

AN APPROACH TO SOCIAL ACCOUNTING FOR WELFARE

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Introduction - Statistics and Planning

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the collection and presentation of national data in the form of a Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) helps to provide a clearer insight into the relationships between production and "social" factors - such as income distribution, employment, and regional imbalances, and so provide the basis for national planning for a wider range of objectives than simply GNP; a basis, that is, for 'welfare planning'. The paper limits itself to these questions of data presentation and evaluation as tools of planning, and does not consider the logistics of plan formation, or plan implementation or the actual determination of plan objectives.

The collection of economic data and the development of economic theories and models go hand in hand. Thus with the development of Keynesian theories of national income and employment determination, and of economic growth, came the compilation of statistics of national income, consumption, savings, investment, employment etc. on a yearly basis, from which were derived parameters such as consumption and savings propensities, capital-output ratios and labour demand functions which provided the basis for national demand management, and economic growth strategies.

The later development of industrial input-output statistics followed the realisation that national production aggregates could hide crucial bottlenecks at the level of the individual sector. National planning was thus disaggregated to the level of individual industries, predicting future demands on sectoral outputs and locating key capacity constraints.

Having disaggregated the structure of production, the most recent step has been to integrate into the data scheme the objectives of production. With the realisation of the shortcomings of GNP as an index of national welfare attention has focussed on how specific target groups are affected by production and growth - the poor, the unemployed, the uneducated, those in depressed regions. The counterpart to reorientating the aims of national planning towards the separate components of social welfare (which were formerly subsumed within GNP targets) is the development of social accounts which specifically incorporate income distribution and employment generating linkages within the national accounts framework. Two recent investigations (1) into the aims and methods of disaggregated analysis and planning to achieve multiple social goals have both stressed the need for a more adequate statistical base which will allow the application of the new ideas that are being generated. The Standard system of National Accounts (SNA) of the United Nations Statistical Office, as originally developed in the 1950's contained the degree of flexibility capable of incorporating income distribution - expenditure linkages, but in practice this potential has not been exploited. Not until recently has the UN Statistical Office issued detailed guidelines on the integration of distribution and consumption statistics into the SNA (2). A considerable research effort is now being undertaken (along these lines) by organisations such as the ILO and World Bank with studies of the Phillipines and Malaysia (3).

(1) H.B.Chenery et al: (1974).
C.R.Blitzer et al: (1975).

(2) e.g. see U.N. Statistical Office, July 1974.

(3) See for example: Paukert, Skolka and Maton (1974) and Rodgers, Hopkins and Wery (1976).

Without an integrated, consistent statistical base, studies of income distribution in the past have tended to look at various aspects in isolation, such as the effect of autonomous income redistribution on the pattern of consumption; and autonomous shifts in industrial structure on incomes. With a full data base, and relevant theoretical insights, the mutual interdependence of production - employment - income distribution and consumption should be more adequately analysed and its consequences taken account of.

A Social Accounting Matrix for Sri Lanka

The illustrations contained in this paper rely on an integrated S.A.M. for Sri Lanka for 1970, the compilation of which is described in detail in Pyatt and Roe (1977). Since this exercise relied entirely on data which were already available, many assumptions had to be made to force these data into a consistent framework: assumptions about relative data accuracy, differences in classifications, treatment of sample data and so on. It can be argued that the net outcome is a set of data which, because it is internally consistent, is, in some sense, more accurate than the original, unadjusted, inconsistent data. For one important area - however - the distribution of factor incomes to households on a satisfactorily disaggregated basis - sufficient direct information was not available. This aspect has been developed by the current authors subsequently, and is perhaps the 'weakest link in the chain'. Of course, were the SAM format widely accepted, and data compiled specifically to meet its requirements, then many of the problems encountered would not exist.

Table 1 presents the system of the accounts in its most aggregative form. The economy is divided into eight sectors : production activities; factors of production; households; firms; government; combined capital account; dealings with the rest of the world; and employment. The matrix format reveals the transfer of resources between the seven income/expenditure accounts, and also the creation of employment. By specifically mapping all inter-sector transfers we are able to follow the circular flow of income through the economy; from production activities, to factors of production, to households, which in turn purchase the output of production activities. By consistently mapping all receipts and expenditures for each sector it is ensured that row totals (receipts) equal column sums (expenditures) and this condition provides a useful check on raw data.

