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PARTICIPATION OF EARLY SCHOOL DROPOUTS IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

S. RUPASINGHE

Background to the study

The educational system of Sri Lanka prior to the period of the State Council (1931-1947) suffered from several remarkable shortcomings that in turn affected the provision of educational opportunity to all. Educational opportunities were provided in only a few urban areas while the existence of two types of schools ; one in English which charged fees, and the other in the local or native languages which provided free education, further eroded the opportunity for education. This dual system of schools reinforced by urban-rural imbalances prevailed through out the nineteenth century and in the first four decades of the twentieth century.

The educational reforms that were undertaken during the period of the State Council and the post-independence era, after 1947, however, led to an expansion of educational opportunity. Some of the more salient of these reforms were the creation of Central Schools in 1940; the introduction of a system of free education in 1945 ; the introduction of native languages as the media of education from 1945 ; the commencement of a system of scholarships and the creation of more school plants and teacher training facilities* in the subsequent years. As a result of these changes the enrollment in schools gradually increased. The enrollment of those in the 5-14 age group* which was 57.6 percent in 1947 swelled to 71.6 in 1953 and increased further to 75.6 by 1968. Even though the enrollment rates reached a plateau stage in the seventies it still remained at 83.7 according to the census of 1981. In spite of this increase in enrollment early dropping out from school nevertheless remains a grave problem plaguing the educational system of Sri Lanka : table I gives some of the statistics of the prevailling situation. The absence of a compulsory age of education (5-14) that could be enforced by law is also largely responsible for this situation in spite of the fact that the Education Ordinance of 1939 made provisions for regulations to be enforced to ensure compulsory attendance.

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* For further details read : Rupasinghe, S. Progress of the School system of Sri Lanka during fifty years of Universal Adult Suffrage, University of Colombo Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Colombo, 1983).

* 5-14 age group : this was considered as the age of compulsory attendance by the Education Ordinance No. 31 of 1939.

The Problem :

A large number of students leave school without completing even the minimum 8/9 years of compulsory schooling. For instance in 1979, 72,928 pupils dropped out between grades 1-8. The corresponding figure for 1982 was 1,37,340. (Table 1). The average drop out rate per grade in 1982 was arround 5.3. Since dropping out from school is a recurrent problem, it is useful to examine the way these dropouts spend their lives after leaving school. It is important to see their capability as effective earning units either as individuals or as a member of the family. Moreover, we have to know how they earn their livelihood and how they do contribute towards the economy. Another question to which an answer is needed is the strength of their earning power. The present study has been designed by the writer to answer some of the above questions.

TABLE 1

Dropout rates in Government Schools: Grades 1 - 8 for selected years (Age group 5 - 14)

Grade	1973 %	1976 %	1979 *Number*	%	1982 *Number*	%
1	—	·8	5,259	1·3	7,582	2·1
2	5·3	2·3	4,270	1·2	7,753	2·2
3	5·3	5·5	11,130	3·4	18,725	5·2
4	6·4	7·4	12,413	4·3	22,576	6·3
5	7·3	10·2	12,112	4·9	20,961	7·0
6	9·3	7·5	10,346	5·4	19,526	7·5
7	4·7	6·3	8,409	6·5	16,033	7·2
8	8·4	13·9	9,027	4·9	13,914	7·4
1—8	—	—	72,928	—	1,37,340	5·3

Source : Ministry of Education. School Census.

The objectives of this study are to : ascertain the characteristics of the socio-economic background of the early school leavers ; determine the nature of their employment pattern ; assess their level of income ; and obtain information on their leisure time activities and social activities and then determine their needs.

It is proposed to realize the above objectives by using a sample of 500 early school leavers. The criteria used in selecting this sample are as follows.

1. they had to be below 24 years of age ;

2. they had to be individuals who attended school, but left school without completing grade 8 ;

3. they had to be persons who are employed in some way ; and

4. they also had to be persons who had an income ; regular, seasonal or one that cannot be declared specifically.

The sample represents the following geographical areas :

1. municipa l areas : Colombo and Negombo.

2. rural areas located in the wetzone including fishing villages : Colombo, Gampaha, Kandy, Matara, Galle, Ratnapura, Kurunegala, Kegalle and Kalutara districts.

3. colonies located in the dry zone : Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Hambantota districts, and

4. suburban areas : areas around Colombo Municipality.

The practical difficulties encountered in determining the population of early school leavers who are employed in economic activities in the above areas forced the researcher to select an accessible sample. Persons were selected on the availability of information about each person or in otherwords was dependent entirely on accessibility.

The sample inevitably had to be one drawn from those in the lower socio-economic levels as the problem of early school leaving is primarily one related to the lower socio-economic strata. The sample is also a homogenous one in so far as the spoken language is concerned.

For the purpose of data analysis the sample consisting of 513 is being classified into three sectors : urban, suburban and rural. The number belonging to each sector are 148, 153 and 212 respectively. Seventy eight percent of them were boys while the other 22 percent constitute girls. (Table 2).

TABLE 2

The Sample (percentages)

Sex		*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*
Boys	..	72%	78%	83%	78%
Girls	..	28%	22%	17%	22%
Total	..	212	153	148	513

The collection of data for this sample of 513 was carried out by field interviews. Persons were selected by contact agents and their homes were visited and person to person interviews were conducted at convenient places. The interview schedule consisted of structured as well as open ended questions. Interviews were carried out during a period of approximately nine months lasting from May 1984 to January 1985.

Characteristics of the sample of dropouts :

In examining the agewise composition of the sample it is seen that the vast majority, 77 percent of the dropouts in this sample, belong to the age group 15-20 (400 out of 513). (Table 3). It is also a pity to note that 16 percent of the sample belong to the age group 9-14, the group that should have been attending school. Furthermore, 52 percent of the sample could have been in the secondary school (9th -12th grade) and 32 percent of them could have been in a tertiary educational institute if they had continued their education without interruption.

Table 4 gives the grade from which the individuals dropped out. From a perusal of this table it is clear that 58 percent of the total sample had dropped out in grade six and seven, after completing primary education. The remaining 42 percent have failed to complete even their primary education. In other words, forty two percent have an incomplete primary education. A comparison of the three sectors : rural, suburban and urban reveal that in the urban sector, (50.7 percent), the drop outs from the primary stage is greater than in the suburban (41.2) and rural (36.4) sectors.

TABLE 3

Composition of the Sample: Agewise

	Age	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*	%
Tertiary age level	22	6	4	6	16	32
	21	2	6	6	14	
	20	16	12	10	38	
	19	42	23	32	97	
					77%	
Secondary School age level	18	44	33	22	99	52
	17	32	20	20	72	
	16	24	18	12	54	
	15	18	12	10	40	
Belong to Compulsory School Age	14	8	10	8	26	16
	13	5	4	6	15	
	12	8	5	6	19	
	11	3	4	4	11	
	10	2	1	4	7	
	9	2	1	2	5	
Total Number		212	153	148	513	

TABLE 4

Dropouts – Gradewise composition

Grade	*Rural* Number	%		*Suburban* Number	%		*Urban* Number	%		*Total* Number	%	
7	83	39·2		43	28·1		40	27·0		166	32·4	58%
6	52	24·4		47	30·7		33	22·3		132	25·7	
5	34	16·1		30	19·6		36	24·3		100	19·5	
4	23	10·8		20	13·1		28	18·9		71	13·9	
3	10	4·7	36·4%	6	3·9	41·2%	5	3·4	50·7%	21	4·1	42%
2	5	2·4		4	2·6		4	2·7		13	2·5	
1	5	2·4		3	2·0		2	1·4		10	1·9	
Total	212	100·0		153	100·0		148	100·0		513	100·0	

The type of school from which individuals dropped out is given in Table 5. According to the table 98.5 percent of them have dropped out from Maha Vidyalayas and Junior Schools. The number of students who dropped out from Collegiate Schools and Central Schools is insignificant. The Maha Vidyalayas and Junior Schools referred to in the Urban sector are schools in the slum and shanty areas. The Junior Schools mentioned under the rural sector are mainly village schools.

TABLE 5

Dropouts – a schoolwise breakdown

Type of School	*Rural* %	*Suburban* %	*Urban* %	*Total* %	*Number*
Collegiate Schools ..	—	—	·6	·1	1
Central Schools (M.M.V.) ..	1·5	—	2·7	1·4	7
Maha Vidyalayas ..	56·6	62·7	70·3	62·4	320
Junior Schools ..	41·9	37·3	26·4	36·1	185
Total ..	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	513

Factors associated with dropping out are listed in Table 6. The percentages therein reveal the extent to which the individuals have been affected by each factor. From the list of factors it is evident that economic factors such as the low income of parents, the necessity to seek employment early in life, lack of clothes and stationery and the need to help in the household chores have induced students to leave school in all the three sectors. Factors related with learning such as low interest in school work, backwardness and difficulty in coping with some subjects taught in school too have contributed somewhat towards students leaving school rather early. Peer influence, poor health and punishment in school are three other factors that have considerable importance.

The size of the family also play a considerable role in determining the practice of students to stay longer in school. In this study nearly 81 percent of the dropouts in the urban sector, and 66 percent of them in the suburban sector are from families which have six or more children. The corresponding figure in the rural sector is 47 percent. (Table 7). The number of dropouts that belong to the ideal small family of 2 children is insignificant. Only 5.8 percent in the rural sector, 6 percent in the suburban sector and 3.2 percent in the urban sector belong to small families of 2 or less children.

In examining the education level of the father it is seen that 63.5 percent in the rural sector, 63 percent in the suburban sector, and 72 percent in the urban sector possess either an incomplete primary education or have no schooling at all. (Table 8). The number who have G. C. E. (OL) qualifications and above are very few. (Rural : 2.6%, Suburban : 7.26%, and Urban 8.0%). The overall situation is thus very distressing indeed.

As in the case of the education level of the father, the mothers' education level too is very low. Sixty eight point four percent in the rural, 64 percent in the suburban and 71.4 percent in the urban sector have mothers with either an incomplete primary education or no schooling at all. (Table 9). Here too the number who possess G. C. E. (OL) qualifications and above are meagre. (Rural: 4.3% Suburban : 2.0% and Urban : 3.0%).

TABLE 6

Factors responsible for dropping out: Factors and Percentages in each sector affected by them

Factor	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*
Economic factors :			
1. Low income of parents	50%	58%	65%
2. To seek employment	23%	26%	23%
3. Lack of clothes and stationery ..	28%	40%	33%
4. Work in the household	30%	23%	16%
Factors related to learning :			
5. Low interest in education	40%	22%	12%
6. Backwardness in school work ..	28%	20%	10%
7. Difficult school subjects	22%	24%	16%
Factors related to family environment :			
8. Parental persuation to leave school ..	9%	3%	—
9. Lack of parental interest	2%	1%	5%
10. Disruptive family environment ..	6%	10%	12%
11. Separation of parents	2%	4%	4%
12. Death of a parent	2%	—	—
13. Migration of family	2%	—	—
Factors related with peers :			
14. Influence of bad friends	8%	3%	6%
15. Peer influence	13%	14%	10%
16. Love affairs	7%	—	—
Factors related with school :			
17. Punishment in school	10%	10%	12%
18. Conflict with the teacher	5%	—	—
19. Distance to school	1%	—	—
Personal :			
20. Poor Health	14%	12%	10%

TABLE 7

Number of siblings in the family

No. of siblings	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*
1 ..	2·6%	2·0%	—
2 ..	3·2%	4·0%	3·2%
3 ..	12·8%	5·0%	—
4 ..	17·8%	12·5%	9·6%
5 ..	16·8%	10·3%	6·4%
6 ..	18·9%	18·8%	20·8%
7 ..	12·8%	22·0%	29·0%
8 ..	5·7%	18·0%	18·2%
9 ..	4·7%	5·0%	3·2%
10 ..	4·7%	2·4%	9·6%
Total ..	100·0%	100·0%	100·0%

TABLE 8

Education Level of father - (percentages)

Education level	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*
Passed G.C.E. (AL) ..	·5%	—	—
Passed G.C.E. (OL) ..	2·1%	7·2%	8·0%
Educated between 6-9 years ..	30·3%	24·8%	20·0%
Educated below 5 years ..	50·3%	48·0%	36·0%
No. schooling ..	13·2%	15·0%	36·0%
No. data available ..	3·6%	5·0%	—

TABLE 9

Education Level of mother: (percentages)

Education level	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*
Passed G.C.E (AL) ..	·5%	1·0%	—
Passed G.C.E. (OL) ..	3·8%	1·0%	3·0%
Educated between 6-9 years ..	21·1%	22·0%	14·8%
Educated below 5 years ..	40·0%	42·0%	28·6%
No schooling ..	28·4%	22·0%	42·8%
No data available ..	6·2%	12·0%	10·8%
Total ..	100·0%	100·0%	100·0%

The occupational pattern of the fathers reveal that the greater majority have socially low ranking jobs that correspond to their low educational qualifications. Fourteen percent in the rural, 10.4 percent in the suburban and 13.5 percent in the urban sector are either unemployed or deceased. Only 4.2 percent in the rural and 2.6 percent in the suburban sector occupy middle level jobs that demand relatively high educational qualifications. (Table 10.)

The occupational categories of mothers as revealed by table 11 are also mostly low ranking ones which correspond to the low educational level. Here the most striking feature in all the three sectors is the high rate of unemployment. Seventy percent in the rural sector, 42.5 percent in the suburban sector and 54 percent in the urban sector are either unemployed or deceased. Only 1.4 percent in the rural sector have occupations which require any educational qualifications.

TABLE 10

Occupational category of father

Occupational Category	*Rural*		*Suburban*		*Urban*	
Deceased ..	.. 18	14%	6	10·4%	8	13·5%
Unemployed ..	.. 12		10		12	
Labourer ..	.. 66		64		60	
Farmer ..	.. 60		16		1	
Small trader ..	.. 11		26		42	
Mason/Carpenter ..	.. 6		12		8	
Fisherman ..	.. 8		—		—	
Driver ..	.. 12		10		14	
Security guard ..	.. 6		3		2	
Mechanic (garage etc.) ..	.. 4		2		1	
Clerical ..	.. 8	4·2%	4	2·6%	—	
Sub post master ..	.. 1		—		—	
Total ..	.. 212		153		148	

TABLE 11

Occupational category of mother

Occupational Category	*Rural*		*Suburban*		*Urban*	
Deceased ..	.. 6	70%	2	42%	2	54%
Unemployed ..	.. 136		63		78	
Labourer ..	.. 34		47		46	
Small trader ..	.. 12		32		23	
House maid (local) ..	.. 6		4		3	
House maid (abroad) ..	.. 5		3		4	
Farmer ..	.. 10		2		2	
Nurse ..	.. 2	1·4%	—		—	
Teacher ..	.. 1		—		—	
Total ..	.. 212		153		148	

Summary of the characteristics of the sample of dropouts :

The greater percentage of dropouts that belong to this study came from the very low socio-economic strata of the society. Prestige wise their parents occupy very low occupational status or are faced with unemployment. Forty two percent of them had left school without completing their primary stage of education. This figure is compatible with the figures in other studies. The

factors given hare as reasons for leaving school early are also consistent with findings of other recent studies.[1] The main reasons that have precipitated early school leaving is poverty, lack of interest in school learning, backwardness in learning, and the need to secure employment for economic reasons. The dropouts also came from very large families. Most of them have attended the non affluent schools both in the rural and urban sectors. The fact that a considerable percentage of them belong to the age group which is regarded as the age of compulsory attendance in school, need to be also taken into consideration.

Economic activities of dropouts

From a glance at the economic activities of dropouts as given in Table 12 it is evident that 26% in the rural sector 25% in the suburban sector, and 18% in the urban sector do not have a specific occupation. Their occupations shift from time to time depending on employment opportunities available within the locality and as such they do not possess a fixed or a permanent income. During one part of the year one might obtain casual employment depending on opportunities that arise in the locality ; during another part of the year one will shift on to another casual job if opportunity demands. Still during another part of the year, having nothing to do he might be toiling on his own home garden supporting the family to contribute to its' income.

An example may be cited to illustrate the pattern. Sunil is 20 years old. He had only five years of schooling. He obtains casual employment according to the following cycle. For four months of the year during 2 seasons he obtains casual work in paddy fields ; and the work mainly involves ploughing of the land and harvesting. During the peak coconut season around May he obtains employment in a dessicated coconut mill for about three months, and during the rest of the year be finds various jobs on a casual/daily basis, depending on the contacts he could establish. On days that he cannot find any such work he works in his home garden. His income varies weekly. The average daily wage is around Rs. 20/- but the number of working days per week fiuctuates to a great extent. Low educational qualifications has barred Sunil from obtaining even a small permanent job.

The plight of most of the dropouts in the category under unspecified is similar to that of Sunil. Low educational qualifications act as a barrier to permanent employment. Most of them are faced with a lack of fixed employment. The greater majority of them are underpaid because of the high competition that exists for the few available jobs. In this context the position of the girls is even more disappointing. The lack of regular employment in turn leads to irregular living standards, low confidence and a feeling of insecurity among hundreds and thousands of such youths.

(1) Jayaweera. S. Universalization of Primary Education in Sri Lanka, *Journal of the National Education Society of Sri Lanka.* Vol. XXIV, 1985. pp. 50-63.

TABLE 12

The employment pattern of the dropouts

Employment	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*
Unspecified	55 (26%)	38 (25%)	26 (18%)
*Fisherman	4	—	—
*Peeling Cinnamon	11	—	—
*Farmer	11	8	2
Labourer	33	40	30
Driver	1	2	—
Lorry cleaner	4	3	4
House maid/boy	18	8	3
Carpenter	4	3	1
Pavement pedlar	6	1	10
Private Bus Assistant—conductor ..	2	12	14
Industrial Labourer	4	8	6
Worker in free trade zone	3	2	—
Sales Assistant (Shop)	14	3	12
Assistant in motor Garage.. ..	4	2	4
Sinhala Typist	1	—	1
Restaurant Waiter	4	6	10
Watcher	3	1	—
Fruit seller	3	—	2
Cattle rearing	3	—	—
Vegetable seller	3	2	3
Hospital attendant	1	—	—
Sales assistant (market)	6	4	10
*Cracker industry (cottage)	8	—	—
Cycle repairer	3	1	4
Fish seller	2	—	6
Brewing Liquor	1	—	—
	212	153	148

* Non perennial jobs.

The rest of the sample, 64% in the rural sector, 75% in the suburban sector and 82% in the urban sector are employed in 26 occupations. Out of these twenty six occupations, four are not perennial occupations. They are fisherman, cinnamon peeler, farmer and fire cracker industry worker out of which peeling cinnamon and the fire cracker industry are strictly seasonal thus causing seasonal unemployment and an undependable income. Thus they have to look for alternative work during unemployed periods. Fishermen and farmers too are unemployed during some slack seasons of the year.

The number of working hours too vary from occupation to occupation in the above four categories. For instance, a cinnamon peeler will have to work from 7 a.m. to about 9 p.m. earning about Rs. 20-30 per day depending on the weight of dry kilos of cinnamon produced. A cinnamon peeler's job requires the services of many hands and is involved with several stages of

production such as cutting the tree, transport, scraping the bark, peeling and joining the sticks. Weather is a formidable factor affecting the process of production, and the income depends on the output and the output depends on several factors beyond the peeler's control. The fire cracker industry too is not a steady one. Income depends on the amount of work available which is primarily determined by the market. The market in turn is dependent on festivals and peak seasons such as Christmas, Sinhala New Year Seasons, etc. The four non-perennial occupations, fishing, peeling cinnamon, farming and the fire cracker industry do not bring an uninterrupted income to the employee. Most of the persons interviewed in the sample were youths and as such they were working under older persons who were more competent and experienced. The majority of the persons engaged in non-perennial occupations were in the rural sector. (34 out of 44 in a sample of 513).

Three hundred and fifty out of 513 or 68.2% of the sample belong to the twenty two perennial occupations listed in Table 12. From the table it is discernible that these occupations vary in status, income and so do the number of hours of work per day. Some of their more salient characteristics are described in the sections that follow.

The occupations listed in Table 12 even though they differ in social status, as a whole are not prestigious occupations. Most of the occupations given in this list command socially inferior positions. The incomplete education that most of the respondents have received appears to have been a leading factor responsible for this situation. Only one person, the hospital attendant is in government service. All the others are working in private establishments or in ventures carried out by individual persons.

Another conspicuous feature regarding all these occupations is that none of these jobs fall into the category of responsible positions : all of them are subordinate or insignificant positions. The data reveals that if the drop outs are to continue in these present jobs they may continue to occupy the same subordinate positions even in the future. In other words it means that their incomplete education does not pave for them the way for promotion or improvement of status. For example, the categories such as lorry cleaner, labourer, house maid or house boys, sales assistant, watcher, fruit seller, garage assistant etc. do not hold any prospects for improvement in the foreseable future. Undoubtedly their incomplete educational level will always be a drawback and obstruct their progress in this respect. Even one in the category : Sinhala typist and with low educational qualifications has very limited future prospects.

The occupational categories, within each, represent a wide range of labour, demanding different types of skill and work and the actual working hours vary widely. For example, the category house maid/boy represents a wide range of roles. Mallika, and eleven year old girl who dropped out from school very early owing to economic pressure is employed as a housemaid. Her work load includes several activities such as taking care of the children, attending to house work and gardening. Her income does not exceed Rs. 50 a month. Under the category of pavement pedlar are included boys selling different trivial items near schools, bus-stands etc. the nature of the things they sell and their incomes vary to a great extent.

Most of these youths have provided a source of cheap labour. They have no predetermined working conditions. The number of hours they work vary according to the nature of the employees. For example some hotel waiters have to work from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. It is very unfortunate that even big enterpreneurs have exploited these youths taking advantage of their low educational level. Private bus assistant conductors get about Rs. 10/- to 15/- per day after a hard days' continuous work lasting about 12-14 hours. In this respect the workers employed in the free trade zone are relatively fairly better off with fixed working hours and a salary.

A distinction could also be observed in the type of job according to sex. The 113 girls in the sample are distributed in only a few categories. (Table 13).

TABLE 13

Distribution of girls in employment categories

Unspecified ..	..	36	out of 119	—	30%
House maid ..	..	24	out of 29	—	83%
work in FTZ ..	..	5	out of 5	—	100%
Sales assistant ..	..	21	out of 29	—	72%
Sinhala Typist ..	..	1	out of 1	—	100%
Sales assistant (Market)	..	3	out of 20	—	15%
Labourer ..	..	23	out of 103	—	22%
		113			

The 113 girls are distributed in only 7 employment categories whereas the 400 boys are spread in 27 employment categories. This is also indicative of the high incidence of unemployment among girls as females tend to avoid choosing certain job categories traditionally regarded as unsuitable for the gentler sex.

Another noteworthy feature in the pattern of employment among dropouts is the lack of any significant number in self employment. Only three of the school leavers have engaged in self employment projects. One of them is the illicit liquor brewer who also has the highest income in the group. The other two are bicycle repairers who have started their own shops. The general poverty that prevails among school dropouts precludes investment in self employment projects. It was stated in an earlier section that these dropouts came from very low income families whose parents were poor and less educated. As such they have no alternative, but to seek employment under someone else.

The pattern of employment also has a very close relationship to the economy and the major occupations of the locality. For example fishing, cinnamon peeling and farming are related closely to the local economy. Employment with in the free trade zone too is strictly bound by geographical location. The category labelled as labourer includes several types of employment such as tapping rubber, brick making, jobs connected with the coconut industry, etc. which are highly related to the agricultural and industrial activities of a locality. Then in the suburban and urban areas, jobs related to trade, and transport occupy a predominant position. Out of 28 persons working in private buses, 26 are from the municipality and it's suburbs. Most of the labourers, 70 out of 103 came from the urban and suburban sectors and are mainly centered around construction projects.

Another characteristic feature in the employment pattern of the dropouts is that nearly all the persons are working in the immediate vicinity or neighbourhood of their parents' homes. In the suburban and urban sectors this is quite normal. But it is rather strange that migration from the rural sector is very negligible. The available information points to several tentative ideas :

1. increasing cost of living in urban areas as compared with the rural areas ;
2. availability of job opportunities in rural areas itself within a developing economy ;
3. high competition from the urban areas itself for the available jobs in that sector, and
4. lack of contacts.

In a study of this nature it is pertinent to examine the general characteristics of the waiting period before one secures employment. There is a relationship between the waiting period and the grade or age from which one dropsout from school. Nearly all the employed drop outs are 11 + . Therefore, one

who drops out early, say from grades 1 or 2 at the age of 6 + or 7 + will have to wait for about 5 to 6 years before one could obtain a job. The earlier the grade from which one drops out the longer is the waiting period and this rule is more applicable in connection with permanent or regular employment. But this rule does not apply to some categories of employment such as house maids and some who support the parents as an additional unit of income for the family.

Income

In examing the income of dropouts it is evident that a large percentage of persons do not possess a direct or declared income. (Table 14) The highest percentage of this category is in the rural sector which gradually decreases towards the urban sector. Those who belong to this category generally work with parents or elder siblings thus increasing the income of the family. All persons mentioned under the job category : unspecified, in Table 12 comes under this group. In addition some of those in categories : fishermen, cinnamon peelers, farmers, labourers and even trade and sales assistants fall into this group.

TABLE 14

Income per month

Income level	*Rural*		*Suburban*		*Urban*	
No direct or declared income. Mainly supporting family	85	(40%)	52	(34%)	26	(18%)
Less than Rs. 99	7		6		10	
Rs. 100 — 199	22	(41%)	26	(52%)	14	(54%)
200 — 299	24		23		20	
300 — 399	34		24		36	
400 — 499	15		14		32	
500 — 599	7	(16·7%)	3	(14%)	6	(28%)
600 — 699	8		2		3	
700 — 799	5		2		1	
800 — 899	1		—		—	
900 — 999	1	(2·3%)	—		—	
Over Rs. 1000	3		—		—	
	212		153		148	

Another noteworthy feature is the generally low income level of persons in all sectors. According to Table 14, 41% in the rural, 52% in the suburban, and 54% in the urban sector fall into the income category below Rs. 400. To state this in another way, 81% in the rural, 86% in the suburban and 72%

in the urban sector have either no direct or declared income or have an income less than Rs. 400 per month. On the other hand only the rural sector has 3 persons (1.4%) in the highest income bracket of over Rs. 1,000 per month. Among them is the liquor brewer who has the highest income of Rs. 2,100 per month. The person who occupies the second place according to receipt of income is a labourer whose monthly income is around Rs. 1,300.

The level of income does not reveal any close relationship to the categories of employment. If we isolate one employment category the income of individuals within the category is highly diverse. In the same way if we consider a particular income level or bracket then the persons falling into this bracket comes from different employment categories. For example, if we take the employment category : labourer the monthly income ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,300 depending on the nature of the work and the locality. As stated earlier those within the income bracket of over Rs. 1,000 per month consists of a liquor brewer, labourer and a trader. However, there is a close resemblance between the employment category : unspecified and the income group : no direct or declared income.

Another striking finding of this study is that over 500 of the 513 in the sample do not enjoy the benefit of a provident fund.

In general the income level of the persons in this sample is low. Only 103 out of 513 or 20 percent have an income of Rs. 400-800 p.m. One hundred and sixty three out of 513 or 32% cannot declare their income which in other words mean they supplement the family income. The greater proportion 247 out of 513 or 48%, have an income which is less than Rs. 400 p.m. Table 15 gives a breakdown of the different income groups in the 3 sectors : urban suburban and rural and the total sample.

TABLE 15

Breakdown of monthly income

Monthly income	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*
No declared income ..	40%	34%	18%	32%
Low income group (less than Rs. 400) ..	41%	52%	54%	48%
Middle income group (½. 400-800) ..	16·7%	14%	28%	20%
High income group (over Rs. 800) ..	2·3%	—	—	—
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Leisure activities :

The main leisure activities are concentrated around reading, T. V. radio and films : the main forms of entertainment and education available in any locality. (Table 16) Apart from the above four, association with friends and sports or recreational activities too occupy prominent places. However, when comparing the rural and urban sectors, the difference in the numbers engaged in each activity is remarkable. It is also interesting to note that an appreciable number, specially in the rural sector have no leisure activities at all. It should also be born in mind that the nature of employment, specially the number of working hours in some of the cases do not provide opportunities for leisure time activities.

TABLE 16

Leisure activities

Activity	*Rural* (212)	*Suburban* (153)	*Urban* (148)
Reading : Newspapers ..	36	30	28
Picture Stories ..	7	10	20
Books ..	10	4	3
Playing Cards ..	4	6	12
Visiting the bazar ..	8	1	4
Cultivating ..	8	1	1
Weaving crafts ..	7	—	—
Visiting friends ..	32	30	38
Watching T. V. ..	30	40	62
Viewing Films ..	27	30	42
Listening to radio ..	52	60	80
Taking part in sports ..	20	18	12
Acting ..	1	—	—
Playing chess ..	1	—	—
Listening to cassettes ..	4	8	18
Walking ..	4	1	1
Playing musical instruments ..	3	—	1
Horticulture ..	2	—	—
Cycling ..	3	2	4
Dancing ..	1	—	—
Touring ..	1	1	3
Gambling ..	3	2	3
Fishing ..	2	—	—
Swimming ..	2	—	—
Helping others ..	2	—	—
No leisure time ..	2	1	2
Doing Nothing ..	36	22	18
Imagining about future ..	2	—	—

Participation in educational programmes

It was revealed that 94% of the sample do not take part in any educational prog ammes (Table 17) The major cause for a situation of this nature is the lack of opportunity. The small percentage who do take part, do so in a

few programmes like learning of English, Music, crafts, dancing, etc. Most of them are not properly organized and attendance is very irregular. The majority in the sample have expressed their willingness to take part in some form of educational cum training programme. Most of the programmes available at present demand either G. C. E. (OL) or at least 8th standard qualifications. Therefore, the early school drop outs are obviously excluded from the programmes that are being conducted by the state and volunteer agencies.

TABLE 17

Participation in educational programmes

Response	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*
No ..	200 (94%)	145 (94%)	137 (93%)	94%
Yes ..	12 (6%)	8 (6%)	11 (7%)	6%
Total ..	212	153	148	513

Participation in social activities

The data reveals that 62% of the sample do take part in social activities. (Table 18) But in examination the percentage decreases from the rural sector to the urban sector. All these social activities are taking place within organizations such as Youth Clubs, Community development Societies, Temple Societies, Sports Clubs, Welfare societies, Political organizations, etc. The lower percentage of social activity in the urban sector may be explained partly in terms of the availability of opportunity for different or alternative types of entertainment (See Table 18).

TABLE 18

Participation in Social Activities

Response	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*
No ..	70 (33%)	60 (39%)	64 (43%)	38%
Yes ..	142 (67%)	93 (61%)	84 (57%)	62%
Total ..	212	153	148	513

Willingness for further education

The dropouts were asked to express their willingness to participate in educational or training programmes. The responses are given in Table 19.

TABLE 19

Willingness to be educated further

Response	*Rural*	*Suburban*	*Urban*	*Total*
No ..	50 (24%)	60 (39%)	72 (49%)	35%
Yes ..	162 (76%)	93 (61%)	76 (51%)	65%
Total ..	212	153	148	513

According to Table 19, 35 percent of the sample have definitely refused any form of education or training. The percentage who refuses an education is greater in the urban sector (49%). On the other hand, 76% of the rural youths feel the need for some kind of education or training. On the whole 65% of the sample have felt a need for further education. This is a very important aspect that should be taken into consideration in planning out development strategies. The types vary from technical education to education in aesthetics, and languages. A small number even expressed their desire to return to formal school education.

The majority of the sample however now feel that they have been ignored because they possess an incomplete education. A large number in the sample lament that they missed a vital component in their life by giving up schooling rather early in life. Most of them feel that they were compelled to do so through various background factors such as family environment, economic position and disinterest. They also feel that even though late it is desirable to go through some educational cum training programmes to improve their future employment prospects. The major problem that threatens them at this point is insecurity about the future which is a result of the lack of permanent empolyment which in turn has led to a state of economic instability.

Committing of crimes/offences

It was also questioned from the sample whether the drop outs were convicted of crimes or charged for any offences. It was revealed that 30 out of 513 or nearly 6% of them had been charged or caught for minor offences. The numbers for the three sectors rural, suburban and urban are 7, 11 and 12 respectively. The offences included minor thefts, illegal gemming, and illicit

liquor brewing. In the majority of the cases the commitment of the crime had been joint, either with elders or peers. On the whole it is heartening to note that the prevailing situation in this respect is very satisfactory. Absence of drug and sex offences is a very conspicuous feature.

Conclusion and implications of the study

The background data on the sample of dropouts revealed that their agewise composition range from 10-22 years. This indicates that there are persons belonging to different stages of development, such as late childhood, early adolescence, late adolescence and youth. Looking at this from another point of view those who should have been in the higher grades of the primary section, and those who should have been in the initial grades of junior secondary school, all of them coming under the compulsory school going age, are actively engaged in the workforce. Another interesting feature is that if they had not left school so early some of them would have been attending either school or university or some other tertiary educational institution. But a multitude of factors and circumstances have decided that it should not be so.

The factors that have contributed to early school leaving are many. The dropouts come from poor families located in rural and congested environments. The education level of the parents is very low which in turn has led them to have a low income. Poverty has hence been the major cause for leaving school early. In addition general disinterest in school work, punishment, and need for employment also have been contributory factors for this phenomenon. Most of the pupils have dropped out from rural and urban deprived schools and this itself potrays the socio-economic position of the individuals we are concerned with in this study.

In analysing the employment pattern of the dropouts it was revealed that the incomplete education they had received have forced them to end up with manual jobs. Some of them have fitted themselves as an additional unit in swelling the income of the family. Nearly all of them occupy very subordinate positions, a feature which could be explained in terms of two characteristics : lack of experience and education. Coming from families whose income is very low and being young and without much education, most of them have been subject to subordination, thus providing themselves as a source of cheap and exploitable labour; they have no means of bargaining for better terms. Naturally therefore their contribution to the economy is meagre. Most of them have to be satisfied with jobs available in the locality, and cannot move out to better pastures. Occupation of the parents and the type of employment available in the immediate locality play a vital part in determining the nature of the job one could secure.

The 513 dropouts in this sample represent only those who have some kind of employment and income. Analysis of their income reveal that it is not so satisfactory ; a great majority of them live below the line of poverty. They have been the victims of a continuous vicious process : low or no education and poverty from one generation to another. Low education of parents leads them to poverty which in turn promote early dropping out in the children ultimately leading the latter too to an impoverised position in society.

They are also constantly concerned of the lack of security about the future. This is a problem that has arisen from the non perennial and unstable nature of employment. Here it is pertinent to draw our attention to a study made on the needs of youth in Sri Lanka.* A study of the needs of the 15-30 age group, of different educational qualifications, revealed that employment is the basic and immediate need, and the employment to a great extent will solve other problems like food, clothing, housing, and marriage. Therefore, it is very essential that the needs of this group be given due consideration through studies of the above nature.

It is also very essential that we explore the possibilities of providing further education to these youths who have set foot into the world of the adults. Most of them have expressed their willingness to learn or undergo some technical training. The dropouts need some form of sandwich courses which combine elements of training with general education, specially for those who have left school with an incomplete primary education.

Due emphasis should also be paid to the importance of schooling. Parents should be educated not only about the importance of family planning but also, education. Early dropping out from school as revealed from this study is partly due to parental apathy and disinterest. It is already too late when the dropouts begin to realise the fact that they have missed a vital component in life. Thus every effort should be made by society to educate all members if its younger generation at least up to age of 14 or to grade 8. The effort of all possible social, political and religious organizations should be harnessed to achieve this goal.

The 513 individuals in this sample represent those who are employed in some way with some sort of income. Their position as revealed from the data and discussion is not heartening. The problem gets even worse if we take into account the entire population of dropouts both employed and unemployed. About 1-1½ lakhs of students dropout from school annually without completing the compulsory period of education (5-14 years).[1] Then they join the labour market awaiting to be absorbed into the economy. A study at the national level is required to ascertain the nature of this problem.

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* Needs of Youth in Sri Lanka, National Youth Service Council, Sri Lanka 1985.

Finally it should be mentioned that an attempt should be made at the national level to study the needs of this age group, 10-25 years, and adopt remedial measures regarding their education and training and employment.[2]

Most of the available programmes start from a slightly higher age level, very often 16 or 18. The age group 10-15 forms a very crucial group as the transition from late childhood to adolescense take place around this time. A large number of dropouts also belong to this age group. As such effort should be made to understand their problems and help them to live in harmony with the society by contributing to its development as well.

1. 1982 School Census.
2. The ministry of Education has launched several projects in this respect. The nonformal unit has organized 95 for out-of-school children in 15 districts since 1981.

