

1974

World Population Year



THE POPULATION OF SRI LANKA

Department of Census and Statistics

COLOMBO

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PREFACE

The preparation of this Monograph on "The Population of Sri Lanka" was undertaken by the Department of Census and Statistics at the request of the Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography (C.I.C.R.E.D.) which was established by the U.N.O.

The basic idea of the C.I.C.R.E.D. was to have for the World Population Year, 1974, a series of monographs giving for each country, following a common plan, information on past, present and future trends of population.

When C.I.C.R.E.D's request was received, only the preliminary results of the 1971 census were available. Hence an advance 10% sample tabulation of Census data was undertaken for the purpose of incorporating some up-to-date information in the Monograph.

The preparation of the different chapters of the monograph was undertaken by staff members of the Department of Census and Statistics except for the chapter on "Economic and Social Implications and Policy" the major part of which has been contributed by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.

It is hoped that this monograph, though intended for more general use will meet the specific needs of all those engaged in the formulation and execution of economic development plans and social policies.

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23rd October, 1974.*

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CHAPTER I

POPULATION GROWTH

The island of Sri Lanka, (1) 25,332 square miles in extent, lies to the south-east of the sub-continent of India, almost alongside its southern extremity, and is separated from India by about 20 miles of shallow sea — the Palk Strait. From the south-western lowlands of the country, mountain ranges rise to over 7,000 feet above sea level. The south-central area is mountainous and their south-western slopes receive both monsoons and are in the wet zone of the country with an annual rainfall of 100 to 200 inches. The country can be divided into three main regions according to the spatial distribution of population, viz., the low-lying areas of the wet zone, the central mountainous regions and the dry zone, which comprises the rest of the country.

Although there is some evidence that the island was inhabited since pre-historic times it is believed that the advent of Vijaya, a Bengali prince with his seven hundred followers, circa 540 B.C., laid the foundation of the Sinhalese race, (2) which constitutes the majority of the present population in the island. Sri Lanka, since that time, had remained Sinhala territory until about the fifth century A.D. when the Dravidan rulers from South India gained control over the northern part of it for a short period. Thereafter, there had been invasions by the South Indians and counter-invasions by the Sinhalese until the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon in 1505 A.D. The Portuguese conquered certain maritime parts of the country and held these possessions until they were ousted by the Dutch, who ruled over their possessions from 1640 A.D. In 1796 A.D., the Dutch, too, yielded their possessions to the English. In 1815 A.D., the Sinhalese surrendered their territories to the British. The island regained its independence in 1948.

The frequent invasions by the South Indians implanted in Sri Lanka another ethnic group which is today known as the "Ceylon Tamil".

What the South Indians achieved through invasions, the Arabs realised through trade. Having come for trading purposes, by 1000 A.D., they permanently settled in Sri Lanka. Despite inter-marriages with the Sinhalese and Tamils, they have been able to maintain themselves as a separate ethnic group on account of the unifying force of their religion and this group is today known as the "Ceylon Moors".

(1) Sri Lanka was known as "Ceylon" prior to the declaration of the country as "Republic of Sri Lanka" on 22nd May, 1972.

(2) As indicated in the Mahavamsa, an ancient Sinhala Chronicle.

The Sinhalese, the Ceylon Tamils and the Ceylon Moors were the three main ethnic groups that existed in Sri Lanka up to the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka.

Two other ethnic groups have emerged through European occupation of the island for nearly four-and-half centuries, commencing with the arrival of the Portuguese. The descendants of the offspring of Portuguese and Dutch unions with the indigenous races came to be identified as "Burghers", while similar unions with the British settlers have brought forth the "Eurasians".

There are a few other ethnic groups who have made Sri Lanka their permanent home. They had either been brought into the island by the foreign rulers as soldiers or had themselves come as traders, or in search of some means of livelihood. They are the Malays, the Paravars, the Colombo Chetties, the Kaffirs, the Mukkuvars, the Kuravans and the Vaggei. All these other ethnic groups taken together constitute only a very negligible percentage of the total population of the country.