To illustrate by reference to one sector, Table 1 (see row 5) shows that total government revenue was 2346 Rm, made up of 856 Rm of taxes on production, 567 Rm of taxes on household income and expenditure, 376 Rm of taxes on firms and receipts from public sector corporations, 104 Rm of indirect taxes on government expenditure, 313 Rm of taxes on investment expenditure and 130 Rm of taxes on exports. Of the total 2346 Rm received, 302 Rm was spent on domestic goods, 1275 Rm was spent on factors of production (labour), 248 Rm was transferred to households, 294 Rm was transferred to firms, 104 Rm was paid out as indirect taxes on government expenditure, 42 Rm was saved, and 79 Rm was spent on imports and overseas transfers (see column 5).

With this framework, and the necessary input of data, the scope of the SAM can be widened to include the movement of people through various

TABLE 1 - SRI LANKA - FULLY AGGREGATED SOCIAL ACCOUNTS MATRIX (b) - 1970

Expenditures (a) Receipts	(1) Production Activities	(2) Factors of Production	(3) Institutions		(4) Current Account		(6) Combined Capital Account	(7) Rest of World	Total
			Households	Firms	Firms	Government			
(1) Production Activities	4358		7603			302	1962	2113	16336
(2) Factors of Production	10098		100			1275		-113	11360
(3) Institutions Current Account		9788				248		18	10698
(4) Households		1573		644		294			1869
(5) Firms			567	376		104	313	130	2346
(5) Government	856								
(6) Combined Capital Account			1337	833		42		425	2640
(7) Rest of World	1024		1091	16		79	364		2573
TOTALS	16336	11360	10698	1869*		2346	2640	2573	
(8) Employment	3109500		65000			26520			3439700

(a) values in millions of Rupees

(b) contains some small rounding errors.

states of education, employment, retirement, and monitoring contact with welfare services, and ownership of assets, and the SAM can focus on particular issues by greatly disaggregating particular sectors. Thus factors of production can be split up into forms of labour, capital and rent, and labour can be disaggregated by skill, by educational status, by class. Households can be distinguished by size, by chief occupation, by source of income, by size of income and by regional location. Production activities can be broken down into separate industries, by method of production and on a formal/informal basis.

With the data that was available for Sri Lanka it was possible to disaggregate Table 1 into a SAM with 48 production activities (agricultural, industrial and service sectors) 6 factors of production (currently being extended to over 27), 21 household groups (distinguished by income size and location).

For ease of presentation a semi-disaggregated version of the SAM is presented in Table 2, containing 12 activities, six households (private and public owned corporations ("other institutions"), government, capital account, rest of the world, and 3 categories of employment. The receipts and payments of factors of production have been directly routed from source to ultimate destination, and also profits earned by private firms and transferred to households have been directly incorporated into household accounts (4).

(4) This "throughrouting" eases presentation, but for modelling and analysis it is preferable to keep distinct each aspect of the circular flow of income in order to keep 'open' as many analytical options as possible. (Note also that the Value Added row of Table 2 excludes all transfer elements in income, and is not the sum of institutions).

Thus the SAM reveals the sources of incomes received by different categories of households, and the sources of employment, and then traces incomes through to expenditure, with production, distribution, and consumption all treated on a consistent basis. The arbitrary distinction between 'low' and 'high' income households is based (approximately) on household income being less or more than 6800 R per annum (5). The distribution and average income of households is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3 - HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION

Households	Low Income		High Income	
	Number	Average Income ⁽¹⁾	Number	Average Income ⁽¹⁾
Urban	212230	4179	136800	15402
Rural	1255900	3339	255580	10607
Estate	237975	2895	13680	7310
(1) Rupees p.a.				

To illustrate the SAM we can again follow through the receipts and expenditures of one sector. Thus coconut cultivation (in col.3) has a gross output of 577 Rm. It requires 24 Rm of intermediate inputs from other domestic sectors, and imports of 10 Rm. It employs 51700 workers, and after paying 4 Rm in production taxes, has 529 Rm of value added to distribution to employees, and retains profits, which ultimately is distributed to households and other institutions. The 577 Rm of output is sold (in row 3) to the agricultural processing sector (247 Rm) and

(5) Work is being undertaken on a more useful finer degree of income disaggregation.

service sector (6 Rm), 289 Rm is consumed by households, 4 Rm by the government sector, leaving 29 Rm for additions to stocks and investment, and 2 Rm for export. The SAM shows clearly that, with the exception of the estate sector, the Sri Lankan economy is highly interdependent. 'Rich' and 'Poor' households earn their incomes from a wide range of activities and they spend their income chiefly on domestic products; industries get the bulk of their intermediate inputs from other domestic sectors, rather than imports (about 80% overall in 1970, and this proportion has risen substantially since then).