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RECENT REGIONAL FERTILITY PATTERNS IN SRI LANKA

INDRA GAJANAYAKE

Introduction

The fertility decline in Sri Lanka which became conspicuous in the early 1950's has been the subject of several investigations. (for example, see Jayawardene and Selvaratnam, 1967 ; N.H. Wright, 1968 ; D. F. S. Fernando, 1970 and 1972). The fertility decline between 1953 and 1963 has been attributed to (*i*) increase in the mean age at marriage, (*ii*) changes in the population age structure (*iii*) decline in the proportions of married women and (*iv*) decline in marital fertility (ESCAP, 1976). Change in the marital composition has been identified as the most significant contributory factor in the fertility decline between 1963 and 1969 (Fernando, 1972). Sixty percent of the decline in the birth rate between 1963 and 1971 has been attributed to changes in the proportions married and age structure, and only 40 percent to the lowering of marifertility (CICRED, 1974).

Detailed studies of fertility trends and differentials at district level during the period of transition are less numerous. The profile of crude birth rates in the administrative districts more or less retained the same pattern in the years 1963, 1971 and 1980. (Department of Census and Statistics, 1983). The crude birth rate has declined in all districts but not to the same extent. Variations in the crude birth rate result from differences in the population composition and/or age specific fertility. Standardization with respect to age has revealed that the 1971 birth rates in all districts except Batticaloa, Polonnaruwa and Moneragala would have been lower if there had been no change in the age structure (Dept. of Census & Statistics, 1983). Between 1953 and 1963 the total marital fertility rate in most districts actually increased and between 1963 and 1971 showed a rather modest decline (Langford, 1981).

This paper extends the line of research presenting an analysis of fertility levels and trends at district level between 1971 and 1981. The study attempts to decompose the observed fertility decline into the effects of rising age at marriage (malthusian control) and declining marital fertility (neo-malth usian control).

Data

Basically this analysis utilizes data from two sources : the vital registration system and the census. Statistics on births classified by age of mother at childbirth and district were derived from the vital registration system, whereas the female population according to marital status and district were taken from the census reports.

Data on births derived from the registration system generally suffer from under-registration and mis-statements of age of the mother. In the present context, however, the former source of bias if at all would be more important. Under-registration in the years 1971 and 1981 probably was minimal for a survey undertaken as far back as in 1967 revealed that birth registration was 98.7 percent complete.

Statistics on the number of women classified by age and marital status are subject mainly to errors in age reporting. On the basis of evaluation of age, sex reporting using Myer's Index[1] (22.25 in 1971 and 11.00 in 1981) and the U. N. Age-Sex Accuracy Index[2] (25.6 in 1971 and 17.6 in 1981) age reporting can be regarded as reasonably reliable (Gunasekera, 1984). The same study further reveals that in 1981 the interdistrict variation in the female age-ratio score of the UN Age-Sex Accuracy Index was modest from 3.48 in Puttalam to 7.66 in Amparai. The study therefore is carried through on the presumption that the little misreporting that did occur was less prevalent among women between the ages 15 and 45. It is also assumed that illegitimate fertility was negligible during the period.

Methodology

Fertility rates specific to a time period always reflect the interaction between population structure (age, sex and marital status) and fertility itself. Direct comparison of fertility rates for the same population over time or for the same period across different regions is fraught with problems of confounding. It is possible, however, to separate out the impact of fertility itself from that of population composition by the technique of standardization.[3]

If population structures are known, even if the births are not classified by the age of mother it is possible to standardize fertility rates indirectly, making use of a reference (or standard) fertility schedule. An interesting extension of the procedure has been developed by Coale (1965) to separate out the impact on period fertility of marriage, legitimate fertility and illegitimate fertility.[4]

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(1) Myer's Index measures age heaping at single digits. (Myer R. J. (1940)). "Errors and Bias in the Reporting of Ages in Census Data" Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America, Vol. 41. Part 2, No. 104, pp. 395-415.

(2) The U. N. Age-Sex Accuracy Index evaluates the general age-sex data. It is an average of sex ratio scores and age ratio scores weighted in the proportion 3 : 1 (United Nations, 1955).

(3) Standardization is a technique that can find application in many quantitative areas of study, apart from Demography. In Demography the technique is applicable also to measures of mortality and migration.

(4) Procedural details of the technique in relation to population are given in most standard text books on Demography.

Since this analysis attempts to decompose fertility into its two primary components : the roles of marital fertility and of age at marriage, use was made of the fertility indices developed by Coale.

The index of general fertility, I_f, is the ratio of the observed number of births to the number that would occur if women in every age interval had experienced the reference (standard) fertility schedule. The reference or standard fertility schedule recommended for use is the highest fertility experience on record (Appendix Table 1). The index of marital fertility, Ig, is the ratio of the number of births occuring to married women to the number that would occur if married women experienced the standard fertility schedule. It could also be interpreted as a weighted index of the fertility achieved in the study population as a proportion of the maximum fertility on record, the weights being higher for age groups where more women are married.

The index of the proportion married, I_m, is the ratio of the number of children married women would bear if they experienced the standard fertility pattern to the number all women would bear if they experienced the same rates. It is a weighted index of proportion married, where women in the more fertile age groups are given a larger weight.

The three indices are interrelated as follows :

$$I_f = I_g \times I_m$$

$$I_f = \frac{\Sigma f_i \, w_i}{\Sigma F_i \, w_i}$$

$$I_g = \frac{\Sigma g_i \, m_i}{\Sigma F_i \, m_i}$$

$$I_m = \frac{\Sigma F_i \, m_i}{\Sigma F_i \, w_i}$$

where, f_i is the age specific fertility rate.

w_i is the number of all women in each age group.

m_i is the number of married women in each age group.

F_i is the age specific fertility rate in the standard schedule.

There are several advantages in the use of these indices over direct calculations of general fertility, marital fertility and proportions married. First the indices incorporate an indirect standardization for age distribution. Second, the indices can be interpreted in relation to the maximum level of fertility recorded in history. Third, in an analysis involving several time periods and/or population groups the indices are convenient to use since they reveal, in a succinct manner, trends and differentials in the components of fertility.

Obviously, selection of the standard fertility schedule is extremely important. By no means is it limited to the Hutterite population. In theory any fertility schedule could serve as the reference schedule or standard. The exact value of the indices, but not their relative magnitude would depend on the standard

used. The intuitive meaning of the indices when fertility is stated in relation to the maximum on record is considered sufficient reason by the author for use of the Hutterite fertility schedule as the standard in this paper. If, in a population all women were married and experienced marital fertility identical to that of the Hutterites, I_m, I_g and I_f would be 1.0. Among the Hutterites themselves where only about 70 per cent of women in the childbearing ages were married I_m, I_g and I_f would be 0.7, 1.0 and 0.7 respectively. Though an I_f of 1.0 is theoretically possible, the highest values on record are about 0.7.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the indices I_f, I_g, I_m and their percent change between 1971 and 1981 calculated for each district on the basis of data in Appendix Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Two features stand out at first glance in the I_f series : there is considerable variation among districts in the level of general fertility and it has declined in every district between 1971 and 1981. In 1971, Vavuniya had the highest level of general fertility (I_f=.486) and Kegalle, the lowest level (I_f=.245). Ten years later, Moneragala ranked highest in the scale (I_f=.425) and Kegalle retained its lowest position (I_f=.223).

The decline in general fertility of the country has accompanied a modest canvergence of the districts towards the mean (s. d. (1971) = .068, s.d. (1981)=.057). However, the magnitude of the decline differs markedly from one district to another.[5] Amparai shows an exceptionally sharp decline of 32.8 % in its I_f value (Map 1). The districts of Colombo, Kurunegala, Matale, Polonnaruwa, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and Vavuniya have experienced declines between 20 and 27 percent whereas the districts of Trincomalee, Kegalle, Kandy, Kalutara, Galle, Ratnapura and Moneragala have experienced rather modest declines of less than 10 percent.

The picture of a fertility decline in all districts, however, changes somewhat when attention is shifted to changes in marital fertility (Map 2). The index of marital fertility , I_g, has declined in the country as a whole while it has actually increased in a few districts. As a result, the districts are even more divergent in this respect than they were in 1971 (s. d. (1971) = .052 s.d. (1981)=.073). In the year 1981 Moneragala experienced the highest marital,

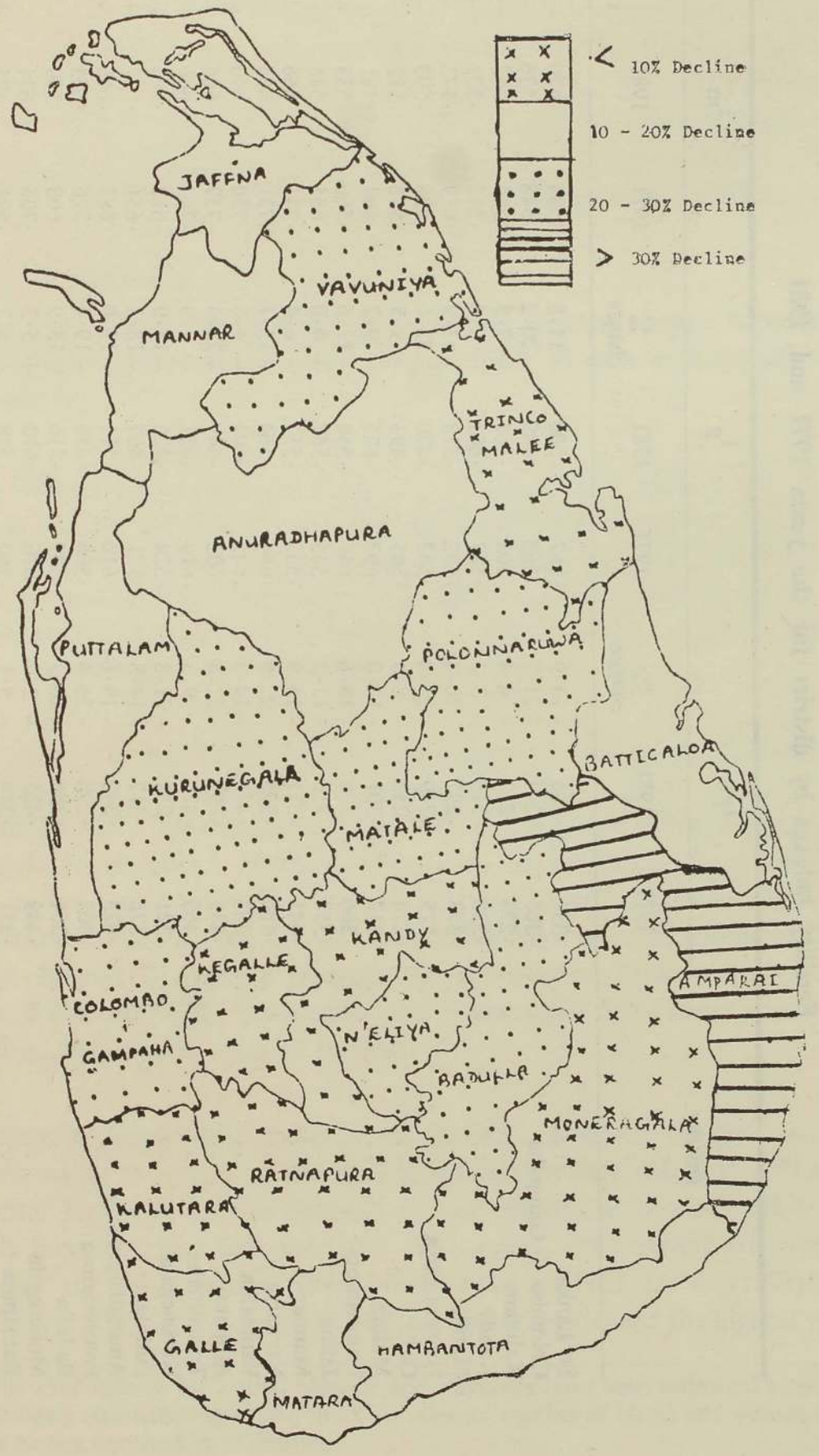
(5) The 1981 indexes for Jaffna, Mannar and Vavuniya have been estimated after proportionately redistributing among them the relevant number of births and women recorded as having occurred in Mullativu.

TABLE 1

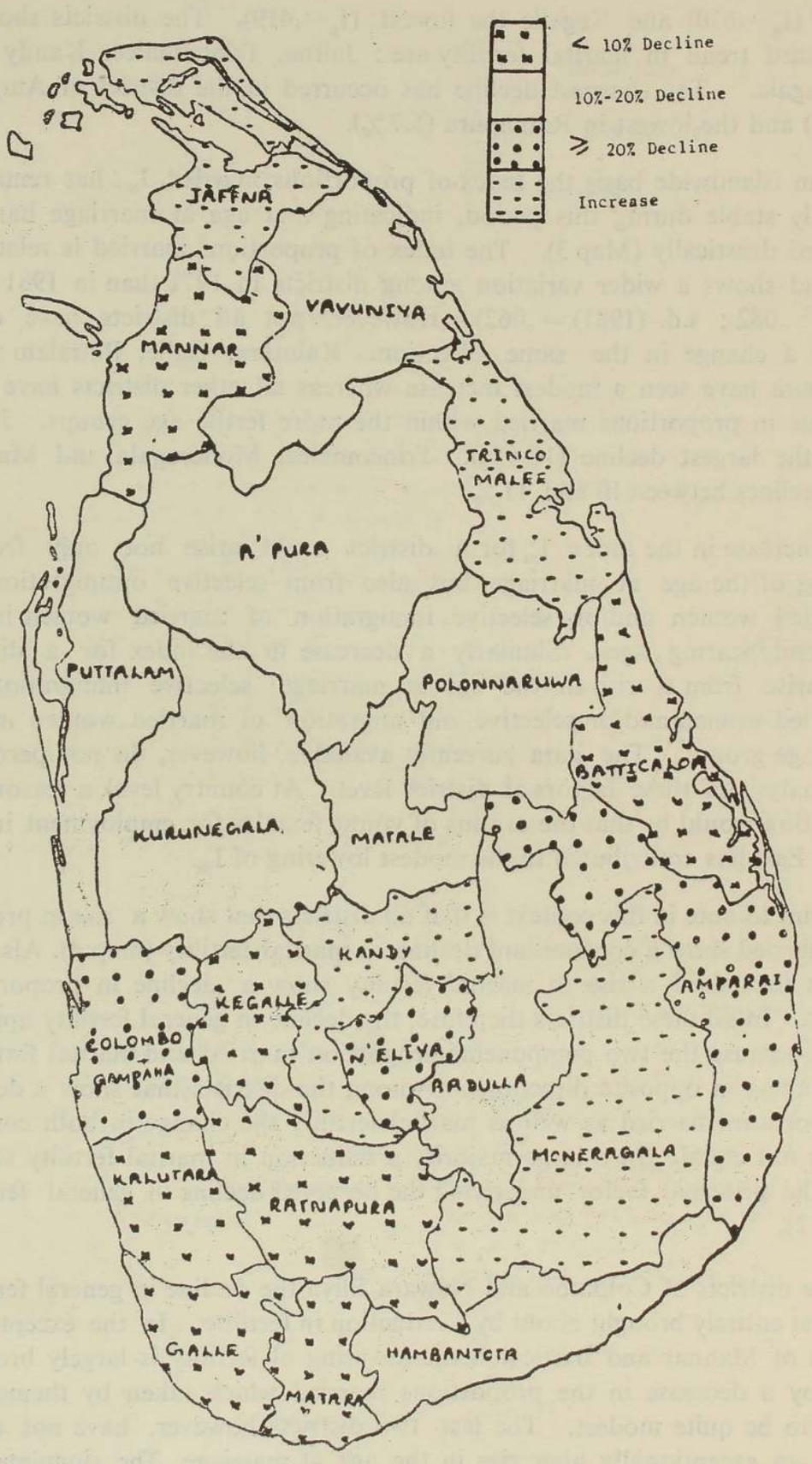
Fertility indexes by district for the years 1971 and 1981

District	I_f			I_g			I_m		
	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change	1971	1981	% change
Sri Lanka	·331	·285	−13·9	·567	·500	−11·8	·584	·570	− 2·4
Colombo + Gampaha ..	·308	·241	−21·7	·563	·449	−20·2	·548	·536	− 2·2
Kalutara	·274	·262	− 4·4	·503	·465	− 7·5	·544	·562	+ 3·3
Kandy	·330	·319	− 3·3	·587	·601	+ 2·4	·562	·531	− 5·5
Matale	·373	·297	−20·4	·602	·518	−13·9	·619	·573	− 7·4
Nuwara Eliya	·325	·249	−23·4	·543	·420	−22·6	·598	·593	− 0·8
Galle	·274	·252	− 8·0	·545	·493	− 9·5	·502	·512	+ 2·0
Matara	·342	·301	−12·0	·692	·625	− 9·7	·494	·481	− 2·6
Hambantota	·366	·298	−18·6	·646	·558	−13·6	·566	·533	− 5·8
Jaffna	·357	·310	−13·2	·545	·567	+ 4·0	·655	·546	−16·6
Mannar	·441	·371	−15·9	·595	·557	− 6·4	·741	·666	−10·1
Vavuniya	·486	·375	−22·8	·664	·564	−15·1	·731	·664	− 9·2
Batticaloa	·484	·415	−14·3	·645	·601	− 6·8	·750	·690	− 8·0
Amparai	·445	·299	−32·8	·602	·449	−25·4	·739	·666	− 9·9
Trincomalee	·463	·420	− 9·3	·619	·631	+ 1·9	·747	·666	−10·8
Kurunegala	·321	·251	−21·8	·524	·425	−18·9	·612	·590	− 3·6
Puttalam	·372	·317	−14·8	·571	·467	−18·2	·651	·677	+ 4·0
Anuradhapura	·423	·340	−19·6	·616	·511	−17·0	·687	·666	− 3·0
Polonnaruwa	·405	·298	−26·4	·566	·456	−19·4	·716	·653	− 8·8
Badulla	·364	·288	−20·9	·599	·516	−13·9	·608	·559	− 8·0
Moneragala	·449	·425	− 2·4	·636	·670	+ 5·3	·706	·634	−10·2
Ratnapura	·331	·314	− 5·1	·560	·528	− 5·7	·591	·595	+ 0·6
Kegalle	·245	·223	− 9·0	·447	·419	− 6·3	·548	·532	− 2·9

MAP – 1 Percent change in I_f between 1971 and 1981



MAP – 2 Percent change in I_g between 1971 and 1981



fertility (I_g=.670) and Kegalle the lowest (I_g=.419). The districts showing an upward trend in marital fertility are : Jaffna, Trincomalee, Kandy and Moneragala. The sharpest decline has occurred in the district of Amparai (25.4%) and the lowest in Ratnapura (5.7%).

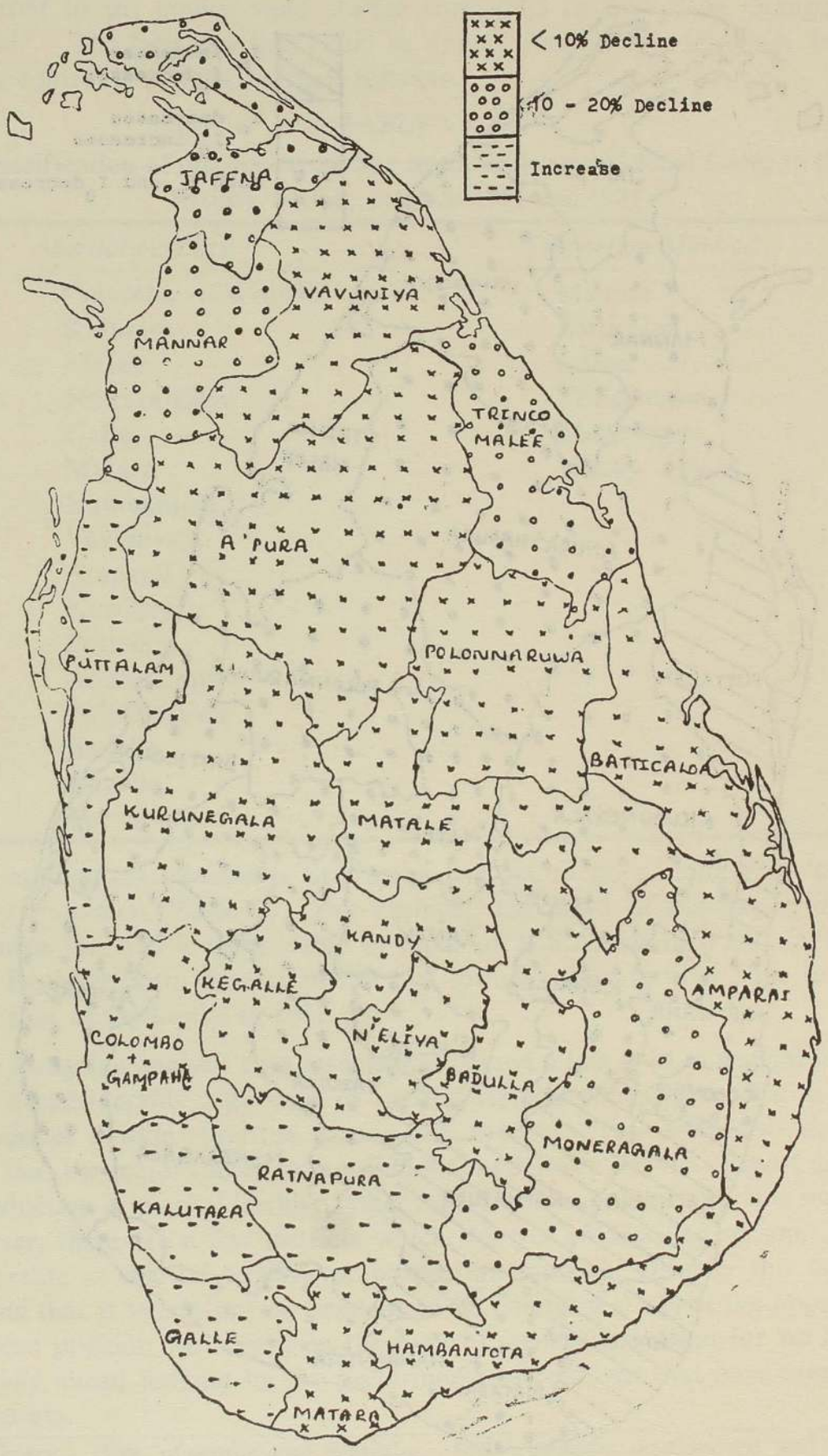
On an islandwide basis the index of proportions married, I_m, has remained relatively stable during this period, indicating that age at marriage has not increased drastically (Map 3). The index of proportions married is relatively high and shows a wider variation among districts in 1971 than in 1981 (s.d. (1971) = .082 ; s.d. (1981) = .062). However, not all districts have experienced a change in the same direction. Kalutara, Galle, Puttalam and Ratnapura have seen a modest increase whereas all other districts have seen a decline in proportions married within the more fertile age groups. Jaffna shows the largest decline (16.6%). Trincomalee, Moneragala and Mannar show declines between 10 and 11%.

The increase in the index I_m for a district could arise not only from a lowering of the age at marriage but also from selective outmigration of unmarried women and/or selective inmigration of married women in the prime childbearing ages. Similarly a decrease in the index for a district could arise from a rise in the age at marriage, selective inmigration of unmarried women and/or selective out migration of married women in the fertile age groups. The data currently available, however, do not permit a finer analysis of these factors at district level. At country level, a reasonable speculation would be that the exodus of young females for employment in the Middle East has contributed to the modest lowering of I_m.

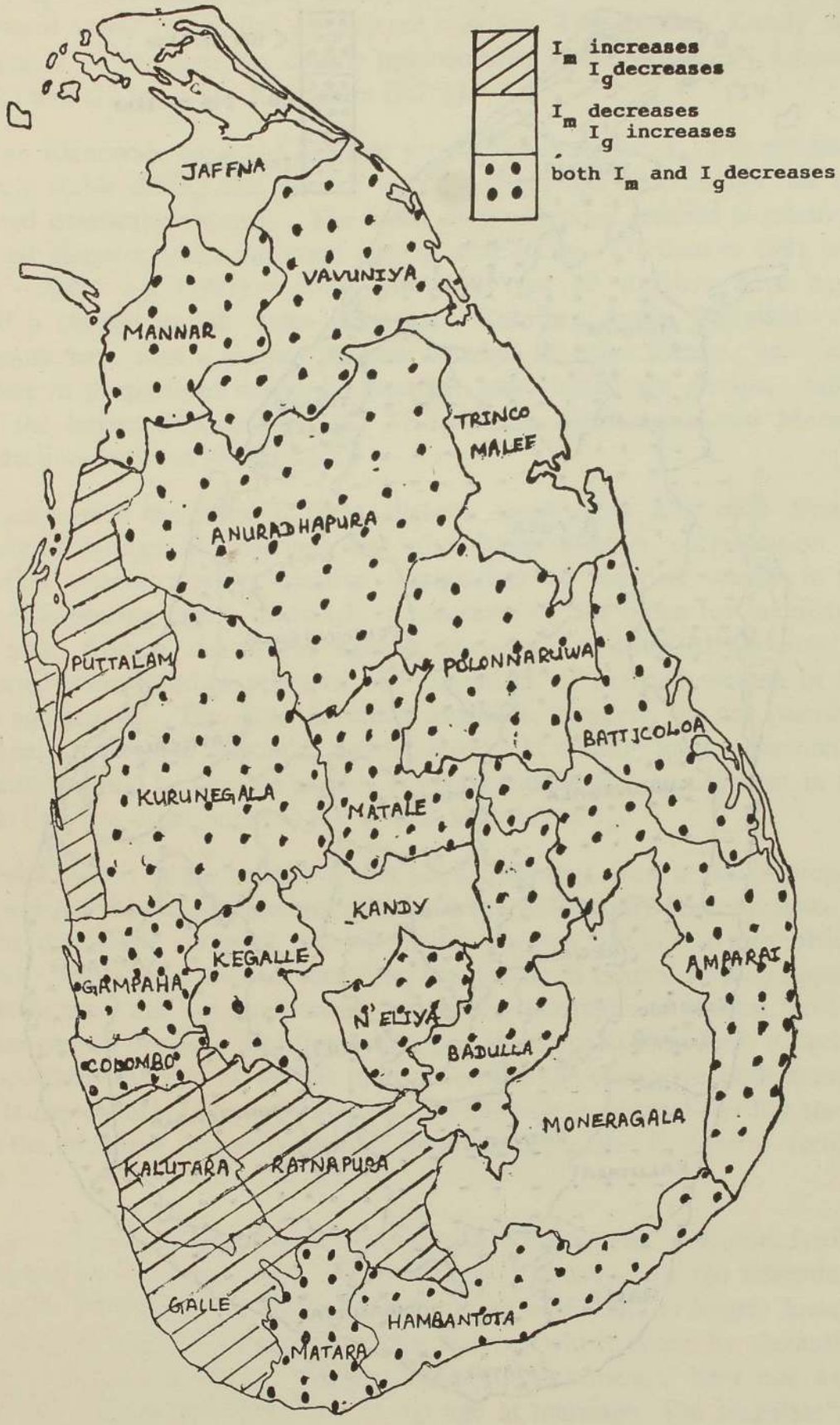
A point to note in this context is that all districts that show a rise in proportions married show a concomitant decline in marital fertility (map 4). Also, all districts that show a rise in marital fertility show a decline in proportions married. In all these districts therefore, the decline in general fertility appears modest because the two components-proportion married and marital fertility-are changing in opposite directions. Among the districts that show a decline in proportions married as well as marital fertility the change in both components is not equal. In a large majority a reduction in marital fertility stands out as the principal factor underlying the observed decline in general fertility (Table 2).

In the districts of Colombo and Nuwara Eliya the decline in general fertility in almost entirely brought about by a reduction in fertility. In the exceptional districts of Mannar and Batticaloa the lowering of fertility is largely brought about by a decrease in the proportions married which taken by themselves appear to be quite modest. The last two districts however, have not experienced an exceptionally high rise in the age at marriage. The singulate age at marriage in Mannar has changed from 20.2 in 1971 to 21.5 years in 1981

MAP - 3 Percent change in I_m between 1971 and 1981



MAP – 4 Patterns of change in the proportion married and marital fertility



whereas in Batticaloa it has increased from 20.1 to 20.9 during the same period. Compared to the countrywide change from 23.5 to 24.4 these changes are minimal.[1] The inference that could be drawn from this observation is that fertility control is minimal in these districts.

TABLE 2

Classification of districts according to the major transitional factor in the fertility decline between 1971 and 1981

Marital Fertility	*Proportion Married*
Colombo - Gampaha	Mannar
Kalutara	Batticaloa
Matale	Jaffna
Nuwara Eliya	Trincomalee
Galle	Moneragala
Matara	Kandy
Hambantota	
Vavuniya	
Amparai	
Kurunegala	
Puttalam	
Anuradhapura	
Polonnaruwa	
Badulla	
Kagalle	
Ratnapura	

By international standards Sri Lanka has yet to go a long way towards fertility transition (Table 3). For example, the index of marital fertility of Sri Lanka for 1981 is comparable to those of U.S.A. for 1900 and Japan for 1930. By 1960 both these countries had lowered their fertility to a level far below that of Sri Lanka in 1981.

The foregoing analysis thus reveals that behind a low level of general fertility exists a considerably high level of marital fertility which quantified in terms of I_g shows a wide variation among the districts. The study also demonstrates that the major factor responsible for the fertility decline in most districts is a reduction in marital fertility rather than a reduction in proportion married. However, there are a few districts which, for yet unidentified reason/s, show an increase in marital fertility or proportion married. Finally this analysis suggests that it would not be prudent to be complacent about the apparently advanced position we occupy in the path of fertility transition for we have a long way ahead judging by the performance of countries that have completed the process.

(1) *Source :* Dept. of census and Statistics. Socio-economic development and fertility decline in Sri Lanka. 1983, Page 110, Table 5.5.

TABLE 3

Fertility indexes for selected populations

Population		I_f			I_g			I_m		
		1900	1930	1960	1900	1930	1960	1900	1930	1960
England and Wales	..	0·27	0·15	0·22	0·54	0·29	0·29	0·48	0·50	0·71
France	..	0·24	0·19	0·22	0·38	0·30	0·31	0·57	0·58	0·67
European Russia	..	0·55	0·42	0·24	0·77	0·65	0·35	0·70	0·63	0·62
United States	..	0·29	0·20	0·28	0·49	0·31	0·36	0·58	0·63	0·75
Japan	..	—	0·37	0·17	—	0·51	0·29	—	0·68	0·58

Source : Coale (1965), page 209, Table 3.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Standard schedule of births per woman in each age group

Age group	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49
Births per woman	0·300	0·550	0·502	0·447	0·406	0·222	0·061

Source : Coale (1965), page 209, Table 1.

TABLE 2

Number of currently married females according to age, district and period

District	1971(a)						1981(b)					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
Sri Lanka ..	69850	289389	348753	302110	318909	236192	80387	331310	433769	448781	356232	289540
Colombo ..	10131	51666	70811	65016	65248	53132	6780	32494	44565	52257	41406	32725
Gampaha ..							6039	26973	40258	44857	35343	28708
Kalutara ..	2792	13466	18911	18485	19311	15544	3397	15774	22612	24953	21687	18859
Kandy ..	4504	26346	35923	29770	29803	20504	4044	21596	31299	35752	28948	22589
Matale ..	2001	8013	8989	7387	7839	5364	2079	9075	10883	10687	7808	6767
Nuwara Eliya ..	1872	11496	15665	12030	11458	7105	1967	12138	17452	18358	15412	11377
Galle ..	2161	11304	16963	17658	18736	16189	2907	14354	19225	22836	20624	17278
Matara ..	1586	9092	13296	12742	14848	12225	1650	9926	15193	18248	14836	13275
Hambantota ..	1696	7442	7596	6623	8590	6509	2031	8901	12429	11740	8271	7568
Jaffna(c) ..	3756	16604	18504	17404	18065	15132	3386	14890	23178	27089	20656	17473
Mannar(c) ..	1109	2625	2094	1651	1701	1244	1335	3675	4142	3655	2391	1837
Vavuniya(c) ..	1073	3016	2632	1990	2133	1485	952	4228	4322	3849	2763	2228
Batticaloa ..	4822	8318	7026	5843	6203	4222	5046	11800	10462	8716	6823	5312
Amparai ..	3739	8767	8425	6235	6173	4000	4261	12110	12695	10371	8403	5951
Trincomalee ..	2938	6262	5497	4089	4074	2755	3175	7477	8087	6752	5125	3940
Kurunegala ..	6594	26848	27518	23482	26516	19330	6972	30075	39698	37695	29241	23759
Puttalam ..	3454	11649	11146	8556	9573	7151	4909	15362	17071	15820	11262	9244
Anuradhapura ..	4108	11931	10048	8387	9274	6095	6049	19387	20325	16230	11024	9163
Polonnaruwa ..	1496	4923	4825	3699	3826	2272	2009	7771	8660	7195	5311	4272
Badulla ..	3040	14315	19457	15673	15698	9543	3412	15076	18298	18501	16166	13047
Moneragala ..	1834	5713	5693	4034	4758	2611	1879	6959	7898	6790	5065	3870
Ratnapura ..	3052	16044	19539	15710	17847	11465	4064	18873	25283	24823	20183	15295
Kegalle ..	2092	13549	18195	15646	17235	12315	2044	12396	19754	21572	17483	15003

Source : (*a*) Unpublished data of the 1971 census (*b*) Department of Census and Statistics, 1982 Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka 1981. Preliminary Release No. 2. (*c*) Figures for 1981 estimated on the basis of area composition of Mullativu District.

TABLE 3

Number of all female according to age, district and period

District	1971[a]						1981[b]					
	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44
Sri Lanka ..	671248	631115	475188	352034	358567	271876	792365	756490	635837	553334	415721	337587
Colombo }							88478	88868	74544	66183	49124	38751
Gampaha } ..	134509	133876	104191	77423	74709	61659	71186	69701	61639	55849	41007	33098
Kalutara ..	36915	35737	29169	22791	22049	17949	40932	38849	34056	31892	25975	21886
Kandy ..	64757	63323	49217	34832	33743	23927	62514	58770	48953	45291	34552	26815
Matale ..	17302	15241	11237	8270	8640	6106	20484	19721	15363	12987	8907	7691
Nuwara Eliya ..	23902	24654	19980	13708	12885	8225	27425	27513	24419	22439	17513	13119
Galle ..	38262	35179	28770	22883	22037	18823	42181	39728	33013	30672	25610	20664
Matara ..	33186	28604	21949	15900	16939	13965	34308	32431	27192	25265	18104	15543
Hambantota ..	20308	16131	9873	7499	9559	7405	23288	22786	19197	14357	9451	8558
Jaffna(c) ..	37400	35154	24345	19787	20001	17287	48679	40497	34546	32656	23472	20109
Mannar(c) ..	3949	3502	2308	1776	1830	1413	6763	6153	4972	4053	2713	2056
Vavuniya(c) ..	4506	4159	2938	2133	2288	1670	6843	7016	5208	4232	3045	2543
Batticaloa ..	13329	10925	7979	6414	6946	5095	18772	17269	12563	10022	7910	6578
Amparai ..	13380	11826	9425	6756	6903	4827	22843	19149	15109	11668	9408	7111
Trincomalee ..	9008	8396	6198	4474	4500	3180	14395	11510	10195	7855	5837	4664
Kurunegala ..	58727	51885	34083	26337	29096	21913	66149	64597	55191	44827	33543	27637
Puttalam ..	20256	19795	13662	9602	10705	8219	24908	24222	21631	18330	13127	10601
Anuradhapura ..	20801	18029	11568	9046	10003	6795	31683	31143	25140	18429	12165	10271
Polonnaruwa ..	7731	7177	5441	3952	4094	2474	13805	13101	10690	8168	5852	4737
Badulla ..	32546	30048	24656	17625	17439	10962	38581	34533	26158	22612	18596	15352
Moneragala ..	9724	8389	6383	4336	5143	2918	13274	12405	10025	7674	5561	4605
Ratnapura ..	34733	34484	26210	18127	19728	12955	38563	40753	35564	30527	23434	17811
Kegalle ..	36017	34601	25606	18363	19330	14109	36282	35746	30463	27346	20816	17376

Source : (*a*) Unpublished data of the 1971 census (*b*) Department of Census and Statistics, 1982. Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka 1981. Preliminary Release No. 2. (*c*) Figures for 1981 estimated on the basis of area composition of Mullativu District.