There is still another group of people who migrated from South India into this country in search of gainful occupation, particularly as plantation labour, without severing their connections with the land of their birth, during the 125 years preceding the emergence of the country again as an independent state in 1948. These Indian immigrants in Sri Lanka are mostly Indian Tamils with a sprinkling of Indian Moors. Coffee was the first principal commercial crop that transformed the subsistence economy of the country to an import/export economy. It remained the principal commercial crop from 1830 to 1880, when the coffee industry of Sri Lanka was destroyed by the blight of "Himilcia Vastatrix". Coffee did not require a resident labour force and during this time the practice was to import Indian immigrant labour during the harvesting season. At the turn of the century, tea replaced coffee as the principal commercial crop of the country. By 1914 tea, rubber and coconut became the principal items of export of Sri Lanka. Tea and rubber, unlike coffee, required a large resident labour force and Indian immigrant labour flowed in to satisfy this requirement. As far back as 1930, the Indian Government imposed a ban on the emigration of unskilled Indian labour to Sri Lanka. The country's own Immigrants Act of 1948, amended in 1955 and 1961, restricted entry into Sri Lanka only to those who had already been in Sri Lanka and held valid travel documents. As regards the status and future of the Indian immigrant population in Sri Lanka, agreement has already been reached between the two countries and is being implemented on the following basis :—

- (a) 300,000 of the Indian immigrants of Sri Lanka with their natural increase will be granted Citizenship in Sri Lanka over a period of 15 years from the date of Agreement (30th October, 1964)
- (b) Government of India will accept 525,000 and their natural increase over a period of 15 years from the date of the Agreement, and
- (c) the status and position of the balance will be the subject of a separate agreement to be concluded at a later date.

An important fact emerges from the numerous invasions, both South Indian and European, that took place after the fifth century A.D. and the unrestricted influx of population for gainful occupation. Migration which has played a dominant role in the growth of the island's population up to the end of the 19th century has now virtually ceased to be a factor affecting the growth of the island's population.

It will not be irrelevant to introduce the religious groups as well in this Chapter, as religion is also an important social characteristic of the population, which is associated with significant cultural differences and is expected to yield significant differences on many demographic variables. Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka in the third century B.C. during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa. The new teaching, with the blessings of the ruling Monarch, got firmly established in the country, and even today a very large majority of the Sinhalese are Buddhists. The South Indian people, who got a permanent foothold in this country through invasions, were adherents of the Hindu faith. The Muslims were a religious group by themselves and Christianity in its different forms was introduced during the European occupation of the island.

There is no evidence of censuses having been taken during the time of the Sinhalese Kings, but it may not be incorrect to surmise that population counts would have been taken from time to time as the construction of large irrigation works and dagobas and mustering of troops for war would not have been possible without records of man-power available for these purposes. The only direct reference to the population of Sri Lanka under the Sinhalese Kings has been traced to an ancient ola manuscript of uncertain date (3) said to have been "kept in the temple town of Tissawa in seven Korales" and according to this manuscript, the population of the island had been 70.5 million. Although no records of censuses taken during the time of Sinhalese Kings are available, the references to the strength of the Buddhist clergy and Sinhalese armies in ancient Sinhalese chronicles (4) and the presence of ruins of large dagobas and irrigation works leads one to the irresistible conclusion that "there must have been in the island at the height of its prosperity under the ancient Kings a population exceeding by many times that found in Ceylon when the British first took count of the population.

There is no evidence of a Census having been taken during the Portuguese period either and according to evidence available a census had been taken in Sri Lanka for the first time in 1789 by the Dutch, and according to this census, the population was 817,000 in the maritime areas under Dutch control. As the purpose of this census was the imposition of taxes, serious under-enumeration cannot be discounted. It is generally accepted that the population of Sri Lanka was in the region of 1.2 millions at that time.

(3) Denham : Ceylon at the Census of 1911, p. 9.

A. G. Ranasinghe : Census of Ceylon, 1946, Vol. I, Part I. p. 54

(4) Mahavamsa : 3,000 Buddhist Priests in 300 B.C.
40,000 in King Devanampiyatissa's Army in 300 B.C.
100,000 Buddhist Priests in 150 B.C.
90,000 Buddhist nuns in 150 B.C.
60,000 in King Dutugemunu's army in 150 B. C.

Pujaveliya : 2,125,000 in King Parakrama Bahu's army in 1170 A.D.

Rajaveliya : 1,470,000 in the Sinhalese Army in 1300 A.D.

