the individual or the small group. They have to be tackled at the level of the city as a whole and as we will see, at the level of the region and the country as well.

In Bombay and Calcutta about a sixth of their populations live in make-shift dwellings constructed on unauthorised premises out of any material that comes to hand. Discarded sacks, flattened sheets of metal cans and paste-board boxes are used for roofing and walls. The occupants sometimes pay rents, but to unauthorised individuals who extort it from them.

Apart from those who live in such temporary shelters there are several thousands who live on side-walks, in the porches and corridors of public buildings and on suburban railway stations. They include young children as well as adults and some aged persons.

About two-thirds of the total population of Bombay consisting of those engaged in regular employment, lives in single-room accommodation with commonly shared facilities for water supply, toilets and bathrooms. The large cities chronically suffer from water and power shortages, the available water supply being less than a few gallons per head. Their transportation systems are worked beyond their capacities. Trains and buses carry not only standing passengers, but carry them even sitting on top of the vehicles and hanging from the bars of the windows.

The net consequence of the absence of a positive attitude on the subject of urbanisation has been an unregulated, imbalanced growth in urban populations without corresponding resource allocations for urban civic bodies and without the essential physical and social infrastructure to meet the needs of the growing populations. The deterioration in the quality of life described above is

characteristics of nearly all cities which have crossed the one million mark and the problems become worse as the cities continue to grow beyond this size. In the smaller cities the conditions may not be as bad in so far as overcrowding is concerned, but even in cities of 100,000 and above — of which India has 147 — we find that inadequacies of transport, water supply and power have already emerged as problems. Out of the 2641 urban units in India, not even one per cent have a filtered water supply, very few of them — even among the smaller communities — can provide a 24-hour water supply, and only a minority of them have a system of distribution of water on taps. Most towns depend on systems of excreta and waste disposal that are not only wasteful and inefficient, but are based on the traditional subjugation of one caste of people who must perform the dirty job.

Need for a Policy

If developing countries want to progress through a process of industrialisation they will have to come to terms with a system of habitation which involves relatively large aggregates. There is not enough knowledge available to enable us to say what the optimum size of urban units should be and probably the sizes will have to vary depending upon the type of social, economic, political and other functions they will subserve. Even so, speaking for India, it seems reasonably certain that the net population living in urban units with populations larger than 20,000 will double in the next twenty years, even assuming that the proportion of the urban population to the total population does not increase very steeply. The chances are that with increase in industry and commerce the percentage of the urban population itself may show a substantial rise. Today 83 per cent of India's urban population, i.e., approximately 90 million people, live in habitats of 20,000 or more population. This number may double in the next twenty years. The doubling may result partly as a result of

continued town-ward migration of sections of the rural population and partly as a result of the natural increase of the population already resident in India's urban areas. The likelihood is that as the proportion of increase due to urban fertility rates decreases the proportion due to migration will increase. But even if the urban population does not actually double the net increase will still be substantial. If the Indian polity is not to totter under the strains generated by urban unrest a more positive attitude to the process of urbanisation and its role in the developmental strategy is essential. This will have to be reflected in certain over-all policy decisions relating to the goals, the extent, the distribution and the social quality of the process of urbanisation.

This paper will seek to spell out some of the issues and alternatives that may need consideration in defining an urbanisation policy in the context of social development. The ruling, over-all objective at the social level will be the achievement of economic growth with social justice. Economic growth will introduce the criteria of efficiency and economy in the attainment of a higher GNP whereas social justice will raise questions about how widespread the benefits of growth are.

Whether or Not to Urbanise

The first question to be answered by an urbanisation policy is whether the process of urbanisation — i.e. the process of an increasing proportion of the population living in large aggregates of, say, 20,000 and more — is something to be encouraged, regulated or actively discouraged. This, of course depends upon an answer to a further question whether a higher outlay of industrialisation necessarily requires greater urbanisation? To this latter question there is no simple answer except for the fact that most societies which have a high GNP and are industrialised, are also characterized by a higher degree of urbanisation. In Europe (excluding the Soviet Union) the urban population is between 40-45 per cent of the total population. In the other

more developed regions of North America, the Soviet Union, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, the urban population is between 50-55 per cent of the total population. In the less developed region of Asia and Africa the urban population accounts probably for only about 15 to 20 per cent. But within the Asian region again the more developed countries have higher levels of urbanisation. Japan with a GNP per capita of $ 1000 + has 83 per cent of its population in the urban areas. Iran with a GNP per capita of $200-500 has a 39.3 per cent urban population, Phillipines and Viet Nam with about $100-200 GNP per capita have a 23 per cent urban population and India, Indonesia and Pakistan with less than a $100 GNP per capita have between 15 and 20 per cent urban population. It appears from the above data that there is a positive relationship between urbanisation and economic development.[1]

Independent of this relationship, it is known that medium and large-scale industry requires not only a population directly engaged in work in the industrial process but also requires commercial, ancilliary, industrial, transportational, social infrastructural and petty trade facilities which cannot be provided except in urban communities. Urbanisation has, therefore, to be accepted and planned for.

Apart from the demands of the process of industrialisation, urbanisation may be desirable in that it might facilitate the process of modernisation, the spread of science and the attitude of economic rationality. Even from a purely social perspective urbanisation makes important contributions to national life. Large urban agglomerates are necessary for the support of art and literature. In India the urban areas have served the important function of spreading the message of nationalism during the struggle for independence. Without the facilities that urban centres provide for verbal and spatial communication and for the development of special interest groups — whether religious, political, professional, cultural or any other — much of what one values in modern life would not be possible. It is true that

[1] Calculated from estimates contained in the *1970 Report on the world Social Situation, p. 151.*

the plurality, impersonality and pace of urban life pose serious problems, but these problem have to be tackled. The way of return to a primary rural society is probably closed; one may have to look for an appropriate and optimum size for urban communities from the economic as well as socio-psychological point of view. There is a need for research on the relationship, if any, between city sizes and the emergent social, cultural and economic services available to the population as well as the associated criminal and other anti-social activities. It may well be that size alone is not a determinant; but size of a community is an important factor in the kinds of civic and social problems it has to tackle, the kind of services it can support and the patterns of varied cultural activities it can give rise to.