TABLE 4

Number of births, according to age, district and period

District	1971						1981					
	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44
Sri Lanka ..	26834	116297	110253	70108	46988	10768	29748	130531	128345	82022	37691	8775
Colombo } ..	4809	22437	23417	14660	8227	1973	3456	14454	14870	10610	4112	891
Gampaha }							2011	8226	8581	5597	2169	179
Kalutara ..	978	5067	5469	3944	2584	701	1211	5835	6496	4617	2313	566
Kandy ..	1826	11089	11723	7146	4614	1106	1707	10868	12033	7989	3590	789
Matale ..	799	3305	2893	1769	1301	285	809	3652	3262	1895	845	167
Nuwara Eliya ..	680	4394	4672	2476	1772	313	593	4355	4669	2605	1347	300
Galle ..	756	4399	5396	4272	3045	916	998	5259	5853	4745	2525	740
Matara ..	673	4515	5224	4051	3069	862	820	5010	5835	4472	2421	652
Hambantota ..	680	3334	2610	1862	1631	413	684	3777	4045	2340	1155	294
Jaffna ..	1405	6245	6018	4028	2411	598	1310	6335	8114	6164	2582	655
Mannar ..	374	946	654	399	266	58	339	1267	1089	618	255	78
Vavuniya ..	434	1210	876	554	405	101	336	1180	997	546	247	66
Batticaloa ..	1723	3232	2347	1535	1022	195	1857	4464	3293	1842	1000	232
Amparai ..	1508	3366	2673	1281	872	139	1316	3825	2945	1586	807	163
Trincomalee ..	1148	2323	1735	988	612	117	1189	3271	2584	1506	801	181
Kurunegala ..	2258	10128	7770	4890	3625	756	2397	10597	9543	5362	2331	583
Puttalam ..	1376	4688	3412	1860	1172	237	1741	5559	4364	2272	929	181
Anuradhapura ..	1294	4653	3266	2122	1648	320	1862	7003	5286	2765	1410	291
Polonnaruwa ..	489	1815	1394	834	592	117	647	2445	2138	1194	525	135
Badulla ..	1123	6079	6303	3752	2530	518	1137	6590	5966	3127	1517	344
Moneragala ..	688	2296	1780	1112	889	133	877	3574	2777	1361	783	215
Ratnapura ..	1125	6242	5959	3699	2753	501	1513	7647	7755	5040	2353	498
Kegalle ..	684	4525	4644	2871	1946	409	756	4602	5205	3362	1467	286

Source : Unpublished data from the Department of Registrar General.

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THE SOUTH INDIAN IMMIGRANT'S TREK TO CEYLON (SRI LANKA) IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY

B. E. S. J. BASTIAMPILLAI

The profitable enterprise of coffee cultivation increased in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in the late 1830's,[1] and plantations developed rapidly in the central highlands. Initially local labour was used for clearing forest lands, but later, cheaper labour, amply available in South India, began to be employed on the coffee plantations.[2] The influx of Indian labour proliferated with a rapid opening of coffee estates. The labourers returned to India after the coffee picking season and came in again for the next year's crop.[3] They trekked hundreds of miles to the plantations, almost starving themselves, and carried back paltry savings to their homes. Walking, mostly through North Ceylon jungles, immigrant labourers endured immense hardships, after having landed usually at Mannar for their long inward journey.[4]

The immigrants had to reach the plantation districts quickly for the supply of food they carried was paltry, or else they surely perished through hunger in the forests.[5] Hence, even trivial accidents often spelt death for them for their comrades could not tarry. It was a race for life and the able, sacrificed the injured or the sick or else they too faced a fatal risk. The disabled member of a gang was inevitably abandoned in the jungle usually with a little rice and water ; his fate was death either from illness, accidents, starvation or from attacks by predatory animals.[6] Cholera and small pox ravaged these gangs of " coolies.[7] In September 1846 alone, several perished of cholera in the

1. de Silva, K. M., (ed.) *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, Vol.* 3 (Colombo 1973), p. 94 ; Bastiampillai, B., *The Administration of Sir William Gregory*–1872-1877, (Dehiwela, 1978), pp. 1-17 for an account of the growth of coffee plantations.
2. de Silva, K. M., (ed.) *op. cit.* pp. 98-99 ; Pippet, G. K., *History of the Ceylon Police* (1795-1870), (Colombo, 1938), p. 156-the influx of Indian labour commenced in 1839 with 2,400 entrants ; An Officer, late of the Ceylon, Rifles, *Ceylon, A General Discription of the Island, Historical Physical, Statistical* Vol. 3 (London, 1876), p. 309, for an account of the initial use of Sinhalese labour and statistics of Indian arrivals from 1841 to 1848.
3. de Silva, K. M., (ed.) *op. cit.* pp. 99—100 ; Pippet, G. K., *op. cit.*
4. Knighton, W., *Forest Life in Ceylon*, Vol. 1 (London, 1854) pp. 170 - 173, 283.
5. Knighton, W., *op. cit.*
6. *Ibid.* see pp. 170-173, for a moving picture of a " Coolie " abandoned on the wayside ; also see An Officer, Late of the Ceylon Rifles, Vol. II *op. cit.* pp. 309-310, for an account of the difficulties and demise among immigrant labour.
7. "Coolie" meant a labourer; it has been used in no pejorative sense, but as a descriptive term then in common parlance.

Northern province.[8] Another danger to which these unfortunate folk were prone came from fugitive criminals, who waylaid immigrant labour gangs to rob them of their pittances.[9]

But the plantations depended on the toil of these labourers and the country's economy depended on the coffee industry. Hence it became incumbent on the government to initiate some measures of relief and provide some facilities to alleviate the immigrant's hardships,[10] and to ensure the unchecked inflow of labour.

The Governor of Ceylon entrusted to the Government Agent of North Ceylon the responsibility for introducing many of these measures since the most frequented path of the immigrants lay in the area under his jurisdiction.[11] Moreover, they also landed on the coastline in the Northern province, and it devolved upon Percival Acland Dyke, the Government Agent, to execute various schemes and initiate various steps to alleviate the hardships that the immigrants confronted on their arrival and their trek through the desolate jungle paths of the north to the central highlands.

Although labourers from South India entered, sometimes *via* other points, their principal landing place from the sea was at Mannar. Hence, one of the first measures taken to better the mode of travel consisted in providing transport to Talaimannar, the coastal point of Mannar, from Rameswaram in South India where the immigrants embarked. The Government Agent, North Ceylon, was required to arrange a link by boat between these points of departure and arrival. The Colonial Secretary of Ceylon also informed the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George in Madras that the Ceylon Government was anxious to establish a regular ferry boat service for passengers, initially even gratuitously.[12] The Madras Government instructed

8. Rasanayagam, C., *The British Period of the History of Jaffna*, (Colombo, 1934), p. 156; after 1842, cholera was introduced often by labourers for the coffee estates; Ievers, R. W., *Manual of the North Central Province*, (Colombo, 1899), p. 104 ; Pippet, G. K., *op. cit*, pp. 165-166 and Ward, H. G., *Speeches and Minutes of the late Sir Henry Ward*, 1855–1860, all certify to the introduction of disease by immigrants, quoted by Balasingham, S. V., *The Administration of Sir Henry Ward*, 1855-1860, p. 51.
9. Pippet, G. E., *op. cit*. p. 156.
10. de Silva, K. M., (ed.) *op. cit*. pp. 99-105 ; Cumming Gordon, C. F., *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I (London, MIDCCCXCII), p. 303, for a view of Ceylon's dependence on immigrant labour.
11. For example, see SLNA (Sri Lanka National Archives) - 20/681-228, Chief Secretary to Collector 21 December 1832, (no number), also de Silva, K. M., *Social Policy and Missionary Organizations in Ceylon*, (1840-1855) (London 1965), pp. 237, 243-244 also see Rasanayagam, C., *op. cit*. about the route taken by labourers.
12. SLNA - 20/421-239 - Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 6 October 1858 (no number) and enclosure, Copy of letter to Chief Secretary to Government, October 6, 1838 ; also see Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 17 September 1838 (no number) - this service was to meet needs of normal travel too ; also see SLNA - 6/1421- Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 18 September 1838 from Mannar, and enclosure Colonial Secretary to Chief Secretary to the Government at Fort St. George (no date or number).

the Principal Collector, Madura, in November 1838, to cooperate with the Government Agent, North Ceylon, by assisting him in removing any obstacles that hindered the provision of such a sea travel service between the two countries.[13] The Ceylon government was anxious to ensure a supply of labour for the plantations while the Madras government was keen on providing employment opportunities for the impoverished inhabitants of South India.

Owing to eagerness displayed by both countries work was discharged expeditiously; and by 1839, in one month alone, a ferry service plied seven times to and from Talaimannar and South India.[14] The ferry boat service was officially established in April; but even before it, labourers arrived. Men, women and a few children used this service and the Government Agent provided statistics of travellers to the Ceylon Government.[15] The Government Agent and his assistants provided regular returns thereafter of labourers passing through the Northern province to the central hills, and also to India.

In June 1841 facilities for immigrant travel were extended. " If you consider another ferry boat necessary you are quite at liberty to take proper steps for establishing one for it is of great importance that the influx of labourers should be facilitated by every possible means", urged the government. "Passengers are brought over in the government boat gratis and it is probably right to continue this exemption, but as the government has no object in facilitating the return of passengers and as almost every person on his return from Ceylon carries with him ample means the Governor wishes you to consider whether return passengers should not pay some money in order to meet in some degree the expenses of the Establishment".[16] This directive to Dyke clearly revealed the objectives of the Government ; an inflow of labour alone was encouraged, but not its efflux.

There was a keen interest in providing inducements to attract labour. In early 1841, while asking for an appraisal of the success of the ferry service, the Government Agent was also urged to suggest any further means of facilitating

13. SLNA-20/412-239-Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 23 November 1838, (no number), also enclosure , copy of letter from Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, 2 November 1838, which contains instructions issued to Principal Collector, Madura.

14. SLNA - 8/116 - Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 7 March 1839 (no number) the trips were in February 1839.

15. SLNA - 8/116 - Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 8 April 1839, (no number), in March 1839 a total of 807 passengers had been conveyed in 12 trips between South India and Talaimannar in Ceylon ; SLNA - 8/116 - Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 3 May 1839 - in April, 642 passengers were carried in 12 trips ; also SLNA - 7/545 - No. 244 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent 24 August 1842 ; which required the Government Agent and assistants to provide monthly returns of labourers travelling to and fro.

16. SLNA - 7/545 - No. 160 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent - 2 July 1841 ; also see Government Agent to Colonial Secretary-earlier letter No. 233 of June 1841.

the arrival of Indian labourers in Ceylon.[17] Furthermore, the Government reiterated in August, that".. it is of the greatest importance to the colony to encourage by every possible means the influx of labourers".[18] No extra charge was levied and the imposition of any charge for the transport facilities provided was prohibited.[19] Not only was the government anxious to provide incentives for procuring labourers, it was also clear that planters were pressuring the government to do so. In 1842, the Ceylon Agricultural Society urged that facilities should be furnished for procuring labourers : and the Government Agent was asked to comply with this request.[20]

The government and the planters again demonstrated an urgent interest in coaxing the Government Agent to make every endeavour to provide attractions for inducing a flow of labour. There was a lurking suspicion that the Government Agent was not doing enough.[21] This provoked Government Agent Dyke to explain fully the measures introduced to facilitate the provision of labourers through various improvements effected by him for making travel easier and more comfortable.[22]

In addition to the labourers " passing between India and Mannar in the official vessel considerable numbers also arrived and departed in other vessels." All immigrant arrivals disembarked at Talaimannar, the Western extremity of the island of Mannar, or at Pesalai between Talaimannar and Mannar, or at Mannar, which was the regular point of entry.[23]

To counter other complaints, Government Agent Dyke pointed out that he had already recommended the erection of shelters along the immigrants' route from the coast especially at Talaimannar and Mannar.[24] But his efforts had been futile because the government had disallowed the necessary costs for constructing sheds in the annual estimates.[25] In 1842, however, provision was made for a survey of the pathway from Mannar to Talaimannar for clearing jungle and for making other partial improvements and for improving the path.

17. SLNA - 7/545 - No. 63 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, - 22 March 1841.
18. SLNA - 7/545 - No. 204 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent - 7 August 1841 ; also Government Agent to Colonial Secretary No. 281-27 July 1841.
19. *ibid.*
20. SLNA - 8/119 - No. 153 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary - 25 June 1842. Dyke furnished a lengthy and detailed observation in response to the application from the Ceylon Agricultural Society, also see No. 178 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary - 15 May 1841, on the same subject.
21. SLNA - 8/119 - No. 153 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary - 25 June 1842, Dyke furnishes a detailed observation in response to the application from the Ceylon Agricultural Society ; also see No. 178 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary- 15 May 1841, on the same subject.
22. *ibid.*
23. *ibid.* see also Pippet, G. K., *op. cit.* pp. 263-264, about the use of the port, Pesalai, in Mannar ; and De Silva, K M., *op. cit.* p. 237 about the arrivals through Talaimannar.
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.*

Unfortunately these measures could not be executed owing to the want of a trained superintendent. Therefore, if enough improvement had not been effected to make travel conditions easier for the labourers the fault was not that of the Government Agent.

The province did not extend southward beyond the Marichicottai river ; and the worst section of the route lay between Marichicottai and Puttalam.[26] The jungle around had never been cleared and travellers had regularly complained of discomfort and peril. However, since it was difficult to improve the route between Marichicottai and Puttalam because of constant floods the Government Agent suggested that a better path be laid from Mannar directly to meet the route leading from Jaffna to Anuradhapura and thence to Kurunagala. The labourers could then use this alternative route.[27]

In July 1841, the government emphasised again that every facility should be given to encourage the inflow of immigrants from India and expressed readiness to sanction expenditure for erecting buildings for accomodating labourers as proposed by the Government Agent.[28] Furthermore, provision of similar accomodation along the road between Puttalam and Kurunagala was already sanctioned. Thus some measures to ameliorate the immigrant's lot were taken.[29]

The Government's appeals for bettering conditions for immigrant labour grew more importunate yearly. In 1843, making a trifling outlay, the government wanted sufficient shelter for sick labourers passing through Anuradhapura to be provided at reasonable distances.[30] These unfortunate labourers were almost destitute when travelling *via* Anuradhapura and the Government Agent was asked to help them.[31] The duty of looking after ailing immigrants was entrusted to the headmen and they".. will be held responsible that proper attention is paid to the sick",[32] added the Colonial Secretary. Yet cholera was endemic in South India in 1844. Many lay sick and destitute in the Mannar district particularly along the road to Anuradhapura.[33] These

26. *ibid.*
27. *ibid.*
28. SLNA – 7/545 – No. 169 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 7 July 1841.
29. *ibid.* also see reference to Government Agent's despatch No. 178 to Colonial Secretary, 15 May 1841.
30. SLNA – 7/574 – No. 45 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, II February 1843 ; also see reference to No. 36, Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 30 January 1843.
31. SLNA – 7/574 – No. 46 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, II, February 1843 ; also reference to Dyke's letter, No. 28 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 28 January 1843.
32. *ibid.*
33. SLNA – 7/754 – No. 132 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 22 June 1844 ; also see Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, Western Province, No. 342, of 21 June 1844 on the same subject.

illiterate immigrants were also exploited ; undue charges were exacted by toll-keepers and even by others masquerading as toll-keepers. Therefore, police personnel to protect them from extortion were to be appointed.[34]

The Government Agent visited Mannar in 1844 and reviewed the provisions made for the benefit of immigrant arrivals and departures. The Agent and some of his colleagues had not been pleased about the government undertaking so many measures to make travel and life easier on the route for these immigrant workers.[35] They felt that the interests of those indigenous to the country instead needed more attention, rather than providing welfare and protection for the sick and other immigrant workers. Local opinion was that the Government ought to be impartial, and, therefore, the immigrants had no special claim for such favourable treatment. This view ran counter to the state undertaking to afford facilities to immigrant labourers.[36] Nevertheless, in practice, the Government Agent continued conscientiously to provide for the wellbeing of immigrant labour although he voiced the local sentiment against such solicitude.[37]

The Government Agent arranged for the maintenance of temporary rest-houses at Talaimannar, Pesalai and Mannar.[38] The general character of the measures taken by the Government were to be similar to those elsewhere in the British Empire governing the emigration of labourers by sea. Therefore, the government had to assume, even to a limited degree, the office of the protector of immigrants.[39] But the Government Agent's measures indicated that he meant to do more. An effective medical establishment at Mannar was considered essential if plans to provide for the well-being of the immigrant labourers were to be executed efficiently.[40] A quarantine, both in the boat and ashore occasionally, and sanitary measures for the benefit of the immigrants and local residents had to be enforced legally.[41] A causeway from the island of Mannar to the mainland was imperative since the improvement of communication with India through Mannar was salient.[42]

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34. SLNA - 7/574 - No. 153 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 12 July 1844.
35. SLNA - 7/754 - No. 184 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 23 August 1844 ; also see references to Government Agents, Western and Central provinces.
36. SLNA - 8/133 - No. 219 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 13 August 1844 ; also see Dyke to Colonial Secretary from Mullaitivu—22 September 1844 (no number): Steuart, J., *Notes on Ceylon and its Affairs* (London, 1862), pp. 8.-12 gives the opposition to the State favouring the planting community at the cost of the local inhabitants.
37. SLNA - 8/133 - No. 184 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 23 August 1844 . also see Dyke to Colonial Secretary from Mullaitivu - 22 September 1844 (no number);
38. SLNA - 8/133 - No. 219 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 13 August 1844 ; also see Ievers, R. W., *Manual of the North Central Province* (Colombo, 1899), p. 104.
39. *ibid.*
40. *ibid.*
41. *ibid.*
42. *Governors' Addresses :* (Colombo, 1876), Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

The government too was quite concerned of the welfare of the immigrant labourers. Shelter, relief to the sick, and protection against extortion were to be provided.[43] Government Agents of the Western and Central provinces too were required to grant similar facilities.[44] The government did not pay heed to local objections[45] to the grant of relief and protection to the immigrants and to the maintenance of an establishment for this purpose.

Later on, the government provided even better conditions. The assistant agent at Mannar undertook the provision of shelter which was a large enterprise.[46] However, the accomodation and protection provided for the immigrants were useless without a superior authority because such measures were not executed efficiently in districts so remote from effective supervision by headmen"[47].

The road from Mannar to Talaimannar was completed in 1843.[48] Trees were planted alongside to form a shady avenue and wells were dug at different points for providing water. At Mannar, permanent buildings were planned for accommodating about a thousand coolies while at Talaimannar housing for 1,500 to 2,000 was to be provided.[49] At an intermediate point between these two places housing for a minimum of five hundred labourers was to be furnished.

The Government Agent gave the statistics of arrivals and departures, in 1843 and 1844, of those who travelled in the government vessel to and from Ceylon.[50] The fee for travel to Talaimannar from the South Indian shores varied from six to nine pence. This was minimal and there was no worthwhile object, he felt, that could be attained by providing free travel. The original objectives in giving free passages were to help persons too poor to pay anything and to discourage extortionate rates being levied by private boat owners and to provide for persons to come even if there was a want of transport. But now as it was undesirable to assist the arrival of anyone utterly destitute the maintenance of government vessels for free travel was to be terminated.[51]

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43. SLNA - 8/133 - No. 184 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 23 August 1844.
44. SLNA - 7/574 - No. 184 Colonial Secretary to Government, 23 August 1844, see specially the reference to the other Government Agents.
(b) SLNA—8/133—No. 218 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent , 8 October 1844; also see Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 22 September 1844 (no number).
45. SLNA - 7/574 - No. 184 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 23 August 1844 for references to view of assistant agent, Mannar.
46. SLNA - 8/133 - No. 234 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 21 August 1844.
47. SLNA - 8/133 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 22 September 1844 (no number.
48. *ibid.*
49. *ibid.*
50. *ibid.*
51. *ibid.*

The Government continued to encourage the planting of trees along the roadway taken by the labourers and the provision of wells.[52] Temporary buildings were designed as resthouses because they were less expensive. Also, a road was to be constructed from Mannar to Anuradhapura, and a causeway to connect Mannar to the mainland.[53] Such a causeway had been needed for long but could not be built owing to the want of technical assistance. Now the Government, bent on facilitating the entry of labourers, authorised the Government Agent to use the services of the Chief Engineer[54] for building it.

The improvement of the route to Anuradhapura was recommended on a report from the assistant agent.[55] The number of " coolies " passing through Anuradhapura to Kandy had been increasing yearly while those returning through that district to the Mannar coast were even more.[56]

On their onward journey to the interior, immigrants preferred to travel along the coastline Chilaw road.[57] Provisions were readily procurable and cheaper, and up to Chilaw the labourers moved through an area where residents spoke their own language, and whose manners and customs were similar to their own. If sick or in sudden difficulty, the immigrant labourers could readily find solace among such a Tamil speaking population. Then on entering the Kandyan Kurunegala district the immigrant labourers were among a people who, because of difficulties of intercourse with the different people of the maritime provinces, were relatively unsophisticated. These Kandyan peasants were more friendly towards the " strangers " than the maritime inhabitants.[58]

The labourers also usually avoided the Anuradhapura road owing to want of accommodation along the route from Arippu to Dambulla and the difficulty of procuring provisions among a people "naturally conservative and little disposed to look favourably on strangers".[59] Further it was not easy to obtain aid in case of sickness and a ready supply of water throughout the journey of about ninety miles lasting five to six days.

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52. SLNA – 8/133 – No. 218 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 8 October 1844.
53. SLNA – 7/574 – No. 218 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 8 October 1844 ; Rasanayagam, C., *op. cit.* p. 160; a request for the causeway was made by Dyke. Unfortunately, it was never quite satisfactorily executed – see Boake, W. J. S. *Mannar-A Monograph* (Colombo, 1888), pp. 59-60.
54. *ibid.*
55. SLNA – 8/133 – No. 125 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 6 July 1842 ; see enclosure, letter from assistant agent, Anuradhapura (no date or number).
56. *ibid.*
57. *ibid.*
58. *ibid*
59. *ibid.*

On their return, however, labourers travelled *via* Anuradhapura.[60] They had spent sometime in the island and gained a better knowledge of the character and disposition of the village folk. Having acquired some knowledge of Sinhalese they could now make themselves understood. Moreover, as they had saved some money this gave them a sense of confidence and independence.[61] These observations of the assistant agent, and the Government Agent's previous recommendation to have the route from Mannar to Anuradhapura constructed, positively influenced the government and there were changes for the better.

Margosa and Banyan trees were planted on roadsides from Talaimannar to Mannar, emulating a practice prevalent in India.[62] In 1845, a hospital for immigrants was established at Chilavathurai, a health officer was assigned to Talaimannar, and attendants were employed at a temporary hospital at Anuradhapura to look after indisposed labourers.[63] Yet, the immigrants continued to be harassed by unscrupulous elements. The ferrymen at Aruviaru demanded payment from immigrant labourers although they were paid by the state and explicity forbidden to charge fees.[64] Meanwhile the energetic assistant Government Agent at Mannar had provided accommodation for the immigrants and also arranged for treating the sick in resthouses.[65]

Reporting on roads needed in the Northern province the Government Agent pressed for a link between Mannar and the Central road from Jaffna to Anuradhapura.[66] The immigrants were now using the route through Arippu which was inconvenient since they had to cross a river and traverse through an uninhabited area, illprovided with water. The new road would be shorter and run *via* an easily bridgeable tributary and villages well provided with water.[67]

The Government wanted the Commissioner of Roads to attend to these proposals speedily.[68] Special action was to be taken in regard to the serious and frequent complaints about detention of and extortion from coolies at ferries. The Commissioner of Roads, Thomas Skinner was to improve

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60. *ibid.*
61. *ibid.*
62. SLNA – 7/638 – No. 4 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 3 January 1845; also see SLNA – 8/133 – No. 344 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 9 December 1844.
63. SLNA – 7/638 – No. 249 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 16 October 1845; also see enclosures No. 257 of 24 October 1845 and No. 263 of 30 October 1845 authorising these measures advised by Colonial Secretary to Government Agent.
64. SLNA – 6/1835 – No. 280 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 18 September 1846.
65. SLNA – 6/1833 – No. 258 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 18 August 1845.
66. SLNA – 6/1917B Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 21 October 1847 from Colombo – Dyke's report on the letter from the Commissioner of Roads dated 2 October 1847 on roads from Nuwarakalaviya and the Vanni to the coast.
67. *ibid.*
68. *ibid.* also see annexure No. 66 of 13 April 1847 – Copy of letter from Colonial Secretary to Commissioner of Roads.

the roads leading from Mannar to the interior.[69] Because of the insecurity of the route and since labourers were exposed to the vagaries of the weather while travelling to and from the coffee districts he was also asked to improve the conditions for travel. Rivers *en-route* were impassable and hazardous; water was scarce and unwholesome ; and rest-sheds and other accommodation so far provided were still deficient or in a ruined state. The Government wanted this sad state of affairs remedied early.

More was still to be done for the protection and convenience of the Indian immigrant labourers. Therefore, Thomas Skinner, the Commissioner of Roads, was required to survey immediately the roads from Kandy to Talaimannar *via* Kurunegala and Puttalam, and the route through Arippu, Anuradhapura and Dambulla. He was to report on the state of the roads and the ferries, on the supply of water and repairs needed to improve the " rest-sheds " , and on hospitals, and the sufficiency of them. He had to suggest means to supply greater comfort and security to the immigrant labourers and to estimate the cost of rendering the roads safe and convenient for use.[70] The Government Agent was to assist Skinner. Obviously, what had been done upto now was hardly enough. Furthermore, the police were asked to procure information through post offices about immigrant labourers who were found dead along roadsides and also of those who had deserted the coffee estates and were fugitives.

In August 1847, Governor Viscount Torrington, enunciated the policy to be pursued in regard to immigrant labour.[71] The immigration of Indian labourers were to be placed upon a healthy and satisfactory footing and they were to be given protection and encouragement. The Council, composed of planting interests and others sympathetic to them, agreed with the Governor as they wanted a regular supply of labour.[72] Since the Governor and the Council saw eye-to-eye they naturally wanted to pursue even more generously the schemes for facilitating a steady influx of labourers. Immigrant labourers discharged from hospital were even paid allowances to induce them to return.[73]

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69. For an account of Skinner and his work, Skinner, Thomas, *Fifty Years in Ceylon*, ed. by A. Skinner (London, 1891).

70. SLNA – 20/316 – No. 111 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 13 April 1847, see enclosure copy of letter to the Commissioner of Roads, No. 66 of 13 April 1847, from Colonial Secretary.

71. *Governors' Addresses, Vol.* 1,30 August 1847, Viscount, Torrington's Address to the Legislative Council.

72. *ibid.* see *Addresses* – Reply by the Council, 2 September 1847.

73. SLNA – 20/964 – 257 – No. 315 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 11 December 1847.

Yet, in spite of this avowed intention to give encouragement and assistance for facilitating the inflow of labourers, the rebellion of 1848[74] upset these plans.[75] By August the planting community entertained serious apprehensions about the arrival of Indian immigrants. Labourers were deterred from arriving by exaggerated rumours about the disturbances which aroused fears about their safety. Therefore, the Madras government and the authorities on the Indian coast were assured that peace had been restored. They were requested to make every exertion to prevent coolies from being unnecessarily alarmed as they might otherwise abandon the intention of immigrating. However, this step alone was considered insufficient to induce the inflow of labourers.

Prompt measures were hence taken by the Government Agent and his assistants to have persons patrolling roads frequented by immigrant labourers and to station others at points of disembarkation. These officials were to ensure the safe journey of immigrant labourers and also, more importantly, to dispel among immigrants the effect of rumours. They were to assure immigrants that there was peace in the coffee districts[76] so that they could proceed to their destinations confident that they would be safe and protected. Clearly, the Indian immigrant labourer was essential to Ceylon's economy.

But the fears of the planting community that the influx of Indian immigrant labourers would decrease proved to be wrong. Immigrant labourers continued to arrive;[77] conditions in India were so indigent and although there was much to be desired in the conditions under which they laboured here still they were better. The immigrants continued to come in and the government continued to take measures to attract them. A tank reservoir in Mannar district was deepened for providing water for their use,[78] and the Government Agent submitted monthly statistics of arrivals to the Colonial Secretary.[79]

In 1851 more sheds to house labourers on their way to estates were erected on the central road from Jaffna to Anuradhapura.[80] This road had now been built and was increasingly used by immigrants. In the next year, the new

74. See for a discussion on the anticipated effects of the rebellion on the inflow of labour, Steuart J., *Observations on Colonial Forbes' Pamphlet on the Recent Rebellion in Ceylon, in a letter addressed to a Friend* (Colombo, 1850), pp. 5-7 ; for an account of the rebellion see de Silva, K. M. (ed.). *op. cit.* pp. 252-258.
75. SLNA - 20/854 - 259 - No. 183 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 2 August 1844.
76. *ibid.*
77. SLNA - 20/854 - 259 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, Circular of 16, August 1848.
78. SLNA - 6/1940*a* - No. 176 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 3 June 1848.
79. SLNA - 6/2070*a* - No. 191 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 11 May 1850 ; also see SLNA - 6/2097 - No. 262 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 13 October 1851.
80. SLNA - 6/2096 - Part II - No. 158 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 16 June 1851.

road from Mannar to meet the Central road at Madawachchiya which came to be used by the immigrant workers on their way to the coffee plantations was also provided with resthouses.[81]

Again, both in 1853 and 1854, expenditure on the establishment maintained for affording assistance to immigrants was increased.[82] The pressure to provide more and better facilities grew greater and the government succumbed to it. Permanent sheds to replace temporary types were erected in 1855 at Talaimannar, Mannar and other points on the way to the plantations. Adequate accommodation, recommended by the Government Agent, was provided.[83] Furthermore, Governor Henry Ward[84] took special interest in enhancing facilities as he clearly recognised the misery of the immigrant. Hospitals were improved and *kanganies* or supervisors, and patrols were provided at places like Maradankadawela to ensure the well-being of the travelling labourer.[85]

However, a new problem arose now. The French in India had begun to crimp for labourers, and their activities extended even to Ceylon.[86] The Chief Secretary to the Fort St. George Government informed Ceylon's Colonial Secretary having heard from a magistrate in South Arcot, that French agents watch out for labourers proceeding from South India to the plantations in Ceylon. Then those immigrant labourers are taken for transport ultimately to Bourbon through the French port at Karaikal in South India.[87] The Government Agent of North Ceylon was warned to be vigilant and to prevent any enticement of coolies from his province. But this warning proved futile for there was no attempt to take away the immigrant labourers by the French during this period.

Meanwhile the Planters Association at Kandy appealed to the Governor requesting that accommodation for immigrants be further improved along the road through Anuradhapura to Kandy. Moreover, shed-keepers were

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81. SLNA – 20/920 – 266 – No. 16 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 21 January 1852.
82. SLNA – 6/2238*b* – Part I Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 10 July 1854; also see SLNA – 20/549 – 270 – No. 204, Colonial Secretary to Government Agent 23 September 1854.
83. See for general description of this, Ward, H. G., *Speeches and Minutes of the late Sir Henry Ward*, 1855-1860, (Colombo, 1864); and Balasingham, S. V., *The Administration of Sir Henry Ward*, 1855-1860 (Dehiwala, 1968) pp. 51-61.
84. Sir Henry Ward, Governor of Ceylon, 1855-1860 – for an account of his career, see Ward, H. G., *op. cit.* and Balasingham, S. V., *op. cit.*
85. *ibid.*
86. SLNA – 20/999 – 267 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent – Circular 21 October 1852.
87. SLNA – *ibid.* see enclosures – No. 865 Chief Secretary Fort St. George to Colonial Secretary, Colombo, 14 September 1852 and Extract from a letter from Magistrate of South Arcot, 21 August 1852.

warned strictly that no fee should be levied from labourers for occupying the rest-sheds.[88] But as abuses prevailed still, more improved accommodation was ordered to be provided soon and assistant government agents of districts were required to supervise the management of rest-sheds for preventing mal-practices of keepers.[89] The Government strongly acknowledged that a smooth and steady supply of labour to the coffee districts was indispensable and since the colony's revenue was buoyant it was possible to expedite the improvements.[90] Permanent buildings to replace temporary housing for labourers were constructed at Talaimannar, Mannar and other points at a cost of £ 300.[91] New sheds were erected at some places, and some sheds at certain places were set apart to serve as hospitals. Altogether, a sum of £ 1,150 was spent on these improvements following the demands of planters. Governor Ward was particularly enthusiastic and energetic, and many measures to enhance existing facilities and to supply deficiencies were initiated thereby providing more comfort to the unfortunate immigrants.

Minor roads leading from main roads to resting-sheds, and then to wells or rivers were further cleared of jungle growth.[92] Sheds were erected at new points, and more patrols were provided for protecting immigrants. *Kanganies* were renting out visiting bungalows to travellers for a consideration ; this practice was prohibited and such abodes were kept to house only immigrant labourers. After providing proper accommodation which was a primary need, immigrants were also furnished with useful information and assistance so that they could reach the coffee districts with minimum difficulty. A sum of £ 1,550 was spent on implementing these proposals.[93]

Planters' pressure on the government, however, was mounting. They even urged that any state expenditure should only be for furthering their interest, one of which was the provision of inducements to attract immigrant labourers by furnishing them with greater comfort and convenience. The Governor too in turn was deferential and declared that, "In this readiness to meet their wishes the Governor hopes that the planters" will see a proof of his conviction, that the best interests of the community are identified with the success of the enterprize in which they are embarked, and that no-efforts will be spared to ensure to them the most beneficial application of that portion

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88. SLNA – 20/272 – No. 94 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 4 May 1855.
89. *ibid.*
90. *ibid.*
91. *ibid.*
92. *ibid.* also see Ievers, R. W., *op. cit.* p. 216 for an account of road construction in Anuradhapura and Lewis, J. P., *Manual of the Vanni Districts* (Colombo, 1895), pp. 213-222 provides an account of roadmaking in the Vanni.
93. *ibid.*

of the general revenue which can equitably be appropriated to their wants."[94] But the planter's were really asking far too much; an advancement of only their interests and attention to their wants alone. Hence, the Governor explained that there were others advancing similar claims and he wanted to do all that could be done to divide fairly the means at his disposal among the different groups in the island.[95]

Governor Ward's measures naturally increased expenditure on establishments maintained or provided for the welfare of the immigrants. Spurred by the Governor's interests, the officials in provinces and districts too paid greater attention to the immigrants' welfare. In May 1857, the Government Agent and his assistant at Anuradhapura wanted more money[96] spent on hospitals, food and medicines for sick labourers. It was warned that, "It is probable that proposals for further increases as for medical attendance in particular will continue for some time to be brought forward."[97] Increased funds were therefore granted by the Government.[98]

The assistant agent at Mannar wanted to construct a bridge on the road leading to Kandy, which was used by a large number of labourers, because a ferry there proved unsatisfactory. The assistant at Anuradhapura wanted to build a hospital for immigrants, and to employ *kanganies* and patrols[99] along the road. The expenditure on facilities for immigrant labour really escalated and during the time of Governor Ward, the government also provided a steamer to the Cooly Transport Company, a mercantile establishment that transported immigrants to and from Ceylon.[100]

Yet in 1862, fresh arrangements had to be made again for transporting immigrants based on proposals from William C. Twynam, assistant agent, Mannar.[101] Twynam took an active interest in and showed much sympathy for the welfare of the immigrant labourers, and moreover, he also had a knowledge of nautical affairs. Therefore, according to Twynam's scheme[102]

94. SLNA – 20/272 – No. 94 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 4 May 1855 and enclosures.
95. *ibid.*
96. SLNA – 6/2385 – No. 144 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 20 May 1857.
97. *ibid.*
98. SLNA – 6/2385 – No. 144 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 20 May 1857, see especially reply to Colonial Secretary No. 216, 8 June 1857 to Government Agent.
99. SLNA – 6/2349 – No. 34 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 30 January 1856 ; also see SLNA – 6/2350 – Nos. 206 and 208, Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 19 July 1856.
100. *Governor's Addresses*, Vol. I, *op. cit.* p. 350.
101. SLNA – 20/285 – 419 – No. 29 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 1 February 1862.
102. *ibid.* also see No. 86 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 24 March 1862 in reply to Colonial Secretary's No. 38 of 17 February 1862, to Government Agent : and SLNA – 20/645 – 425 – No. 38 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 17 February 1862.

vessels were chartered for providing a packet service for labourers from and to India. The Collector of Customs managed the vessels and supervision of arrangements at the landing point was delegated to the assistant government agent, Mannar.[103]

In the 1860's there was even more concern for providing welfare facilities for immigrant labourers. Greater pressure from various quarters, especially the planting interests, accounted for this. The Government Agent detailed fresh works and further arrangements required for facilitating the passage of immigrants to the plantations. The Secretary to the Immigrant Labour Commissioner had pointed out to the Colonial Secretary the necessity for officials to visit rest-sheds at least monthly to ensure that they were well-kept and sick labourers were assisted. Hence, the Government Agent and his assistant were required to inspect the sheds regularly.[104] Moreover, since false and frightful rumours about epidemics had been spread among labourers, which could discourage movement to Ceylon the Governor wanted these rumours dispelled.[105]

The Government now displayed an interest also in conditions on the points of embarkation in South India. Rest-houses or *maddams*, were to be built at Mandapam and at Devipatam, the port northward of Pamban. More facilities for temporary accommodation were furnished at ports of disembarkation and along the route to the interior.[106] As conflicts had arisen between emigrant labourers and the residents of Devipatam owing to the latter's objections to labourers drawing water from wells because of caste prejudices, wells for exclusive use of labourers were to be provided.[107] With these new measures, the Governor felt happy that the "immigration scheme" would function satisfactorily."[108]

At this time Indian administrative authorities, however, were not so cooperative. The Governor requested the authorities at Madras to provide accommodation and wells for use of emigrants to Ceylon on the routes to

103. SLNA - 20/645 - No. 77 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 31 March 1862 ; also No. 83 of 4 April 1862, from Colonial Secretary to Government Agent.