An estimate of the maritime population made by Bertolacciai in 1809 gave the population as 700,000. It would appear that the population of the maritime areas had declined to 492,000 by 1814. This may be due to the exodus of population from the British administered maritime areas to the still independent hill country between 1811 and 1815. The first census of the whole island taken by the British gave a population of only 889,584 in 1827.

Scientific census taking commenced in Sri Lanka only in 1871 with the first decennial census, which was followed by censuses of population in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1971. The decennial censuses were interrupted in 1941 due to the second World War and the census was taken in 1946. Due to certain reasons, the census due in 1951 was taken in 1953, followed by the next census in 1963. In 1971 again Sri Lanka reverted to her traditional year of decennial censuses. The censuses taken in Sri Lanka give the de facto population of the country on the dates of the censuses.

The following table gives the population of Sri Lanka at each census and the inter-censal numerical increase of population and the percentage increases.

TABLE 1.1. POPULATION, NUMERICAL INCREASE AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE

SRI LANKA, 1871—1971

Year	Date of Census	Population	Numerical increase over previous census	percent increase	Average annual rate of growth
1871	March 27	2,400,380	—	—	—
1881	February 17	2,759,738	359,358	15.0	1.4
1891	February 26	3,007,789	248,051	9.0	0.9
1901	March 01	3,565,954	558,165	18.6	1.7
1911	March 10	4,106,350	540,396	15.2	1.4
1921	March 28	4,498,605	392,255	9.6	0.9
1931	February 26	5,306,871	808,266	18.0	1.7
1946	March 19	6,657,339	1,350,468	25.4	1.5
1953	March 20	8,097,895	1,440,556	21.6	2.8
1963	July 08	10,582,064	2,484,169	30.7	2.7
1971	October 09	12,711,143	2,129,079	20.1	2.2

The above Table shows that in hundred years the population of Sri Lanka has increased by 430 per cent, the mean rate of the increase being about 18.3% per decennium. The mean rate of increase during the first fifty years has been 13.5% per decennium as against 23.2% in the second half of the century.

The growth of population during these hundred years has, however, not been uniform. Until 1946 the average annual intercensal rate of growth never exceeded 2 per cent. It fluctuated between 0.9 per cent and 1.7 per cent upto the end of the second World War. The post-war years reveal a sudden spurt in the rate of growth. The growth rate which was 1.5% during the period 1931—46 shot upto 2.8% in the period 1946—53. It continued to be high at 2.7% during the period 1953—63 but has dropped to 2.3% for the period 1963—71.

The rapid increase in the annual rate of growth in the post war years has been brought about by a dramatic drop in the death rate while the birth rate continued to remain at the previously high level of 35—40 live births per thousand population. The death rate which stood at 20.2 in 1946 dropped to 14.3 in 1947. This sudden drop was the result of an intensive campaign for the eradication of the malaria carrying mosquito with the use of D.D.T. Since 1947 the death rate has declined gradually to very low levels of about 8 per thousand. In 1972 the death rate was only 7.9 per thousand. A gradual decline in the birth rate too has commenced in 1960 and has had the effect of reducing the annual rate of growth. The birth rate which stood at 36.6 in 1960 has declined to 29.4 in 1972.

Until the imposition of strict restrictions on immigration in 1948, the population of the island has grown due to both natural increase and migration increase. The following Table shows the inter-censal increase of population, the births and deaths during the inter-censal periods, the natural increase and the migration increase :—

TABLE 1.2. INTERCENSAL INCREASE, BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION INCREASE

Period	Inter-censal Increase	Births	Deaths	Natural Increase	%	Migration Increase	%
1871—1880	359,358	708,150	588,358	119,792	33.3	239,566	66.7
1881—1890	248,051	836,636	692,376	144,260	58.2	103,791	41.8
1891—1900	558,165	1,122,041	896,635	225,406	40.4	332,759	59.6
1901—1910	540,396	1,459,618	1,103,471	356,147	65.9	184,249	34.1
1911—1920	392,255	1,648,066	1,328,656	319,410	81.4	72,845	18.6
1921—1930	808,266	1,946,115	1,289,165	656,990	81.3	151,276	18.7
1931—1945	1,350,468	3,209,520	1,928,604	1,280,916	94.8	69,552	5.2
1946—1952	1,440,556	2,038,792	710,593	1,328,199	92.2	112,357	7.8
1953—1962	2,484,169	3,398,018	884,770	2,513,248	101.2	—29,079	—1.2
1963—1971	2,129,079	2,960,754	752,693	2,208,061	103.7	—78,982	—3.7