Size of Cities

It was mentioned above that even without direct encouragement the urban population in India would probably double in the next twenty years assuming a moderate 4 per cent increase per year. If so, the question is whether this additional population will just be added to the existing urban units or whether it will be absorbed at least partially, in new urban centres. The answer depends upon whether the Central and State governments are willing to formulate and act upon an over-all policy of urbanisation. We have as yet no clear understanding of the many processes by which particular habitats grow into large aggregates of cities and towns. But a policy for urbanisation would, among other things, have to address itself to the location and size of future centres of urban growth. Should the towns be between 20-50,000, between 51-99,000, between 100,000 and 1,000,000 or above 1,000,000? While there are not enough data to answer the question from the point of view of economic criteria, some of those who have written on the subject suggest that probably existing cities of between 50,000 to 5,00,000 provide the best choice as potential nucleii

of further urban development.[2] The argument is that townships of smaller sizes with no initial infra-structure or totally new townships are likely to prove too expensive in terms of the economic outlays that would be required and, at the same time, cities of over 1,000,000 are inefficient in terms of the civic amenities that they can provide for further growth. The social costs in terms of poor housing, inter-community tensions, crime rates, etc. also begin to mount up in cities of a million and above. The developing countries still have a choice and they need not follow a model of industrialisation and urbanisation which depends heavily upon a few points of centralized production and the growth of multi-million size cities.

However, if existing cities — particularly those larger than 100,000 are to be chosen as nuclii of further growth they may be found to be located largely in the already industrialised regions of the country. This would raise questions of equity in regional distribution of economic resources since organised expansion of cities can only be achieved by greater industrial and other investments which would increase their employment potential. If on the other hand, urban nuclii with 50,000 + populations are chosen they are likely to ensure a better distribution of urban development as between different regions or states. The final choice of particular locations, however, will also be governed by availability of raw materials, skilled labour, location in terms of the regional or national transportation net-works etc. William Bredo[3] suggests that the communities selected should preferably contain some enterprises already operating successfully. Their presence would indicate the existence of a tested market and also the availability of some local entrepreneurship. Additional factors to be looked for in the selection of urban locations are the existence of schools, colleges, vocational training facilities, well developed

[2] Britain Harris, "Urban Living Conditions, Overhead Costs and Development Patterns" in Roy Turner ed. *India's Urban Future, Bombay*: Oxford Uni. Press, 1962.

[3] William Bredo, "Industrial Decentralisation in India" in Roy Turner ed. *India's Urban Future*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962.

banking and credit facilities etc. Based upon these considerations, he would suggest an economic strategy of "phased penetration of less developed areas".

One implication of adopting such a strategy may be that at least initially the better developed areas will benefit more than the less developed. A conscious attempt would, therefore, have to be made at modifying these criteria to ensure a more balanced growth. Some of this will result from the natural distribution of raw material resources. Heavy industries which are based upon ready availability of various types of ores should be located in or near the ore-sites so that savings on transportation may compensate partially for the extra investments on social overheads that will be necessary in these locations. In India, most of the ore-sites lie further away from the earlier established industrial, commercial and port-based activities.

Need for Coordination

If a relatively even distribution of urban populations is considered desirable it can only be achieved by a well-coordinated policy of industrialisation which takes note of regional, state and sub-regional needs and potentialities. It will also require the development of a properly articulated plan of road and rail-road transportation net-work for people and commodities. There are obvious difficulties in the way of integration of goals and coordination of planning activity in a large federal polity. Conflict of national, state and local goals often interferes with measures of coordination. Sometimes, even if the same political party is ruling at different levels of the political hierarchy, the leaders at these levels be subject to different kinds of pressures. Yet, in spite of these difficulties inter-agency and inter-strata coordination is necessary if effective planning and implementation of a country-wide programme of urbanisation is to be possible. Pitambar Pant[4] makes this point effectively when he says

[4] Pitambar Pant, "Urbanisation and a Long-Range Strategy" in Roy Turner ed. *India's Urban Future*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962.

"A positive approach is necessary to foster agriculture and industry, power and transport, and distribution and density of urban centres in a spatial pattern so as to achieve the optimum results in relation to the social and economic goals of the society."

Balanced urbanisation cannot be achieved unless it is made a matter of deliberate state policy. In the absence of such a policy, the tendency is for large cities to grow larger. They tend to attract capital and to create effective demands for social services of varied types. These facilities in turn attract more people. But all the time that the process of expansion goes on it is accompanied by an increase in land costs, costs of housing, costs of transportation and therefore costs of the variety of services that the community needs. Well-distributed urban growth is therefore beneficial not only for the less developed regions but also for the populations in existing metropolitan complexes since it helps to limit the increase in their cost of living. There is however no way in which the migration of rural people to large urban areas could be stopped through recourse to law. This would be neither practicable nor constitutionally valid. The only strategy the governments can adopt is to provide wider options to the townward migrant. One has to assume in the case of a vast majority of unskilled workers, that they would prefer spatially and culturally "nearer" cities to far-away centres for purposes of migration.

Graded Development

Much of the discussions above is based upon urbanisation as it subserves the function of industrial growth. But towns and cities — not necessarily of metropolitan dimensions — also serve other important functions. For example, many of the district towns, and tehsil towns have developed round governmental, administrative and judicial functions. They have been chosen either for their central location or for historical reasons of their already having served as seats of political authority, or for their being conveniently located

along road net-works. Some of the other cities have grown as university towns and education centres. These various functions must be identified and urban units of different sizes developed to serve these functions. Usually the larger size cities meet a multiplicity of such social, economic and political functions. But the concept of a graded development of towns and cities should form a part of the strategy of urbanisation. If such a concept is adopted it can serve as a basis for a programme of developing new townships which can be so located that they criss-cross the major corridors of urban and industrial growth which link the large metropolitan communities.

At the other end urban policy must also be linked with a policy of rural development. Employment opportunities in the rural areas must be improved through intensive agricultural development and development of cottage industries, animal husbandry, sheep rearing, etc. Some of these agricultural programmes — as for instance, the breeding of hybrid seed varieties — are highly labour intensive and can help check the flow of workers to urban areas. Equally important are developmental programmes which improve social amenities available in rural areas. If vocational education, health and recreational facilities of a reasonably good quality become available in the villages, some of the lure of the city will be diminished. Making villages more productive and attractive should be part of a policy regulating urban migration. As the quality of services in the rural areas improves even the migrant who moves to urban areas will be a more skilled person and he will not have to enter the urban employment market at the lowest rung of the occupational ladder. He will also be better equipped to make the adjustment to urban life. A rural development policy will thus not only check urban migration but also help improve the quality of urban life itself.

Land Prices

A positive policy on urbanisation will have to find ways

in which the price of land in urban areas can be checked. Land is by far the most important and also the least flexible of the basic resources needed for urbanisation. People who move to the city have to live and work on land and as the population increases, there is a greater and greater demand for land in and near the business and commercial districts. This leads to speculation in land prices by individuals who can afford to purchase land while it is still cheap and wait until the demand for their land goes up simultaneously raising the price level. This affects the cost of building since the cost of land in urban areas is a very important part of the total cost of adding to existing housing or work space. This leads to a rise in house rents upto a point where a majority of the population is ill-housed in terms of space, structure as well as municipal amenities.

Various measures have been thought of to abolish land speculation and to control the price-rise in urban land. The socialist countries have nationalised urban land in the same way as they nationalised agriculture by introducing collective farms. This has given the State and its planning agency complete freedom from speculative pressures, though even in their case there are still constraints imposed by the size of the population to be accommodated, since no country can allow unlimited areas of land to be diverted from other uses to urban settlement and also by the necessity to minimise distances between work places and places of residence.