104. SLNA - 20/411 - 285 - No. 124 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent ; also see enclosure No. 2119, Secretary, Immigrant Labour Commissioner's Office, to Colonial Secretary 3 July 1861.

105. SLNA - 20/411 - 285 - No. 44 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 14 August 1861; also see Government Agent's No. 132, Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 27 July 1861 which acquainted the Governor of the circulation of such rumours and the Colonial Secretary's letters to Government Agent, Kandy and the Immigrant Labourer Commissioner referred to in this despatch, also see de Silva K. M., *op. cit.* p. 263.

106. SLNA - 20/1454-421 - No. 148 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 10 May 1862 ; also see Government Agent's No. 133, to Colonial Secretary of 30 April 1862 for details of the plan for bettering conditions for immigrant labour.

107. *ibid.*

108. SLNA - 20/645-425, Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 26 June 1862.

ports of embarkation from Trichnopoly, Tanjore and Madura districts from which the labourers came. Since such sheds and wells would be solely for the benefit of labourers for Ceylon the Madras Government refused to incur any expenditure in constructing them,[109] and wanted the cost to be borne either by the Ceylon Government or the Planter's Association for whom such labour was essential. With such an attitude nothing helpful was done in South India.

But once again, the need for buildings for immigrants at Devipatam and for improvements to the ferry route from Rameswaram was stressed[110] since Twynam the assistant agent himself had witnessed the inconvenience undergone by labourers at Devipatam.[111] Owing to the want Indian cooperation the assistant agent of Mannar himself had to provide the shelter at Rameswaram pier.[112] A Superintendent of Immigration who had been now appointed however notified Ceylon of suitable sites for sheds selected by the authorities at Pamban.[113]

In spite of these efforts there still remained shortcomings in the arrangements made for the welfare of immigrants. In June 1863 the Government Agent complained of the lack of adequate means for transporting labourers.[114] Consequently large numbers of immigrants were detained at ports and this tended to spread sickness, which was often brought in by them. Since government had assumed responsibility for transporting labour, engagement of private vessels for conveying workers had been discontinued. Unfortunately, however, this service was not being carried out satisfactorily. Thereby the interest of the labourers, the country, the planting community, and the Indian government, which was anxious that its subjects should not suffer, were in jeopardy. The Government Agent alleged that neither he nor his assistant had been provided enough means for transporting the immigrants and should therefore be not held responsible for ill consequences that could occur owing to deficiencies.[115]

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109. SLNA - 20/1435 - 287 - No. 283 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 17 October 1862 - also see enclosure No. 1161 - Chief Secretary to Fort St. George to Colonial Secretary, Colombo. 1 October 1862, in reply to Colonial Secretary's No. 46 of 5 August 1862.
110. SLNA - 20/1454 - 421, No. 343 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 10 October 1862.
111. *ibid.*
112. SLNA - 20/1454 - 421 - No. 403 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 22 November, 1862.
113. *ibid.*
114. SLNA - 20/1703 - 423 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 1 June 1863. (no number).
115. *ibid.*

This strong representation was followed by improvements. In August 1864 Major General O'Brien,[116] commented that the government's ferry system between South India and Mannar was a success and that it was undesirable to discontinue it until the immigrant labourers preferred taking the more expensive but more comfortable route by steamer to Colombo.[117] The planters' sensing that labourers would always choose the less expensive mode of travel had really prevailed on the Governor to continue the ferry service between Pamban and Mannar.[118] But the officials thought of abandoning this service, and of allowing immigrants to enter *via* Colombo and in September 1866 a Company was floated to ply steamers from the Indian coast to Colombo.[119] But, it was still doubtful whether it would be possible to induce immigrant labourers to give up the North route *via* Mannar and take to the steamer and the route from Colombo to the coffee estates.

The Government Agent, Northern province, reckoned the immigration service an " already expensive service " in 1865.[120] Yet, greater expenditure on it was inevitable. Rocks off Rameswaran island were a hazard to immigrant vessels plying between Mannar and Devipatam in South India. As officers supervising the transport service were responsible for ensuring the safety of immigrant labourers he recommended that a light-vessel should be placed at perilous points on the route as a precaution.[121] Mr. Reidy, the Superintendent of Immigration, and the assistant agent, Mannar, were managing the transport service.[122] Although the Governor approved the stationing of a light-vessel, the Government of Madras objected,[123] and there was no alternative but to withdraw the light-vessel. The Government Agent was then asked for alternative schemes for ensuring the safety of vessels passing the rocks off Rameswaram on their way to Mannar.[124] Finally, in 1866, it was decided on advice from Madras that instead of a light-boat off Rameswaram to display a red light from the mast or pole of vessels.[125]

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116. O'Brien was Lieutenant - General during the Governorship of C. J. Mac Carthy (1860 - 1865).
117. *Governors' Addresses, Vol. II*, (Colombo, 1877), pp. 38-39.
118. *ibid.*
119. SLNA - 20/989 - 293 - No. 188, Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 4 September 1866.
120. SLNA - 20/53 - 431 - No. 68 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 20 March 1865
121. *ibid.*
122. *ibid.*
123. SLNA - 20/779 - 292 - No. 201 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 17 August 1865 ; also see annexure No. 165, Fort St. George to Colonial Secretary, 22 July 1865.
124. SLNA - 20/779 - 292 - 212 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 30 August 1865.
125. SLNA - 20/989 - 293 - No. 54 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 16 March 1866.

In the meantime shelter-sheds too continued to be built by contractors on the road from Mannar to Madawachchiya.[126] As suggested by the Chief Engineer, the assistant agent, Mannar, supervised the work so as to ensure that contractors fulfilled their engagements.[127] In 1865, at a cost of £50, more wells were also constructed. "It would be difficult to overestimate the relief afforded to the coolies by the wells which have been provided along the line of road and it is most desirable that they should be kept in an efficient state"[128] asserted assistant agent, Twynam. It is easy to agree with him considering the extreme heat and arid desolation of Mannar.

The successful management of the immigrant service was largely due to assistant agent Twynam's and superintendent of Immigration[129] Reidy's personal efforts. However, it was still the responsibility of the Ceylon government to make an arrangement with the Madras government for providing suitable care for immigrant labourers in South India. Else, all the efforts of the Ceylonese authorities could fail and a regular supply of labourers would collapse.[130] But, unfortunately, while Ceylon was providing more and more for the comfort and convenience of immigrants, the Indian authorities showed little responsive cooperation. The welfare of the immigrant labourer became Ceylon's and not India's burden.

With immigrant labour came cholera and small pox.[131] These diseases were so recurrent and regular that many were the measures taken to combat the scourge of epidemics. In Talaimannar, and all along the route taken by these labourers, not only the immigrant, but, unfortunately, even the indigenous inhabitant suffered perennially. In 1854, an exasperated Government Agent confessed that the source of infection was the labourer and that nothing could be done to prevent outbreaks of diseases as long as there was immigration.

Immigrants travelling along the central road to and from the estates through Anuradhapura were so stricken by cholera in the 1850's that a good many died along the roadside.[132] Patrols from Mannar to Dambulla were

126. SLNA - 20/587 - 291 - No. 138 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent 7 June 1865.
127. *ibid.* also see annex-correspondence between Chief Engineer, his assistant and the Colonial Secretary - Chief Engineer to Colonial Secretary, No. 494 of 12 May 1865 ; Assistant Chief Engineer to Chief Engineer, No. 207 of 2nd May 1865 ; and Colonial Secretary's reply to Chief Engineer No. 523 of 22 May 1865.
128. SLNA - 20/725 - 432 - No. 170 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 22 June 1860
129. SLNA - 20/725 - 432 - No. 98 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 21 April 1866
130. *ibid.*
131. Rasanayagam, C., *op. cit.* p. 156 - Ievers, R. W., *op. cit.* p. 99 for the conclusion of the Committee, appointed in 1866 to report on immigration, that frequent outbreaks of cholera stemmed from immigrants, and pp. 103, 104, for accounts of outbreaks of small pox and cholera epidemics and deaths on the wayside.
132. SLNA - 20/1153 - 276 - No. 230 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 29 September 1857.

employed to detect sick labourers so that they could be isolated for treatment, and also to have deceased " coolies " buried. The cost of these patrols were to be borne by the planters.[133]

Since, the Colonial Secretary's office was inundated with reports in 1857 the Governor inquired from the Government Agent of the number of cholera victims found along the road from Mannar to Dambulla.[134] At one time about forty corpses were known to have been lying unburied. Meanwhile, the assistant agent at Anuradhapura too reported that cholera was prevalent among immigrant labourers at Madawachchiya hospital;[135] and the Colonial Secretary called for a statement from Government Agent Dyke, about the incidence of cholera among immigrants at wayside rest bungalows.[136] Persons found dead on the roads were also frequent and assistant agent, Anuradhapura, wrote, "You are probably aware that the coast coolies generally leave behind on the road (not at the bungalow), any of their companions taken ill".[137] This was not unusual as the immigrant labourers could ill-afford to wait behind and tend their sick companions since they would have suffered if they had done so.

Although cholera and small pox epidemics broke out from the time the immigrant labourers started arriving, it was only in the 1850's that attention came to be paid to this problem following the increasing interest taken then by administrators. In 1858, the Government Agent, Central Province, where the coffee plantations were, wanted the road taken by the immigrant labourers to the coffee estates to be placed under medical supervision.[138] The Government Agent, Northern province, also pointed out the need for a medical establishment.[139] Both his assistants at Mannar and Nuwarakalaviya, areas through which came the labourers, concurred with him. This special establishment

133. SLNA - 6/2386 - No. 200 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 15 July 1857; also see SLNA - 20/778 - 264 - No. 86, Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 7 May 1851, and Government Agent's No. 183 of 25 April 1851 ; and especially SLNA - 6/2304 - No. 449, Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 29 December 1854 and enclosure, Report on the district of Nuwarakalaviya for 1863.

134. SLNA - 20/1153 - 276 - No. 230 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 29 September 1857.

135. SLNA - 6/2386 - No. 280 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 19 September 1857 ; also see enclosure No. 278, from assistant agent, Anuradhapura, to Government Agent, 11 September 1857.

136. SLNA - 6/2386 - No. 310 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 15 October 1857 : also see enclosure No. 172, from Government Agent to Assistant, Anuradhapura ; No. 172, assistant agent, Anuradhapura, to Government Agent , 10 October 1857; and also No. 355, Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 3 November 1857 and enclosure letter from assistant agent, Anuradhapura.

137. *ibid.* see enclosure No. 172 assistant government agent, Anuradhapura, to Government Agent, 10 October 1857.

138. SLNA - 6/2438 - No. 46 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 8 February 1858 ; also enclosures—extracts from letters to Government Agent from assistant agent, Anuradhapura.

139. *ibid.*

for catering to the needs of the immigrants was to be supervised by a properly qualified independent medical head and not a member of the normal medical service. Government Agent Dyke had make a similar suggestion as early as 1844 and 1847, but then the administration had been indifferent. A medical officer in-charge, a dispenser, and five medical practitioners at various stations *enroute*, were to compose the new medical establishment. The American missionaries in Jaffna had trained young men in medicine and the Government Agent wanted them to be used in this set-up as it was economical and also gave employment opportunities for such personnel.[140]

While cholera was the most common malady that afflicted labourers small pox was an equally serious ailment. In 1858 the assistant agent, Mannar, observed that immigrants arrived at Pesalai frequently instead of disembarking at Talaimannar and that they introduced small pox there and an health officer was necessary.[141]

At attempt was made to get *kanganies* to attend to sick labourers ; but not with much success.[142] These *kanganies* reported frequent and many deaths of immigrant labourers owing to dysentry or fever complicated by diarrhoea-obvious symptoms of cholera ; but, they could not deal with these cases intelligently even after receiving general instruction from medical sub-assistants. Such reports now were disturbing to the government and the Colonial Secretary regretted that the Principal Civil Medical Officer could not take some salutary action to combat this menace.[143]

More serious, to the Government Agent were the ill-effects of these epidemics in areas through which immigrant labourers passed.[144] In May 1858 the Government Agent arrived" .... with great reluctance at the conclusion that the population of the island of Mannar of the maritime districts of the mainland, and of those in particular of the Vanny or inland Pattoos which adjoined the line of road followed by the Indian immigrants has of late years decreased.[145] In addition to the illnesses caused by the insalubrious climate and other conditions that prevailed as a check on the increase of population " .... of

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140. *ibid.*
141. SLNA - 6/2438 - No. 71 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 8 March 1848 ; also see enclosures extract of letter from assistant agent, Mannar to Government Agent, and Colonial Secretary's No. 101, 27 March 1858 to Government Agent urging the Principal Civil Medical Officer to attend to this problem ; Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 19 September 1864 (no number).
142. SLNA - 6/2438 - No. 120 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 19 April 1858 ; also see enclosure, assistant government agent, No. 84 to Government Agent, 9 April 1858.
143. SLNA - 6/2438 - *ibid.* see enclosure, Minutes of Colonial Secretary's office, 26 April 1858.
144. Ievers, R. W., *op. cit.* pp. 103-104.
145. SLNA - 6/2438 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 21 May 1858.

late years has been superadded the most constant prevalence of Cholera".[146] In Nuwarakalaviya too the disease was not only introduced, but, also increased annually because this.... presence (of coolies), is an unmitigated curse to the people of these districts".[147] No wonder that the Government Agent emphasised this factor when he pressed for a steamship travel service[148] as that would take the immigrants to the southern part of the island and away from these districts.

Evidently Dyke wanted his province to be freed of these epidemics. But the government paid no heed for as the planters suggested the easiest route for the coolies was *via* Mannar ; and that was to be maintained. To the administration, more than the interest of indigenous inhabitants, the interests and the pressure of the planters were telling. But the arrival of the immigrant labourers stricken with disease continued to create havoc among local inhabitants. In 1861 the people of Mannar district showed reluctance to go to Mannar whenever cholera raged.[149]

Meanwhile, pressure from planting interests on the administration to provide even better facilities for labourers and thereby ensure a steady and increasing supply of labour grew weightier. In 1859, the planters really got agitated when a local newspaper alleged that, "Of one million of Tamils who have come to Ceylon since the real commencement of the coffee enterprise in 1837, at least 250,000 have found graves in its soil".[150] This grave charge made publicly, indicated that out of four, who had left India for Ceylon, one died. Planters felt that it was too monstrous a reflection on them to be treated indifferently. If the charge was substantially true a remedy for the state of affairs was required ; or else, ".... no time should be lost in contradicting a statement so fraught with prejudice to the best interests of the country and the character for common feelings of humanity of the planters and the Executive of the island",[151] complained the Chairman of the Planters' Association, R. B. Tytler, to the government. The correct number of departures, he said, cannot be ascertained because labourers often travelled back in *dhonies* (native crafts) picked up by tindals off ports. The Government was asked therefore to ascertain the extent to which returns furnishing numbers of departing coolies

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146. *ibid.*
147. *ibid.*
148. *ibid.*
149. SLNA - 20/285 - 419 - No. 183 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 26 October 1861 ; also see SLNA - 20/347 - 415 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary from Murunkan, 14 March 1859.
150. SLNA - 20/295 - 280 - No. 86 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 4 April 1859 ; see enclosures - Letters from Chairman, Planter's Association, R. B. Tytler, to Colonial Secretary, 11 March 1859, and the newspaper referred to was the Colombo Colombo Observer.
151. *ibid.*

were reliable.[152] The Government Agent was also required by the Colonial Secretary to supply henceforth quarterly returns of arrivals and departures of immigrants from ports in the Northern province.[153]

The Government Agent answered that it was easy to obtain accurate returns of arrivals as labourers landed in Mannar, Talaimannar or Pesalai from May to September;[154] but when they departed, between November and April, they also left from the Southern Coast from places where no records were maintained. This was because of the movement of vessels according to the prevailing direction of winds. Hence returns of departures were defective[155] and to obtain more accurate returns of arrivals and departures hereafter an ordinance enacted in 1860 prohibited shipment of passengers from any port or place except from those notified in the Government Gazette.[156] The Government Agent was asked to cooperate with the Customs department in enforcing this rule.

Meanwhile, although expenditure on medical facilities was being increased– £ 200 or more for the hospitals for immigrants at Anuradhapura and Mannar were required in September 1859[157] – the ravages of cholera waxed unabated. In 1860 there were complaints of deaths among labourers in the estates in Matale and Rangalla districts owing to cholera introduced by immigrants entering *via* the North road; ". . . . all the men seem determined to come by the North road this year, and I believe that several gangs of our coolies have turned back being afraid to come from fear of Cholera which is destroying the men coming by that route" complained Andrew Nicol, a planter.[158] "If few hundreds of the many thousands spent by the immigration Labour Commissioners had been applied to the amelioration of the route thousands of additional coolies would have arrived and many human lives spared", he added[159] Nicol wrote to the Governor suggesting that shelter should be kept clean and wells pure. Efforts of the earlier years to improve sanitary conditions had not proved so successful, but it was equally evident that none had a clear notion of the infectious and fatal nature of cholera in these years.

Such forceful representations from planters naturally diverted the attention of administrators towards further improving medical and sanitary facilities. Out of £ 1,000 sanctioned for expenditure on immigration in 1859-60, the

152. *ibid.*
153. *ibid.*
154. SLNA – 20/1147 – 416 – No. 167 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 11 July 1859.
155. *ibid.*
156. SLNA – 20/891 – 294 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, Circular of 16 October 1860.
157. SLNA – 20/1147 – No. 240 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 14 September 1859
158. SLNA – 20/891 – 284 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 1 August 1860 ; also see enclosure from A. Nicol to Colonial Secretary, 28 July 1860.
159. *ibid.* see enclosure, letter of Andrew Nicol to Colonial Secretary 28 July 1860 – see postscript.

Government Agent recommended that a part could be spent on the employment of two men who had received medical education from the American Mission[160] to attend on sick labourers along the Northern road. In December 1861 additional funds were again spent for management of the hospital for immigrants.[161]

But only in September 1862, did the Principal Civil Medical Officer really moot a scheme to cater to the needs of sick labourers. He consented to exercise a control over medical officers stationed along the road between Mannar and Kandy ; the superintendence of all matters relating to the health of the immigrants also came under his supervision.[162] Thus matters connected with sick immigrants were exclusively assigned to the Principal Civil Medical Officer, but other matters, relating to labourers, continued to be under the charge of the Government Agent and his assistants.[163] The Principal Civil Medical Officer was hereafter entrusted with a general control over medical officers and exercised general superintendence over matters related to the health of immigrant labour on the roads.

The Government Agent, however, objected to this arrangement stating that the assistant agents were performing these functions and that any system implying a division of authority between medical officers and assistant agents might not function harmoniously. Nevertheless the scheme was introduced.

Meanwhile, cholera among arrivals continued to be constant and common. In April 1862 immigrants at Pesalai and along the central road and in Nuwarakalaviya[164] were afflicted. In September again cholera raged among itinerant labourers on the central road and in the Vanni pattus of Mannar. The helpless Government Agent exclaimed : " The extent to which this district. of country suffers from this disease, as introduced into it by the immigrant coolies has often been noticed by me to Government".[165] But this cry was

160. SLNA - 20/285 - 419 - No. 133 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 31 July 1861.
161. SLNA - 20/285 - 419 - No. 210 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 3 December 1861.
162. SLNA - 20/1435 - 287 - No. 248 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 22 September 1862 ; also see enclosure, a copy of the Principal Civil Medical Officer's scheme.
163. SLNA - 20/1454 - No. 349 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 14 October 1862 ; also see Colonial Secretary's Nos. 248 and 264 of 22 September 1862 and 3 October 1862 ; and No. 378, 6 November 1862 to Government Agent.
164. SLNA - 20/1454 - 421 - No. 115 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 19 April 1862 ; also see SLNA - 20/1454 - 421 - No. 417 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 27 November 1862.
165. SLNA - 20/1454 - 421 - No. 312 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 23 September 1862.

futile. The labourers were needed at whatever cost, and in 1864 cholera was introduced again by the immigrants.[166]

Under such circumstances, administrators in the North could only continue with newer measures hopefully expecting to combat this regular pestilence. Plans were even undertaken for providing an establishment of men and boats for attending to the sick on board immigrant vessels before they could land. Twynam, assistant agent, Mannar, had explained the benefits of such a preventive scheme at Pesalai[167] to the Governor.

Although the Governor was convinced of the merits of Twynam's scheme the sub-committee on the supply ordinance of 1863 was sceptical.[168] It was suspected that the money for providing attendants to care for the sick on board the immigration vessels " may possibly be perverted from the purpose for which it was granted".[169] This imputation irritated the assistant agent and he asserted that it was morally impossible that there could be any irregularity in the hiring and payment of attendants. The Government Agent wanted both him and his assistant to be defended against such an allegation[170] and to strengthen his case he forwarded a letter to the Governor from his assistant at Mannar describing the mannar in which sick immigrants on board vessels had been treated.[171]

The unremitting efforts of Dyke and his assistant at Mannar and Anuradhapura were still insufficiently rewarding. More disease affected not only incoming labourers but even those outgoing, and on the Indian side they were left utterly helpless. Therefore, the Planters' Association at Kandy drew the attention of the Ceylon Government to the reports of conditions in which labourers often landed on the Indian coast.[172] During the outbreak of epidemics,

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166. SLNA - 20/786 - 428 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 5 October 1864, (no number written while on circuit) ; also see enclosures No. 56 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 14 February 1861 in reply to Colonial Secretary's No. 206, 13 August 1863 ; Government Agent's Nos. 43 ; 123 ; 85 ; of 20 January 1851, 13 May 1851, 23 April 1852 also of 1 May 1852 and Colonial Secretary's replies Nos. 96 31 May 1851 ; also of 24, May 1862 - this last despatch gives all details of sickness reported and measures planned to combat it.
167. SLNA - 20/1454 - 421 - No. 322 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 25 September 1862.
168. SLNA - 20/1703 - 423 - No. 436 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 15 December 1862.
169. *ibid.*
170. *ibid.* Dyke emphasised that the need for such an arrangement had been demonstrated by Twynam and was necessary in terms of Clause 49 of Ordinance 15 of 1858 - this ordinance was enacted by Governor Henry Ward, (1855-1860), for the management and control of vessels, since vessels had occasionally capsized earlier - see Ward, H. G. *op. cit.* quoted in Balasingham, S. V., *op. cit*, p. 52.
171. SLNA - 20/1703 - 423 - No. 446 Government Agent to Colonial Secretary, 25 December 1862 and letter of assistant government agent, Mannar, 28 April 1866.
172. SLNA - 20/293 - No. 93 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent, 28 April 1866.

which were usual, labourers proceeding from Ceylon to their villages fell a prey to disease while crossing the Pamban Channel. They arrived on the Indian Coast with no prospect of obtaining medical assistance and were usually left to die uncared and unprovided for.[173]

Having coaxed the Government to do as much as it could in Ceylon, the planters urged it to attend to the needs of the sick labourers on their journey homeward through India. Such relief was called for on grounds of humanity alone, "but when it is considered to what extent the colony is indebted to the Tamil Cooly",[174] the Government should accede to their requests, they emphasised. The Government alone could provide remedial measures to combat such a situation argued the planters who wanted the government to bear the responsibility for implementing their suggestions although they were mostly and ultimately in their interests. The Chairman of the Planters' Association made this obvious when he stated".... but presuming that it would cost double the aggregate amount, it will bear no proportion to the benefit that the Colony would derive by relieving the wants of those passing to and fro between this and India and thereby offering an encouragement to others to come over".[175] The Planters required an unfailing supply of labour, and the State had to provide all facilities to get it.

This representation in 1866 from the Planters' Association at Kandy, was referred to Government Agent Dyke. The Association had wanted hospitals and staff to be furnished on the Indian side of the Pamban Channel for the use of immigrant labourers. The Colonial Secretary asked Dyke to report on the necessity, feasibility and the cost of such a scheme. The immigration of labour may be diverted to Colombo by steam vessels on the completion of the railway to Kandy and the proposal had hence to be considered in the context of that probability, advised the Governor.[176]

The diseases to which immigrant labourers regularly fell a prey and their distressing conditions had by now received so much publicity, and pressures from many quarters for an amelioration of their lot were applied at all levels. Hence, in 1866 , even the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London was provoked to call for periodical reports on the actual condition of the Indian labourers.[177] The Governor required from the Government Agent half yearly comprehensive reports[178] with particulars such as the number of immigrants in

173. *ibid.* see enclosure letter from Chairman, Planters' Association, Kandy, to Colonial Secretary, 12 April 1866 ; and copy of Associations' Resolution of 17 February 1866.
174. *ibid.*
175. *ibid.*
176. *ibid.*
177. SLNA - 20/989 - 293 Colonial Secretary to Government Agent - Circular of 21 May 1866.
178. *ibid.*

the province, births and deaths among labourers, their wages, days of work, provisions for education, their general conditions of health and other details such as medical facilities available.

However, sadly, in spite of the efforts taken by the Ceylon government, although useful changes were effected and beneficial measures were introduced,[179] the plight of the immigrant labourers continued to be poor even in the years after. Most of the concern for the immigrants came as a result of planter pressure and because of the economic importance of South Indian immigrant labour to Ceylon and her plantations at this time. Even the initial and occasional hesitation arising out of the *laisser faire* concepts of these years in the 19th century was overcome owing to pressure from British commercial and mercantile interests ; and the colonial government of Ceylon endeavoured hard to soften the hardship of the immigrant labourer on his journey mainly to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour for the coffee plantations in central highland Ceylon. Despite the desire not to intervene because of the attitude of the administration, influenced by *laisser faire* beliefs, the government of Ceylon did, although not too successfully, interfere to make things better for the Indian immigrant labourers but more to make things easier for the British planting interests.

179. Ievers, R. W., *op. cit.* pp. 14, 104-105, for details of the improved facilities furnished.

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NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

A. B. TALAGUNE

INTRODUCTION

The subject of Rural Development today, is receiving the attention of politicians, administrators, academics and funding agencies more than ever before. It is almost an axiom in the developing countries that the path to national development lies through Rural Development.

Rural Development is " a process of fundamental social and economic change in agrarian societies that covers all sectors".[1] The success of programmes and activities connected with Rural Development depends on the extent to which the over-all policy frame work of the Government is oriented to overcome the conditions and forces that have led to wide dispartities between the rural poor and the urban rich. An understanding of the rural society and the interdependencies, therefore, is a pre-requisite in rural development planning.

According to a UNDP survey " the rural areas contain on the average 75% of the national population of the developing countries and 80% of the " Poverty Group " - people earning $ 50 or less per year or whose income is one third the national average".[2]

The same study concludes that two basic shifts are needed in Rural Development strategy : *viz.*,

" Closer involvement of the local population in the full process of Rural Development Planning and implementation".

"Strong committment by Governments to redistribute to the rural poor not only resources, but also the means to permit capital accumulation".[3]

It must be observed that Rural Development is not a special type of Development which is unconnected with the rest of the national development strategy. It depends on a number of factors like, health, education, agricultural and industrial development processes and policies, nutrition, social

1. UNDP Evaluation Study No. 2 Rural Development-June 1979.
2. - do -
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stratification, ownership of means of production, access to productive inputs etc. Since the problems vary from region to region and from time to time the solution too should vary. Therefore, one cannot possibly prescribe a common formula as the best solution to all our rural problems. Any solution offered, depends on the degree of political acceptability as well as the responsiveness of the rural poor.

Rural Development after Independence

Rural Development as a government sponsored activity was started in the early forties. In 1940, a branch was created in the Department of Commerce and Industries for rural development work. In selected villages, Rural Service Centres were established and Rural Development Officers were posted to such centres. By 1948 there were 70 such Service Centres.

After the Independence, in March 1948 a separate Department for Rural Development was created. In a memorandum submitted to the Government by the first Director of Rural Development Mr. B. F. Perera, the importance that should be attached to the rural development was stressed, and a detailed programme of how the village should be developed by forming Rural Development Societies and Womens' Welfare Societies at village Headmen's division level was drawn up. It was suggested that the members of these societies should devide themselves up into subcommittees to tackle various aspects like Agriculture, Health and Sanitation, Irrigation, Education, Social and spiritual upliftment, marketing, local industries etc.

The need to train the village level leaders, village surveys, co-ordination of effort, forming of Divisional and District consultative committees, propaganda, and the provision for additional staff were other points of importance that were highlighted in the memorandum.

Unfortunately, however, the memorandum had suggested that the village improvement be entrusted to the village elite which is another barrier to development. It says, " Men with local influence and a flair for rural development work—chairmen and members of village committees, retired and serving Koralas, retired Village Headman, Registrars, School Teachers and other voluntary workers of the right type should be utilised to carry out propaganda in rural areas on the potentialities of the movement".

This top-down approach suggested and adopted from the very beginning of the movement helped only a certain section of the village viz., the well-to-do or the elite. By co-opting the so called village leaders, the poorer sections towards whom the efforts of development should have been directed, were unwittingly left out.

However, in fairness to the official rural development work in the past it must be stated that the Rural Development Societies that were created by circulars did some useful work which was beneficial to at least some sections of the society. It became a rallying point for the other governmental activities whenever the need to pass a message to the people arose, whether in the field of health and sanitation, agricultural extension work, education, cultural activities or even political propaganda.

It gave an impetus to local arts and crafts, and cottage industries developed to a considerable extent. Hidden talent was brought to the surface and prominence and encouragement was given to develop the same. Agitation by Rural Development Societies to open up schools, dispensaries, roads and construct village tanks is noteworthy. With the help of the food aid supplied by the World Food Programme of the Food and Agricultural Organization, nearly eight thousand village tanks have been renovated between 1974 and 1980, thus providing irrigation facilities to village fields.

In times of distress, floods, famines epidemics and cyclones, the members of the Rural Development Societies have done immense voluntary work to rehabilitate those who were affected.

The needlework centres started by the Rural Development Department sometime ago have now extended their activities to things like, cookery, first aid, Home gardening, flower making, toy making etc. and have helped to some extent the village girl to prepare herself to be an able housewife.

New Experiment in Participatory Rural Development

In 1978 a searching evaluation was carried out to ascertain whether the conventional lecture room type of training imparted at the Departmental Training Centres served any useful purpose in turning out village leaders.

The Department of Rural Development which was formed in March 1948 continued to move from one Ministry to another till September 1978 when the new Ministry of Rural Development was established. Its objectives were laid down as follows :

"The Ministry of Rural Development is charged with the overall responsibility of formulating the Government's Policy on Rural Development, initiating and promoting Rural Development Programmes and ensuring their effective implementation."[4]

4. Annual Estimates of the Revenue & Expenditure of the Govt. of Sri Lanka 1982 – Head 87.

In early 1978, the then Ministry of Public Administration & Home Affairs under which the Department of Rural Development functioned, and the Academy of Administrative Studies in consultation with the UNDP and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation which was funding the Rural Development Training Programme, conducted a series of in-depth discussion workshops with some local and Indian sociologists who were attached to the UN Asian Institute in Bangkok, to determine what alternative approaches might be more appropriate. These discussions took into consideration the concern expressed by the new government of President Jayewardene on the need to mobilise Rural Youth for development in their own areas to reverse rural urban migration and to utilise village level resources.

In june, the same year His Excellency the President and the Cabinet of Ministers were informed by the Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs of his intention to conduct a pilot experiment in training of Change Agents who would mobilise rural youth in undertaking self-reliant rural development.

The necessity for this experiment arose out of the failure of the traditional type of rural development to bring about a meaningful development in the village. The top down approach initiated in 1948 continued till 1978 (and even to this day) failed to recognise the human aspect of development and gave too much prominence to the provision of infrastructure which, of course, is undoubtedly necessary. The importance attached to overall development of the human personality was negligible. The poorest of the poor were left out. Human beings were treated merely as objects of development and the villager was thought of as a person who cannot stand on his own without outside assistance and that he need to be told what to do and what not to do.

The new approach as envisaged in the experimental programme views development "in fundamental humanistic terms, as a process of overall development of the people and their potential."[5] Focus is on the release and mobilisation of the creative energy of the people as the central task of development, based on the principles of self reliance and participation.

Past experience has shown that development has to come from within the people themselves and that it cannot be brought to the people. It is like taking a horse to the water. People's participation is a sine qua non in development. Passive approval by the raise of hands is not participation in the real sense. It amounts to merely getting the sanction of the people for a preconceived plan of action by a few individuals who may not have consulted the beneficiaries.

5. Tilakaratne S.-Training & Action Research in Rural Development - First Review 1979.

The new programme commenced in August 1978 with the launching of the initial training activity of the 15 core trainers who were drawn from nine (9) different disciplines like Rural Development, District Administration, Plan Implementation, Public Health, Rehabilitation work, Agrarian services, Journalism, Education and Plantation management. They were grouped into four batches and were attached to four different locations which were different from each other in physical, social and cultural aspects. The locations are : Udunuwara in the Kandy District, Minuwangoda in the Gampaha District Pinnawela (close of Avissawella) in the Colombo District, Mirissa in the Matara District.

The trainee groups lived in the above locations conducting village surveys and having discussions with villagers, investigating the problems and potential and gaining experience as Change Agents themselves.

In March, 1979 they were sent to India and Bangladesh with UNDP assistance to observe similar programmes in those countries.

After the initial training of the above core group several others were taken in and put through the same pace. However, quite a number left the programme or had to be removed as they were either incapable of making the sacrifice of giving up their comforts and living in the village or were unable to grasp the fundamental principles of the programme.

Subsequently, two batches of Rural Development Officers numbering 50 were taken in and are under training at present. The type of training is the same as given to the core group except the experience in India and Bangladesh. It is a self learning process by interacting with the villagers for a period of time.

The number of locations has increased to 24 and in many of them village level activities have commenced.

The achievements of the trainers are encouraging as well as revealing. The mode of entry into the village is quite different from the traditional approach to village situations by government officers. In the past the government officers went into the village with a certain amount of power and arrogance, treating the villagers as people who knew nothing and that the public officers knew everything. Our trainers entered the village incognito devoid of the official garb. Result was that they were able to win the confidence of the villagers in a shorter time than their counterparts who, very much conscious of their official status, enter the village in an official vehicle and keep company with the village elite.

The new approach to Rural Development which is slow in spreading, differs in many significant respects from the earlier approach.

Firstly, as opposed to the conventional approach of implementing a pre-designed plan and imposing it on the people, the new approach gives pride of place to the people themselves. They are consulted and the plans are designed by them or with their approval.

Secondly, it recognises the fact that people know what is best for themselves and that they are not mere objects of development. The development should come from within and therefore participation is necessary.

Thirdly, it is an active process in which the participants take initiatives as well as action which are stimulated by their own thinking and deliberations.

Fourthly, self reliance and participation are the cornerstones of the new approach. Instead of depending on external assistance and aid people rely on their own strength and initiative.

Finally, the new approach does not regard the rural community as a homogeneous entity. The inherent conflicts and contradictions in the village society are recognised as fundamental facts of village life.

Looked at objectively, there exist two basic groups : one, consists of the vast majority who need and will benefit from change, the other, consists of a small minority who will resist change because their interests and elitist position will be affected if change is allowed to enter the village society.

Inspite of the conflict of interests between the two groups in the village society they are also mutually dependent on each other. This is because the poor are disunited and have very limited staying power in contrast with rich whose connections with the bureaucracy and the politicians place them in a position of strength from which they are able to dictate to the poor.

Due to this pitiable position, the poor are unable to take economic, social or political initiatives to improve their lot and thereby tend to be "non-innovative, non problem solving and non-experimental". Under these conditions any external assistance coming into the village will only benefit the rich.

It is at this point that the intervention of a catalyst or a change agent is necessary to break the vicious circle and set in motion a process of development by releasing the creative initiatives of the people. It is a task that both the Government officials as well as the non-governmental voluntary workers have failed to perform, because the former attempts to direct and impose

things from above and the latter merely deliver a ready made package of benefits. In either case people turn out to be passive and non appreciative. The result is that the core of the problem remains unsolved, and only a trickle-down effect is felt at the bottom.

The change agents who are initiating the new rural development movement are a different type to both the Government officials and the voluntary extension workers. They identify themselves with the people and work with them closely. Thereby they establish confidence in the villager. They go to the village as learners and not as teachers. In that way it is easier to understand the people and get them to initiate action.

As a result of the catalystic intervention of the Change Agents many new activities have got started in the village. Production and Marketing of such commodities, as betel leaves, rubber, spices, coir, milk, brassware, cadju, etc. are some of the activities that were initiated at the locations.

Perspectives of Future Development

Rural Development as mentioned earlier is not a separate type of Development that can work in a water tight compartment. It is not just another link in the long chain of national development. It is an important link because it is connected to the grass roots and is concerned with the human aspect where the beneficiaries or the recepients should be treated with due recognition and respect and not as mere objects of development.

Re-organisation of the village level societies in Sri Lanka is necessary to provide better opportunities for the rural poor to participate in development activities connected with their areas. The societies as they are today are dominated by a few individuals who belong to the upper stratum of the village society. They are found in almost every society in the village occupying a key office in every one of them. A person may be a President in one society, a Secretary in another and a Treasurer or a Committee member in the third.

In order to avoid this situation, not only should the multiplicity of village level societies be reduced but also they should be organised on a " Interest group" basis. This means that those who belong to certain trades or professions or who have common interests should be organised to form separate societies. A common forum for a group of people with divergent interests will hardly be a success, and that has been failure of our Rural Development Societies which were started with the best of intentions.