During the period 1871—1900, the migration increase has exceeded the natural increase in population but its contribution to population increase has declined over the period 1901—1952. Thereafter it had negative effect on population growth during the period 1953—1962. This trend is likely to continue until the completion of the implementation of the Indo/Ceylon pact for the absorption of the Indian immigrant population in the island by the two countries.

The increase in population in recent years has been mainly due to the excess of births over deaths, and in the foreseeable future the natural increase will remain the sole factor promoting the growth of the island's population.

Although the registration of births and deaths was made compulsory in Sri Lanka as far back as 1895, Sri Lanka could realise the complete coverage of these vital events only during the last few years. (1)

Table I in the appendix gives the annual Births and Deaths and the crude birth rates for the intercensal periods 1921—1930, 1931—1945, 1946—1952, 1953—1962 and 1963—1970.

The mean birth rate for the decade 1921—1930 is 39.8 and the mean death rate is 26.5. During this period, the under-registration of vital events must have been very high. Therefore, the birth rates and death rates computed on the basis of births and deaths adjusted for under-registration will be much higher than what these figures reflect. This was the final phase of that period when conditions of high birth rates counterbalanced by high death rates existed before the transition began.

The next intercensal period 1931—1945 shows a mean birth rate of 36.7 and a mean death rate of 22.1, while the intercensal period 1946—1952 shows a mean birth rate of 39.0 and a mean death rate of 13.7. These two periods taken together represent that stage of the transition when a fall in the death rate takes place, whereas the birth rate lags behind and remains at the former high level.

The mean birth rate during the period 1953—1962 is 36.5 and is much closer to the actual than the 36.7 recorded for 1931—1945. The death rate for the period 1953—1962 is 9.7. It would appear that the process of demographic regulation is already in motion, in that a decline in the birth rate is noticeable in this period and more so in the succeeding intercensal period 1963—1970, the mean birth rate for the period being 32.0. Sri Lanka is now in the late transitional stage of her demographic transition in that with a mean death rate of 8.1 during the last intercensal period 1963—1970, the death rate has reached a low level with no likelihood of a further decline and the birth rate is declining.

The infant death rate was 140 in 1946 and in 1970 the infant death rate dropped to 50. The maternal death rate which was 15.5 in 1946 has dropped to 1.8 in 1968. The maternal death rates for 1946 and 1955 to 1968 are given below :

(1) See Appendix 1 for an indication of the extent of completeness of birth and death registration.

TABLE 1. CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES, INFANT DEATH RATE AND MATERNAL DEATH RATE : 1946 AND 1955 - 1973

Year	Crude Birth Rate (1)	Crude Death Rate (1)	Infant Death Rate (2)	Maternal Death Rate (2)
1946	37.4	20.2	141	14.5
1955	37.3	11.0	71	4.1
1956	36.4	9.8	67	3.8
1957	36.5	10.1	68	3.7
1958	35.8	9.8	64	3.9
1959	37.0	9.1	58	3.4
1960	36.6	8.6	57	3.0
1961	35.8	8.0	52	2.5
1962	35.5	8.5	53	3.0
1963	34.4	8.5	56	2.4
1964	33.2	8.7	57	2.8
1965	33.1	8.2	53	2.4
1966	32.3	8.3	54	2.2
1967	31.6	7.5	48	1.7
1968	32.0	7.9	50	1.8
1969	30.4	8.1	53	1.5
1970	29.4	7.5	50	1.2
1971	30.1	7.7	43	1.2
1972	29.7	8.0	45	1.2
1973	27.8	7.7	46	1.2

(1) Rate per 1000 Population

(2) Rate per 1000 Live Births

In the early stages of a country's demographic transition when the death rates fall, there is the possibility of birth rates rising as a result of the improved health of the child bearing population. Changes in fertility levels will be dealt with in detail in Chapter II. One factor that has influenced the fall in the crude birth rate is the rising average age of women at marriage, which means less exposure of women to child-bearing during the most fertile period of their child-bearing years.