The role of the government is brought out strongly as a major source of "high" income employment, (providing over 20% of high rural and urban incomes, but only 16% of low urban incomes, and just 7% of low rural incomes) but at the same time a net subsidiser of low income households through indirect taxes (in the form of free and subsidised food rations).

Applications of the SAM

The disaggregated, but integrated data of the full SAM is the basis for a wide range of analytic and planning models of the economy, incorporating a multi-sectoral input/output, output/income, income/expenditure structure with multiple objectives - employment, income distribution and regional balance targets, as well as national income targets.

Of itself, the data is not a model, just as national income data is not of itself Keynesian macro-economics. With the collection of SAM

data over a number of years, it should be possible to develop models incorporating parameters for price responsiveness in production and consumption, supply of labour, capital-output ratios and the like, and so have the basis for non-linear, dynamic, modelling of economic policies and the constraints on policies.

With fixed point data for one year we are limited in the range of analysis that can be undertaken, but nevertheless it is possible to develop a simple, linear model of the economy, which can be used in the expectation that it will provide some useful insights into the directions of relationships and rough orders of magnitude, and so illustrate the scope of more complex models.

The standard, linear modelling approach is to partition the SAM into exogenous and endogenous variables. In our case, we assume output is dependent on demand, inputs and incomes from activities are dependent on output, and household expenditure is dependent on household income, while the spending of retained corporate income, of government, and the level of investment and demand for exports are exogenous. We further assume that all dependent relationships are linear, i.e. that production requires inputs and pays incomes in fixed proportions to gross output, and that household expenditure is in fixed proportion to household income. In such a model, given the fixed coefficient structure, production, income, consumption, taxes, savings and imports are all determined by the level of exogenous demands - basically government expenditure, investment and exports.

In matrix terms, define

- g - a vector of gross sectoral output levels
- y - a vector of total income levels
- A - a coefficients matrix of activity inputs per unit of output
- V - a coefficients matrix of incomes paid to each institution per unit of output
- C - a coefficients matrix of expenditure by different households on activity outputs per unit of income
- E - a coefficients matrix of expenditure by households on services of other households per unit of income (domestic servants)
- F_1 & F_2 vectors of exogenous demands for output, and payments of income (e.g. exports and government employment)

Then, since from our SAM of Table 2, we have the identities that:

Gross Output = inter-industry demand + household consumption + independent demand

Total Incomes = incomes from activities + incomes from households + independent sources of incomes

we can express these as :

$$g = Ag + Cy + F_1 \quad (1)$$

$$y = Vg + Ey + F_2 \quad (2)$$

which is the linear structure derived from the SAM. (1) and (2) can be combined to give :

$$\begin{bmatrix} g \\ y \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} A & C \\ V & E \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} g \\ y \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} F_1 \\ F_2 \end{bmatrix} \quad (3)$$

which in turn can be rearranged to give :

$$\begin{bmatrix} g \\ y \end{bmatrix} = \left[\begin{bmatrix} I & \\ & I \end{bmatrix} - \begin{pmatrix} A & C \\ V & E \end{pmatrix} \right]^{-1} \begin{bmatrix} F_1 \\ F_2 \end{bmatrix} \quad (4)$$