Elimination of the middle man and the money lender by indirect intervention by the state in providing marketing facilities and credit facilities to the rural poor will go a long way to improve the economic conditions in the village.

A random village survey would indicate that due to lack of credit and marketing facilities, as much as sixty per cent of the local resources are not properly utilised by the villagers and that amount constitute the surplus getting into the pockets of unscrupulous middle men and which if allowed to remain, would increase and generate further income.

Since Rural Development is total development of the rural areas, co-ordination of activities of other departments or divisions becomes necessary as all those activities are interconnected. Agriculture, Food, Irrigation, Textiles and Cottage Industries, Housing Health, Education, Transport etc., are all linked with one another.

Co-ordination is also necessary, if the people are to be benefited by the various extension services of the Government. This calls for a change of attitude of the Government Officers who should instead of being parochial in their outlook, and confining themselves to their own departments, should take a broader view from the national standpoint. They should go to the people, live with them win their confidence and should be prepared to forego some of the comforts that they enjoy in the city in order to be of greater service to the rural poor.

As long as the public officers remain aloof from the people, the latter will not take the former into their confidence. For generations they have known the officials to be making rash promises and mollycoddling them with soothing words to get over difficult situations. Sincerity in dealing with the people is essential for the establishment of a good rapport.

Free education and mass media have made the common man of today more alert than his predecessor three decades ago. What he needs is not paternalistic pampering but proper guidence in the right direction. Shown the way he will develop himself without being a burden on the State.

External assistance is necessary up to a point, but too much of it will kill the initiative and make him dependent. Political freedom we enjoy today can be meaningful only if we make the villager economically independent.

Providing every thing by the state will never make the villager independent unless alongside what is provided by the state, the villager develops the attitudinal change which will make him self reliant.

Self reliance is the most important " new value " that should be created to develop the rural areas. " The rural poor have been too long subservient to the rural rich and to the ' Officer ' sent from the city."

This has resulted in sapping the initiative and vitality of the poor on the one hand and exploitation on the other, thus perpetuating the dependency relationship. It is only by rejecting soft options and resolving to be self-reliant that the poor could come out of the pitiable position that they have been in all these years under the colonial masters as well as the local conteparts.

Politicians too will have to contribute their share to bring about the attitudinal change necessary for the people to be independent. They should think more in terms of being the representatives of the people than the rulers of the people. The 'Ruler-ruled' relationship will only widen the gap between the Politicians and the people and alienate the ruled from the rulers.

"Participatory democracy is not the formal voting of leaders into power once in every five years and passive obedience in between ; it is not merely Government of the people and for the people, but also and more fundamentally 'by the people.' In the Asian context it precludes, therefore, dictatorship of the 'elite' over the masses, of the city over the countryside, and of the modern sector over the traditional, and new forms of external control which would dilute the process of democracy. Moreover, there is no room in this participatory system for power-wielding, through intelligent leadership, which is alien to the broad mass of the people and tends to strengthen its own position at the expense of the latter, nor is there a place for the unaccountable and unresponsive bureaucrat who considers it beneath him to have any interaction with the masses."[6]

It is, therefore, evident that any attempt to develop the rural areas must be preceded by changes of national policy. The policy of the Government to decentralise the administration and to delegate certain powers to the District Development Councils is commendable and will have salutary effects in the development of rural areas, as political as well as economic power has to be held by the people if development is to be in the interests of the people.

"People", in the words of the Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, "are the best creators and defenders of their own human rights-including the right to eat. Freedom is essential to development and not just a product of it. But freedom does not mean, and must not be allowed to mean, the freedom of the Rich and the Clever to exploit the Poor and the Ignorant."[7]

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HISTORICAL LANDMARKS IN THE ORIENTATION OF SCIENCE PLANNING IN SRI LANKA

M. A. T. DE SILVA

Abstract

The historical progress of science planning in Sri Lanka follows the general pattern in which the initial phase was institution-building to promote scientific research. The unique feature during the first two decades of this century was the assemblage of foreign scientists of exceptional qualities, who dominated the fields of agricultural and medical sciences bringing world - wide reputation to the country. This initial thrust resulted in the establishment of an exceptionally good infrastructural base for scientific research.

An event of significance just prior to independence was the formation of the Chemical Society of Ceylon, which initiated the formation of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, and also negotiated with the colonial administration to get recognition for a high level Scientific Advisory Committee.

The years that followed independence were characterized by the efforts to indigenize science and create an autonomous apex organization for promotion of research and science planning. The result was the establishment of a two-tier science planning structure in which one organization assumed ministerial ranking.

The final section traces the efforts made by governmental and non - governmental organizations to initiate the process of science planning in Sri Lanka.

The Global Scene

A policy on scientific research formulated in relation to the development objectives of the country, constitutes a major component of a policy on science. Hence the development process for institutionalization of scientific research, is a significant aspect in the history of national science planning. It is interesting to note that till about the end of the last century, when a few industrial ventures in the West set up small professional research laboratories for product development, there was hardly any national efforts to organize industrial research (1).

However, in the field of agriculture, the thrust generated by the new advances in chemistry during the early part of the last century, led to extensive outdoor experimentation in search for efficient crop production systems. Such experimentation which demanded organized effort and planned deployment of essentially private finances and land, ultimately led to formalized scientific research. This was clearly seen in the formation of some of the best known centres of research in England and France.

Thus the classical experimental work of the celebrated partnership of Lawes and Gilbert in the 1840's, in the family estate of Sir John Lawes, paved the way for the creation of the famous Rothamsted Research Station in England (2).

The present evidence therefore seems to indicate that until a high level of professionalism was reached towards the latter part of the nineteenth century, and scientific research activities were institutionalized, there was hardly any signs of either an explicit or implicit expression of science planning, even in the Western World.

Possibly the earliest efforts in national science planning was in the Soviet Union, which began collecting and publishing data on scientific and technological activities from the early 1930's(1). In the United States, it was not until 1953 that the first official survey was made of the total resources deployed on professional research and development. These were evidently the first significant and conscious efforts to initiate the science planning process at national levels. Since then both developed and less developed countries have strived with varying degrees of success to harness, transliterate and assimilate the fruits of science and technology for the benefit of their peoples through planned programmes.

In the case of less developed countries, many of which were under colonial domination till about the middle of the present century, the non-existence of a mechanism for co-ordination and planning of science was a major setback. In these countries therefore the initial thrust was for the creation of an appropriate research council for planning and co-ordination of scientific activities. Such organizations when newly created invariably passed through a period of intense activity during which time they evolved, transformed or even re-created their form and structure, until a stable state was reached.

Even in this state, research councils' functioned purely as advisory bodies, or at most operated at a lower functional level in national science planning. Realization of this problem invariably led to the creation of a cabinet-ranking organization which was either a ministry for science itself or a planning commission. In some countries the creation of a research council preceded the formation of the high level Planning Commission or Ministry, while in others it has been the reverse. It has thus been a common feature in the development history of science planning that at least two bodies should be created at different functional levels, one of which assumes cabinet ranking. Table 1 below summarizes the formation and functional levels of national science planning organizations in some Third World Countries.

Scene in Ceylon during Colonial Times

Although Ceylon had been under colonial domination for nearly 450 years, it was during the British rule that a significant endogenous basal structure for science began to appear. Possibly the earliest event of scientific importance in Ceylon (later known as Sri Lanka) was the establishment of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Peradeniya in 1822, which concentrated on the selection, introduction and acclamatization of indigenous and exotic species of flora.

TABLE 1

Establishment of National Science Planning Institutions in some Developing Countries (During 1950-1970) a. b. c.

Country	*Science Planning Organizations* (*a*) *First (High) Functional Level* (*b*) *Second (Low) Functional Level*	*Date of Esablish-ment*	*Reporting Authority*
Burma	(*a*) Ministry for National Planning	—	Chairman, Revolutio-nary Govt. Ministry for National Planning
	(*b*) Research Policy Direction Board	1965	
Cameroon	(*a*) Ministere, du Planet du Developpment	1966	President de la Re-pulique federale
	(*b*) Office National de la recherche scientifique et technique	1966	Ministere du Plan et du Developpment
Ghana	(*a*) Ministry of Economic Planning	—	—
	(*b*) Ghana Academy of Sciences	1963	Ministry of Education
India	(*a*) Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet	1956	Cabinet of Ministers
	(*b*) Department of Science and Technology	—	Cabinet of Ministers
Indonesia	(*a*) —	—	—
	(*b*) Indonesian Institute of Sciences	1967	President
Jamaica	(*a*) Ministry of Finance and Planning	—	Cabinet of Ministers
	(*b*) Scientific Research Council	1960	Ministry of Finance and Planning
Kenya	(*a*) Ministry of Economic Planning and Development	—	—
	(*b*) —	—	—
S. Korea	(*a*) Ministry of Science & Technology	1967	President
	(*b*) Economic and Scientific Council	1963	President
Madagas-car	(*a*) Commissariat general au Plan	1960	Presidence de la Repub-lique
	(*b*) Comite' national de la recherche scientifique et technique	1961 (re-organized 1963)	Vice-Presidence du gouvernement
Nigeria	(*a*) —	—	—
	(*b*) Nigerian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	1966	Federal Government of Nigeria
Pakistan	(*a*) Scientific and Technological Research Division	1964	Presidential Secretariat
	(*b*) National Science Council	1961	Scientific and Technolo-gical Research Division

TABLE 1 *(Continued)*

Establishment of National Science Planning Institutions in some Developing Countries (During 1950—1970) [a, b, c.]

Country	*Science Planning Organizations* *(a) First (High) Functional Level* *(b) Second (Low) Functional Level*	*Date of Establish-ment*	*Reporting Authority*
Philippines	(*a*) National Science Development	1958	President
	(*b*) —	—	—
Sri Lanka	(*a*) Ministry of Scientific Research and Housing	January 1968	Cabinet of Ministers
	(*b*) National Science Council	November 1968	Ministry of Scientific Research & Housing
Turkey	(*a*) Scientific and Technical Research Council	1963	Prime Minister
	(*b*) —	—	—
Zambia	(*a*) Office of National Development and Planning	1965	Government
	(*b*) National Council for Scientific Research	1967	Autonomous

(*a*) *World Directory of National Science Policy Making Bodies.* (1968). Vol. 2 Asia and Oceania, UNESCO, Paris.

(*b*) *World Directory of National Science Policy Making Bodies.* (1968). Vol. 3 Latin America, UNESCO, Paris.

(*c*) *The Promotion of Scientific Activiy in Tropical Africa* (1969). Transactions of the Symposium on Science Policy and Research Administration in Africa, Cameroon 1967, 38-39 UNESCO, Paris.

During this early British period, Ceylon was not an economically useful acquisition until the commercially viable plantation sector was established in the 1830's. It was first coffee, rubber and coconut, and later when the coffee plantations were destroyed by a fungal disease in the 1860's tea took its place. The progressively increasing stress on an export-oriented plantation sector, naturally led to the decline of the traditional rural agricultural systems for food and subsidiary crops. This is clearly seen in the reports and papers published in the '*Tropical Agriculturist*' during the latter part of the last century. Incidently, the '*Tropical Agriculturist*' founded in June 1881 (and published by A. W. and J. Ferguson), is said to be the oldest agricultural journal in the East, and certainly it is the oldest journal in the world devoted to *tropical* agriculture (3). Its earlier volumes traced the progress and setbacks in agricultural development in Ceylon, and later began to record the scientific work of the Royal Botanic Gardens, the Agricultural Society (founded in 1905) and the Agricultural Department (established in 1912).

Previously the establishment of the Colombo Museum in 1876 with separate sections in biology and entomology, followed by a section on geology, mineral science and petrological science in 1877, set the stage for a new scientific orientation in Ceylon (4).

In 1880, with the appointment of Henry Trimen as Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, work of high scientific merit were carried out. His treatise on the " Flora of Ceylon", the first volume of which appeared in 1893, remains a masterpiece in taxonomic botany. In 1896 after T. C. Willis succeeded Trimen as Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, some of the pioneering experiments on rubber tapping were carried out (5). In 1901, Willis established the experimental station at Peradeniya, and in 1903 the Dry Zone Research Station at Maha Illuppallama was inaugurated.

These were indeed the first attempts to institutionalize research in Ceylon, although still without clear policy guidelines or a research orientation.

The formation of the Ceylon Agricultural Society in 1905 was an important event, because it was destined to be the nucleus of the future Department of Agriculture. One of its first tasks was to take over the publication of the *Tropical Agriculturist* and transform it into a truely scientific journal.

It is said that between 1901 and 1912 Willis had assembled a brilliant team of scientists comprising of a mycologist (T. Petch), an agricultural chemist (M. K. Bamber), an entomologist (E. E. Green), a horticulturist (H. F. Macmillan), an animal husbandry specialist (G. W. Sturgess), a rubber and cocoa specialist (H. Wright) and a coconut specialist (N. K. Jardine), whose scientific contributions were considered to be of the highest calibre by any standard (5).

By this time the country's reputation in the world of tropical agriculture was such, that a strong lobby began for the establishment of an " Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture", a proposal which later materialized in Trinidad (5).

At the time of Willis's retirement in 1912, the stage was set for the establishment of the Department of Agriculture with separate divisions for botany, mycology, entomology, agricultural chemistry etc. Thus for the first time research, extension and other scientific services in the field of agriculture came under one administrative authority, although a few enthusiastic individuals like the Gate Mudaliyar A. E. Rajapakse were not to be deterred to continue single-plot experimentation, independently on private lands (6).

During the first decade of this century two other important events occured. The first of these was the inauguration of the De Soysa Bacteriological Institute on the 31st of January 1900 (7). Although two well known Ceylonese doctors held the post of Acting Director of this Institute between 1900 and 1903, it had to await the arrival of an Italian physician by the name of Aldo Castellani (later Sir Aldo Castellani) to take over as its first permanent full-time Director. Castellani had been a brilliant physician and researcher, whose contributions had received world wide acclaim. It is recorded that prior to his premature retirement in 1915, Castellani had made a strong but unsuccessful bid to establish a Medical Research Institute (7).

As much as the period 1900 to 1912 has been described as the " Golden Age " in the agricultural sciences (5), the period 1900 to 1915 has been referred to as the " Golden Era " in the history of progress of medical science in Ceylon (7). Yet the circumstances which attracted such a star-studed team of scientific talent from overseas to this small Island Colony remains enigmatic.

The second important event was the establishment of the Mineral Survey in 1903 with Ananda Coomaraswamy as the Principal Mineral Surveyor. Its main function was the examination of economic mineral resources. However, over the years its functions changed from mineral surveys to geological surveys and geological mapping, which finally resulted in its name being changed to the Geological Survey Department in 1962 (8).

Another significant development during this time was the initiative taken by the British authorities to set up research institutes for the plantation sector. These were of course mainly to serve the British economic and trade interests, since the research policies of these institutes were very much influenced by what were later recognised as the " Scientific Advisory Committees", for tea and rubber, based in London.

The first such institute to be established was the Rubber Research Institute (RRI), which came into existence at Agalawatte in 1910. This was followed by the Tea Research Institute (TRI) at Talawakele in 1918, and the Coconut Research Institute (CRI) at Lunuwila in 1928. In the case of the TRI and RRI, the divisional heads and the Directors' were usually British nationals, while at the CRI the Director was always a non-national.

Yet it is noteworthy that in the early 1930's, these research institutes were instrumental in commencing probably the first ever long term statistically designed field experiments of their kind anywhere in the world. The classical experiment on coconut laid out by M. L. M. Salgado in 1935 stood for 30 years while the corresponding experiment on Tea, which was started by T. Eden a few years earlier remained for even a longer period (9, 10).

As opposed to the situation in the plantation sector, in the other fields of agricultural research, the highly qualified Ceylonese scientists worked with dedication and honour at the frontiers of science (11). Induced by shortages of food caused by two devastating world wars, these scientists turned their attention to rice cultivation, concentrating mainly on breeding trials for the selection of high yielding purelines.

In the field of medical sciences too major changes took place during the period 1920 to 1945, especially in relation to institute - building and organization of scientific work. The primary function of the Bacteriological Institute was to carry out routine medical tests, and in order to widen the scope of its activities a mycological laboratory and an entomological laboratory were established in 1922. In 1936, the Pasteur Institute which had been set up in 1918, was also absorbed into the Bacteriological Institute, and two years later a department of nutrition was added. In 1942, a department of parasitology was set-up and in 1944 the Department of Blood Plasma was added. Finally by March, 1946, due to the efforts of Dr. A. Nimalasuriya, the first Ceylonese Director of the Institute, the Bacteriological Institute was redesignated as Medical Research Institute (MRI). By then the MRI possessed the nucleus of practically all sections of medical laboratory disciplines which were essential to back-up the clinical work of the network of hospitals (7).

Thus by this time, despite the trauma of a colonial administration, and a British dominated framework for research, an alien scientific culture had become firmly naturalized in the country, although still without being fully indigenized. It is against this backdrop that the formation of the first Ceylonese-dominated scientific body in the country becomes significant. Following a suggestion made by N. G. Baptist, the chemists of the day assembled on the 25 of January 1941 to form the Chemical Society of Ceylon, with A. Kandiah as its first President, and A. A. Hoover and M. L. M. Salgado as Joint Secretaries (12).

The formation of the Chemical Society of Ceylon was an epoch-making event for more than one reason. It is recorded that in December 1942, just two years after its formation, the then British Governor of Ceylon had given formal recognition to the appointment of the " Scientific Advisory Committee", named by the Chemical Society of Ceylon (12). Although the main functions of this Committee were to advise the Government on matters pertaining to industrial development and research, it is not known how long it functioned, and how effective it had been as a scientific advisory body. Nevertheless the recognition granted to it is a unique achievement for a newly formed professional body.

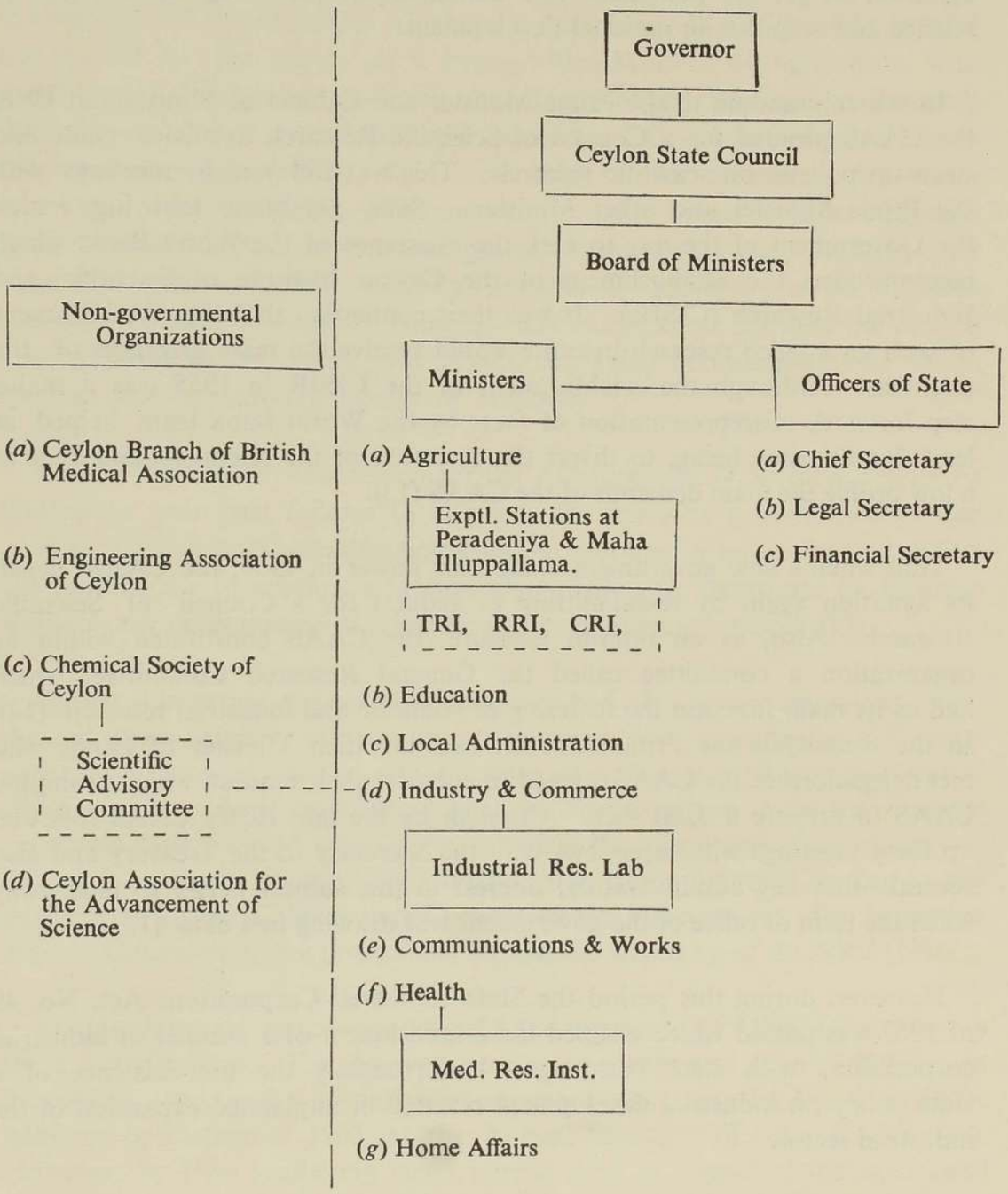
Secondly, in December 1943, on a suggestion made by D. H. Wadia, a former President of the Indian Science Congress, the Chemical Society of Ceylon spearheaded the formation of the Ceylon Association of Science (12), which in July 1944 was then constituted as the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science (CAAS). The ability of the Chemical Society of Ceylon to bring together scientists, engineers, medical personnel and social scientists under one banner was indeed a remarkable achievement.

Unlike the Chemical Society of Ceylon, the Engineering Association of Ceylon (Est. 1906), and its counterpart in the medical profession, had their origins in truely colonial tradition, with domination by non-nationals during the initial phases, and remaining so for quite sometime during their formative stages. The Medical Association was established on the 26th of February 1887 as the Ceylon Branch of the British Medical Association, and retained its links with the British parent body for 70 years (till 1957). On the other hand, in the Engineering Association of Ceylon, key positions of the Society were held by non-nationals till the late 1930's. Hence it is presumptive that at least during the first four decades of this century, these organisations while promoting professional interests, may have knowingly or unwittingly sustained colonial interests. It is in this context that the role of the Chemical Society of Ceylon in striving for a indigenous self-reliant scientific structure becomes relevant.

Thus when Ceylon gained independence in February 1948, a creditable scientific organizational framework had been created which was not only capable of producing high quality research in the key areas of medical and agricultural sciences, but was also geared to draw expertise and professional advice from independant scientific bodies. This organizational structure which thus had a rudimentary mechanism for planning of science, may be provisionally depicted as in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Diagramatic Representation of the Administrative Structure during 1944 – 1948 Showing Linkages with Science



The Obstacle Race after Independence (1948-1969)

The formation of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science in 1944 was indeed the turning point in science policy orientation in the country. Because within four years of its inauguration, it began its historical agitation to get the politicians and administrators to recognize the role of science and scientists in national development.

In a memorandum to the Prime Minister and Cabinet of Ministers in 1948, the CAAS pleaded for a Council of Scientific Research to advice, guide and draw-up policies on scientific research. This was followed by meetings with the Prime Minister and other Ministers. Such persistent lobbying forced the Government of the day to seek the assistance of the World Bank, which recommended the establishment of the Ceylon Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research (CISIR). It was their contention that the establishment of such an applied research institute would resolve the main grivances of the scientists. Although the establishment of the CISIR in 1955 was a major step forward, misrepresentation of facts by the World Bank team helped at least for the time being, to divert the attention of the scientists, and keep at a low profile the main demands of the CAAS (13).

Thus when a new government came into power in 1956, the CAAS began its agitation again by re-submitting its request for a Council of Scientific Research. Also, as an interim measure, the CAAS constituted within its organization a committee called the General Research Committee, which had as its main function the fostering of scientific and industrial research (14). In the meanwhile the Prime Minister and the then Minister of Lands who met delegations of the CAAS, agreed to consider their request, which prompted CAAS to prepare a draft Act. Although by the late 1950's CAAS followed up these meetings with interviews with the Secretary to the Treasury and also several other key administrators, interest in this subject began to fade away when the term of office of the government was drawing to a close (13).

However, during this period the State Industrial Corporations Act. No. 49 of 1957 was passed which enabled the establishment of a number of industrial corporations with state patronage. Unfortunately the non-existence of a state policy on industrial development resulted in unplanned expansion of the industrial sector.

In the plantation sector the most significant feature during this era was the sustained effort to shake off the remnants of imperial domination in the research institutes for tea, rubber and coconut. It was unfortunate that even almost 10 years after independence, Ceylonese scientists occupied only minor positions in these research institutes. Records however, show that the Boards

of Management of these Institutes were often dominated by Ceylonese nationals (15, 16, 17), being mostly the English-educated and British-trained elite from the upper strata of society, who were quite hesitant to rely on the skills of local scientists. Whether these attitudes were the result of an infliction of the " dependency syndrome " so characteristic of newly liberated nations, will no doubt remain a debatable question. In fact it might be said that if not for the efforts of a strong-willed Minister of Agriculture, who introduced sweeping changes through the Tea, Rubber and Coconut Research (Amendment) Act No. 8 of 1957, the process of Ceylonization would have taken a much longer period. The clause 10(*a*) of this amending Act which states that, " In the exercise of its powers, ... the Board shall be subjected to and act in accordance with such general directions as the Minister may issue from time to time", virtually brought to an end the autonomous character of these Institutes. Although this escape route brought the desired effects, events of later times showed how, on many occasions adverse consequences resulted through misuse of authority.

In 1961 the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, despite its frustration over past failures to convince the previous governments of the need to have an apex scientific organization, adopted a resolution requesting the new regime to appoint a Science Commission to investigate the facilities available for development of scientific and technological research (13).

During this period CAAS representatives had also several interviews with the Industries Ministry officials to sort out problems, until finally a Cabinet paper was prepared for the establishment of a National Research Council (NRC). The CAAS however, expressed dissatisfaction over the Cabinet proposals as it was not planned to institute the proposed Council by an Act of Parliament. During 1963 further discussions followed leading to the drafting of a fresh Cabinet paper proposing the appointment of a 5-member Science Commission as a preliminary step to the setting up of the NRC (13).

At this stage, the government sought the assistance of UNESCO to set up these organizations. The final proposals were approved by the Cabinet in November 1963, and a formal announcement was made by the then Prime Minister in December 1963, at the Annual Sessions of the CAAS (18). However, by 1964 conflicting views were evident in respect of the ministerial representations on the NRC. Further it was decided by the Prime Minister that a Science Commission was not necessary to set-up the NRC. It was also decided that a meeting of representatives from the various departments, and organizations conducting research should be convened to prepare a new Act for the setting up of the NRC (13).

A draft Act was finally drawn up, but the then Secretary to the Ministry of Food and Co-operatives who was a member of the Committee, submitted a dissenting note in which he recommended that all Ministers who had research departments under their Ministries should be ex-officio members of the Council. The CAAS representatives however, opposed this proposal, which they argued would virtually create a Cabinet Sub-committee on Scientific Research. Nevertheless the draft Act together with the dissenting note, and the CAAS reply to the dissenting note were submitted to the Prime Minister in August 1964 (13). Unfortunately as happened earlier, interest in this subject began to recede again with the approach of parliamentary elections.

This political era however, saw the creation of a major technological organization, when the State Engineering Corporation was established in 1962 under the chairmanship of Mr. A. N. S. Kulasinghe.

The Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science by this time was convinced that their failure to persuade the government to establish a National Research Council, was linked to the retrograde activities of the non-technical state officials in the Planning Committee (13). The conflicts that arose between the CAAS representatives and the representatives from Ministries with regard to the draft Act for the establishment of a NRC, no doubt stalled an early decision on the matter.

Thus during April-May 1965 negotiations began again with the new government that came into power. But amidst the main confusion that prevailed in relation to some of the provisions of the draft Act, the new Prime Minister declared in December 1965, that he intends to set up a new Ministry for Research and Technical Education(19).

Significantly however, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, at this stage stepped in to resolve the main areas of conflict in the draft Act, by submitting fresh proposals to the CAAS. Many of these new proposals were received favourably by the CAAS, though in respect of the chairmanship of the NRC, the CAAS was still not satisfied and hence requested a discussion with the Prime Minister (13).

While these discussions were taking place, the CAAS itself went through a transformation , when it was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in April 1966.

It has to be noted that although the government had proposed the setting up of a Ministry for Scientific Research, CAAS was not in favour of substituting such a Ministry for the proposed NRC. It was their belief that the NRC should be an autonomous body, especially in respect of matters which

did not impinge on ministerial affairs (13). However, regardless of other matters, the government implemented its proposal by setting up a Ministry of Scientific Research and Housing in January 1968. This move was followed up later by the establishment of the National Science Council (NSC) by Act No. 9 of 1968, as an alternative to the previously suggested National Research Council. The NSC was established as a statutory body under the Ministry of Scientific Research and Housing, and unfortunately therefore fell far short of the expectations of the scientific community, which hoped for an autonomous scientific organization shorn off of the usual administrative and financial bottlenecks. Nevertheless these two epoch-making events brought to a close a 20 year period of negotiations and consulations in which periodic set-backs kept the fortunes fluctuating between hope and despair.

In the following year, the Ministry of Industries established the Industrial Development Board, by Act No. 36 of 1969. It was essentially to be the extension arm of the Ministry with its specific functions including the encouragement, promotion and development of industries in Sri Lanka.

The National Science Council commenced functioning in October 1969, with Sir Nicholas Attygalle, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Colombo as its first Chairman. The same year another important scientific institution was created, when by Act No. 19 of 1969 the Atomic Energy Authority was established. Its main function was to co-ordinate all activities relating to the use of atomic energy in scientific research.

Towards Science Planning in Ceylon (1970 onwards)

By 1970 many of the organizational structures required to set in motion the planning processes for science and technology in Ceylon (now renamed Sri Lanka), were well established. Sri Lanka's record for high quality scientific research in agriculture was reaching its zenith through the efforts of the crop research institutes. Research in the industrial sector was getting into gear through the efforts of the CISIR. A two-tier science planning organizational frame work, consisting of a Ministry for Science and a National Science Council had been established to co-ordinate and plan scientific activities on the one hand, and to advise the government and promote curiosity-oriented basic research on the other hand. A host of other institutions such as the IDB, Atomic Energy Authority, and the State Engineering Corporation had been created to facilitate the utilization and transfer of scientific and technical know-how. Yet at this stage, the efforts to demonstrate the role of science in economic development (21) and the need for conscious support to research (20) failed to generate the necessary enthusiasm to initiate a science plan.

This was partly because the organizational framework had not matured sufficiently and motivated to move in this direction, and partly due to the absence of three major policy instruments which facilitate the formulation of a science plan. The three components are : (*a*) guiding principles for scientific and technological research, (b) reliable data on the country's scientific and technical resource potential, and (*c*) informative material on the effects of scientific interventions, through case studies and policy analysis.

However, by the early 1970's initial moves to assess the country's resource potential were evident. The first such attempt to evaluate the scientific resources in Sri Lanka was the survey on public sector expenditure on research and development carried out by the CISIR in 1970 for the period 1955-1965(20). This was followed in 1972 by a survey on scientific and technical manpower in Sri Lanka carried out by the CAAS (22).

Simultaneously in 1970, the National Science Council commenced one of its most important functions, *viz.*, the award of grants for scientific research. In the first year the Council recommended 23 grants to the new Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs for allocation of funds (23). Thus for the first time in Sri Lanka, funding became available for what may be referred to as curiosity-oriented basic research. Although the National Science Council's contribution to the total research budget of the country was less than 5 percent, the non-restrictive and open-ended character of the scheme made it a potential source of information on the research orientation of the Sri Lankan scientists.

However, by 1972 it became clear that the National Science Council as constituted, was not effective to carry out its main functions, primarily due to the fact that it had virtually no links with the Ministries which conducted scientific research (24).

Hence in 1975, major amendments were introduced into the NSC constitution by the Law No. 36 of 1975. By these amendments provision was made for the appointment of statutory working committees in specific areas of interest. With these changes, six committees were appointed with ministerial approval, which included a body for Science Policy Research. Thus for the first time Science Policy Research became a major area of interest at the NSC. This Committee entrusted with the task of carrying out research into science policy, organized a national seminar on Science Policy and Planning in 1976 with the hope of reviewing problems and prospects for a National Science Policy for the country (25).

Earlier in 1973 following the guidelines prepared by UNESCO, the NSC carried out the first systematically designed survey on scientific and technical manpower potential in the country. The purpose of this survey was to assess, monitor and forecast the scientific and technical manpower in the country. This survey indicated that the total stock of economically active scientists and engineers in 1973 was 6845.

In 1977, the National Science Council carried out its second major survey which included an assessment of funding for basic and applied research in the country for the 10-year period 1956-1965, and the scientific and technical manpower during 1977. These studies clearly indicated that the total research funding in the country had been gradually increasing in relation to the Gross Domestic Product, from 0.17 per cent in 1966 to 0.21 per cent in 1975 (26). On the other hand it was also revealed that the scientific and technical personnel in the country had dropped from 521 per million population in 1973 to 457 per million population in 1977 (27). The NSC's Statutory Committee on Science Policy Research which guided these surveys to study the state of science in the country, then commenced delibrations on a framework for a national policy on science and technology.

In the meantime, the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science (SLAAS) sensing that a state institution such as the National Science Council would be inhibited, and hence unlikely to be critical even responsibly of State policy, began to voice its concern. It was evident that State machinery was not often geared to seek the independent and considered views of the scientific community when major development or industrial programmes are drawn up. Hence a strong consensus began building within the SLAAS for the creation of an advisory body of scientists and engineers to provide technical guidance to the Ministries, when development programmes are initiated. There was however, a difference of opinion as to whether this advisory body should be a newly constituted committee or the existing General Research Committee of the SLAAS.

Nevertheless between 1977 and 1978, the National Science Council's Committee on Science Policy Research worked intensely to formulate a policy framework on science and technology. By September 1978 a seven-point proposal, generally described as the National Science and Technology Policy Statement was prepared and placed before the government for consideration.

This proposal which constituted the general framework of the government's policy on science and technology, was accepted and promulgated by H. E. The President in December 1978, when he addressed the 34th Annual Sessions of the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science (28, 29). The membership of the SLAAS was jubilant, although a large majority of them even to this day are unaware of its origin.

As a professional body, the SLAAS was quick to realize the significance of the development and hence sought to establish the requisite machinery to implement the proposals. Accordingly between October and November 1979, the Council of the SLAAS prepared a memorandum and met His Excellency The President to outline a package of strategic proposals to implement the seven-point National Policy on Science and Technology (30). The SLAAS also spear-headed the call for a Presidential Advisory Committee ; and encouraged by the President's interest in the proposal, proceeded to name the prospective candidates to this Committee (30, 31).

Strangely however, at this stage, the idea of a Presidential Advisory Committee lost favour and the crucial move which would have indirectly conferred on SLAAS authority for strategic planning of science, was aborted. It was explained later that this was due to the planned move to create an apex organization for environmental management, and an Authority for co-ordination and management of activities pertaining to natural resources, energy and science. The disappointment of SLAAS as reflected in its subsequent memorandum to the government in late 1980 (30), has to be viewed with understanding in the light of the event which took place way back in 1942 when Sir Andrew Caldicott the then Governor of Ceylon gave recognition to the high level 'Scientific Advisory Committee' requested by the Chemical Society of Ceylon (12).

In December 1980, the General Body of the SLAAS considered a proposal to institute a new Committee, mainly to review and monitor science policy issues (31). But there were controversies, since the General Research Committee being a statutory committee could be empowered to handle these issues. Nevertheless, the senior members of the Association believed that a special high-powered committee should be established to deal with these matters, and thus was born the Scientific and Technological Policy Advisory Committee (SATPAC) (31). However, the unexpected premature breakdown in communications between the scientists and the government in December 1980, naturally resulted in the gradual withdrawal of SLAAS from the science planning scene. Thus by mid 1981, SATPAC by its own free will decided to change its name to Science and Technology Advisory Committee (STAC), with its primary function now being to advise the Council of SLAAS (32). While these developments were taking place in the SLAAS, the government went ahead with its plan to establish the Central Environmental Authority by the National Environmental Act No. 47 of 1980.

About the same time major changes took place in the National Science Council. Firstly, its scope of activities was widened to include natural resources and energy. With these changes, in June 1982 the NSC Act was

repealed and in its place the Natural Resources, Energy & Science Authority (NARESA) was created (33). Secondly, its hierachial position in the government's organizational structure was changed by placing it under the Presidential Office. One of the other significant changes that took place during this transformation was the disbanding of the Committee for Science Policy Research and the transfer of its functions to the Board of Management. Although in some quarters this was considered an unfortunate step, NARESA continued to carry out its main function of advising the government on specific issues relating to science and technology policy. But its main thrust has been to enhance the research capability of young scientists, and thereby building a viable scientific community. In persuance of these objectives, it has continued to support curiosity-oriented research in all fields of science including social science, giving preference to programmes which had a component for post-graduate work (34).