However, outright nationalisation of land without compensation is not possible in non-socialist economies. The options available to them take various forms of control of land-use patterns, direct control and limitation of land price, ceiling on urban land property, and, where possible, outright purchase of land at "ruling prices". The last of these gives the greatest freedom to the planner, but this option cannot be utilised to any advantage unless decisions on location of urban sites or on expansion of particular towns and cities are taken ahead of time and before agricultural land is allowed to be used for non-agricultural purposes. Preemptive action on the part of urban planning authorities is essential if through land acquisition the cost

of constructing or expanding a city is to be minimised.

Another set of measures for controlling speculation in land prices would be to impose ceilings on ownership of urban property and simultaneously devise a city tax structure which serves as a disincentive against wasteful use of land and built up space in large apartments and independent bungalows for the use of the wealthy minority. Direct regulation of land prices and housing rents usually fails because of the operation of black market mechanisms. Even land and property ceilings or graded taxes on urban built up space can serve no useful purpose if the bureaucracy itself is corrupt.

Housing the Poor

Apart from a land price regulation another important area of any national policy on urbanisation is the housing of the poor. To some extent control over land prices will help minimise costs on housing programmes. However, every planner learns fairly early in his exercises that there is a minimum income level for each country below which a household cannot be given any kind of built up accommodation — unless this is done by resorting to heavy subsidies. It has been calculated for Bombay that if every household in the city were to be provided even a single room as housing accommodation the costs involved would run into several hundred million rupees for initial construction and that since the residents would not be able to pay what would be considered economic rents, the annual subsidy for servicing loans and maintenance would have to be a few score million rupees.[5] Alfred P. Van. Huyck[6] comes to the same conclusion based on his Calcutta experience when he says

[5] P. Ramchandran, "Social and Economic Rents", Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 1967.

[6] Alfred P. Van Huyck, "The Housing Threshold for Lowest-Income Groups: The Case of India" in Herbert, J. D. Van Huyck, A. P. eds. *Urban Planning in the Developing Countries*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1968.

"...there is a housing threshold: a point along the income distribution curve below which it is not possible to provide housing, either publicly or privately, on a massive scale commensurate with the needs at any reasonable set of 'minimum' standards."

A Policy of Moderated Standards

This realisation has led urban planners in India to accept the fact that probably the lowest 20 per cent of the metropolitan populations that live in hutments, squatter's colonies or on pavements cannot in the immediate future be provided with any structure using brick, cement and steel, because at their income levels they cannot pay even highly subsidised rents. This has led to reconsideration of the appropriateness of accepting internationally specified or otherwise arbitrarily set "minimum" standards. It is now argued that for the lowest one-fifth of the metropolitan income groups it may be necessary to accept a standard whereby each household is given a developed ploat with a built plinth on which the occupant can build such a structure as he can afford — either in bamboo and mud, mud-brick, used corrugated sheet, processed paper or any other material that is available. The structure may be temporary but then it can be improved as and when the householder can afford it. Such marked out and developed sites will be provided with common water-taps, street-lights and toilets on a community basis. The lanes will be paved and gutters will be built to provide draining of storm water as well as the waste water from the house sites.

Another answer to the problems of low-income housing may be the concept of "an *Urban village*, a place with fixed boundaries, speaking one mother tongue and holding to the same general set of customs"[7] Though visualised primarily as an environment for the new in — migrants, it could also serve the more generalised purpose of housing the low-

[7] Richard L. Meier, "The Design of Very Large Cities" in Roy Turner ed. *India's Urban Future*, Bombay: Oxford, 1962. p. 299-323.

income groups in metropolitan cities. Such villages would have to be subsidised in their services and the level of living of the population of these villages would be close to subsistence. The village would have one bazar, one clinic, one station on the transit, several primary schools and several common bath and wash facilities.

These seem eminently sensible solutions, for no society can provide services which it cannot pay for. But if this is true, then it should be equally true that a society which is committed to egalitarian values and to social justice should not allow gross inequalities to emerge in housing facilities for different sections of the population. Available resources must be used economically as well as equitably. If the living space available to the lowest income groups in society cannot be larger than 180 sq. ft. of unbuilt space, there can be no justification for any section of society being provided with 2000-4000 sq. ft. of built up space in the form of luxury apartments or individual bungalows located in their own separate plots. Planning authorities would have to impose a discipline in terms of residential areas as well as the types of construction permitted to higher income groups. This they cannot do except in so far as a national housing policy exists which is binding on all urban authorities in different parts of the country.

Conserving Housing Stock

Such a national policy should also provide for the conservation and improvement of existing housing stock in any town or city. This will mean regular annual repair and maintenance of buildings and improvement in the civic facilities in the poor neighbourhoods. As at present public authorities generally accept such responsibility only in the case of government or authority-owned housing projects. Even in such projects the work is not done regularly and well. However, it is necessary to adopt a policy whereby all buildings — whether public owned or owned privately — are regarded as a national asset and kept in good repair.

For this purpose the private owners may be charged a suitable cess on their properties. Usually the private owner who chafes under the fact that he cannot raise his rents because of the Rent Control Act, is content to leave the house in a state of disrepair and hope that some day the building will become unusable and the tenants will leave of their own accord. In the large metropolitan areas the land on which the building is located is worth much more than the old structure itself. The owner would be happy to demolish the house and rebuild it for a higher rent-paying client or sell the property at considerable profit if he were able to find a purchaser. A purchaser, however, wishes to obtain vacant possession of the property if he is to develop it for profit.

It is becoming increasingly clear that a policy which expects private entrepreneurs to provide the housing stock and still operate within a system of regulated rents is unworkable and only succeeds in giving rise to a variety of malpractices both on the part of the owners of buildings and the administrators who wield the regulatory powers. In socialist countries land and building are regarded as national assets and the construction of housing is not left to private initiative. In non-socialist countries policy of direct and indirect controls is sought to be operated allowing scope for the operation of private capital. The contradiction of this policy is that private investment and profit are inconsistent with the fact that a majority of the population are unable to afford rents for decent housing. The only possible answer to the situation seems to be that public authorities adopt more realistic standards of adequacy of housing, take on the responsibility of constructing and/or operating housing stock for the middle and lower income groups, and rigorously control the use of land and built-up space by the well-to-do.

Another implication is that the whole programme of housing will have to be based on a policy of progressive improvement in housing conditions—particularly in relation to square feet area specification. As more resources become available in the future it should be possible to add and expand the area made available to the individual tenant.