The interpretation of the equation (4) is that the levels of exogenous demands, (for tea exports for example) do not only lead to direct production and income (tea output and wages for tea workers) but also cause an indirect demand for intermediate inputs into production (chiefly the products of 'modern industry' in the case of tea) and further cause an induced demand for extra production, resulting from the expenditure out of the incomes that are being generated (estate workers spending the bulk of their income on food). Each round of demands generates in turn a new round of demands in a steady declining sequence. The matrix $\left[\begin{bmatrix} I & \\ & I \end{bmatrix} - \begin{pmatrix} A & C \\ V & E \end{pmatrix} \right]^{-1}$ is in fact an activity and income disaggregated multiplier, giving the comprehensive, or total, effect on the economy of one unit of exogenous demand or income. When multiplied by the current levels of exogenous demands and incomes $\begin{bmatrix} F_1 \\ F_2 \end{bmatrix}$ it gives the current gross levels of the endogenous variables in the economy. Looking at the current

level of each final demand in turn, we can see what part of the economy is being sustained by it. By further assuming that imports, taxes, savings and employment are linearly related to levels of gross outputs and incomes, effects on these variables can also be calculated. Taking the example of tea exports, with our fixed coefficients assumption we know from Table 2 that for every unit of tea output, .196 units of intermediate inputs are required from other domestic activities, thus the export of 839 Rm of tea, requires the input of 164 Rm of domestic intermediate inputs, and similarly we can calculate that 570 Rm of income is generated and 32 Rm of production taxes are paid. But the 164 Rm of inputs will in turn require inputs for their production, and at each stage a part of incomes earned will be spent on domestic products; when account is taken of these indirect and induced repercussions on dependent variables in the economy, the comprehensive income generated from the export of tea is 1723 Rm - over three times the size of the direct effect alone.

Looking at the process in reverse, a fall in tea exports of 1 million Rupees, does not simply lead to a loss of 680,000 Rupees of value added in the tea industry, but because the purchase of inputs is reduced, and estate household expenditure is cut, other incomes in the economy fall. In all 1,990,000 Rupees of income is lost.

Similarly, when the government pays to low income urban households a total of 142.8 Rm, the total effect is much larger and more widespread. Allowing for the repercussions from the spending out of this income, a total of R160.1m is generated for the low income urban group, and an

additional 177 Rm is generated for other households, the total household income generated being over 135% higher, than the direct government payment.

In Table 4 below we give the main exogenous demands, and the % of 1970 total value added, and the percentage of 'poor' and 'rich' urban household income, which is dependent on each of the exogenous elements. Thus 85% of a total 1970 value added of 11471 Rm is dependent on 4926 Rm of key exogenous demands. While on average, 54.3% of value added is sustained by construction and government payments to urban and rural households, these elements support 70.6% of 'poor' urban household incomes, and 62% of 'rich' urban household incomes. Of total 1970 value added, the investment in construction, and export of tea, together, supported over 40%.

Leakages and Target Groups

One use of our simple model is immediately obvious, - to assess the 'leakages' to other groups of government measures aimed at helping specific target groups. Government may for example redistribute income directly, or by encouraging activities which are known to provide income and employment opportunities primarily for a target group. In formulating such policies, a clear recognition of likely 'leakages' is obviously important.

In Table 5 we consider the leakage from direct income redistribution towards any of the six household groups we identified in Table 3. Taking the case of redistribution towards low income urban households, a transfer of one unit of income will generate an additional 1.367 units,

TABLE 4 Effect on Incomes of 1970 Levels of Exogenous Demands

Source	Level of Exogenous Demand in 1970 (Rm)	% of Total 1970 Value Added Sustained	% of Total 1970 'poor' urban household income sustained	% of total 1970 'rich' urban household income sustained
Exports: Tea	839	15.0	10.1	9.9
Other Services	256	3.3	4.0	3.8
Rubber	341	6.7	4.2	4.2
Wholesale Trade	172	2.7	2.5	3.6
Other Agric.	106	1.9	1.4	1.4
Deas .Coconut & Copra	83	1.5	1.2	1.2
Investment: Construction	1595	25.8	36.3	23.3
Government: low urban	142.8	2.7	18.1	1.6
(Wages & high urban Transfers)	491.2	8.6	5.6	27.6
low rural	299.7	6.0	3.9	3.5
high rural	600.3	11.2	6.7	6.0
TOTAL	4926.0	85.4	94.0	86.1

of which .127 is returned to the target group, but 1.24 will go to other household groups, .593 to 'high' income groups. Overall, the ratio of leakage to other households, to effect on the target group is 1.1 to 1.

Of course, the size of the leakage target ratio depends a good deal on the relative size of the target group. However, even in the case of a transfer to the largest income group we have identified - low income rural households with 40% of total household income in 1970 - the leakage to other households is nearly half the total income retained by the target group.