NARESA's efforts to enhance research capability of young scientists can be seen from the output of post graduates and publications. Between 1970 and 1984 NARESA's grant-awarding scheme had produced 70 M.Sc's, 6 PhD's and over 150 scientific publications out of a total of 261 completed grants.

NARESA also established two specialized glass-blowing units and a well equiped workshop for the maintenance and repair of electronic equipment to serve all scientists. It has also established the Sri Lanka Scientific and Technical Information Centre with a network of S & T libraries associated with it, to back-up the country's scientific and technical information system. Finally it has also instituted several awards for scientific work of which the most prestigious is the "President's Award for Scientific Achievement".

These activities, together with the resources studies carried out by NARESA, reflect the strategy of this organization to catalyse the process of science planning in Sri Lanka, since the promulgation of the Science and Technology Policy Framework by H. E. The President in December 1978.

Finally before concluding this review, reference has to be made to the most recent phase in the evolution of science planning in Sri Lanka, in which the Ministry of Plan Implementation jointly with the Institute of Fundamental Studies made an effort to draw up a National Science and Technology Policy. This exercise carried out during 1984-1985 has been described as elaborate and costly, and involved about 125 scientists covering eight scientific sectors. Since the provisions and proposals of this Science Plan are yet being discussed and debated, no attempt will be made at this stage to place in perspective the historical significance of its controversial steering and consultative processes.

It must be mentioned that in this review only the major events have been highlighted. There have been many individuals and groups of people who have promoted the cause of science planning in Sri Lanka and whose contributions are not reported in this presentation. The role of universities and the proliferation of higher education in the scientific disciplines has also not been reviewed here, although it is conceeded that these events have in no small way contributed to the advancement of the science planning process in Sri Lanka.

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CABINET GOVERNMENT IN SRI LANKA: WHAT IT WAS AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY

M. J. A. COORAY

" The Cabinet is the core of the British constitutional system. It is the supreme directing authority. It integrates what would otherwise be a heterogeneous collection of authorities exercising a vast variety of functions. It provides unity to the British system of government". So begins Sir Ivor Jennings' *Cabinet Government*, first published in 1936. In a similar vein Arthur Berriedale Keith began his *British Cabinet System* (published in 1938) with the words : "The National Government of Great Britain today is controlled by the Cabinet." These words are apt to accurately describe the basic constitutional structure of contemporary Britain, although one wonders whether such a simple and straightforward description needs to be qualified in the light of various developments that have taken place since 1930s. [1]

Sri Lanka which on achieving self government inherited a Parliamentary system of government modelled on the British experience has jealously safeguarded the traditions of Cabinet government, notwithstanding the establishment of the First Republican Constitution in 1972 and the introduction of the Second Republican Constitution in 1978. The governance of the Island under three successive constitutions has brought to light so many manifest as well as obscure features of Cabinet government. A comparative study of these three constitutions and their practical application will prove to be of great educational value limited in no sense to Sri Lanka alone.

In conducting this investigation the approach adopted will essentially be that of a constitutional lawyer. However, the discussion will to a considerable extent involve an assessment of the socio-political influences as well as implications. For " constitutional law and political science are divided by a line which is hard to distinguish." [2]

The development of the Cabinet, as of all other institutions of the British constitutional system, is a product of gradual and more or less systematic growth. A survey of that evolution is out of place in this article. But, as

1. See *e.g.*, John P. Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet* (Third ed., 1977, London, Stevens and Sons Ltd.) p. 4.
2. E. C. S. Wade in his Introduction to A. V. Dicey's *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (10th edition, E. L. B. S. edition, 1971), p. xxvii.

indicated in the opening paragraph of this article and as will be illustrated later, the concept of Cabinet government is still the predominant feature of the British system of government. [3]

The system of representative democracy that prevails in England [4] finds expression through a legislative body, the House of Commons, directly elected by the people at periodic elections; the conferment of actual executive power, meaning the power to direct and control executive government, on a board of ministers, known as the Cabinet, which is drawn from the legislature ; the provision of a second chamber, the House of Lords, as a check on hasty or unwise legislative measures ; the institution of the Monarch, nominal in terms of executive power, but persuasive in terms of advisory power ; the provision of safeguards to maintain impartiality in the areas of judicial and civil administration, conduct of elections and the Police. This British system of government has as its central theme the Sovereignty of Parliament and is founded on respect for the Rule of Law. Although there is not, and never has been, a strict separation of powers in the English constitution [5], the doctrine of the Rule of Law provides adequate safeguards against tyranny. [6]

It is in the backdrop of the English constitutional system which has been outlined above, that one can understand the working of Cabinet government there. As there is a need for a strong central government there is also felt at the same time a need to guard against oppressive regimes. Thus in a system of government which seeks to balance these conflicting interests, Cabinet government finds a delicately poised place. Similarly, in assessing the working of Cabinet government in Sri Lanka, the constitutional structure and the environment in which it operates must as a rule be closely studied. Therefore, in this article when various aspects of Cabinet government are discussed reference will be made to the English system as well as to each of the constitutional systems in operation in Sri Lanka since Independence.

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3. For the growth of the Cabinet in England, see generally A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System*, 1830-1938 (1939) ; Sir W. Ivor Jennings *Cabinet Government* (1936) ; John P. Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet* (*3rd edition*, 1977) ; and D. L. Keir, *A Constitutional History of Modern Britain since* 1485. (8th edition, 1968).

4. " The state for the purpose of international relations is the United Kingdom, although it is often popularly but inaccurately referred to as ' Britain ', ' Great Britain ' or ' England '. The appropriate adjective for our constitution, Parliament and so on would be ' United Kingdom ', although again that commonly used is ' British ' or ' English '." O. Hood Phillips, *Constitutional and Administrative Law*. (6th edition, 1978), p. 19.

5. See O. Hood Phillips, *Constitutional and Administrative Law* (6th edition) pp. 31-32 ; " A Constitutional Myth : Separation of Powers ", (1977) 93 L. Q. R. 11.

6. O. Hood Phillips, *op. cit.* pp. 14-16.

1. Composition of the Cabinet

Britain : By law the Queen can appoint and dismiss Ministers at her pleasure, but by convention Ministers are appointed from among members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.[7] A Minister need not be at the time of appointment a member of either House, but the convention is firmly established that within a period of grace he must sit in a House.[8] The inner ring of the Ministers, usually consisting of about twenty, is called the Cabinet. These Cabinet Ministers are appointed by the Queen, by convention, on the advice of the Prime Minister, with some Ministers (particularly the Chancellor of the Exchequer) invariably from the House of Commons, and some Ministers invariably from the House of Lords, *e.g.*, the Lord Chancellor.[9]

Under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon : The Cabinet of Ministers was appointed by the Governor-General,[10] acting on the advice of the Prime Minister.[11] Every Cabinet Minister had to be a member of either of the two Houses of Parliament, owing to the rule that a Minister who was not such a member for any period of four consecutive months ceased to be Minister.[12] Not less than two Ministers had to be appointed from the Senate.[13]

Under the First Republican Constitution (1972) *of Sri Lanka :* The Cabinet of Ministers was appointed by the President[14] acting on the advice of the Prime Minister.[15] All Ministers had to be members of the National State Assembly, the unicameral legislature of the Republic, at the time of appointment.[16] This marks a departure from the rule which obtains in England and which was incorporated in the Independence Constitution of Ceylon.

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7. The House of Commons Disqualification Act of 1975 limits the number of members who may sit in the House of Commons. The rest must be from the House of Lords.
8. This is illustrated by the appointment after the General Election in October 1964 of two outsiders as Ministers and their candidature at by-elections held in January 1965. See O. Hood Phillips, *op. cit.* p. 114.
9. See O. Hood Phillips, *op. cit.* pp. 307-308.
10. The Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council, 1946, as amended in 1947. Sec. 46 (1)·
11. *Ibid.*, sec. 4 (2) : "All powers, authorities and provisions vested in His Majesty or the Governor-General shall, subject to the provisions of this Order and of any other law for the time being in force, be exercised as far as may be in accordance with the constitutional conventions applicable to the exercise of similar powers, authorities and functions in the United Kingdom by His Majesty".
12. *Ibid.*, sec. 49 (2).
13. *Ibid.*, sec. 48.
14. The Constitution of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 1972, sec. 94 (1).
15. *Ibid.*, sec. 27 (1) : "The President shall always, except as otherwise provided by the Constitution, act on the advice of the Prime Minister, or of such other Minister to whom the Prime Minister may have given authority to advise the President on any particular function assigned to that Minister."
16. *Ibid.*, sec. 94 (1).

Under the Second Republican Constitution (1978) *of Sri Lanka:*

The President is empowered to appoint Ministers of the Cabinet of Ministers who are not members of the Cabinet of Ministers, from among the Members of Parliament, the unicameral legislature of the Republic. There is no requirement that the President must act on Prime Ministerial advice, but he may act " in consultation with the Prime Minister, where he considers such consultation to be necessary " in the exercise of such power of appointment.[17] Thus, under the 1978 Constitution we witness the emergence of an executive President as distinguished from a nominal or constitutional Head of State.

2. Assignment of Subjects

Britain : The Prime Minister is the Head of the Cabinet and decides on the allocation of functions to the Ministers that he will choose to appoint, the formal appointment of Ministers and the assignment of subjects being performed by the Queen. As mentioned above, the law compels the Prime Minister to choose some of his Ministers from the House of Lords. In choosing his Ministers, the Prime Minister will have to consider various factors, such as the relative importance of Ministries and Departments, the influence of members in the country, the authority of members in the House of Commons and their value in debate, and the representation of the government in the House of Lords.[18]

Under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon : Section 46 (2) named three Ministers : " Of the Ministers, one who shall be the head of the Cabinet, shall be styled the ' Prime Minister '; of the other Ministers one shall be styled the ' Minister of Justice ' and another shall be styled the ' Minister of Finance'." Section 46 (4) declared that " The Prime Minister shall be in charge of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs and shall administer the matters relating to that Ministry, in addition to such other matters as he may determine to retain in his charge. Each Minister, other than the Prime Minister, shall be charged with the administration of such subjects and functions as may be assigned to him by the Prime Minister".

Under the First Republican Constitution (1972) *of Sri Lanka :* Section 92 (2) declared that " of the Ministers, one who shall be the Head of the Cabinet of Ministers shall be the Prime Minister". Section 94 in its first and the third sub-sections embodied the following provisions : " The Prime Minister shall determine the number of Ministers and Ministries and the assignment of

17. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Articles 44 (1) and 45 (1).

18. See O. Hood Phillips, *Constitutional and Administrative Law* (6th edition), p. 307.

subjects and functions to Ministers . . . . The Prime Minister may at any time change the assignment of subjects and functions and recommend to the President changes in the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers".

This Constitution as well as the Second Republican Constitution, as we shall see later, refer by designation only to the Prime Minister. The Independence Constitution is unique in that it alone assigns a specific Ministry to the Prime Minister.

Under the Second Republican Constitution (1978) *of Sri Lanka :* This Constitution in Article 43 (3) refers to the appointment of the Prime Minister, but he is not the Head of the Cabinet. Article 43 (2) declares that "The President shall be a member of the Cabinet of Ministers and shall be the Head of the Cabinet of Ministers". It is the President who determines the number of Cabinet Ministers and the Ministries and the assignment of subjects and functions to such Ministers[19] and has the power to change the assignment of subjects and functions and the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers.[20]

Thus, unlike under the Independence Constitution and the First Republican Constitution (where the Prime Minister took the actual decisions which were formally executed by the Head of the State), today the President who is the Head of the Cabinet as well as of the State makes the determination and puts it to effect.

3. Ministerial Responsibility

Britain : " For all that passes in Cabinet each member of it who does not resign is absolutely and irretrievably responsible, and has no right afterwards to say that he agreed in one case to a compromise, while in another he was persuaded by his colleagues".[21] A Minister who is not prepared to defend a Cabinet decision must resign. If a Minister does not resign he is responsible, meaning that he must vote with and defend the government, unless a matter is left as an " open question".[22] The device, invented in 1932, of an "agreement to differ " may temporarily keep in abeyance the operation of collective responsibility.[23] It is said that during the EEC Referendum campaign in 1975 the principle of collective responsibility was temporarily suspended.[24]

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19. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Article 44 (1) (*a*).
20. *Ibid.*, Article 44 (3).
21. Lady Gwendolen, Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, (1921) Vol. II, pp. 219-220, cited in Sir W. Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government* (1947), p. 217.
22. See generally Sir W. Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government* (1947), pp. 217-227.
23. See generally Sir W. Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government* (1947). p. 218.
24. See M. J. A. Cooray, "The Referendum and its Place in the Constitutional Set Up of Sri Lanka", *Mooter*, the Journal of the Moot Society of the Sri Lanka Law College, Vol. 1. (1985), pp. 39-51.

A Minister has a duty not only to support the Government but also to refrain from jeopardizing its interests. To this extent he divests himself of that perfect freedom of action which belongs to a private and independent Member of Parliament.[25]

Ministers are also individually responsible to Parliament in that (a) a Minister must be prepared to answer questions in the House concerning matters for which he is administratively responsible, and (*b*) he must resign his office if a vote of censure is passed against him.[26]

Under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon : Section 46(1) ran as follows : " There shall be a Cabinet of Ministers who shall be appointed by the Governor-General and who shall be charged with the general direction and control of government of the Island and who shall be collectively responsible to Parliament". Thus, when in 1948 one of the Ministers failed to abide by the decision of the Cabinet the Prime Minister wrote to him as follows : " It is very unfortunate that we should lose your services at this juncture, but I think that *we should establish proper traditions in our new government*, and I am most reluctantly constrained to ask you to tender your resignation as Minister of Commerce and Trade". (Emphasis added.)[27]

During the time the Independence Constitution was in operation there were many instances where collective responsibility was blatantly contravened, and the Prime Ministers had to warn and admonish their Ministers, sometimes even openly.

Individual responsibility, even though not specifically mentioned in the Constitution, was regarded as operative in Ceylon. On 27 November 1959 for instance a vote of censure was moved though unsuccessfully against the Minister of Justice. Another vote of censure listed to be taken up that day against the Finance Minister was not proceeded with as he had already resigned his office.[28] Questions could be asked in Parliament from Ministers regarding matters for which they were answerable.

Under the First Republican Constitution (1972) *of Sri Lanka* : Section 92(1) ran as follows : " There shall be a Cabinet of Ministers charged with the direction and control of the government of the Republic which shall be collectively responsible to the National State Assembly and answerable to the National State Assembly on all matters for which they are responsible".

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25. Phillip Guedalla, *Palmerston* (1926), at p. 288.
26. See O. Hood Phillips, *Constitutional and Administrative Law* (6th edition, 1978), p. 116.
27. *Ceylon Hansard* (14.12.1948), Vol. 5., col. 604.
28. See the *Hansard* of 27.11.1959, and *The Times of Ceylon* of 23.11.1959.

This provision ensured the continuity of the then existing tradition of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, and the allied principle of the individual responsibility of Cabinet Ministers. In 1975 Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike removed from her Cabinet of Ministers the three Lanka Sama Samaja Party members who refused to toe the line with the government, and in 1977 the Communist Party member tendered his resignation.

The 1972 Constitution, in addition to making the Cabinet of Ministers collectively responsible to the National State Assembly, makes the Ministers answerable to the National State Assembly on all matters for which they are answerable. Thus as regards civil and judicial appointments which were made by the Cabinet of Ministers, they were held answerable to the legislature.

As before 1972, individual Ministers continued to be answerable to the legislature in respect of matters under their control.

Under the Second Republican Constitution (1978) *of Sri Lanka:* Article 43 (1) is as follows : "There shall be a Cabinet of Ministers charged with the direction and control of the Government of the Republic, which shall be collectively responsible and answerable to Parliament". This is a slightly modified version of section 92 (1) of the 1972 Constitution. It is correct to assume in the light of our discussion on the position under the Independence Constitution and the First Republican Constitution that collective responsibility and individual responsibility of Cabinet Ministers continue to operate in Sri Lanka. The removal of Mr. Cyril Mathew from the Cabinet of Ministers provides an illustration of the applicability of the principle of collective responsibility.[29]

As we have seen above, the President is a member of the Cabinet and is the Head of the Cabinet. He is unlike any other Minister not subject to censure, except under the impeachment procedure which will be discussed later on in this article. However the immunity from suit which is conferred on him is subject to the qualification that proceedings can be instituted in any court in relation to the exercise of any power pertaining to any subject or function assigned to the President or remaining in his charge under paragraph (2) of Article 44. The Deputy Minister in each of the Ministries under the President answers questions in Parliament relating to such Ministries.

29. For the correspondence relating to the removal and Mr. Mathew's disclaimer that there was a breach of the collective responsibility, see his statement in Parliament *Hansard*, Vol. 33 No. 1 (8.1.1985) columns 64-91. The President in his letter stated that Mr. Mathew's public criticism of the All Party Conference proposals " now before the Cabinet for decision is a violation of the rules and conventions of Cabinet Government". Having pointed out that Mr. Mathew had himself on previous occasions complained about breaches of collective responsibility by certain Ministers citing passages of Jennings' *Cabinet Government*, His Excellency concluded that " since . . . . you have deliberately broken them yourself I presume you have decided to cease to be one of my Ministers".

The present Constitution of Sri Lanka refers in Article 45 to the appointment by the President of Ministers who are not Members of the Cabinet of Ministers. " Every such Minister appointed under [Article 45] shall be responsible and answerable to the Cabinet of Ministers and to Parliament".[30]

4. Formation of the Cabinet: The Selection of the Prime Minister

Britain : The formation of a Cabinet depends essentially on the royal choice of a Prime Minister. The occasion for such action arises (*a*) after the conclusion of a general election, or (*b*) on the death of the Prime Minister, or (*c*) on the resignation or the removal of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister must be able to command the confidence of the House of Commons. Sometimes when there are more such persons than one, the Queen has a choice. However, in contemporary Britain the party system is so well established that there will really be very few occasions when the Queen may have a real choice.

It has not been seriously contended since 1923 that the Prime Minister may be appointed from the House of Lords.

Once a Prime Minister has been selected it is his prerogative to select his Ministers.

Under the Independenec Constitution of Ceylon : The Constitution did not contain any specific guideline as to who could be appointed as Prime Minister. The death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake in 1952, the resignation of Mr. Dudley Senanayake in 1953, and the death of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1959 necessitated the appointment of a successor in office. In addition, the conclusion of the general election provided the usual occasion for the selection of a Prime Minister. In all these circumstances, excepting after the general election in July 1960, a Member of the House of Representatives claiming to be the leader of the party having the largest number of seats in that House was appointed Prime Minister.

In 1959 after the assasination of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, there was little difficulty in selecting a successor. The Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, called upon Mr. W. Dahanayake who had the support of the late Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet to be the Prime Minister. In choosing his Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Dahanayake had no difficulty ; in fact, all members of Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet were sworn in as members of Mr. Dahanayake's Cabinet with certain functions reallocated. Although this was the reality, in legal theory a new Cabinet with fresh letters of appointment came into being, since as one of the Ministers is reported to have said " the old SLFP Cabinet

30. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Article 45 (3).

died when Mr. Bandaranaike died yesterday morning". In fact since at the time the new Cabinet was appointed two Ministers were away from the Island, the two former Acting Ministers were appointed as Ministers only to resign shortly afterwards on the return of the former Ministers. [31]

However, the appointments made in 1952 upon the death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake, and in 1953 on the resignation of Mr. Dudley Senanayake, to fill the vacancy in the office of Prime Minister were the subjects of controversy and suspicion. In 1952 Mr. Dudley Senanayake (who was the son of the former Prime Minister and who had the support of the Government Parliamentary Group) was appointed as successor, overlooking the claim of Sir John Kotalawala, the Leader of the House. Again in 1953 when Mr. Dudley Senanayake resigned, the choice was not completely beyond question. [32]

The appointment of Mr. Dudley Senanayake as Prime Minister after the general election in March 1960 did not generate any real controversy. The appointment of Mrs. Bandaranaike (widow of the late Mr. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister from 1956 to 1959) as Prime Minister after the 1960 July general election, however, gave rise to much debate. Mrs. Bandaranaike who had by then become the undisputed leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, did not contest a seat. Therefore at the time of appointment she was a stranger to both Houses of Parliament. Upon her appointment as Prime Minister she advised the Governor-General to appoint her as a member of the Senate, and continued to direct and control the government from there.

Thus, while the debate as to whether a Peer can be the Prime Minister seems to have been closed in 1923 in England with an answer in the negative, in 1960 Sri Lanka had a Prime Minister appointed from outside Parliament who later entered the Upper House and continued to function as Prime Minister without seeking entry to the House of Representatives.

Under the First Republican Constitution (1972) *of Sri Lanka:* Section 92 (2) contains the relevant rule : " Of the Ministers, one who shall be the Head of the Cabinet of the Ministers shall be the Prime Minister. The President shall appoint as Prime Minister the Member of the National State Assembly who, in the President's opinion, is most likely to command the confidence of the National State Assembly". This section prevented such an appointment as was made in July 1960 in that (*a*) the appointee could not be from outside Parliament and (*b*) no second chamber was retained in the 1972 Constitution.

31. See for the events referred to in this paragraph *The Times of Ceylon* of 26.9.1959, 27.9.59, 29.9.59 and 30.9.59.

32. See further as regards this paragraph A. J. Wilson, "The Role of the Governor-General in Ceylon", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1969), pp. 193-220, at 213.

However, a discretionary power continued to be vested in the President in determining who in his opinion was " most likely to command the confidence of the National State Assembly". [33]

On the single occasion when the President was called upon to exercise this power, namely in 1977 in appointing Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, he had no difficulty in choosing the Prime Minister because Mr. Jayewardene was the undisputed leader of the winning party which obtained a sweeping majority in the National State Assembly.

Under the Second Republican Constitution (1978) *of Sri Lanka* : Article 43(3) is as follows : "The President shall appoint as Prime Minister the Member of Parliament who in his opinion is most likely to command the confidence of Parliament". This section is in the same terms as the corresponding section in the 1972 Constitution. However, it must be noted that (*a*) the President today is an executive President and that he, and not the Prime Minister, is the Head of the Cabinet and (*b*) that accordingly the President when making appointments to the Cabinet of Ministers need not act on the Prime Minister's advice.

5. The Prime Minister and his colleagues

In this section and hereafter in this article there will not be, as was the pattern so far, four sub-divisions for the English system and the three constitutional systems of Sri Lanka since Independence. It is believed that adequate background material for a comparative study has already been provided and unnecessary repetition can be avoided.

In England Sir R. Peel has been regarded as a model Prime Minister because "he supervised and was genuinely familiar with the business of each department".[34] However, it is admitted today that in view of the ever growing extension of state functions, an assumption of such a degree of control will result in disaster to him as well as to the country[35]. However, the evolution of the system of political parties, with a heavy accent on internal party discipline and the formulation of party policies at a national level, has greatly contributed to consolidate the position of the Prime Minister in Parliament.

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33. This and other variations of it are adopted in several other Commonwealth jurisdictions. Some of these are as follows : " A member of the House of Representatives who in *Yang di-Pertuan Agong's* (the Malaysian Head of State's) judgment is likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of that House " (Constitution of Malaysia of 1957 as amended in 1964, sec. 43 (2) ; "the member of the National Assembly who appears to him best able to command the support of the members of the Assembly" (Constitution of Malawi of 1964).
34. See A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System*, (second edition, 1952), p. 55.
35. See A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System*, (second edition, 1952), p. 55.

In fact, there is a ready willingness on the part of many observers of political developments to describe parliamentary government as likened more to a Prime Ministerial system than to a Cabinet system. It has aptly been said that the polite description of the Prime Minister as *primus inter pares* or the higher claim that he should rank as *inter stellas luna minores* would be inadequate to describe the real position of the Prime Minister if by temperament he is willing to assert to the full the position he can assert if he so wishes.[36] In Sri Lanka, it has been claimed that Mrs. Bandaranaike became a virtual dictator during her premiership from 1970 to 1977.

Under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon and the First Republican Constitution the Cabinet did not have an existence separate from that of the Prime Minister. This is illustrated (*a*) by the fact that under the Independence Constitution the appointment of a new Prime Minister, even to manage a caretaker government as in 1959, resulted in the swearing in of a new Cabinet of Ministers and (*b*) by the fact that under the 1972 Constitution when the Prime Minister ceases to be the Prime Minister for any reason (excepting between a dissolution of Parliament and the conclusion of the resultant General Election) the Cabinet of Ministers stands dissolved.

It is interesting to note that a different rule prevails in England : " But resignation [of the Prime Minister which results automatically in the dissolution of the Cabinet of Ministers] is in law not a cessation of tenure of office. A Prime Minister and his colleagues by constitutional practice remain at their posts, pending the moment when a new ministry is constituted and is prepared to take over ; should the Prime Minister die in office the rest of the Ministers likewise remain in office until the new government is constituted. Moreover, if the Prime Minister retains Ministers in their existing offices, there is no need for re-appointment. They retain their offices with tenure unaffected by the fact that the Ministry has been dissolved. On the other hand, each Minister holds until asked to retain his post on the understanding that he will relinquish it at the moment he is asked to do so. If he failed, he would forthwith be dismissed by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister".[37]

The foregoing discription of the formal transfer of office does not in any sense contradict the position that the Cabinet is the Cabinet of a particular Prime Minister. But the British practice is flexible enough to accommodate situations where the selection of the Cabinet is not entirely at the wish of the

36. See A. B. Keith, *The King, The Constitution, he Empire and Foreign Affairs*, 1936-37, pp. 41 ff.

37. A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System*, (2nd edition, 1952) p. 53. It is pertinent to note that these views were found acceptable in the early years of Independent Ceylon. For instance when Mr. Dudley Senanayake was sworn in as Prime Minister after the General Election in 1952, such members of his Cabinet as held office before the Election were not required to be sworn in, provided they continued to hold the same portfolios.

Prime Minister, but dictated by the prevailing circumstances. It is interesting to compare this general practice with what happened in 1959 when Mr. Dahanayake succeeded the late Mr. Bandaranaike. A new Cabinet consisting of the outgoing Cabinet, was appointed afresh. However the Prime Minister somewhat erratically removed several Ministers of the Cabinet.

If parliamentary democracy as was practised under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon and the First Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka (1972) enabled a Prime Minister in Parliament to be elevated to a position involving immenge power & influence due to his prime position in the Cabinet and in the Government parliamentary group, the present Constitution places today's Head of the Cabinet in an enviably exalted position.

As we have seen above in several different contexts, the Prime Minister today, in spite of the fact that he is the Member of Parliament best able to command the confidence of Parliament, is not the Head of the Cabinet. The President is the Head of the Cabinet and presides at Cabinet meetings. A dissolution of the Cabinet has no effect on the continuance of the President in his office. On the other hand, on the Prime Minister ceasing to hold office for any reason, the Cabinet stands dissolved. This principle is enunciated in Article 49(1) : " On the Prime Minister ceasing to hold office by removal, resignation or otherwise, except during the period intervening between the dissolution of Parliament and the conclusion of the General Election, the Cabinet of Ministers shall, unless the President has in the exercise of his powers under Article 70 dissolved Parliament, stand dissolved and the President shall appoint a Prime Minister, Ministers of the Cabinet of Ministers, other Ministers and Deputy Ministers in terms of Articles 43, 44, 45 and 46."

By contrast a vacancy in the office of President, who is the Head of the Cabinet, does not result in a dissolution of the Cabinet. Thus we have a somewhat anomalous position in that (*a*) the Cabinet of Ministers does not have an existence independently of the Prime Minister, in the sense that the Cabinet goes out of office whenever the Prime Minister ceases to be the Prime Minister, (*b*) the Head of the Cabinet (i.e. the President of the Republic) remains in office surviving a dissolution of the Cabinet, to assume control of a Cabinet differently constituted, and (*c*) the displacement of the President, the Head of the Cabinet, does not result in the dissolution of the Cabinet.

In plain truth the Prime Minister today is not a " Prime Minister " in the sense in which that title is used in relation to the Westminster model. Nor is the President a constitutional Head of the State, as under the English system. It is the compromise that the Second Republican Constitution attempts to work out between Parliamentary democracy and Presidential government that has inevitably resulted in the anomalies referred to above.

The President today is at once a Prime Minister armed with extensive powers and a ceremonial Head of the State. His office has been constitutionally entrenched in order that he can be an extremely effective " Prime Minister " ensuring stability in government. If one needs an excuse for so doing, we may conveniently refer to the argument raised in favour of appointing a Prime Minister from the House of Lords : "There may be adduced in favour of the selection of a peer as Prime Minister the consideration that he is set free to concentrate on essential problems, as a result of detachment from the constant attendance in the Commons."[38]

The President as a member of the Cabinet can himself be in charge of Ministries. Article 44 (2) is as follows : " The President may assign to himself any subject or function not assigned to any Minister under the provisions of paragraph (1) of this Article or the provisions of paragraph (1) of Article 45, and may for that purpose determine the number of Ministries to be in his charge, and accordingly, any reference in the Constitution or any written law to the Minister to whom such subject or function is assigned, shall be read and construed as a reference to the President."

As we have noted above, the President cannot be made answerable to Parliament regarding the way in which he manages functions in his charge as a Minister. This conclusion is drawn mainly from the following arguments : (1) According to Article 42 the President is responsible but not in addition answerable to Parliament, whereas the rest of the Cabinet of Ministers according to Article 43 (1) are responsible and answerable to Parliament ; (2) Although it may be possible to raise a question in Parliament as regards a Ministry in the charge of the President, which may he answered by his Deputy Minister, Standing Order 78 provides a valuable safeguard to the President : " The conduct of the President , or Acting President, Members of Parliament, judges or other persons engaged in the administration of justice shall not be raised except upon a substantive notion," which means in effect that the only way of censuring the President is to impeach him.

As the President can appoint Cabinet Ministers, so too can he remove any Cabinet Minister, without consulting the Prime Minister at all. In the light of the power of the President to appoint, reshuffle and remove Cabinet Ministers, we may now look at article 48.

" 48 (1). The Cabinet of Ministers functioning immediately prior to the dissolution of Parliament shall notwithstanding such dissolution continue to function and shall cease to function upon the conclusion of the General Election, and accordingly, the Prime Minister, Ministers of the Cabinet of Ministers,

38. A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System* 1830-1938, p. 31.

other Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall continue to function unless they cease to hold office as provided in paragraph (*a*) or (*b*) of Article 47" [*i.e.* by removal or by resignation].[39]

" 48 (2). Notwithstanding the death, removal from office or resignation of the Prime Minister, during the period intervening between the dissolution of Parliament and the conclusion of the General Election, the Cabinet of Ministers shall continue to function with the other Ministers of the Cabinet as its members until the conclusion of the General Election. The President may appoint one such Minister to exercise, perform and discharge, *or may himself exercise, perform and discharge the powers, duties and functions of the Prime Minister. If there is no such other Minister the President shall himself exercise perform or discharge the powers, duties and functions of the Cabinet of Ministers until the conclusion of the General Election*". (emphasis added).

" 48 (3). On the death , removal from office or resignation, during the period intervening between the dissolution of Parliament and the conclusion of the General Election, of a Minister of the Cabinet of Ministers or any other Minister, the President may appoint any other Minister to be the Minister in charge of such Ministry or to exercise, perform and discharge the powers, duties and functions of such Minister or *may himself take charge of such Ministry or exercise, perform and discharge such powers, duties, and functions*". (emphasis added).

Paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) of Article 48 together permit a President who is so minded to remove the Prime Minister and all other Ministers of the Cabinet, take over all Ministries and the office of Prime Minister. If this is done, there will be a one member " President-Prime Minister-Cabinet System" during the short period intervening between the dissolution of Parliament and the conclusion of the General Election. The immensity of the power that the President can wield at a time like this shows how in extreme situations a Parliamentary system of Government can become so illusory under the Second Republican Constitution.

6. Cabinet of Ministers and the Head of the State

The general rule under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon and the First Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka (1972) was that the Head of the State exercised his powers and functions on the advice of the Prime Minister or any Minister who had been legally authorised to advise the Head of the

39. As at 26th November 1985 there are 27 Cabinet Ministers (excluding the President), 4 Ministers not in the Cabinet, 24 District Ministers and 36 Deputy Ministers (who are not at the same time Ministers). Thus 91 M. P. s out of a total of 168 will continue to function in their executive capacity notwithstanding a dissolution of Parliament.

State. Thus, except in the situations where the Head of the State had a discretion, the actual decision making was done in the Cabinet. The Independence Constitution ensured the compliance with this rule through the incorporation of British conventions in that Constitution merely by reference.

When the 1972 Constitution was drafted scrupulous care was taken to ensure that the Head of the State, the President, would not enjoy powers which he might use to pose a threat to the prominence of the Cabinet. Thus, Section 27 (1) expressly required the President to act on Prime Ministerial or Ministerial advice, " except as otherwise provided by the Constitution." In the chapter entitled "Public Security", Section 134 (2) provided specifically that "upon the Prime Minister advising the President of the existence or the imminence of a state of public emergency the President shall act on the advice of the Prime Minister in all matters legally required or authorised to be done by the President in relation to a state of emergency". (This provision was made to prevent a repetition of the assumption of extensive powers by the Governor-General during the 1958 emergency, allegedly without Prime Ministerial advice). The statement of government policy, or the Speech from the Throne as it was known before 1972, was to be presented in the Legislature by the Prime Minister and not by the Head of the State as before 1972. The Royal Assent to Bills of Parliament, as the formal act of bringing Bills into the statute book was abandoned, and the 1972 Constitution by section 48 (1) provided that a Bill became law when the Speaker endorsed a certificate upon it that it was duly passed by the National State Assembly. Section 26 (2) (*c*) provided that the President could be removed by the Prime Minister on the ground " that the President is incapable of performing the functions of his office by reason of mental or physical infirmity". He could also be removed by a resolution of no confidence passed in the National State Assembly.

Under the Second Republican Constitution, as we have already seen, the President of the Republic is the Head of the Cabinet. The President, therefore, maintains two distinct types of relationship with the Cabinet. First, his relationship with the Cabinet of Ministers in the capacity of the Head of the Cabinet (corresponding to that between the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers under the pre-1978 system) ; and, secondly, his relationship with the Cabinet of Ministers in the capacity of a constitutional Head (corresponding to that between the Queen or the Governor-General and the Cabinet of Ministers under the Westminister model).

The powers that the President today exercises as the Head of the Cabinet have already been discussed under sub-heading 5 above. Let us now look at his relationship *qua* President with the Cabinet of Ministers. First the President is not bound to act on Prime Ministerial or Ministerial advice. Even where the Constitution enables Ministerial advice to be offered, such as in respect

of the grant of pardon by the President, the acceptance of such advice has been left to the discretion of the President : Secondly the President is, as before 1978, detached from the law-making process, for a Bill becomes law when the Speaker endorses a certificate on it that it has been duly passed by Parliament. The President does, however, play a significant part in the legislative process, in that (*a*) he presides over Cabinet meetings where the majority of important Bills are presented, discussed and approved for submission to Parliament ; (*b*) he has a right of audience in Parliament.[40] Reversing the practice of the Prime Minister making the Statement of Government Policy started under the 1972 Constitution, Article 33 (4) empowers the President to make such statement at the commencement of each session of Parliament. Article 33 (*b*) enables the President to preside at ceremonial sittings of Parliament ;[41] (*c*) Bills which need the approval of the House with a two-thirds special majority and of the People at a Referendum become law upon their being signed by the President ;[42] (*d*) an ordinary Bill rejected by Parliament may be referred to the People by the President for approval at a Referendum. If passed such a Bill becomes law upon the giving of the requisite certificate by the President.[43]

The most significant power the President has over the Cabinet of Ministers—that of dissolution —will be discussed under the next sub-heading.

7. Parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers

In a typical Westminster model system of Government, the justification for the vesting of executive power in the Cabinet is solely derived from the fact that the members of the Cabinet are drawn from the legislature. Both the Independence Constitution and the First Republican Constitution, as we have already seen, made provision in recognition of this principle. The present Constitution requires all Cabinet Ministers to be appointed from among Members of Parliament, with the notable exception that the President who is the Head of the Cabinet of Ministers is himself not a Member of Parliament. To rephrase an oft-cited quotation to suit the Sri Lankan situation, " with a majority in Parliament all things are possible, without it nothing is safe". In other words the continuance of the Cabinet depends on the confidence it receives from Parliament or if Parliament is bicameral, from its representative assembly.

40. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Article 32 (3).
41. This group of provisions clearly indicates how powers which belonged to the Prime Minister and those which belonged to the President under the 1972 Constitution are vested today in the President alone.
42. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Article 80 (2).
43. *Ibid.*, Article 85. See for a detailed account M. J. A. Cooray, " The Referendum and its Place in the Constitutional Set up of Sri Lanka," *Mooter*, the Journal of the Moot Society of the Sri Lanka Law College, (1985)Vol. I, pp. 39-51.