Capital Mobilisation for Housing

The problem of housing in a mixed economy hinges upon whether housing is regarded as an essential service to be made available to the individual citizen or as a commodity for sale with profit. This is a question that goes beyond housing and affects the whole area of urban planning. What is the over-all policy of capital mobilisation for urban planning? Will it be mobilised through direct and indirect taxation by government or through the operation of the market and price mechanisms? If the market mechanism and profitability of investment are to be used for capital mobilisation it follows logically that planning will have to be done to suit the preference, convenience and need of the better-paying clients and it may even pre-empt the poorer sections in the community, who incidently are in overwhelming majority, from benefiting by such planning. The market mechanism is the one least suited to achieve egalitarian objectives or to solve equitably the dilemma faced by governments of choosing between their politically necessary commitments to the poor and their need to fall back on the capacity of the well-to-do to finance their well intentioned projects.

Yet this is exactly the mechanism that comes into operation when urban planning authorities are asked to undertake development on the basis of a fixed revolving fund where the authority concerned must inevitably expect to make profits on sale or lease of developed land to finance further developmental activities. A mixed economy functions on the premise of "a fair" profit, but if developed land is to be offered by auction to the highest bidder, then this bidder in his turn must price his product for the highest paying customer. Where incomes are distributed within a small range of variation this mechanism creates no major problems but in countries where the disparities are large and where the small well-to-do groups follow a life pattern based on wasteful, conspicuous consumption, the interests of the poor get sacrificed. This is reflected in differential qualities of housing, education, health and transportation

services available to persons belonging to different income groups. It is reflected even in the quality of the surfacing of roads and the maintenance of civic services in the different parts of the city. Such a high degree of differentiation, under certain conditions, can give rise to social tensions which may express themselves, at the individual level, in varied forms of alienation, impotent resentment, and socially deviant behaviour and at the group level, in agitations, inter-group rioting and organised violence. It is difficult to calculate the exact costs of such phenomena but undoubtedly they must result in higher direct costs through arson and destruction of public property, in the higher costs on police and internal security and in indirect costs of loss of social motivation and productivity. All these interfere with the overall progress in social development.

Environment Protection

The fight against environmental pollution is another aspect of a policy on urbanisation where some decisions need to be taken at the national level. Local authorities cannot or may not wish to tackle pollution which arises from sources outside their jurisdiction or whose consequences do not have to be borne by the local population. The pollution of water streams, rivers and costal waters belong to such a category where the local authority may either be a helpless victim or an indifferent culprit. It is necessary in such areas to have a national and state policy as well as enforcement authorities to make pollution control effective.

To the extent that industry is "decentralised" the problem of controlling pollution within the limits of tolerance may be made less intractable, but industry is not the only source of pollution. It has been found that automobiles and city buses are an equally dangerous pollution source. This may imply on the one hand development of technologies which ensure more complete combustion of the fuels used in the engines but on the other it may also mean that cities would have to adopt patterns of habitation and systems of transport which

reduce the number of vehicles on the road.

Apart from decentralisation or dispersed location of industrial units, it is equally necessary to develop the recycling and the re-use technology to minimise the problem of pollution. Cities are now facing not only the problem of air and water pollution, but of pollution arising out of the problems of garbage and trash disposal, including the disposal of paper, plastics, glass and metal.

City Transport

Transportation in cities is another important area in which national decisions would have to be taken. It seems unjustifiable on economic as well as environmental consideration that developing countries should plan a road-system based upon the use of the private car. The transportation system should be based on the use of buses which can carry large numbers of passenger per vehicle, limit the hazards of environmental pollution and have the advantage of requiring much smaller initial capital outlays than any other system of public transport. Buses are not the cheapest mode of mass transport, but a sub-way or a suburban railway system involves huge initial outlays which cannot be justified except in the case of multimillion cities. Buses have also the disadvantage of being slower than railways, but if use of buses is combined with the adoption of a system of reserved tracks the net time taken by the vehicle to cover distance between any two points can be considerably reduced. A decision to use buses and to discourage private cars on the road would also reduce traffic congestion on the roads. A national decision on transport patterns is necessary because then it can be supported by a policy of partial transfer of the potential individual industrial units from the manufacture of private cars to the manufacture of various types of heavy and light chassis for buses.

The smaller cities of less than one million would also permit the use of bicycles by a section of the working and school-going population. The design of the city should plan

for such movement and provide special lanes along the roads and streets which connect housing areas and schools or work-places.

Urban Finance and Urban Government

A National policy on urbanisation would have to lay down the sources of revenue that urban local bodies can tap. Most municipal authorities have found it impossible to meet the increasing demand for municipal services resulting from increasing town-ward migration. The population that is added to the town or city every year is not the population that is likely to add to the municipal revenues — though their need for services is the same as that of the other sections of the population. They need increased, financial assistance from government since the taxes on property, taxes on professions, vehicles, animals and taxes for water, drainage and fire protection are wholly inadequate and non-expanding sources of revenue under conditions of a growing influx of the poor.

While the urban poor make no addition to municipal revenues they are fairly well organised to exercise political pressures to obtain atleast some of the services that the city can give. The present form of municipal government is not suited to develop among the poor any sense of commitment to the city or responsibility for the proper maintenance of municipal facilities. A new structure of urban government which involves the members of local communities in a more constructive relationship with the municipal authorities is necessary. Such a structure would have to provide for mohalla and ward level representative bodies with defined functions. This might on the one hand enable the local residents to get better municipal services and also at the same time require the local residents to adopt more positive and participatory attitudes toward the solution of urban problems.

Need for Research and Training

Urban planning will need several types of support at the national level. Research on roads, transportation, housing materials and designs, on problems of pollution and technology for their control cannot be organised at the level of local authorities. National governments may have to promote and support such research and also indicate the options and norms that could be adopted by local planning authorities for their purpose. Equally important is the need for training and research in integrated urban planning in all its aspects — physical, economic, social, political, legal and administrative. Urban planning has often been looked at exclusively from the physical point of view. This is, in a way, natural since it seems to be concerned with allocation of space, housing and transportation. But we now know that even if urban planning were only concerned with these areas, (which is not the case), decisions on them involve basic questions of resource allocation, social values, political processes and administrative skills.

In underdeveloped countries where local authorities are poor the national governments and financing institutions may also have to play an important role in providing loans and credits for making urban planning possible and effective. This is particularly necessary if the planning authorities are not to become completely dependent upon private investment and speculative market mechanisms for achieving their goals.

This paper has attempted to discuss four or five of the issues of urban planning on which a national policy is necessary if urban planning is to serve the interests of social development. There are several other issues on which decisions have to be made at the level of the individual town or city and some of these will be discussed in the next paper.

Urban Planning and Some Questions of Social Policy*

Scope of Urban Planning

Urban planning has to be viewed in a local as well as a regional and a national context. There are some policy issues on which decisions need to be made at the national or regional level and others which can be attended to by the local planning authority for a particular city. Questions relating to rural-urban migration, capital mobilisation for urban development the laying down of the major social goals sought to be achieved through urbanisation and the need for close articulation between industrial location policies and urban development policies at the national, regional and local levels are areas in which the initiative rests primarily with the national and state governments. The local planning authorities have to work within the constraints imposed by the definition or lack of definition of these policies at the higher levels.