In Table 6 we examine the policy of expanding activities which favour a target group, in this case assumed to be low income, rural households. The six activities presented represent those which directly pay the largest share of gross output to the target group; from 76% in the case of the "logging and firewood" activity down to 42% in the case of coconut cultivation. Even in direct terms, there are, of course, payments to other households, but because we have selected activities which favour the target group these are relatively small - from 15% in the case of "coconut fibre and yarn" to 35% for "coconut cultivation" itself. When, however, we take into account the comprehensive effects of a unit expansion of these activities, firstly, they are no longer necessarily the 'best' sectors for generating income opportunities for the target group, and secondly, there is a much more substantial leakage into other household groups. The "logging and firewood" activity remains the 'best' sector in comprehensive income generation terms, from an

initial unit expansion of the activity, with 1.386 units of income received by low income, rural households. Nevertheless, .948 units of income is received by other households, and in particular .728 (.328 + .393 + .007) by 'high' income households - over half as much as the incomes received by the target group.

While not a new discovery, the SAM based model does demonstrate the broad impact that some specific government policies may have, and emphasises that concentrating government assistance on the poor and depressed regions does not ensure that all the benefits are felt by the poor or can be contained within the region. These diluting 'leakages' from the transfer of incomes and provision of employment opportunities may provide some part of a *raison d'être* for the more direct government actions to promote the welfare of target groups - such as increased access to government welfare services (education, training, health, public utilities), redistribution of assets (land) and development of appropriate technologies within activities.

Redistributive Impact

By considering the total impact of an initial unit increase on the exogenous demand for each of the 48 activities in turn, we can develop a full comparison of the effects on different income groups, on employment, or on other identified social objectives. In Table 7 we list the percentage comprehensive changes in incomes and employment that would

TABLE 5 - COMPREHENSIVE LEAKAGE FROM DIRECT INCOME REDISTRIBUTION

Comprehensive Effect		URBAN		RURAL		ESTATE		LEAKAGE/ TARGET RATIO
		Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	
Recipient of Direct Unit of Income								
U R B A N	LOW	1.27 ⁷ 1.27	.239	.614	.347	.033	.007	1.10
	HIGH	.101	1.188	.427	.255	.024	.005	0.68
R U R A L	LOW	.116	.246	1.665	.369	.035	.007	0.46
	HIGH	.099	.211	.517	1.295	.027	.006	0.66
E S T A T E	LOW	.117	.249	.673	.375	1.042	.007	1.36
	HIGH	.107	.230	.567	.3267	.040	1.007	1.26

TABLE 6 - LEAKAGE FROM SECTORS FAVOURING LOW INCOME RURAL HOUSEHOLDS

HOUSEHOLD EFFECT	DIRECT EFFECT						SECTOR RANK BY LOW RURAL	COMPREHENSIVE EFFECT						SECTOR RANK BY LOW RURAL
	URBAN		RURAL		ESTATE			URBAN		RURAL		ESTATE		
	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	
Logging etc.	.072	.088	.761	.042	-	-	1	.187	.328	1.386	.393	.033	.007	1
Paddy	.010	.024	.656	.292	-	-	2	.127	.227	1.342	.674	.034	.006	2
Coconut fibre etc.	.032	.022	.612	.002	.090	-	3	.149	.279	1.291	.370	.134	.008	3
Other Agric.	.019	.093	.450	.154	.012	.001	4	.113	.289	.983	.448	.039	.007	7
Livestock	.033	.094	.437	.116	.012	.032	5	.129	.300	.962	.409	.043	.038	9
Coconut	.031	.094	.419	.147	.071	.010	6	.110	.263	.907	.395	.298	.039	10

follow from the unit expansion of each sector output or income, to meet some independent demand, and we rank the 48 sectors by their size of effect on the different possible objectives. The results are not surprising, but do take into account the interdependence in the economy, of production, distribution and consumption. Thus it is the service sector and small scale domestic resource based industries which appear to have the greatest potential for generating income and employment opportunities for low income urban households (wood products; fishing; retail trade; manufacturing n.e.s.; other services) while some agricultural and again, domestic resource based, industry benefits rural low income households (logging and firewood; paddy; coconut fibre and yarn; rice milling; wood products).

Table 7 can also be used to assess the net redistributive impact of each activity. As we have given the impact on each income and employment group in terms of percentage changes over 1970 levels, it is the difference in the % income group increase as between household categories that describes a redistributive bias away from the 1970 income distribution. Thus tea, and rubber productions distributes income markedly in favour of estate households. Were there no redistributive impact, all identified household income groups would show an equal percentage income response to the initial unit expansion of output.