With the evolution of the political party system, confidence in the representative legislature has come to mean confidence in a party or a coalition of parties. This means that there is an opposition to be reckoned with an opposition aspiring to be the next government. If the government loses its majority in the representative legislature, then either it must make way for an alternative government or face a general election.

Both in England and under the Independence Constitution of Ceylon the question of confidence in the House was regulated by conventions. The First Republican Constitution was much more explicit. Article 98, which provided that the Cabinet of Ministers shall stand dissolved on the death or the resignation of the Prime Minister, was followed by provisions to this effect :

" 99. The Prime Minister shall be deemed to have resigned—

(1) At the conclusion of a General Election ; or

(2) If the National State Assembly rejects the Appropriation Bill or the National State Assembly passes a vote of no confidence in the Government or the National State Assembly rejects the Statement of Government Policy at any session other than the first session of the National State Assembly and the Prime Minister does not within forty-eight hours of such rejection of the Appropriation Bill or of such passage of a vote of no-confidence in the Government or of such rejection of the Statement of Government Policy advise the President to dissolve the National State Assembly, upon such forty-eight hours having elapsed".

" 100 (1). If the National State Assembly rejects the Statement of Government Policy at its first session and the Prime Minister within forty-eight hours of such rejection advises the President to dissolve the National State Assembly, the President may notwithstanding such advice decide not to dissolve the National State Assembly. Upon the President so deciding, the Prime Minister shall be deemed to have resigned.

(2) If the National State Assembly rejects the Statement of Government Policy at its first session and the Prime Minister does not within forty-eight hours of such rejection advise the President to dissolve the National State Assembly, the Prime Minister shall be deemed to have resigned upon such forty-eight hours having elapsed".

These provisions draw a distinction between two situations. The first is where the government is defeated at the presentation of its first Statement of Government Policy. Here the President is not bound to accept Prime

Ministerial advice to dissolve Parliament. If the President rejects such advice there will only be a dissolution of the Cabinet of Ministers. The second situation is where the government is defeated (*a*) at the presentation of the second or any later Statement of Government Policy, (*b*) at the passing of the Appropriation Bill, or (*c*) on the passage of a vote of no-confidence. Here if the President is advised within 48 hours by the Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament, the President must act on such advice. These provisions seem to have excluded the possibility of restoring the confidence of the House, immediately following a major defeat for the government which might well have been occasioned by a snap-vote.[44]

That the Prime Minister presides over a Cabinet " composed of Ministers over whose appointment and removal he has at least a substantial measure of control"[45] is implicitly recognised by these elaborate provisions.

The Second Republican Constitution, however, is founded on a different premise : that an elected President invested with executive power shall have a substantial measure of control over the Cabinet of Ministers and Parliament. In this light it is not difficult to understand Article 70 (1) of the Constitution: " The President may, from time to time, by Proclamation summon, prorogue and dissolve Parliament". There are four exceptions to this :

(1) When a General Election has been held consequent upon a dissolution of Parliament by the President (as distinguished from a dissolution by operation of law, namely after the expiry of Parliament's six year term of office), the President shall not thereafter dissolve Parliament until the expiration, of a period of one year from the date of such General Election, unless Parliament by resolution requests the President to dissolve Parliament.

(2) The President shall not dissolve Parliament on the rejection of the Statement of Government Policy at the commencement of the first session of Parliament after a General Election.

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44. However, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs in the Constituent Assembly said: " Apart from the first occasion [*i.e.*, defeat at the presentation of the First Statement of Government Policy], because I think the first occasion is too serious, on all other occasions the Prime Minister can follow what the Prime Minister is best advised to do. One of the procedures would be : ' Though I was defeated by a snap vote on that occasion, I in fact command a majority in the House.' It has been done in various places. But generally, in minor matters and not things like that, they move a Vote of Confidence in the Government and pass it and carry on with their business. All sorts of devices are available. None of them is shut out". (*Constituent Assembly Debates*, Columns 2790-2791).

45. S. A. De Smith, *The New Commonwealth and its Constitutions* (1964), p. 77.

(3) The President's power of dissolution has been restricted in order to permit the undisturbed operation of the power of Parliament to remove the President from his office.

(4) Where the President has not dissolved Parliament consequent upon the rejection by Parliament of the Appropriation Bill, the President shall dissolve Parliament if Parliament rejects the next Appropriation Bill.

The above provisions dealing with the President's power to dissolve Parliament and the limitations placed on that power are designed more to balance the interests of the Parliament and the President than to reflect the working of the Cabinet system as under a Westminster model constitution.

As regards dissolution of the Cabinet we have already seen that on the Prime Minister ceasing to hold office by removal, resignation or otherwise the Cabinet stands dissolved.[46] Similarly, as provided in Article 49 (2), if Parliament rejects the Statement of Government Policy or the Appropriation Bill or passes a vote of no-confidence in the Government, the Cabinet of Ministers shall stand dissolved. In the instances referred to in this Article we witness how the legislature may terminate the term of office of the Cabinet of Ministers.

8. The Cabinet and the Administration

One of the distinctive features of a Parliamentary democracy is that the administrative structure has at its head the Cabinet of Ministers. Policy formulated by the Cabinet is implemented by the administrative service. To that extent the Cabinet has an interest in the composition of the administrative service, to ensure that it is loyal to the Government. On the other hand adequate provision is needed to make the administrative service non-partisan and efficient.

The Independence Constitution established a Public Service Commission, in which was vested the appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of public servants, consisting of three persons, one at least of whom had not held public or judicial office during the period of five years immediately preceding his appointment. Senators and Members of Parliament were not eligible to be members of the Commission. Its members were appointed for a term of five years and were eligible for reappointment. Their salaries were charged on the Consolidated Fund. Any member could be removed by the Governor-General for cause assigned. It was an offence to interfere with the Commission.[47]

46. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (1978), Article 49 (1).
47. Chapter VII of the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council 1946, as amended in 1947, deals with the Public Service Commission.

Since the Commission once appointed could decide to be independent and uninfluenced by politicians, the executive would really be disgruntled about at least some of the appointments, unless the relations between the Cabinet of Ministers, particularly the Prime Minister, and the Commission were genuinely cordial. It was therefore felt that some measure of control over the administration must directly be transferred to the Cabinet of Ministers.[48]

The First Republican Constitution introduced the changes required to consolidate the position of the Cabinet of Ministers in relation to the public service. Section 106 (2) provided that "subject to the provisions of the constitution, the Cabinet of Ministers shall have the power of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of all state officers". In keeping with this overriding principle a State Services Advisory Board and a State Services Disciplinary Board were appointed. The Advisory Board and the Disciplinary Board were separately constituted and each consisted of three persons.[49]

Except when the Constitution provided otherwise, appointments to posts of Heads of Departments and to any other prescribed posts were to be made by the Cabinet of Ministers only on the recommendation of the relevant Minister who in turn was required to consult the Advisory Board[50]. Appointments not falling within the above category and which may be prescribed by the Cabinet of Ministers could be made only after receiving the recommendation of the Advisory Board through the relevant Minister.[51]

Similarly, the Cabinet of Ministers could exercise its power of dismissal and disciplinary control of state officers only after receiving through the relevant Minister the recommendation of the Disciplinary Board[52]. The power of transfer was given to the Cabinet of Ministers.[52a]

These provisions ensured that in respect of appointment, transfer, dismissal or disciplinary control of state officers, the Cabinet of Ministers was given immense powers.

48. See A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, " The Public Service Commission and Ministerial Responsibility : The Ceylonese Experience ". *Public Administration* Vol. 46 (1968), pp. 81-93; In fact Sir W. Ivor Jennings himself had noted in his *The Constitution of Ceylon* (p. 111) that " the experiment of handing over the control of the public service to 'three bashaws' will therefore be watched with some trepidation".

49. See Sections 111 and 112 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka 1972.

50. *Ibid.*, sec. 113.

51. *Ibid.*, sec. 114.

52. *Ibid.*, sec. 117.

52.[a] *Ibid.*, sec. 120.

Section 105 (5) completed the virtual politicisation of the control of the public service : " No institution administering justice shall have the power or jurisdiction to inquire into pronounce upon or in any manner call in question any recommendation order or decision of the Cabinet of Ministers, a Minister, the State Services Advisory Board, the State Services Disciplinary Board, or a state officer, regarding any matter concerning appointments, transfers, dismissals or disciplinary matters of state officers".

The Second Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka contains an amalgam of the provisions contained in the two previous Constitutions, in regard to the public service. Article 55 (1) provides that subject to provisions of the Constitution, the appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of public officers is vested in the Cabinet of Ministers. Paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) of Article 55 together prescribe that the Cabinet of Ministers may delegate to the Public Service Commission those powers, excepting in respect of Heads of Departments. If the Cabinet of Ministers delegated the power of transfer in respect of any specified categories of public officers to any Minister, then the Public Service Commission shall not exercise such power in respect of such categories of officers.

At the direction of the Cabinet of Ministers a Committee of the Public Service Commission may be formed, and in respect of the categories of officers specified in that direction the Public Service Commission shall cease to exercise its powers of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control.[53] The Commission or a Committee thereof, subject to conditions prescribed by the Cabinet of Ministers, may delegate its powers to a public officer.[54] An officer aggrieved by any order made by such a public officer may appeal to the Commission or a Committee thereof as the case may be.[55]

The Cabinet of Ministers has the power to alter vary or rescind (*a*) any appointment, order of transfer or dismissal or any other order relating to a disciplinary matter made on appeal or otherwise, by the Commission or a Committee thereof ; (*b*) any order of transfer made by a Minister ; and (*c*) any appointment made by a public officer to whom the Commission or any Committee thereof has delegated its powers under Article 58 (1).[56]

As under the 1972 Constitution, today the Cabinet of Ministers has the authority to provide for all matters relating to public officers, including formulation of schemes of recruitment, codes of conduct for public officers,

53. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Article 57.
54. *Ibid.*, Article 58 (1).
55. *Ibid.*, Article 58 (2).
56. *Ibid.*, Article 59.

principles to be followed in making promotions and transfers, and the procedure for the exercise and delegation of the powers of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of public officers.[57]

While the 1972 Constitution gave merely advisory functions to the two Boards, the present Constitution permits delegation of power to the Commission, subject to an appeal to the Cabinet of Ministers. The device adopted today permits a well-meaning Cabinet of Ministers to let the Commission act independently and uninfluenced. However, the Second Republican Constitution does not go all the way to restore the fully insulated system which operated in Sri Lanka before 1972.

The composition of the present Commission is more in line with the Independence Constitution in that the 1972 device of two boards has been abandoned. Today the Commission consists of not less than five persons, who shall not be members of Parliament, judicial officers or public officers. Each member is appointed for a period of five years and is eligible for reappointment. His salary is charged on the Consolidated Fund and shall not be diminished during his term of office.[58] It is an offence to interfere with the Commission.[59] These provisions are more or less consonant with the corresponding provisions in the two previous Constitutions.

Article 55 (5) provides as follows : " Subject to the jurisdiction conferred on the Supreme Court under paragraph (1) of Article 126 no court or tribunal shall have power or jurisdiction to inquire into, pronounce upon or in any manner call in question, any order or decision of the Cabinet of Ministers, a Minister, the Public Service Commission, a Committee of the Public Service Commission or of a public officer, in regard to any matter concerning the appointment, transfer, dismissal or disciplinary control of a public officer." The difference between this and the corresponding provision in the 1972 Constitution is that the present provision permits a judicial inquiry if a breach of a fundamental right is involved.[60]

Sir Ivor Jennings observed in his *The Constitution of Ceylon*[60a] that Ceylon had a system of responsible government in which Ministers had no control over the public service. The Second Republican Constitution incorporates

57. 1972 Constitution, sec. 106 (3) ; 1978 Constitution, Article 55(4).
58. The 1978 Constitution, Article 56.
59. *Ibid.*, Article 60.
60. See for an unsuccessful attempt to invoke the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in relation to the dismissal of a public officer *Elmore Perera* v. *Minister of Public Administration and Plantation Industries*, S. C. Apln. No. 134/84 ([1985] 1 Sri L. R. 285).
60a. at p. 121.

provisions relating to the public service which remedy that ill of the past. These provisions, however, as noted above, do not preclude the possibility of maintaining a public service insulated from political interference : for the new Constitution entrusts such responsibility to the Public Service Commission, which it can discharge quite independently.

9. The Cabinet and the Judicial Service[61]

The Independence Constitution contained carefully drafted provisions to safeguard the independence of the judiciary. Excepting the Judges of the Supreme Court (who were to be appointed by the Governor-General and removable by him on an Address of Parliament), all judicial officers came within the purview of the Judicial Service Commission. This commission, for the independence of which adequate constitutional provision had been made, had the power of appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of judicial officers.[62]

The First Republican Constitution of 1972, however, did not secure such a great measure of independence to the judiciary. While the provisions relating to the judges of superior courts were comparable to the corresponding provisions in the Independence Constitution, the provisions relating to the minor judiciary presented a completely different picture.

In place of the Judicial Service Commission as under the Independence Constitution, a Judicial Services Advisory Board and a Judicial Services Disciplinary Board were set up. While the Disciplinary Board consisted of three Judges of the Supreme Court, the Advisory Board have among its five members two who were not required to be judicial officers at all.[63] In fact one of the members so appointed happened to be the Secretary of the Ministry of Justice.

Appointments to the minor judiciary were made by the Cabinet of Ministers on the advice of the Advisory Board, which advice however could be rejected[64]. Transfers were effected by the Advisory Board, but an aggrieved judicial officer could appeal from such decision to the Minister.[65] Power in respect of disciplinary matters was left to the Disciplinary Board[66]. The Disciplinary

61. See generally on this topic my *Judicial Role Under the Constitutions of Ceylon/Sri Lanka*, (Lake House Investments, 1982), pp. 69-70, 231-236, 275-281 ; " Judiciary in a Democratic System of Government: Some Aspects of the Sri Lankan Experience", *Logos*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 82-105 ; " The Supreme Court in the Legal System of Sri Lanka", *University of Colombo Review* (1985) Vol 1 No. 4, pp. 84-97.
62. See Section 52 to 56 of the Independence Constitution.
63. See the Constitution of Sri Lanka (1972) sections 125 and 127.
64. *Ibid.*, sec. 126.
65. *Ibid.*, sec. 130.
66. *Ibid.*, sec. 127.

Board could remove any minor judicial officer, but so could the National State Assembly.[67] However, the legislature could remove a judicial officer only if charges against him were found to be true by the Disciplinary Board.[68]

Thus under the 1972 Constitution although the Cabinet of Ministers did not enjoy a measure of control over the judiciary comparable to its control over the state service, it enjoyed certain regulatory powers over the judiciary—powers which the Independence Constitution of Ceylon did not confer on the executive branch of government.

The Second Republican Constitution bluntly refuses to recognise the need for such Cabinet or Parliamentary control over the judiciary. The experiment of the two Boards is abandoned and in their place the Judicial Service Commission has been reinstated.[69] Even as regards the superior courts there is more salutary provision. Such a judicial officer could be removed only if charges against him are proved ; however, the forum provided for investigation is unfortunately only a Select Committee of Parliament.[70]

The position today then is that the Cabinet of Ministers has withdrawn from the sphere of judicial activity so that administration of justice may not only be impartial but will also appear to be so.

10. Cabinet Government in Sri Lanka : Today and Tomorrow

The Machinery of Government Committee, 1918,[71] gave an authoritative statement of the functions of the Cabinet in the United Kingdom. They comprise (*a*) the final determination of the policy to be submitted to Parliament; (*b*) the supreme control of the national executive in accordance with the policy prescribed by Parliament ; and (*c*) the continuous co-ordination and delimitation of the authorities of the several departments of state. In other words, the Cabinet has the first word as well as the last word in the governance of the country ; it makes the major policy decisions, sees them through Parliament, and co-ordinates the work of various government departments and state agencies to ensure that the activities of government have a measure of unity.

The Cabinet which provides the central bureau which steers and guides the mechanism of government is in effect the focal point of power in a Parliamentary democracy. In a pure presidential system or an authoritarian system this role is usually played by an individual leader perhaps riding high on a single party system.

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67. *Ibid.*, secs. 127, 128, and 129.
68. *Ibid.*, sec. 129.
69. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Article 112.
70. *Ibid.*, Article 107. See my article "Judiciary in a Democratic System of Government: Some Aspects of the Sri Lankan Experience", *Logos*, Vol. 23, No. 2, at pp. 88-93.
71. Cmnd. 9230, at p. 5 cited in A. B. Keith, *The British Cabinet System* (2nd ed. 1952), p. 85.

Under the First Republican Constitution, as much as under the Independence Constitution, the Cabinet system operated as it does in Britain, in the true Parliamentary tradition, in the backdrop of a multi party system. The First Republican Constitution, which was seen as an attempt at severing all links with the past,[72] merely succeeded in producing a refined version of the typical Westminster model.[73]

The extent and the manner in which the introduction of an executive President affected Cabinet Government in Sri Lanka has been the recurrent theme of this article. In the light of our discussion the following propositions may be made about the future of Cabinet Government in Sri Lanka.

(1) The President of Sri Lanka, who is directly elected by the people, is the Head of the Cabinet, the Head of the Executive and the Head of the State. The Cabinet and the Central Government therefore revolve around him, and not around the Prime Minister who commands a majority of votes in Parliament.

(2) As the Head of the Cabinet, he can influence policy making and the initiation of legislation. If any legislative measure (not involving Constitutional amendment) is rejected in Parliament, the President can have it referred to the people by Referendum. If passed it becomes an "Act of Parliament".[74]

(3) If a Bill rejected in Parliament is submitted for approval of the people at a Referendum a popular parliament will come into being momentarily, thereby posing a threat to the concept of the legislative supremacy of Parliament. If one could call it (possibly inaccurately) a "substitute Parliament" there is no constitutional provision for a comparable "substitute President".

(4) As the Head of the State, the President makes all the important appointments, ministerial or otherwise. These are made solely in his discretion. He is not answerable to Parliament, or in Courts of Law[75] regarding the exercise of such power.

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72. As the Minister of Constitutional Affairs was reported as saying : "This is not a matter of tinkering with some Constitution. Nor is it a matter of constructing a new superstructure on an existing foundaiton. We are engaged in laying down a new foundation for a new building which the people of this country will occupy." See the *Sri Lanka Press Council Bill Decision, Decisions of the Constitutional Court of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 1 (1973), p. 5.

73. As Dr. W. Dahanayake, M.P., a former Prime Minister remarked, "the system which the Hon. Minister proposes to introduce is the same existing one. If we call it the 'Westminster Model' what the Minister plans to do is merely redecorate it". *Constituent Assembly : Official Report*, Column 2671.

74. See the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, paragraphs (2) and (3) of Article 80.

75. See on Presidential immunity *Mallikarachchi* v. *Shiva Pasupathy*, Attorney-General (1985)1 Sri L. R. 74 ; *Wijaya Kumaranatunga* v. *K. K. Jayakody and J. R. Jayewardene*, S. C. Election Petitions Appeal No. 5/84 decided on 8.7.85 ((1985) 2 Sri L. R. 124); and order of High Court of Colombo No. 1204/83 given on 3.9.85.

(5) In a typical Westminster model Constitution the Prime Minister or any Minister could be dismissed if that is the desire of a majority of members of Parliament. In Sri Lanka today the President, who is the Head of the Cabinet cannot be displaced so easily. As provided in Article 38 (2) he can be removed only if (*a*) the Supreme Court finds that the President is permanently incapable of discharging the functions of his office by reason of mental or physical infirmity or that the President has been guilty of (*i*) intentional violation of the Constitution, (*ii*) treason (*iii*) bribery (*iv*) misconduct or corruption involving the abuse of the powers of his office, or (*v*) any offence under any law, involving moral turpitude and (*b*) a resolution to remove him is passed by not less than two-thirds of the whole number of Members (including those not present) voting in its favour.

(6) While the President can make or unmake Governments almost at will (see above under "2. Parliament and the Cabinet of Ministers"), the President is given a high degree of stability in his office. Constitutionally Parliament is weak relatively as the President is strong. The electoral system itself is geared towards making this balance a reality. The proportional representation system is very unlikely to produce a government with a two-thirds majority in Parliament (which is the basic requirement also for constitutional amendment). The Presidential election system allows even a candidate who does not obtain an absolute majority to become President. Once President he is entitled to exercise all the powers of that high office, without any "Oppositional President" (to draw an analogy with the Opposition to the Government in Parliament).

(7) It is true that the President under the present Constitution of Sri Lanka has enormous power. However, it is a grave error to call the present system a Presidential system. It is at best a Presidential-Parliamentary system of Government. A comparison of the major features of the present Constitutional system of Sri Lanka with a typical Presidential system will prove the point. The 1962 Constitution of Pakistan provides a good example for such comparison.[76]

Under the 1962 Constitution of Pakistan, the President (who is elected by members of basic democracies) can be removed from office for gross misconduct or proved mental or physical incapacity, on a resolution passed with the support of three-quarters of the members of the Assembly. If the resolution fails to get the support of half the members its sponsors shall lose their seats forthwith. In Sri Lanka charges against the President, as prescribed in the Constitution, must be proved and the resolution has to be passed with a two-

76. See generally S. A. de Smith, *The New Commonwealth and Its Constitutions* (1964), Chap. 6, especially pp. 223-230.

thirds majority. No penalty attaches to the sponsors if the resolution fails, except that the President may dissolve Parliament, sending home his supporters and opponents alike.

In Pakistan the President has the power to withhold assent to Bills, and thereby prevent them being put into operation. No such veto power is given to the Sri Lankan counterpart.

The President appoints and removes members of his Council of Ministers, who are not responsible to the Assembly. A Minister appointed from among the assemblymen loses his seat in the legislature. By contrast the Cabinet in Sri Lanka is essentially Parliamentarian.

When the legislature is not in session the President may legislate by Temporary Ordinance. If an emergency is declared his ordaining power is beyond control by the Legislature. Once the annual budget is passed it could be varied only with the approval of the President. None of these features is even remotely discernible in our Constitution.

President Ayub Khan's Constitution did not, however, make him a law giver unto himself. His legislative power was shared with the legislature and save in periods of emergency, laws made by him had to be ratified by the Assembly. A dissolution of the Assembly had to be followed by a free election, and the Assembly had to be summoned within ninety days of the dissolution. Meetings of the legislature were guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Pakistan Constitution, then, created a Presidential system with built-in safeguards against the imposition of a Presidential dictatorship. The Sri Lankan Constitution, which does not clothe the President with such extensive powers, emphasises throughout the Constitution the importance of Parliament.

The President of Sri Lanka cannot set himself up as a rival legislature. It is true that the President has the power to make emergency regulations having the legal effect of overriding amending or suspending the operation of the provisions of any law[77] and that the conferment of such emergency law making powers on the President by Parliament shall not be a contravention of the Constitutional provision that " Parliament shall not abdicate or in any manner alienate its legislative power, and shall not set up any authority with any legislative power".[78]

The President, however, cannot exercise these enormous powers independently of Parliament. Elaborate provision has been made in Chapter XVII entitled " Public Security " to ensure not only that the President cannot exercise

77. The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Article 155(2).
78. *Ibid.*, Article 76, Paragraphs (1) and (2).

emergency powers without Parliamentary control, but also that Parliament itself cannot resort to emergency powers for long periods without the support of a two-thirds majority in Parliament. Thus, although during an emergency the President can make laws, it is in effect Parliament which legislates through the instrumentality of the President.

The other area where the President has a role in the legislative process is that where the Referendum is involved. It is only a Bill which has been rejected by Parliament that the President may refer to the people for approval at a Referendum. This means that the President cannot place before the people a draft law, which has not gone through all stages of law making in Parliament, with a view to enacting it if approval at the Referendum is obtained. The best that the President can do is to solicit the " opinion " of the people through Referendum whether a draft Bill which, say, Parliament refuses even to entertain and which he places before the people for consideration is acceptable to them.

By the mere fact that such a draft Bill receives the approval of the people at a Referendum, it does not become law. It will merely persuade Parliament to reconsider its stand and give it Parliamentary approval. Thus, although the President may make indirect use of the referendum to influence the thinking in Parliament, he cannot use it as a direct challenge to Parliament. And even in situations where the President initiates a referendum, the people and not the President will determine its outcome.

The present Constitution of Sri Lanka can be best described as a Parliamentary democracy with an executive President, meaning that the Parliamentary tradition is stronger than the Presidential tract. In fact, the full control over public finance given to Parliament makes the government of the Country impracticable, as in England, without Parliamentary sanction.[79] Article 148 states that " Parliament shall have full control over public finance. No tax, rate or any other levy shall be imposed by any local authority or any other public authority, except by or under the authority of a law passed by Parliament or of any existing law". Article 152 provides that no Bill or motion affecting public revenue shall be introduced in Parliament except by a Minister with Cabinet approval. Thus Parliamentary control over finance in the final analysis means financial control as planned and executed by the Cabinet Ministers. Cabinet Government then is and will be in Sri Lanka the central wheel of the administrative machinery of the Island.

79. The paramountcy of Parliamentary control over public finance has been judicially enforced recently in the decision of the Supreme Court in respect of the Bill entitled " Appropriation". See *Hansard* Vol. 38, No. 4 (2.12.1985), Columns 445-450.

(8) In view of the discussion of the working of Cabinet Government in Sri Lanka and the undisputed pre-eminence given to Cabinet under the present Constitution, there is no doubt that Cabinet Government has come to stay in Sri Lanka. Obviously the Cabinet is not today what it used to be before 1978. Making allowance for changes in the Cabinet system to accommodate the executive President and for the indirect impact on Parliament of proportional representation and the referendum, it is not hard to disagree with the proposition that the power of Parliament has been greatly reduced or that the opposition in Parliament is permitted merely a nominal role.[80]

80. See for comments by R. Premadasa, Hon. Prime Minister, *Hansard* Vol. 38, No. 1 (26.11.1985), Columns 51-53.

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AGE PATTERNS OF FERTILITY IN SRI LANKA

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Abstract

To examine the age patterns of fertility in Sri Lanka, ASMR, ASMFR, indexed marital fertility schedules and estimated natural fertility schedules derived from the m(*a*) has been calculated by using the method suggested by Coale and Trussel (1974). To examine the effects of nuptiality change and contraceptive practice I_f, I_m and I_g have been calculated for the census periods 1953, 1963, 1971 and 1981 at district level. The analysis revealed that changes in proportion of never married women had a greater impact on fertility decline than changes in marital fertility.

Introduction

The third quarter of the century, 1950-80, has witnessed a rapid decline initially in the mortality and then in the fertility, in many of the developing countries. Sri Lanka has not been an exception to this transition. In fact, there has been a fast decline in the level of fertility and mortality in the country which is unprecidented in the history of demographic transition of the developing countries of the present era. Many authors have examined the reasons for the decline in fertility and mortality during the past. During 1940-45, the influence of malaria eradication in Sri Lanka has been shown as a cause for fertility decline (Frederiksen, 1960). In 1966 Jayawardene and Selvaratnam (1967) has attributed the decline in fertility to increase in age at marriage. Write (1968) concluded that the decline in fertility (CBR) between 1953-1963 was due to changes in the age structure and the marital status of women (15-19 years). Fernando (1970) in his fertility analysis for the period 1953 and 1968 examined the influence of infant mortality due to malaria and its impact on fertility and concluded that the consequence of depression of women in the reproductive age group (25-29) in 1963 was due to loss of female infant cohort in 1934-1938 as a result of out break of malaria. Fernando (1972) concluded that the most significant contributing factor in the decline of the fertility has been a change in the proportion marrying. Hence it is evident from the above studies that the increase in mean age at marriage, decline in the proportion of currently married women in the reproductive age group and decline in marital fertility are the main factors for the fertility decline in Sri Lanka.

Keeping above points in view an attempt has been made to examine the age patterns of fertility in Sri Lanka for the periods 1953, 1963, 1971 and 1981. These age patterns of fertility explain the age group having low fertility and its trend at four points of time.

Methodology

To examine the age patterns of fertility in Sri Lanka, age specific fertility rates, age specific marital fertility rates, indexed marital fertility schedules fixing fertility at age 20-24 at 100, the m(a) index of fertility regulation and estimated natural fertility schedules derived from the m(a) has been calculated by using the method suggested by Coals and Trussell (1974), which represents the patterns of marital fertility prevailing in the absence of any deliberate fertility regulation.

Coale and Trussell (1974) have suggested that the age specific marital fertility schedule of any population can be expressed in the following form :

$$r(a) = n(a) \quad M\, e^{m.\, v\,(a)}$$

where

r (a) is the age specific marital fertility rate
n(a) is the natural fertility at age ' a ' ;
' M ' is the scaling factor of natural fertility ;
' m ' is the factor representing the relative use of fertility regulation at age ' a '
and
v(a) is the standard schedule by which the age specific marital fertility rate is reduced because of fertility regulation.

Coale and Trussell (1974) have computed the age specific fertility schedules of 13 populations identified by Louis Henry (1961) which were experiencing natural fertility. The values of the function v (a) have been estimated by taking into consideration the extent to which selected age-specific marital fertility schedules of contracepting population have differed from natural fertility population. Using these functions M and m can be estimated for any given population for which the age specific marital fertility rates, r(a), are known. The procedure, first estimates ' M ' as :

$$M = \frac{r(20 - 24)}{n(20 - 24)}$$

For a value of M computed as above, values of ' m ' can be estimated for different age groups with the knowledge of age-specific marital fertility rates, r(a), the standard natural fertility schedule, n(a) and v(a). The average of ' m ' for different age groups ($\bar{m}$) can be considered to represent the population. Table gives the computed values of M, m and $\bar{m}$ for each district for three periods. If the given age-specific marital fertility schedule of a population is close to its natural fertility, then the estimated values of m(a)

for any age group should be almost equal to and close to zero. For all practical purpose values of ' m ' less than 0.2 are assumed to represent natural fertility conditions. After ensuring that the population under study have not been very different from natural fertility conditions, one can compare the levels and age patterns of fertility at different time points in order to judge how they have shifted under conditions of modernisation.

Further in order to study the effects of nuptiality changes and contraceptive practice separately the fertility indexes viz. index of over 24 fertility (I_f), index of marital fertility (I_g) and index of proportion married (I_m) were computed with the concept developed by Coale (1965). The three indices, suggested by Coale (1965), were as follows :

The index of overall fertility $I_f = \sum f_i w_i \; / \; \sum F_i w_i$

The index of fertility of married womens : $I_g = \sum g_i m_i \; / \; \sum F_i m_i$

The index of the proportion of married : $I_m = \sum F_i m_i \; / \; \sum F_i w_i$

Where

f_i = births per women in i^{th} age interval ;
g_i = births per married women in i^{th} age interval ;
W_i = number of women in i^{th} age interval ;
m_i = number of married women in i^{th} age interval :
F_i = birth per women in i^{th} age interval in the standard population (married Hutteritec 1921-30).

Srinivasan, Pathak (1981) suggested that the Coale (1965) index separately computed for women aged 15-29 and 30-44 will explain fertility levels between younger and older couples. Hence the three indices were computed separately for women aged 15-29, 30-49, and 15-49. The values of nine indices I_f, $I_f^{(1)}$, $I_f^{(2)}$, I_g, $I_g^{(1)}$, $I_g^{(2)}$, and I_m, $I_m^{(1)}$, $I_m^{(2)}$ for the year 1971, 1963 and 1953 census periods were computed for twenty-two districts of Sri Lanka, by utilizing the data given in the Appendix-I and Table 2.

Data

The main sources of data were census and vital registration statistics. Age sex and marital status by district have been collected from 1953, 1963, 1971 censuses for computing age specific marital fertility rate. Further data were collected from the Bulletin of Vital Statistics, published by the Department of Census and Statistics. The analysis was carried out for the whole of Sri Lanka and for 22 sub-divisions. These are generally called " revenue districts ", which were existing in 1971.

It is generally agreed that the official statistics of Sri Lanka are reasonably complete. Sarkar (1957) estimated the extent of under-enumeration in census of 1945 at about seven per cent and Kumaraswamy (1953), concluded that the coverage in the census of 1953 was virtually complete. According to recent estimates given by the Population Division of U. N. (1976), the under-registration of births and deaths are about twelve per cent in earlier census (before 1953) and about 1.5 per cent for births and 5.5 per cent for deaths between 1963 and 1971. In recent censuses and registrations, quality of data has improved and virtually have no error. All the statistics presented in this paper, have been taken directly from the original source.

Results :

Crude birth rate in Sri Lanka which was 39.67 in 1953 has declined to 27.43 in 1981 (Table 1). Age specific fertility rates in all age groups have shown a declining trend during the 1953-1981 period. On the other side the proportion of single women is increasing and having maximum increment in the age group 25-29 (Table 1) during the period 1953-1981. From the percentage of never married women in the selected age group for different census periods (Table 1), it is clear that the nuptiality pattern is an important variable, influencing decline in fertility.

Fertility within marriage (Age specific Marital Fertility Rates) for twenty-two districts of Sri Lanka for the different census periods *viz*, 1953, 1963, 1971 (Table 2) showed increasing values in the age group 15-19 and 20-24 (earlier ages) while the other age groups show a declining trend.

This may be due to (*i*) postponement of marriage leading to reduction of proportion of married women in child bearing age or (*ii*) limitation of fertility regulation through various forms of contraception. These factors have been examined by calculating the indexes suggested by Coale (1965).

From table 3 it can be seen that the quantum of decline in the index of overall fertility (I_f), the index of fertility of married women (I_g) and the index of the proportion married (I_m) reflects the impact of change in nuptiality and contraceptive practice. All districts, except Colombo, have exhibited declining values of the indices I_f, I_m and I_g, during 1953-1971. While the district Colombo has shown an increase in the index values,of I_f and I_g and decline in I_m values. The impact of the nuptiality changes can be expected through the index of proportion married ($I_m^{(1)}$ among women below 30) and the impact is not felt for women aged 30-49. $I_m^{(1)}$ has declined in all districts except in Batticaloa and $I_m^{(2)}$ has declined in all the districts except Kalutara, Batticaloa, Puttalam. I_g, $I_g^{(1)}$, $I_g^{(2)}$, are found to be declining in all the districts except in the Colombo district.

TABLE 1

Fertility Indices of Sri Lanka, 1953–1981

		Census Year			
		1953	1963	1971	1981
1. Crude Birth Rate	..	39·67	34·55	30·16	27·43
2. General Fertility Rate	..	190·09	169·73	138·65	115·80
3. General Marital Fertility Rate	..	245·00	240·00	213·00	—
4. Total Fertility Rate	..	5·32	5·04	4·22	—
5. Age Specific Fertility Rate					
15—19	..	68·2	52·2	43·0	40·0*
20—24	..	259·3	227·8	178·0	179·9*
25—29	..	295·1	278·4	230·0	237·9*
30—34	..	246·0	239·5	203·5	187·5*
35—39	..	150·1	157·0	140·3	92·4*
40—44	..	38·1	45·8	43·3	29·1*
45—49	..	6·8	6·6	6·7	4·0
6. Proportion Single Women					
15—19	..	75·7	84·7	89·4	89·7
20—24	..	32·5	41·4	53·2	55·3
25—29	..	12·8	17·3	24·6	30·1
45—49	..	4·4	3·9	4·3	4·4

* Refers to 1978 year

Source : (1) Registrar General : *Report of the Registrar General of Ceylon on vital statistics for* 1953, Govt. Press Ceylon 1954.

(2) Registrar General : *Report of the Registrar General of Ceylon on vital statistics for* 1963, Govt. Press Ceylon, 1968.

(3) Registrar General : *Bulletin on Vital Statistics*, 1979 Ministry of Plan implementation, Dept. of Census and Statistics, Colombo, 1981.

(4) Longford, C. M. : "Fertility change in Sri Lanka since the war : An analysis of the experience of different districts" *population studies* 35(2) ; 285-306.