This paper, which substantially incorporates an earlier paper under the same title[1] that I had written on the subject, will discuss some of the social policy issues that arise in urban development planning at the level of the planning authority of a large metropolitan city. Urban planning is concerned with such physical activities as land

* Theme of a staff-student seminar at the United College, Chinese University of Hong Kong on 21st February, 1973.

1 *Political and Economic Weekly*, Vol. VI, Nos. 30-32, July, 1971, p. 1619-1626.

development, road-laying, laying out parks, developing systems of water and power supply, drainage, trash and garbage disposal and disposal of excreta; it is also concerned with developing policies for allocating land for different uses, with developing systems of control on housing densities and land coverage; and, in the planning of new towns and cities, it has also to define some policies in relation to school and health facilities. All these activities and policies involve choices between various options and these choices are governed partly by technological considerations and partly by certain explicit or implicit value premises. The very act of planning involves acceptance of the legitimacy of state or societal action in the pursuit of certain State approved goals in preference to action by individuals in pursuit of their individual interests and goals. Depending upon the political structure these State-defined goals may receive more or less acceptance and support from the citizenry. The urban planner seeks to provide a physical and social environment in which individuals and groups develop their own style of ilfe depending upon their abilities, means and preferences. But the physical and social plan by its very nature emphasises certain options rather than certain others and tends to define the opportunity structure for its inhabitants.

Land Acquisition

Urban planning authorities face usually two different situations — one, wherein they are trying to solve or mitigate the problems of an existing metropolitan community which has already been ravaged by overcrowding, unplanned and unauthorised growth of housing and habitation in what were earlier fringe or suburban areas, and the over-stretching of its power and water resources. Here the options available to the planner are severely limited and he is often required to fall in line with the policy decisions that have already been made, and where a change of policy is required he may have to work patiently to bring about such a change

over a period of time. Even if a change is effected it can only be useful in future physical planning since it takes much more effort, time and money to modify existing physical lay-outs. But all programmes of urban renewal involve such changes in physical layouts and structures.

The other situation is where he is asked to plan a city in an entirely new location. His options are still open except in so far as he is subject to the same over-all national policies and the greater or less availability of total natural resources.

In both the situations the planner has to begin by finding or acquiring the land where the new urban community or extensions of the existing one will be located and in both cases the question of compensating the original occupants of that land arises. Land acquisition raises some important questions of policy. How should the occupants be compensated? Should they be compensated in money or by being provided with alternative sites? Should they be paid at the market price or at a price considered adequate by government? Should the purchase be effected gradually as and when the necessity arises and the funds for purchase become available or should the intent of purchase be notified at one point of time and the prices of land be frozen even though the actual purchase may still be done within a defined span of time? The answers to these questions will in each case tend to favour either the occupant-owners or the public authority. They cannot be given in isolation and must depend upon an over-all approach to such questions in defining national policies. A gradual purchase of land in the open market, at market prices will inevitably benefit the owner occupant in a period of ascending prices and raise the costs of development of land for the planning authority. This in its turn will affect the people who will later be housed in the new developments.

Often in old cities purchase of dilapidated structures for purposes of road-widening, social housing or urban renewal involves the displacement of poor tenants. These tenants do not share in the appreciated land value that has been paid to the owner and yet they will be required to pay higher rents when they are shifted to alternative locations.

The tenants are as a rule unwilling to vacate their dwellings and this poses a problem to urban planning and civic authorities. Programmes of urban renewal may be required to accept the claims of local populations to compensation, subsidy, and alternative accommodation at rents not very much higher than those justified by the better amenities provided.

One way of checking the inflationary spiral set up by speculation in land prices may be to make available the land acquired from agriculturists by the planning authorities of new towns to private builders only on lease holds and not as out-right purchases. If the lease-holder wishes to terminate his lease the first option for re-acquiring the land may be exercised by the planning authority. Even this will not completely check the rise in land prices so long as the planning authority is itself subject to the operation of market forces for raising its own capital resources for further development. This is likely to make it impossible for them to provide land for housing the poor on any basis of equity or consideration of their needs. Even cities planned by governmental authorities start with the premise that they can give no more than 180 to 200 sq. ft. of space per household of the low-income category.

The other alternative would be to treat land and housing as an essential commodity and make it available to the people on the basis of their needs. But this is a major question of policy which affects not one city, but all cities and affects not only land and housing but the operation of the national economy and policy as a whole.

Rehabilitative Services

It was mentioned earlier that when old properties are acquired by planning bodies in a city the problem of rehabilitating the original residents arises. This problem arises in a somewhat different form even in the case of purchase of new land from agriculturists in the rural areas. When an existing city expands its borders or a new city is

sought to be located in an erstwhile rural zone the problem of rehabilitating displaced owners and tillers of the soil has to be tackled. The problem is particularly severe in the case of the non-land-owning agricultural workers who receive no monetary compensation and who have none of the skills required for settling down as part of the urban work force. But in both the cases the problem is not of finding new home-sites, so much as finding alternative vocations for the rural workers who may have been engaged in agriculture or in cottage industry. It is necessary that the planning body should adopt an active programme of vocational training, occupational and business loans and compensatory payments in small portions of developed land to help the original village residents enter the urban economy with some assets instead of entering the labour force as unskilled workers.

Housing

Housing is the next major area of social policy as it affects urban planning. It has been indicated above that the problem of housing the poor in the urban areas cannot be tackled with any hope of success unless a basic change in our approach to housing takes place. But it should also be clear that even if government were to adopt a policy of rationing housing space on an equitable basis it is unlikely that with the total resources currently available to the developing countries they can provide satisfactory housing conditions for all their population.

This has led planning bodies to adopt two types of solutions. On the one hand the earlier emphasis on slum clearance as a major programme of housing improvement has been abandoned. In its place the more modest programme of slum improvement is being adopted. This involves primarily housing repairs, strengthening of structures, and the provision of certain civic amenities and the laying down of roads and drainage facilities where these do not exist. At the same time, in the new cities that are being

planned an effort can be made to develop well-serviced, open housing sites which can be allotted to those who cannot afford regular housing. The allottees will then be allowed to build according to their needs and abilities and add and improve their dwellings as their monetary conditions improve. As already stated, the sites so marked out are small and the housing built on these sites can hardly provide privacy to the individual dweller. On the other hand, the community facilities provided for such neighbourhoods can be considerably better. They can include not only water, lighting, roads and sanitation but also services such as a school, a community centre, etc.