In Table 8 are listed those activities which significantly redistribute income opportunities towards low income households - urban, or rural, or both - from 'high' income households. By and large, the results confirm the expectation that redistribution towards the poor would arise from expanding agricultural and what might be termed 'traditional'

industry - leather products, wood products, coconut fibre and yarn, and so on - assuming, of course, that the structure of production, distribution and consumption remains stable in the pattern we have inferred from the 1970 SAM.

Table 7 also sheds some light on the potential conflicts between income and employment creation, in sectorial choice. The rankings of activities by comprehensive value added and comprehensive employment are similar but do contain significant variations. This suggests that encouraging activities which provide many job opportunities does not necessarily imply that total income expansion is maximised. Thus while "logging and firewood" is the "best" sector for generating income for 'poor' rural households, it ranks only 17th in terms of rural employment creation.

Further analysis conducted in this field has included the application of Tinbergen's "semi Input-Output" model (6) designed to isolate those sectors of the economy in which it would be optimal to specialise for the purpose of international trade. One feature of the model is that it gives the "comprehensive" effect of investing in any given activity in terms of the investment that will be stimulated in other sectors, as well as the indirect effects through the demand for inter-industry inputs, and the induced effects through income expansion. This allows us to assess each activity producing goods that can be exported in terms of the comprehensive investment that will be stimulated and comprehensive income that will be generated, giving an overall cost/benefit ratio.

(6) For an exposition see J. Tinbergen {1966}

TABLE 8 - ACTIVITIES WITH A SIGNIFICANT REDISTRIBUTIVE BIAS TOWARDS
URBAN AND RURAL LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS

URBAN LOW INCOMES	RURAL LOW INCOMES	URBAN & RURAL LOW INCOMES
Fish	Rubber	Paddy
Textiles	Coconut	Logging & Firewood
Leather & Pdcts.	Livestock	Rice Milling
Retail Trade	Other Agriculture	Wood Products
Dwellings	Mining & Quarrying	Coconut Fibre & Yarn
	Dairy Products	Manufactures n.e.s.
	Other Bakery Pdcts.	
	Dess.Coconut & Copra	
	Rubber Pdcts.	
	Oils & Fats	
	Structural Clay Pdcts.	

While the model has rather specialised terms of reference it does shed some light on the problems of investment to generate employment and income opportunities, and the potential trade-offs between these (and other) objectives.

In terms of 'standard' neo-classical economic theory, with two factors of production, labour and capital, in order to generate extra value-added with a given level of investment, under equilibrium conditions, an extra labour input is necessary. Were this proposition true throughout all sectors of the economy, then there could be no "trade-off" between levels of income and employment. Since in fact real economies at a given point in time are not in equilibrium, because factor markets are not perfect, because efficiency in the use of factors varies between sectors, because there are economies of scale, and the like, it is found that

trade-offs do occur.

Thus in our results we find that sectors which in comprehensive terms will utilise more labour for a given volume of investment, do not necessarily generate more income, and thus switching to a more labour intensive activity can imply a loss of income.

For Sri Lanka, 36 out of the total of 48 activities were considered to be producing exportable goods. The graph illustrates the effects of expanding any of the thirty-six 'tradeable' activities by mapping the levels of employment and value added (income) generated per unit of the investment that would, in comprehensive terms, be required. The graphs shows that were 'paddy' production to be expanded, .46 units of labour would be needed, per 1000 Rs of investment while 960 Rupees of income would be produced (7). In the case of "other agriculture" only .26 units of labour per 1000 Rs of investment are required, but they would produce 1300 Rupees of income. The wide scatter of points, each representing the comprehensive effects derived from the initial expansion of one activity for export shows extra employment and extra income do not always move together. The line drawn through the points represents the average relationship between income and employment, as estimated by O.L.S. but this revealed that only 43% of differences in the income created by investment in sectors could be explained by the use of extra labour.

(7) Note that we are taking account, not only of direct investment, employment and income in the sector initially expanded, but also of all the indirect linkages-effects with the rest of the economy, given the assumptions of the semi-input output method.