TABLE 2

Age Specific Marital Fertility Rates for Sri Lanka at District Level 1971, 1963, 1953

Country/District	Year	Age Specific Marital Fertility Rates						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Sri Lanka ..	1971	·3743	·3934	·3026	·2235	·1391	·0415	·0091
	1963	·3405	·3864	·3337	·2582	·1652	·0480	·0068
	1953	·2808	·3840	·3384	·2658	·1586	·0401	·0071
1. Colombo ..	1971	—	·9571	·5725	·3473	·1791	·0033	·0160
	1963	·4378	·4623	·3535	·2567	·1516	·0389	·0050
	1953	·4172	·4454	·3664	·2772	·1568	·0370	·0049
2. Kalutara ..	1971	·2371	·2866	·2661	·1971	·1207	·0489	·0078
	1963	·2834	·3710	·3061	·2394	·1378	·0498	·0061
	1953	·2641	·3867	·3469	·2643	·1733	·0450	·0073
3. Kandy ..	1971	·1884	·2614	·2202	·1804	·1220	·0469	·0103
	1963	·3308	·3631	·3263	·2534	·1639	·0504	·0071
	1953	·2998	·3729	·3196	·2378	·1502	·0345	·0078
4. Matale ..	1971	·2062	·2657	·2460	·1751	·1435	·0503	·0133
	1963	·3990	·3842	·3473	·2690	·1809	·0550	·0081
	1953	·3069	·3928	·3342	·2706	·1557	·0416	·0073
5. Nuwara Eliya ..	1971	·1487	·2161	·2214	·1731	·1262	·0608	·0190
	1963	·3042	·3270	·3096	·2187	·1426	·0387	·0066
	1953	·2881	·3273	·2837	·2282	·1652	·0400	·0070
6. Galle ..	1971	·2498	·2775	·2542	·2202	·1488	·0691	·0045
	1963	·3427	·3872	·3361	·2736	·1835	·0640	·0084
	1953	·3380	·3998	·3634	·3193	·2010	·0618	·0100
7. Matara ..	1971	·2392	·2760	·2611	·2291	·1627	·0706	·0191
	1963	·3197	·4400	·4084	·3592	·2465	·1009	·0165
	1953	·0468	·4472	·4374	·3506	·2275	·0704	·0130
8. Hambantota ..	1971	·3018	·3409	·2979	·2361	·1861	·0624	·0236
	1963	·3137	·4215	·3839	·3394	·2403	·0713	·0069
	1953	·4165	·4345	·3875	·3089	·1970	·0425	·0075
9. Jaffna ..	1971	·2121	·2318	·1890	·1662	·0976	·0326	·0091
	1963	·3280	·3657	·3368	·2323	·1423	·0352	·0031
	1953	·2964	·3263	·2824	·2174	·1174	·0271	·0043
10. Mannar ..	1971	2313	·3034	·2527	·1987	·1297	·0636	·0092
	1963	2652	·3684	·4077	·2924	·1819	·0773	·0195
	1953	3014	·3300	·3154	·2493	·1843	·0550	·0077

(Contd.....)

TABLE 2 (*Contd.....*)

Country/District	*Year*	*Age Specific Marital Fertility Rates*						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
11. Vavuniya ..	1971	·2373	·2864	·2902	·1719	·1627	·0487	·0104
	1963	·4287	·3887	·3796	·3007	·2044	·0391	·0056
	1953	·4050	·3880	·3842	·2486	·1635	·0309	·0096
12. Batticaloa ..	1971	·2050	·2598	·2323	·1731	·1299	·0398	·0098
	1963	·3007	·3340	·3462	·3020	·1713	·0662	·0068
	1953	·3549	·3973	·3739	·2704	·1292	·1247	·0056
13. Amparai ..	1971	·2747	·2635	·2365	·1939	·1205	·0292	·0127
	1963	·3185	·3817	·3378	·2525	·1518	·0430	·0060
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Trincomalee ..	1971	·1690	·2590	·2087	·1714	·1145	·0358	·0041
	1963	·3150	·3593	·3229	·2420	·1504	·0396	·0078
	1953	·2769	·3153	·3353	·2163	·0890	·0196	·0041
15. Kurunegala ..	1971	·2168	·2706	·2368	·1771	·1113	·0456	·0111
	1963	·3631	·3888	·3168	·2501	·1576	·0353	·0059
	1953	·3029	·3747	·3251	·2534	·1409	·0304	·0068
16. Puttalam ..	1971	·1731	·2436	·2177	·1649	·1115	·0304	·0065
	1963	·3339	·4189	·3326	·2440	·1379	·0287	·0037
	1953	·3311	·3726	·2985	·2336	·1156	·0264	·0036
17. Anuradhapura	1971	·2649	·2792	·2463	·1973	·1501	·0690	·0147
	1963	·3567	·3726	·3482	·2942	·1813	·0419	·0086
	1953	·3000	·3607	·3189	·2552	·1543	·0326	·0066
18. Polonnaruwa ..	1971	·2869	·3188	·2557	·2521	·1645	·0744	·0169
	1963	·3165	·3550	·3285	·3093	·1890	·0816	·0195
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19. Badulla ..	1971	·1785	·2755	·2569	·1963	·1222	·0588	·0131
	1963	·3541	·3855	·3384	·2679	·1803	·0529	·0097
	1953	·2797	·3660	·3089	·2603	·1624	·0462	·0084
20. Moneragala ..	1971	·1939	·3495	·2824	·2596	·1969	·0881	·0200
	1963	·3541	·3855	·3384	·2679	·1803	·0529	·0097
	1953	·2797	·3660	·3089	·2603	·1624	·0462	·0084
21. Ratnapura ..	1971	·2278	·2723	·2451	·1955	·1382	·0605	·0114
	1963	·3459	·3494	·3047	·2452	·1610	·0384	·0053
	1953	·2854	·3547	·3260	·2663	·1640	·0421	·0085
22. Kegalle ..	1971	·221	·2494	·2180	·1600	·0955	·0412	·0111
	1963	·2919	·3191	·2840	·2104	·1564	·0394	·0954
	1953	·3335	·3441	·3283	·2477	·1482	·0411	·0095

Computed from the source referred in Table 1 and the data given in Table 1 of the Appendix 1.

TABLE 3

Indexes of Overall Fertility, Marital Fertility and Proportion Married for the Districts of Sri Lanka

Districts	*Year*	(1) I_f	(2) I_f	I_f	(1) I_m	(2) I_m	I_m	(1) I_g	(2) I_g	I_g
Sri Lanka ..	1971	·3317	·3432	·3287	·4622	·9310	·6120	·6959	·3718	·5371
	1963	·3943	·4140	·4014	·5512	·9399	·5909	·7153	·4404	·5809
	1953	·4607	·4073	·4423	·6529	·9382	·7511	·7057	·4342	·5890
1. Colombo ..	1971	·6456	·4382	·5764	·4211	·8792	·5740	·5332	·4984	·0041
	1963	·3987	·3787	·3718	·4596	·9080	·6286	·8022	·4152	·5915
	1953	·4371	·3989	·4234	·5543	·9050	·6804	·7885	·4408	·6223
2. Kalutara ..	1971	·2037	·3075	·2388	·3818	·9207	·5639	·5336	·3339	·4234
	1963	·2796	·3582	·3091	·4290	·9110	·6099	·6518	·3932	·5069
	1953	·4663	·3810	·4379	·6801	·9612	·7738	·6856	·3964	·5658
3. Kandy ..	1971	·2033	·3054	·2352	·4392	·9413	·5960	·4627	·3245	·3946
	1963	·3838	·4129	·3936	·5546	·9479	·6870	·6940	·4356	·5729
	1953	·4663	·3810	·4379	·6801	·9612	·7738	·6856	·3964	·5658
4. Matale ..	1971	·2578	·3254	·2793	·5165	·9505	·6543	·4992	·3424	·4269
	1963	·3793	·3597	·3730	·6412	·9580	·7502	·7440	·4718	·6244
	1953	·5548	·4256	·5119	·7664	·9749	·8357	·7239	·4366	·6125
5. Nuwara Eliya ..	1971	·2117	·3214	·2456	·5006	·9461	·6381	·4229	·3397	·3849
	1963	·3793	·3597	·3730	·5982	·9677	·7167	·6340	·3717	·5204
	1953	·4603	·3956	·4375	·7419	·9684	·8219	·6205	·4085	·5323
6. Galle ..	1971	·1824	·3357	·2360	·3512	·8595	·5289	·5193	·3906	·4462
	1963	·2686	·4247	·3262	·3833	·8819	·5675	·7007	·4816	·5749
	1953	·3395	·4858	·3891	·4606	·9068	·6121	·7371	·5356	·5358
7. Matara ..	1971	·1856	·3759	·2478	·3550	·8912	·5303	·5227	·4218	·4873
	1963	·3320	·5962	·4294	·4057	·9106	·5919	·8184	·6548	·7256
	1953	·4336	·5571	·4747	·6181	·9285	·7214	·7015	·6040	·6580
8. Hambantota ..	1971	·2758	·4212	·3217	·4352	·9429	·5954	·6338	·4467	·5403
	1963	·7818	·5970	·6877	1.0000	·9747	·9871	·7818	·6125	·6967
	1953	·5716	·5006	·5485	·7067	·9557	·7878	·8099	·5234	·6962
9. Jaffna ..	1971	·1934	·2569	·2148	·4646	·9466	·6274	·4163	·2714	·3424
	1963	·4015	·4033	·4021	·5694	1.0715	·7485	·7051	·3763	·5372
	1953	·4060	·3228	·3749	·6675	·9747	·7824	·6083	·3312	·4792
10. Mannar ..	1971	·3574	·3508	·3554	·6406	·9853	·7479	·5579	·3560	·4751
	1963	·6011	·5066	·5661	·7966	·9784	·8639	·7546	·5178	·6553
	1953	·5670	·4454	·5241	·8563	·9776	·8991	·6620	·4556	·5828
11. Vavuniya ..	1971	·3922	·3383	·3753	·6852	·9560	·7702	·5725	·3529	·4873
	1963	·6533	·5088	·6018	·8044	·9833	·8683	·8123	·5174	·6931
	1953	·7205	·4214	·6216	·8926	·9864	·9236	·8072	·4272	·6730
12. Batticaloa ..	1971	·3448	·3064	·3320	·6919	·9655	·7836	·4984	·3174	·4236
	1963	·5676	·4982	·5426	·8094	·9808	·8712	·7013	·5079	·6228
	1953	·5482	·3172	·4679	·6878	·7954	·7252	·7971	·3988	·6453

(*Contd.....*)

TABLE 3 (*Contd.....*)

	Districts	*Year*	(1) I_f	(2) I_f	I_f	(1) I_m	(2) I_m	I_m	(1) I_g	(2) I_g	I_g
13.	Amparai ..	1971	·3524	·3208	·3423	·6704	·9866	·7713	·5256	·3252	·4438
		1963	·6002	·4138	·5363	·8114	·9853	·8710	·7398	·4199	·6158
		1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14.	Trincomalee ..	1971	·3462	·2912	·3291	·7514	·9655	·8179	·4607	·3016	·4024
		1963	·5752	·4016	·5161	·8096	·9785	·8671	·7105	·4104	·5952
		1953	·5816	·3076	·4934	·8812	·9821	·9137	·6600	·3132	·5399
15.	Kurunegala ..	1971	·2432	·2907	·2585	·4896	·9496	·6366	·4969	·3061	·4060
		1963	·4489	·4045	·4323	·6351	·9663	·7587	·7067	·4186	·5698
		1953	·5366	·3914	·4888	·7761	·9762	·8419	·6914	·4009	·5806
16.	Puttalam ..	1971	·2493	·2707	·2560	·5552	·9654	·6843	·4400	·2804	·3741
		1963	·4789	·3678	·4670	·6330	·9541	·7559	·7531	·3855	·5781
		1953	·4743	·3360	·4237	·7139	·9518	·7975	·6644	·3531	·5338
17.	Anuradhapura ..	1971	·3141	·3726	·3324	·5825	·9730	·7044	·5393	·3829	·4718
		1963	·5670	·4758	·5334	·7705	·9779	.8423	·7360	·4865	·6356
		1953	·5965	·4128	·5396	·8632	·9830	·9038	·6871	·4199	·5971
18.	Polonnaruwa ..	1971	·3671	·4552	·3947	·6273	·9940	·7423	·5852	·4580	·5317
		1963	·5375	·5437	·5396	·7820	·9777	·8469	·6873	·5561	·6371
		1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19.	Badulla ..	1971	·2497	·3301	·2753	·4886	·9389	·6318	·5111	·3516	·4357
		1963	·4502	·4521	·4508	·6226	·9636	·7310	·7231	·4692	·6167
		1953	·5033	·4274	·4776	·7470	·9777	·8250	·6737	·4371	·5789
20.	Moneragala ..	1971	·3699	·4930	·4081	·6124	·9748	·7249	·5040	·5058	·5630
		1963	·6441	·6143	·6340	·8864	·9821	·8525	·8191	·6255	·7437
		1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.	Ratnapura ..	1971	·2294	·3399	·2644	·4554	·9385	·6089	·5037	·3621	·4345
		1963	·3684	·3988	·3786	·6533	·4188	·5443	·5639	·9522	·6959
		1953	·4739	·4374	·4620	·7075	·9047	·7918	·6698	·4534	·5835
22.	Kegalle ..	1971	·1861	·2516	·2070	·4096	·9202	·5728	·4543	·2734	·3614
		1963	·3088	·3449	·3217	·5205	·9035	·6576	·5932	·3818	·4892
		1953	·4533	·3961	·4345	·6797	·9632	·7732	·6669	·4412	·5619

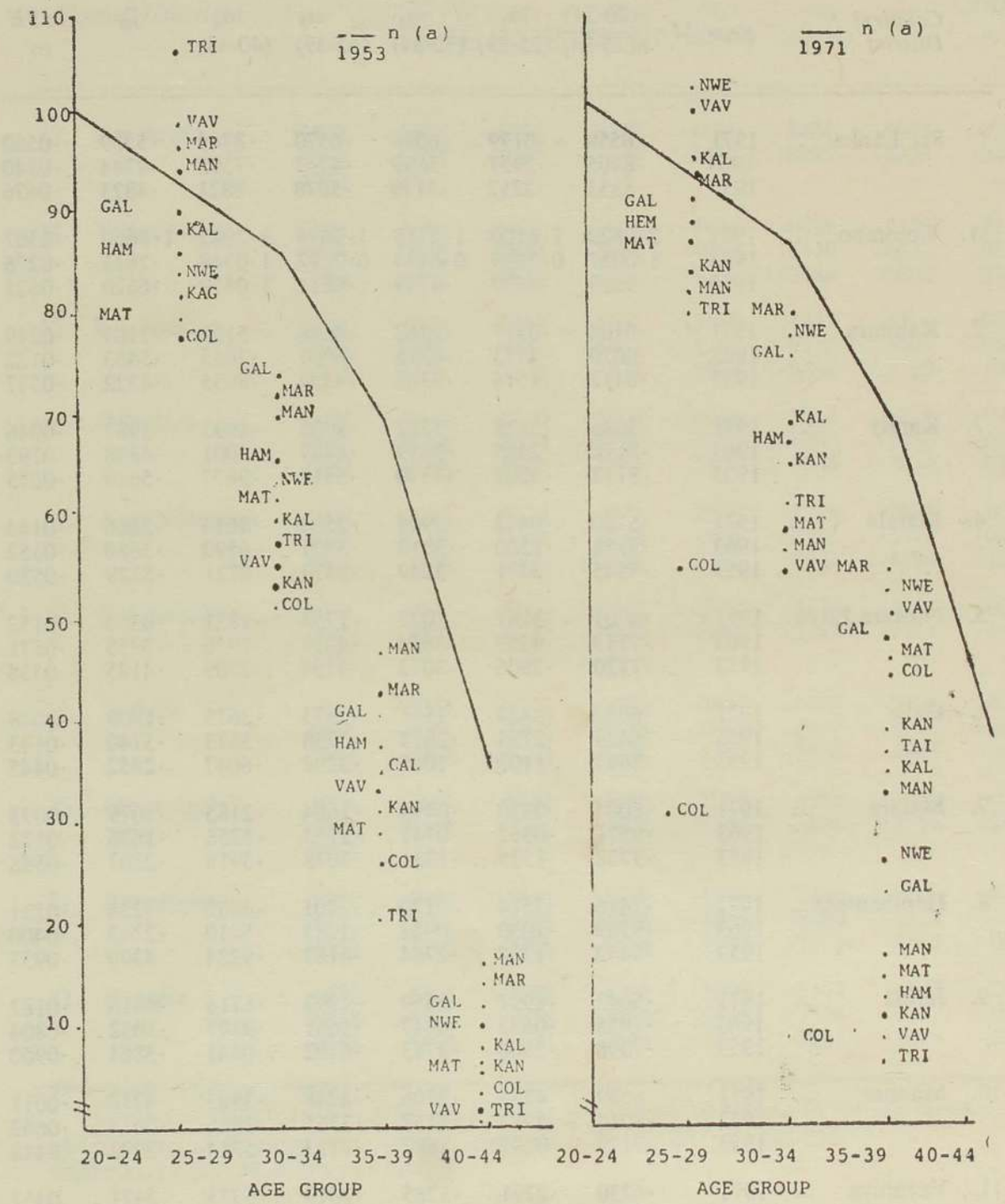
For Computation of I_g, I_m, I_f, see Coale (1965).

Among the indices, $I_f^{(2)}$, $I_m^{(2)}$, $I_g^{(2)}$ were having higher values than $I_f^{(1)}$, $I_m^{(1)}$, $I_g^{(1)}$ for all the periods and for all the districts except for Colombo. This clearly explains that the overall fertility, marital fertility and proportion married were higher for higher age group (30-49) of women. In the case of Colombo there was a substantial decline in the overall fertility ($I_f^{(1)}$ to $I_f^{(2)}$), marital fertility ($I_g^{(1)}$ and $I_g^{(2)}$) and increase in proportion married ($I_m^{(1)}$ and $I_m^{(2)}$) between 15-29 and 30-49 age group of women. Further, in all the districts, the proportion of married women in the age group 30-49 ($I_m^{(2)}$) was much higher than $I_m^{(1)}$ for all the periods. Increase in proportion marrying in the age group 30-49 and having high value of $I_g^{(2)}$ (index of fertility of married women in the age group 30-49) indicates that the fertility performance was high in older women (30-49). Decline in I_f^1, I_m^1, I_g^1 indicates, a substantial decline in marital fertility of younger women, after a time lag, from the decline in the marital fertility of older women aged (30-49). Further, the decline in the proportion married was faster in the younger women as compared to older women. Sri Lanka, as a whole, had experienced a maximum decline in the proportion married in case of younger women. The decline was from 0.65 in 1951 to 0.46 in 1971, where as it was 0.94 to 0.93, respectively for the older women. This fertility transition in Sri Lanka was mainly due to the decline in the proportion of younger married women.

The extent to which increase in the practice of family planning has contributed to the decline in marital fertility rates of older women between 30-49 can be assessed indirectly by a comparison of age pattern of fertility of all the districts at different years, with the standard curve of natural fertility pattern that has been derived by Coale and Trussell (1974, 1978) and which represent the pattern of marital fertility prevailing in the absence of any deliberate fertility regulation. Figure 1 indicates the indexed age specific marital fertility rate (by considering 20-24 age group as hundred) of the districts of Sri Lanka for the years 1953 and 1971. It can be seen from the figure that in the majority of the districts the age group 20-29 during 1953 and 1971 were close to the standard curve and for the age group 30-34 and 35-39, some districts have departed from the curve. The departure of the indexed age specific fertility rates from the standard curve indicates the degree of fertility regulation. Figure 1 clearly explains that except for Colombo all other districts are close to the curve indicating that there was very little practice of contraception to control fertility.

Quantitative estimates of the degree of regulation in fertility can be obtained from the values of ' m ' (level of fertility regulations') derived from Coale and Trussell model (1981). Table 4 gives the index of fertility regulation measured by the m(*a*).

Fig : 1 Age patterns of Fertility: Indexed Age Specific Marital Fertility rates, and Index Standard natural fertility schedule, n (a). Selected districts of Sri Lanka 1953, 1971.



Source Table 3·9

TABLE 4

Index of Fertility Regulation m (a^{*}) by districts of Sri Lanka 1971, 1963, 1953

Country/ District	Year	$M = \frac{r(20\text{-}24)}{n(20\text{-}24)}$	m_1 (25-29)	m_2 (30-34)	m_3 (35-39)	m_4 (40-44)	$\bar{m}$	MSE m
Sri Lanka ..	1971	·8558	- ·0179	·6096	·6570	·8749	·5309	·0560
	1963	·8405	·2937	·3699	·4747	·7593	·4744	·0340
	1953	·8353	·2212	·3179	·5078	·8821	·4823	·0676
1. Colombo ..	1971	2·0820	1·6100	1·2718	1·2676	3·2942	1·8609	·0307
	1963	1·0057	0·7299	0·6434	0·7292	1·0348	·7843	·0276
	1953	·9689	·4679	·4749	·6611	1·0439	·6620	·0621
2. Kalutara ..	1971	·6104	- ·0417	·2962	·4688	·5199	·3109	·0249
	1963	·8070	·4573	·4215	·6097	·7045	·5483	·0122
	1953	·8412	·1574	·3366	·4294	·8055	·4322	·0577
3. Kandy ..	1971	·5686	·3828	·3222	·3905	·4993	·3987	·0046
	1963	·8116	·2485	·3459	·4487	·7001	·4358	·0293
	1953	·8112	·3209	·4390	·5319	·9677	·5649	·0675
4. Matale ..	1971	·5780	·0442	·3904	·2504	·4614	·2866	·0144
	1963	·8358	·1300	·3010	·3821	·6590	·3680	·0352
	1953	·8545	·3471	·3249	·5473	·8721	·5229	·0530
5. Nuwara Eliya	1971	·4701	- ·3187	·1022	·1754	·1821	·0350	·0152
	1963	·7113	- ·0359	·3686	·4557	·7936	·3955	·0671
	1953	·7120	·2806	·3072	·3154	·7709	·4185	·0534
6. Galle ..	1971	·6037	·0824	·1161	·2573	·2675	·1808	·0048
	1963	·8423	·2754	·2874	·3758	·5573	·3740	·0143
	1953	·8697	·1103	·1065	·3192	·6047	·2852	·0445
7. Matara ..	1971	·6004	- ·0330	·0495	·1664	·2185	·1079	·0093
	1963	·9571	·0352	·0741	·2153	·3258	·1626	·0122
	1953	·9728	·1525	·1331	·3078	·3918	·2201	·0598
8. Hambantota..	1971	·7416	·2514	·3170	·2401	·4852	·3234	·0121
	1963	·9169	·1030	·0944	·1985	·5410	·2342	·0400
	1953	·9452	·1784	·2784	·4183	·9284	·4399	·0953
9. Jaffna ..	1971	·5042	·4997	·2659	·4893	·6716	·4816	·0187
	1963	·7955	·0632	·4447	·5651	·9397	·5032	·0804
	1953	·7098	·2860	·3743	·6402	1·0441	·5861	·0900
10. Mannar ..	1971	6599	4235	·3996	·4748	·3893	·4218	·0011
	1963	·8014	- ·5952	·1157	·3365	·3886	·0614	·0662
	1953	·7179	- ·0697	·1887	·2183	·5514	·2222	·0448
11. Vavuniya ..	1971	·6230	·2791	·5285	·2019	·5373	·2471	·0457
	1963	·8456	·1469	·1536	·2760	·9086	·2978	·1543
	1953	·8440	·1966	·4320	·4885	1·0737	·4494	·1627
12. Batticaloa ..	1971	·5651	·1691	·3742	·3244	·6111	·3697	·0244
	1963	·7266	·3605	·0768	·3000	·4289	·0729	·0669
	1953	·8643	·0143	·3428	·7373	1·2489	·5787	·1957

(Contd.....)

TABLE 4 (*Contd.....*)

Country/District	*Year*	$M = \frac{r(20\text{-}24)}{n(20\text{-}24)}$	m_1 (25-29)	m_2 (30-34)	m_3 (35-39)	m_4 (40-44)	$\bar{m}$	*MSE* m
13. Amparai ..	1971	·5732	·1556	·2275	·4101	·8401	·4083	·0785
	1963	·8303	·2060	·3848	·5441	·8285	·4909	·0485
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Trincomalee ..	1971	·5634	·5421	·3842	·4426	·6838	·5132	·0143
	1963	·7816	·1510	·3582	·4949	·8440	·4620	·0611
	1953	·6859	·4523	·3311	·8731	1·2489	·5002	·2711
15. Kurunegala ..	1971	·5886	·2463	·4001	·5118	·5437	·4216	·0077
	1963	·8458	·5021	·5261	·5258	·9810	·6088	·0601
	1953	·8151	·2770	·3522	·5929	1·0606	·5719	·1014
16. Puttalam ..	1971	·5299	·1710	·3508	·4092	·7561	·4218	·0462
	1963	·9112	·5415	·5728	·5255	1·1802	·7550	·0762
	1953	·8105	·5629	·4641	·7824	1·1560	·7414	·0768
17. Anuradhapura	1971	·6073	·2175	·2875	·2548	·2729	·2581	·0002
	1963	·8105	·0109	·1744	·3505	·8297	·3414	·0096
	1953	·7846	·2096	·2855	·4741	·9843	·4884	·1034
18. Polonnaruwa ..	1971	·6935	·5586	·1212	·2942	·3134	·3219	·0048
	1963	·7722	·0462	·0220	·2642	·3241	·1531	·0174
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19. Badulla ..	1971	·5993	·0187	·2751	·4394	·3766	·2774	·0107
	1963	·8386	·2352	·3120	·3885	·6889	·4064	·0335
	1953	·7962	·3760	·2778	·4390	·7490	·4602	·3640
20. Moneragala ..	1971	·7602	·5322	·2136	·2099	·2589	·3037	·0043
	1963	·9748	·2954	·0502	·6346	·6346	·3384	·0430
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21. Ratnapura ..	1971	·5923	·1453	·2639	·3101	·3470	·2666	·0032
	1963	·7601	·2588	·2976	·4028	·8460	·4513	·0655
	1953	·7716	·0705	·1434	·3995	·7915	·3513	·0832
22. Kegalle ..	1971	·5425	·2504	·4301	·5805	·5577	·4547	·0084
	1963	·6941	·1858	·3896	·3435	·7636	·4207	·0193
	1953	·7485	·0634	·2599	·4676	·7871	·3628	·0782

* Coale and Trussell (1974 :"Model Fertility Schedules: Variations in the age structure of childbearing in Human Population", *Population Index*, 40, pp. 185-258, $m(a) = I_n [r(a) / M.n.(a)] / r(a)$.

It is observed that, the average incidence of fertility ($\bar{m}$) is declining in all the districts with the increase of time except in the six districts *viz.*, Mannar, Batticaloa, Amparai, Kurunegala, Ratnapura and Kegalle. Districts of Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matara, Vavuniya, Anuradhapura, Badulla, Ratnapura have exhibited $\bar{m}$ very close to the population listed by Louis Henry (1961). These districts determined natural fertility schedule which explained that there was no control on fertility. Other districts, except Colombo, were very close to natural fertility pattern, indicating very little or no practice of control of fertility during 1953-1971.

Discussion and Conclusion

During the period 1953-1981, the general fertility has declined (Table 1) faster than the crude birth rate. No substantial difference in the proportion of women in the reproductive age (15-44) in the districts were observed. Nevertheless, the proportion of never married (single) women had increased significantly in all the age groups during these years. Apart from the decline in the proportions married, the fertility within marriage had also declined.

The index calculated by the method suggested by Coale (1965), indicated that, for the entire country while the overall fertility and proportion of married women were still high in 1971 in the age group 30-49 but lower than 1951, the marital fertility rate was higher in the age group 15-29. Increase in age at marriage seems to be followed by increase in I_g^1, with substantial decline in marital fertility after age 30 (I_g^2), implying that family planning methods are adopted only for limitation of family size. The women who marry late had relatively higher fertility before 30 years and had low fertility after 30 years (I_g^2), at district level only Colombo showed an increase in the index value of I_f and I_g while recording a decline in I_m (proportion married).

The curve of age specific marital fertility rate has exhibited a higher peak in 20-24 years with a rapid decline in subsequent age group. The analysis through Coale's indexes has shown that changes in the proportion of never married women had a greater impact on fertility decline than changes in marital fertility. Notwithstanding the decline in fertility as revealed through the present investigations, the data has shown little effect of contraceptive use on fertility decline in Sri Lanka during 1953-71.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1: Age specific Fertility rates in the districts of Sri Lanka, 1953, 1963, 1971

Country/District	*Year*	*Age-Specific Fertility Rates*						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Sri Lanka ..	1971	·0398	·1842	·2319	·1991	·1310	·0396	·0087
	1963	·0520	·2264	·2761	·2380	·1572	·0460	·0066
	1953	·0682	·2593	·2951	·2460	·1501	·0381	·0068
Colombo ..	1971	·0995	·3843	·4082	·2999	·1647	·0030	·0108
	1963	·0401	·2165	·2685	·2265	·1400	·0363	·0047
	1953	·0432	·2436	·2966	·2469	·1434	·0339	·0046
Kalutara ..	1971	·0166	·1002	·1732	·1672	·1075	·0449	·2046
	1963	·0212	·1576	·2226	·2086	·1294	·0471	·0058
	1953	·0236	·2013	·2782	·2380	·1611	·0422	·0069
Kandy ..	1971	·0142	·1145	·1601	·1647	·1148	·0478	·0100
	1963	·0439	·2239	·2799	·2359	·1570	·0486	·0069
	1953	·0750	·2715	·2878	·2260	·1453	·0335	·0076
Matale ..	1971	·0248	·1471	·2032	·1556	·1435	·0485	·0138
	1963	·0775	·2738	·3129	·2553	·1743	·0532	·0078
	1953	·1105	·3241	·3142	·2616	·1527	·0409	·0071
Nuwara Eliya ..	1971	·0119	·1027	·1849	·1622	·1195	·0576	·0196
	1963	·0482	·2264	·2631	·2091	·1389	·0378	·0065
	1953	·0927	·2680	·2684	·2225	·1577	·0394	·0069
Galle ..	1971	·0145	·0939	·1530	·1736	·1296	·0674	·0045
	1963	·0180	·1438	·2271	·2297	·1666	·0595	·0080
	1953	·0200	·1787	·2753	·2799	·1858	·0578	·0094
Matara ..	1971	·0113	·0927	·1724	·1842	·1546	·0662	·0189
	1963	·0185	·1796	·2907	·3149	·2301	·0955	·0157
	1953	·0253	·2335	·3517	·3187	·2142	·0667	·0122
Hambantota ..	1971	·0288	·1612	·2341	·2075	·1814	·0608	·0254
	1963	·3137	·4215	·3839	·3394	·2301	·0680	·0066
	1953	·0778	·3226	·3517	·2920	·1896	·0411	·0073
Jaffna ..	1971	·0216	·1102	·1475	·1531	·0947	·0311	·0085
	1963	·0595	·2237	·2876	·2215	·1748	·0378	·0035
	1953	·0626	·2336	·2607	·2106	·1149	·0265	·0043
Mannar ..	1971	·0628	·2056	·2418	·1824	·1383	·0637	·0077
	1963	·1157	·3196	·3913	·2844	·1791	·0758	·0190
	1953	·1586	·2991	·3063	·2416	·1841	·0542	·0076
Vavuniya ..	1971	·0652	·2159	·2771	·1692	·1455	·0491	·0111
	1963	·1795	·3407	·3651	·2937	·2021	·0387	·0055
	1953	·2491	·3619	·3745	·2446	·1616	·0306	·0094

(*Contd.....*)

TABLE 1 (*Contd.....*)

Country/District	Year	Age-Specific Fertility Rates						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Batticaloa ..	1971	·0698	·2019	·2126	·1612	·1284	·0393	·0098
	1963	·1533	·2916	·3283	·2948	·1686	·0652	·0067
	1953	·1614	·2919	·2896	·2149	·1019	·0201	·0044
Amparai ..	1971	·0799	·1929	·2146	·1828	·1266	·0276	·0124
	1963	·1557	·3346	·3264	·2483	·1499	·0424	·0059
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trincomalee ..	1971	·0594	·2161	·2036	·1746	·1036	·0346	·0041
	1963	·1620	·3111	·3075	·2356	·1478	·0389	·0077
	1953	·1735	·2904	·3262	·2116	·0875	·0194	·0040
Kurunegala ..	1971	·0233	·1436	·1928	·1661	·1052	·0446	·0110
	1963	·0657	·2668	·2873	·2396	·1532	·0343	·0058
	1953	·0998	·3072	·3057	·2389	·1373	·0297	·0110
Puttalam ..	1971	·0288	·1408	·1879	·1576	·1079	·0298	·0063
	1963	·0725	·2931	·3017	·2305	·1324	·0276	·0036
	1953	·0788	·2793	·2708	·2208	·1107	·0253	·0034
Anuradhapura ..	1971	·0555	·1812	·2142	·1838	·1467	·0727	·0155
	1963	·1222	·3173	·3302	·2769	·1777	·0411	·0084
	1953	·1611	·3330	·3092	·2497	·1523	·0322	·0065
Polonnaruwa ..	1971	·0652	·2215	·2222	·2475	·1607	·0788	·0186
	1963	·1108	·3003	·3138	·3012	·1854	·0800	·0191
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Badulla ..	1971	·0168	·1349	·2051	·1801	·1157	·0572	·0129
	1963	·0626	·2624	·3043	·2545	·1755	·0515	·0095
	1953	·0952	·3015	·2928	·2526	·1597	·0453	·0082
Moneragala ..	1971	·0372	·2347	·2569	·2507	·1927	·0874	·0193
	1963	·1182	·3854	·3709	·3644	·2098	·0650	·0138
	1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ratnapura ..	1971	·0195	·1234	·1842	·1763	·1323	·0595	·0110
	1963	·0461	·2122	·2607	·2293	·1551	·0371	·0051
	1953	·0714	·2684	·3012	·2636	·1592	·0410	·0083
Kegalle ..	1971	·0137	·1003	·1554	·1416	·0909	·0381	·0106
	1963	·0293	·1755	·2404	·1958	·1328	·0379	·0052
	1953	·0650	·2459	·2942	·2362	·1438	·0398	·0092

TABLE II

Data Compiled for Calculation of Fertility Indices for Different Census Periods for Sri Lanka

Sr. No.	Districts	Births				Women Between 15-44 Years			
		1953	1963	1971	1981*	1953	1963	1971	1981
1.	Colombo ..	64889	71039	75712	80900	355200	453760	569889	738428
2.	Kalutara ..	18722	17750	18798	21237	113770	136620	164610	193590
3.	Kandy ..	33018	36733	37659	36140	176030	223440	269799	276895
4.	Matale ..	8793	9967	10409	10591	39943	50860	66866	85153
5.	Nuwara Eliya ..	12881	13489	14358	13825	69367	83670	103354	132428
6.	Galle ..	19620	19393	18881	20261	118458	141030	165954	191860
7.	Matara ..	18006	19122	18436	19289	89164	108140	130543	152843
8.	Hambantota ..	9695	10889	10611	12334	40268	51020	70775	97637
9.	Jaffna ..	16825	20465	20793	25473	106659	127300	153974	196377
10.	Mannar ..	1786	2505	2705	3653	7979	10200	14778	22691
11.	Vavuniya ..	1765	2936	3591	5101	6446	14930	17694	36488
12.	Batticaloa & Amparai ..	11308	17327	19954	22987	5623	76110	103805	158402
13.	Trincomalee ..	3345	5320	6949	9575	15513	23940	35756	54456
14.	Kurunegala ..	27592	30770	29554	24921	129435	166900	237071	317337
15.	Puttalam ..	8670	11299	12782	15346	46854	60190	82239	112819
16.	Anuradhapura & Polonnaruwa ..	10296	15587	18538	25932	43497	120920	107111	185184
17.	Badulla & Moneragala ..	19286	26858	36318	28597	95163	128940	171507	209376
18.	Ratnapura ..	16829	18125	20362	24712	84433	112560	146237	186652
19.	Kegalle ..	17881	16268	15156	15547	94678	121380	148026	168029
	Sri Lanka ..	321217	365842	382668	407243	1689794	2155480	2760020	3516645

* Refers to 1980 births.

TABLE II (*Contd.....*)

Sr. No.	Districts	Total Women				Total Population			
		1953	1963	1971	1981	1953	1963	1971	1981
1.	Colombo ..	784251	1036250	1271751	1491264	1708726	2207420	2672265	3087812
2.	Kalutara ..	255439	313300	362057	415878	523550	631690	729514	827189
3.	Kandy ..	402621	508500	582627	570234	840382	1047160	1187925	1126296
4.	Matale ..	93357	123190	152580	176904	201049	255880	314841	357441
5.	Nuwara Eliya ..	155028	191570	220668	259969	325254	398780	450278	522219
6.	Galle ..	266678	326070	371833	414541	524369	642340	735173	814579
7.	Matara ..	205000	257420	296893	331906	413431	515020	586443	664231
8.	Hambantota ..	91534	134150	165343	208307	191508	274670	340254	424102
9.	Jaffna ..	245472	305160	351663	421273	419849	613230	701603	831112
10.	Mannar ..	17823	27240	35946	49248	43689	60180	77780	106940
11.	Vavuniya ..	14852	29350	42480	80482	35112	68500	95243	173416
12.	Batticaloa & Amparai ..	126251	191640	253703	349483	270493	407910	529326	697785
13.	Trincomalee ..	34333	60720	85931	119447	83917	138220	188244	256790
14.	Kurunegala ..	291672	411260	499535	601091	626336	854800	1025633	1212755
15.	Puttalam ..	105939	143080	183678	240637	228892	302140	378430	493344
16.	Anuradhapura & Polonnaruwa ..	97419	175710	253337	388030	229282	393240	552423	850575
17.	Badulla & Moneragala ..	220124	311000	390648	433632	466896	653800	808425	922636
18.	Ratnapura ..	196253	259320	316656	383598	421555	546570	661344	796468
19.	Kegalle ..	225119	282280	321207	344345	471605	578521	654752	682411
	Sri Lanka ..	3829165	5087210	6158536	7280269	8097895	10590061	12689897	14850001

Source : Registrar General : *Bulletin of Vital Statistics*, 1979, 1972, 1963, 1964, 1953, 1954,, Dept. of Census and Statistics, Ministry of Plan Implementation, Colombo.

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