Since about a sixth of the population of Indian cities can look forward to housing of no better standard than the one indicated above and since a majority of even the rest will probably live only in one room accommodation for most of their lives a question arises whether the city-ward movement of people should be encouraged at all. The fact, however, is that even if no steps are taken to encourage city-ward migration it will continue to take place until better employment opportunities are available in the villages or at mid-way locations between the village and the city. While these opportunities develop, cities will have to accept and learn to cope with these problems. The alternative solution of "fencing off" the cities and preventing the villagers from the migrating to cities is not available under law and would be difficult to administer.

There are one or two other questions of social policy in relation to housing the poor in urban areas. One of these relates to the location of poor housing. Should the sites for housing the poor be separated from the other groups or should they be inter-mixed with other sections of the population. Observation of the distribution of houses of poor persons in our cities suggests that they live intermingled with most other segments of the population. They need to live where they can find work to do. They work as load-bearers, as cobblers, as daily wage workers, as small shopkeepers selling bidis, cigarettes and pan, as vegetable sellers, as vendors of sweets and other inexpensive eatables

for children, as shoe-shines and, occasionally, they earn their living by begging. They cannot spend on transportation and prefer to live near their work. Their work is spread throughout the city — at railway stations, vegetable markets, bus depots, new housing sites and even in high-income, exclusive residential areas where the domestic servants of the well-to-do are their clients. The presence of shanty towns in the midst of middle class and well-to-do localities hurts the aesthetic sensibilities of some. But the city depends upon them — upon their cheap labour. The road-makers and the building contractors would not be able to function if the readily available supply of unskilled, low paid labour were not available to them.

The use of the word urban poor as a distinct category is deceptive. The urban poor consist of several categories if one is to judge their poverty by their housing conditions. There are those who live in ill-maintained ill-served, over-crowded permanent structures built by public authorities; there are others who live in hutments and shanty-towns and finally there are those who live on foot-paths, under porches and awnings. Together they constitute well over half of the city populations in developing countries. So the question where their house sites should be located is somewhat odd and displays a curious sense of proprietary rights over the city on the part of the white-collared minority.

Community patterns

In the allocation of sites a planning authority has to ensure that all sections of the population have easy access to open sites, to beaches and promenades. It is also important that land-uses should be so planned that work journeys do not take inordinate time or prove expensive for the majority. A city may be so planned that it can be divided into segments or relatively self-sufficient townships or communities and neighbourhood clusters. Schooling, primary health facilities, shopping facilities, playgrounds and recreation facilities should be available within easy walking distance. These

might provide for the development of neighbourly contacts and a sense of community to people using common facilities. If the communities are planned in units of, say, 50,000 and with smaller neighbourhood units of 7000-8000 it may be possible to accommodate within them even multilingual communities and still meet their diverse needs. For example, of the six or seven primary schools that such a community can support, one school or the other can provide instruction in the language desired by a particular segment of the population. The small neighbourhoods can be unilingual clusters, but the community will be multi-lingual. The city planner will not, of course, do anything to deliberately influence community composition, but in a metropolitan complex in India the existence of multi-lingual groups has to be taken into account.

While the communities should be relatively self-sufficient in meeting their health, education and shopping needs, they should not be isolated from other similar communities. The advantage of large urban aggregates is that they provide for a variety of choices in friends, occupational interests, educational facilities, types of entertainment and even choice in individualised forms of religious affiliation. Development of completely isolated communities would defeat this purpose.

Cheap and efficient communication and transport linking these communities is an essential condition for the emergence of the urban form. A rapid transit facility will enable a person living in one part of the city to go to another to visit a friend, see a movie, enjoy a picnic, study in a public library, attend a concert or a circus, and still return to the security and comfort of the home the same evening. High densities, diversity of opportunities, a variety of choices in interpersonal relationships, the rapid pace of life, the feeling that you are close to events are unique aspects of metropolitan life. They depend upon the telephone, the mass-media, the rapid transit system and other means of communication of persons and ideas.

Efforts must be made to ensure that the common man has a share in the experience of city life as much as do the elite. In its absence, the common man — particularly the poor

and illiterate one — will remain alienated from the city. If he cannot reach these advantages and facilities of the city, the city must reach out to him through specially organised programmes and through conscious efforts of planners in developing appropriate land-allocation and land-use policies.

The separation of the upper income from the middle income families takes two opposite forms as the city grows. In Bombay the upper income houeholds have adopted the high-rise, multi-storied structure in exclusive areas in the south of the city as their answer to shortage of land. The permitted floor-space index (F.S.I.) in the most recently developed reclaimed land at Nariman Point is as high as 3.5. Luxury apartments are built in 16 to 25 storied buildings on land where the annual lease value alone works out to as much as Rs. 800/- per sq. meter. The middle and the lower middle class population is pushed out of the centre of the city further and further north into newly established and developed suburbs increasing their distance to work and depriving them of most cultural activities which are located in the central and sourthern portions of the city.

In New Delhi the pattern adopted is one of a relatively low density development wherein upper income families live in ground-and-first floor bungalows located in spacious plots in the ever-extending new colonies to the south of the city. The over-all pattern in diffuse. The middle income families also live in relatively low density colonies further away from the centre of the planned city which is occupied largely by government officers of the middle and higher levels of administration. The diffuse, low-density pattern of development without a good mass transit system has made inter-colony communication almost impossible except in the case of the car-owning upper income groups. Delhi and New Delhi with a total urban population of approximately 3,647,000 occupies about 490 sq. km. of land as compared with Bombay with its 5,970,000 people accommodated in 180 sq. km.

Segregation of housing areas in terms of income groups is also often accompanied by a differential standard of civic service maintenance in different areas. This involves a

question of social policy. These sections of the city where the affluent live are cleaner, have wider roads and may have better water and power facilities. The lower and middle-income areas are inadequately served and receive less prompt attention. The usually high density, poor class housing is the worst served in most cities because the inhabitants of those areas are unable to pay for municipal services. A social policy which aims at distributive justice must ensure that basic civic amenities are related to needs and not only to the capacity to pay on the part of different segments of the population.

Education

In an urban industrial society, education is the major channel for upward mobility. In view of our emphasis on the value of equality we need to take all possible measures that would enable younger members in our society to take advantage of the facilities for education that the city is able to offer. This is true for rural areas as well. But the problems of the urban areas impose certain special obligations and we may need to revise the minimum standards that we have set for ourselves in the propagation and spread of education in the country. Under the Constitution, the Government is committed to providing, as soon as possible, the facilities for compulsory, free, universal primary education. Primary education may be sufficient for the vast majority of the population in the rural areas and may meet their needs. In the urban areas, however, the completion of primary education does not equip a person to obtain a job which would assure him of a reasonable living and mobility in the occupational structure. We need to upgrade the minimal requirement from completion of primary education upto the age of 11 to compulsory free education upto the age of 14 or even the age of 16 in the urban areas.