There are many possible explanations for the frequency of apparent income-employment trade-offs, and of course our analysis is limited to the allocation of investment between activities with fixed technologies. However the results do reinforce the need to examine very carefully problems of investment allocation and choice of technique when faced with practical planning decisions, and not to accept too readily theoretical generalisations.

Labour Market Disaggregation

Planning economic development strategies on the basis of income, employment and income distribution considerations in the abstract, without some analysis of disaggregated labour market considerations, can lead to serious shortcomings. It is well established that an overall 'labour surplus' may disguise shortages of certain skills, which can constrain economic expansion. A further important consideration is that the pattern of jobs being created under a 'basic needs' or employment orientated strategy, for example, may be totally unrelated to the demands and expectations of those seeking employment.

The precise disaggregation of employment data depends on the purposes to which the labour market analysis is orientated, and of course, on the reliability of the data. In the full SAM for Sri Lanka, seven major occupational divisions were identified, for each of the urban, rural and estate sectors. From these it is possible to form some limited idea of the labour market implications of alternative sectoral expansion policies, and therefore modifications to policies can be formulated in order to make the best use of those skills in short supply.

Particularly important in the case of Sri Lanka, as stressed by the I.L.O. Mission of 1971 {8} is the need to relate the expansion of job opportunities to the expectations of the unemployed (and vice versa). In fact, those sectors identified in Table 7 as generating the most 'employment' and 'incomes' for ~~poor~~ households, by and large, fail to meet these objectives, since they offer the sort of low wage, low status, manual jobs {9} which the unemployed do not actually want, and often will not accept.

Splitting employment in "white-collar" and "manual" categories, the I.L.O. Mission calculated from a 1968 Labour Force Survey, that 35% of the 220000 persons aged 15-24 who had never been employed, were not wishing to take manual employment. This high proportion is to be contrasted with the 1970 SAM data which reveals that only 10% of current employment was "white-collar" (Professional, Administrative and Clerical occupations). Turning to the sectors identified in Table 7 as generating most employment opportunities from a unit exogenous expansion of output, only:

3.6%	of jobs stimulated via paddy expansion are white-collar
3.6%	via tea
3.8%	via rice milling
16.6%	via coconut fibre and yarn
5.4%	via wood products
3.8%	via rubber

Thus our analysis confirms the I.L.O. Missions view that job expectations were totally out of line with potential job opportunities. This does not however imply that these expectations can be ignored in formulating an economic development strategy.

{8} See I.L.O. (1971)

{9} Note that by 'jobs' we mean work opportunities in general, which will include self-employment and casual employment.

The willingness of many families to endure the considerable expense of supporting young unemployed school leavers while they search for a "white-collar" job rather than forcing them to take up the casual manual job opportunities that often are available suggests that many people will forego certain income for the chance of a white-collar job. Similarly, moves to reduce the number of compulsory years of schooling, and to introduce more vocational training into school curricula in the early 1970's in order to equip school leavers with the skills and outlook more appropriate to likely job opportunities led to a large outcry from many parents, and a blossoming of private educational facilities. {10} In a plural democracy such as Sri Lanka, such strong preferences for high status jobs may be reflected in a national political imperative to follow an economic strategy which generates a limited number of "white-collar" opportunities, in the modern industrial and service sectors, even at the expense of a potentially much greater volume of income and employment opportunities, of low status, in the 'traditional' sectors of the economy.

Table 9 gives the sectors which generate the most "white-collar" jobs via an exogenous unit expansion of demand - and contrasts their importance on this score with their rankings by overall employment and income criteria.

{10} See D.D. de Saram (1973)