Further, even the type of education provided for the age group between 14 and 18 years in the urban areas may have to be different. We may need to ensure that the young

persons who do not plan to enter white collared occupations have access to facilities of training in specific occupational and vocational skills suitable for urban areas. Vocational education or technically oriented education at the high school level is expensive and calls for major financial outlays. It is unlikely that the private education societies, which today take the major responsibility for secondary education in urban areas, would be in a position to provide on their own, the needed facilities for technical education. The civic and state authorities would, therefore, have to undertake this responsibility either on their own or through an appropriate programme of financial assistance given to existing educational institutions.

Education for the Employed

Equally important in the area of education is the need to adopt a policy for providing continuing education to those who are already in jobs. Persons from lower income background are often under economic compulsion to discontinue schooling at an early stage and to take up jobs so that they can support themselves and their families. Some of those who are thus compelled to discontinue formal education at an early stage can benefit a great deal by opportunities to continue their education on a part-time basis, especially if they get the kind of education that is related to their work roles. Such continuing education would be useful in the rural as well as urban areas, but it is particularly essential in the urban areas because of the high rate of obsolescence in job skills in modern industry. Increasingly as technological changes come faster and faster we will find the need to provide an intensive programme of occupational retraining and of expanding the cognitive universe of a large body of our working population. The information that they have gained in their schools whether of a technical nature of a general character, will be found to be inadequate and would need refreshing if their efficiency as citizens and as workers is to be maintained.

One of the major problems in devising an adequate educational policy relates to the goal of ensuring equality of opportunity. The provision of free education facilities at the school or even at the secondary and at the college levels is itself inadequate to equalise the opportunity between the children of the well-to-do and the children of the poor. Children from poor families are disadvantaged in many ways and are unable to derive benefit to any satisfactory degree from the facilities for education even when education is free. A major problem is the absence within the household of adult individuals who are educated and can serve as a model and a means of reinforcing the child's motivation to achieve in the area of education. Another problem is a lack of adequate room in their houses which they could use for study.

Civic authorities can do a great deal to overcome at least a few of the latter more obvious problems. It may be necessary to provide either in the school or in the residential areas separate study places where children can find books and guidance in their school work. In some of the village secondary schools on the periphery of the city, the head masters have found it useful to encourage children in senior classes to return to school after their evening meals and spend the night in the school. This enables them to use the evening hours for study and also to gain guidance from teachers who take it upon themselves by turn to assist students in need of such assistance. In the urban areas such facilities would be specially valuable. Many of the children of lower income groups come from homes where as many as 6 to 8 persons, and sometimes even more, live and sleep in a single room. The opportunity to stay in the school and to use the school library would be a great help to them in their efforts to complete their education.

Secondary vs. College Education

The provision of text books and an extension of the period of compulsory education from the primary to the middle or

even to the secondary school would require the allocation of larger funds in the urban areas. Educational anthorities find it difficult to obtain these additional funds from governments in view of the fact that the constitutional obligation is limited at present to the primary education stage and even this minimal obligation has not been entirely fulfilled in most parts of the country. Against this background the special problems of education of the urban poor may not appear very urgent. This may even raise a question of priority in educational planning. It is worth considering whether investments in strengthening secondary education will not bring better returns in comparison with the investment made on extending college education facilities for larger and larger numbers of students who do not seem to have a real interest in college education. One may find that in many cases those who complete their college education are not able to fully utilise the benefits of such an education. There may be a case for limiting the facilities for college and higher education only to those who are in a position to fully benefit by these opportunities. Increased expenditure on providing adequate facilities at the primary and secondary stages of education would justify itself in the greater skill and knowledge that workers would bring to their jobs. The policy of providing heavy subsidies to education at the college and university levels implies indirectly providing subsidies to higher income groups who are in a position to take care of their own needs more than members of the working class.

This does not mean that no public funds should be provided for university education. but it does imply that since such education cannot be undertaken except through large scale State support, the Government would be justified in ensuring that facilities for higher education are limited to those who are capble of fully benefitting by them and that these facilities are related to the nature and quantum of higher level employment likely to be created by the economy. If education at the secondary school level can be strengthened it may be found that many of the employment positions that are at present occupied by

college and university educated persons could be suitably filled by high school graduates.

Health

One of the first responsibilities of any civic authority in the area of health is the provision of pure water supply in adequate quantities for its population. In India most of the municipalities are not able to guarantee a 24 hour supply of water and very few of them provide filtered water. This imposes great hard-ships on all sections of the people, but again the worst affected are the poor. They are required to fetch their water from common taps and since the hours of supply are limited there are invariably quarrels about who will collect his water first. In any case they cannot get the necessary quantity of water supply required for washing, bathing and drinking purposes. For those sections of the poor who live in unauthorised hutments the problems are even greater. They may have no municipal water tap at all in the vicinity of where they live or even if a water connection has been provided, as often happens after an agitation and prior to a municipal election, the number of taps provided is even less adequate than in the case of the chawl or slum dwelling section of the poor.

The shortage of water inevitably implies the development insanitary conditions. The toilets provided in the working class slums are of the flush type — the same as in other areas of the city — and they require several gallons of water for each cleaning operation. Since water is in short supply it results in clogged toilets which stink and spread insanitary conditions. There is a need for developing a type of toilet which does not require large quantities of water for use in urban areas.

Apart from supply of pure and protected water supply in adequate quantities the two major problems faced by urban authorities in the area of health are the problems of sanitation and the prevention of air and water pollution. As a city grows in size and as the level of living of the

common man rises, it is found that the sheer work of collecting trash and garbage and other wastes from the homes and disposing of them in a satisfactory fashion presents a major challenge to urban administration. The problems of sewage collection and treatment and of garbage collection and disposal call for a great deal of ingenuity and large financial outlays.

The danger of air and water pollution in a rapidly industrialising society have only recently been appreciated. The liquid effluents and gaseous discharges of industry are major hazards to public health. Urban authorities are now required to take cognisance of them and to lay down procedures for their control to avoid a serious hazard to public health. Technology which has created these problems also offers solutions. It is now possible to treat most of the fluids in such a way that they are rendered harmless. However, there are certain industrial processes whose problems of pollution have not yet been successfully solved. In the planning of cities it is, therefore, important to devise a policy about the location of such industries. The policy may lay down that the specified industries shall not be allowed to be located near major urban centres or even at points further away, where the liquid effluents are likely to pollute sources of water supply. It is equally important that public health authorities in major industrial centres set up a machinery to ensure that industry conforms to such regulations.

It is found that it is usually the poorer income areas which are marked by insanitary environmental conditions rather than upper and middle class areas. The upper and middle class sections of the population can move away from highly polluted or otherwise insanitary areas and can travel down to their work. Their families and children are relatively protected from the ill-effects of pollution. The poorer sections of the population, who live near the work places, are exposed to the ill-effects of unregulated discharges and the inefficiency of sanitary services.