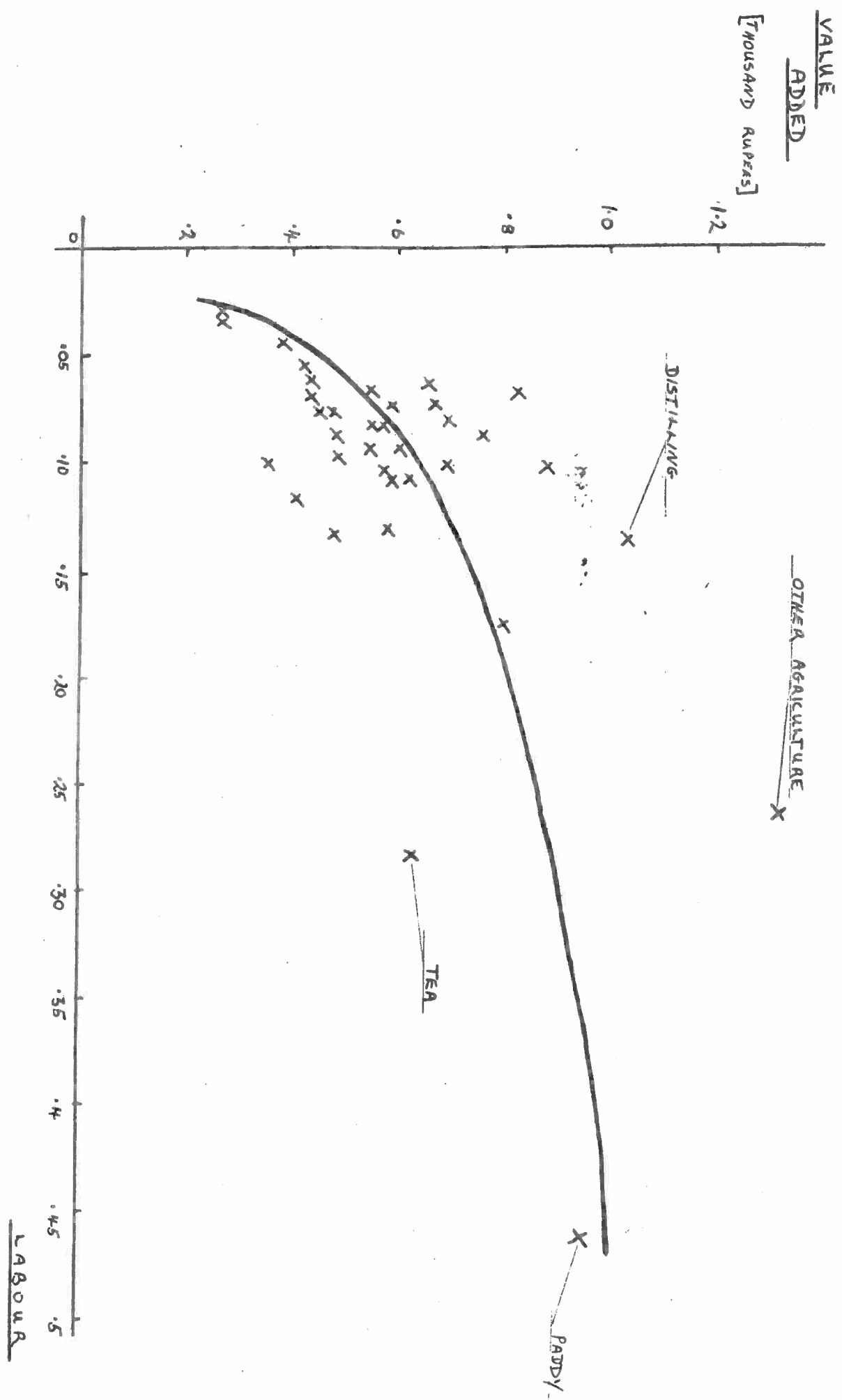
TABLE 9 - Activities Generating Substantial "White-Collar" Employment

Activity	Rank by White-Collar Employment	Rank by Total Employment	Rank by Total Value Added
Communications	1	15	13
Professional Services	2	22	20
Other Services	3	11	35
Rail Transport	4	18	21
Rubber Products	5	19	28
Retail Trade	6	8	9
Wood Products	7	5	1
Manufacturers n.e.s.	8	12	24

Conclusion

In so short a space, the account of the potential uses of even the simplest linear model, based on one year's SAM data, is inevitably limited. Analysis can be readily extended to take account of constraints on capacity (generating a requirement for investment), on available imports, on shortages of skilled labour and shortages of investment funds for example. Implications of tax and import substitution policies can also be assessed. Hopefully in this paper we have demonstrated some preliminary steps in this work, and shown the importance of specifically incorporating income distribution and expenditure linkages into economic analysis. This in turn implies the need for the orientation of data collection and compilation towards integrated social accounting which will allow the adequate assessment of, and operational national planning for, welfare orientated objectives such as income and employment opportunities for target groups.

"COMPREHENSIVE" LABOUR INPUT & VALUE ADDED PER UNIT OF CAPITAL



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