Medical care is another area of civic responsibility. Here there is a great need for developing community based

preventive and promotive services — particularly for the children of the poor. They are usually brought to municipal dispensaries and hospitals for diseases which could easily have been prevented. An effective maternity and child health service and a coordinated school health service — at least in municipal schools where children of lower classes go — is essential for the prevention of disease as also for the promotion of positive health goals. If the school health service can also include a programme of supplementary nutrition by way of snacks or school meals it can help prevent the effects of under nutrittion and malnutrition in early years of life.

Welfare Services

Welfare services are devised specially to meet the needs of the more vulnerable sections of a community. By far the most obvious vulnerable group in the lower income group in every community. Poverty, in a country like India, is not the special characteristic of cities. It is common to rural as well as to urban areas. But the poverty of the cities takes on a special form and poses serious problems.

The urban poor live in the midst of affluence and the differences between the rich and the poor become glaringly visible in urban areas. The existence of shanty towns, hutment dwellings and dilapidated structures becomes a sharp contrast to the fashionable areas which are well served and where the affluent people of the city live. There is also the fact that the urban poor are much more conscious and articulate about the disadvantages they suffer from than are the rural poor. The working class movement and the role played by ideology and communication media make the urban poor conscious and resentful of their deprivations. While the urban individual, freed from extended kinship ties, enjoys a certain measure of autonomy and anonymity, he also experiences a greater sense of insecurity and a need to depend upon new group affiliations. The urban poor develop a culture of their own and

may more consciously seek to organise themselves as an interest group which can bring pressure upon the civic authorities. The points of contact between the white-collar middle or the upper income groups and the lowest income groups in a city are limited to contacts at work place. The social ties which link the poor and the well-to-do in the rural areas are absent in the cities. Because of the structural isolation of the poor from the well-to-do, the two view each other in terms of stereotypes and not in terms of their individual experiences of each other.

The city authorities who look upon the problem of housing merely in terms of certain set standards of minimal housing facilities forget that despite their insistence on minimum standards about one-sixth of the population of the city lives under conditions where they are not provided with water, electricity, lighting, roads or sanitary facilities. The conditions of life under which these people are forced to live constitutes a danger to them as well as to the larger society from which they get alienated. The urban planner will have to devise a more intelligent social policy not only with reference to housing to which reference has already been made but also in relation to the problems of physical insecurity, juvenile delinquency, unguided childhood and the influence exercised by the anti-social elements in the community.

Community Based Services

Action to meet the needs of the poor usually takes two major forms in Western countries — one of these is to provide economic assistance to raise or maintain their income levels at a certain accepted minimum and the other is to provide a set of direct services. In India except for some initial steps toward the establishment of an insurance system for industrial workers we have really no programmes which can be considered to be programmes of income maintenance for the low income groups or the unemployed. Our approach has to meet some of the needs of the poor through provision

of free services. The provision of free medical care through charitable dispensaries and hospitals and the provision of free education facilities at the primary and, now, the secondary levels are instances in point.

In the area of social welfare there is no such commitment on the part of the government that mostt services are offered on an *ad hoc* basis. As it happens these services exist, where they do, primarily in the urban areas. But there is a need for government and for urban authorities to accept the provision of these services as part of a general policy.

Welfare services are organised in three ways. First, community based services organised for the members of a residential community within the precincts of the community. These are largely services which have a preventive and promotional significance. Second, services offered by agencies which are available to persons irrespective of their residential location. And, three, services organised in the form of residential institutions.

The community based services face one problem. Should the community be identified purely in terms of residential location or should we take cognisance of different language and religious identities. It was noticed earlier that inevitably income-groups do get separated by types of housing structures. This does not necessarily happen with reference to language and religious variations. In a formal sense, the answer is clear. A public financed service will have to be available commonly and equally to all groups. In practice we may find that for a variety of reasons the services tend to get utilised more by one ethnic group rather than another. Also, at an informal level the individual ethnic groups tend to develop their own systems of community linkages and services. What should be the relationship between the formal organisation based on universalistic principles and the smaller particularistic organisations? Should, and can, the latter be ignored? Should they be utilised? What are the implications of legitimising their status in the process of utilising them?

Coordinated Services

It is of great importance that the services offered by a civic authority in the areas of health, education and welfare are coordinated with each other. For the school going population, the school is a convenient delivery point for child health services as well as recreational services. The school health service should keep contact with community dispensaries and hospitals so that children with specific complaints are referred to and receive prompt treatment. In the case of children found to be suffering from communicable diseases, the dispensary must contact the other members of the family and ensure that they are given a check up for the particular disease. Similarly the school should be in touch with out-of-school programmes of recreation for children. Coordination between the various services offered in the community will ensure that the population is adequately covered. This is particularly essential in the case of the illiterate sections of the urban population, but it is useful even otherwise. A programme of coordinated, community based services may help ensure adequate coverage and fuller utilisation of the services.

Community Participation

In organising community based services considerable importance has to be attached to the principle of autonomy and self-reliance. The present civic structure under which the participation of the local community is limited to the process of voting during a municipal election is not suited to the management of local community problems. A modified structure which gives the opportunity to the local community for association with the operation of some of the services would help in making administration more responsible to popular opinion and would bring the decision-making process closer to the people. In devising this modified structure care will have to be taken to ensure that the over-riding authority of the elected body at the city level

is not impaired. But within this limit the local community should have a say in the manner of operation of particular services at the local level.

This modified structure may also be useful in developing additional social and welfare services which are not a part of the normal responsibilities of a municipality or corporation. Such additional services can be developed with some measure of local financial support — even if the support may be nominal in the very poor localities. Creches and pre-school activities for children, adult education, school support programmes of organized study, reading rooms and libraries are some examples of the kinds of services that can be developed at the local level with local support.

The creation of committees at the local level can give rise to some political pressures on local issues. This is not undesirable in itself, but the local committees should not be visualized as constituent units of the municipal structure. They should remain as consultative bodies so far as the normal municipal functions are concerned, but they should have organizational and supervisory responsibility for the extra-municipal services organised with local support.

Another aspect of welfare services which poses a problem of planning and policy is the fact that since many of these services — for example, services for the physically or mentally handicapped individuals — are not available outside metropolitan areas, the urban welfare services have to provide not only to serve the local population but also the population in the mofussil and rural areas. This is a strain on locally available resources. Since it would be undesirable and also impractical to restrict these services only to local residents, State and Central governments must aid these institutions and equip them to meet the additional and sometimes specialised demands of a varied client popultion. The variation is not only in terms of the type of problem to be handled but also in the social background of the client population. Residential institutions for children, for example, would need to provide instruction in more than one language, since children in institutions come from different States. Hospitals which get rural patients must

provide facilities for temporary residence for the relatives who accompany the patients to the city.

This paper has not attempted to list or describe all the services needed by the urban populations. Its object was to consider some of the questions of social policy that face the urban planner in the provision of physical facilities and social services for the residents of the city. In this effort I have reviewed some of the problems of policy relating to land acquisition, housing, neighbourhood planning, and the development of social and welfare services.

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