A discussion relating to the factors influencing the entry of the population of Sri Lanka into the late transitional stage seems relevant before the conclusion of this chapter. Low chances of survival promote high levels of fertility. The eradication of Malaria and the availability of free medical care caused the rapid lowering of the death rate. The vast improvements in the chances of survival brought about a change in the general attitude to family size. It is generally accepted that there is a very strong inverse relationship between the level of social and economic development and the birth rate. Economically developing countries are commonly associated with certain social and economic characteristics such as low level of literacy, poverty, rural predominance, low development of communications and transportation, low spatial mobility, low consumption of electricity and insufficient medical care, and these countries normally have high birth rates.

Although Sri Lanka is an economically developing country, she has made marked progress in social development. The low literacy rate of 31.0 in 1911 has moved up to nearly 80 by 1971. On the basis of census figures, Sri Lanka is apparently predominantly rural in that the percentage of urban population of 10.8 in 1871 has moved up to only 22.4 by 1971. These figures mean very little in a country like Sri Lanka and some effort must be made to understand the extent to which the urban influence radiates through the country. In 1871, there were only 3 cities and 16 towns in the island, and by 1971, the number of cities has increased to 12 with 37 Urban Council areas and 85 Town Council areas. The transport services, both road and railway, are adequate to bring even the remotest corner of the island within about a half day's journey from the nearest urban centre.

The welfare measures adopted by the Government such as free medical care, free education and food subsidies together with the progressive labour legislation have all contributed in no mean measure to the improvement of the living standards of the people. These measures coupled with the improvements in literary and educational standards, particularly of the younger generation, have created conditions in which policies aimed at curtailing the rate of population growth are likely to be more successful. The prospects of a speedy entry into the later stages of demographic transition are therefore much better.

CHAPTER II

COMPONENTS OF GROWTH

A. FERTILITY

Fertility. Since the turn of the century up to around the year 1960 crude birth rates in Sri Lanka remained consistently high at a level ranging from 35—42 births per 1000 population. During the last decade, however, a steady declining trend in the crude birth rate has been observed and currently the birth rate is around 30 per thousand.

Prior to 1952 the Registrar General, who is the authority responsible for the maintenance of vital statistics, did not furnish information on live births by maternal age. Hence detailed analysis of changes in the crude birth rate during the period 1946—1953 due to changes in the age-structure, marital structure and marital fertility cannot be undertaken.

Birth registration commencing in the sixties is considered to have achieved a high level of completeness, due to various extraneous factors which induced people to register births. A survey conducted by the Department of Census and Statistics in 1967, has shown that birth registration was 98.7 per cent complete, (1) a factor which considerably facilitates fertility analysis.

TABLE 2.1. CRUDE BIRTH RATES FOR SRI LANKA 1946—1971

Year	Crude Birth Rate	Year	Crude Birth Rate
1946	37.4	1960	36.6
1947	38.6	1961	35.8
1948	39.7	1962	35.5
1949	39.1	1963	34.4
1950	39.7	1964	33.2
1951	39.8	1965	33.1
1952	38.8	1966	32.3
1953	38.7	1967	31.6
1954	35.7	1968	32.0
1955	37.3	1969	30.4
1956	36.4	1970	29.4
1957	36.5	1971	30.1
1958	35.8	1972	29.7
1959	37.0	1973	27.8

Source : Registrar General's Department.

(1) W. M. L. S. Aponso, "Study of the Extent of Under-registration of Births and Deaths in Ceylon" (Department of Census and Statistics, Ceylon 1970).

The decline in the crude birth rate between 1953 and 1963 which has been completely documented elsewhere(2), was due to changes in the age and marital structure. Marital fertility declined very little during the intervening period. The corresponding age-specific fertility rates and age-specific marital fertility rates as well as other fertility measures for 1953 and 1963 are shown in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 below.

TABLE 2.2. AGE SPECIFIC MARITAL FERTILITY RATES 1953 AND 1963

Age Group	Age Specific Marital Fertility Rates		
	1953	1963	
15—19	288	347	
20—24	394	394	
25—29	339	341	
30—34	280	267	
35—39	174	175	
40—44	47	53	
45—49	9	8	
Marital Fertility Rate (15—49)	251.8	238.3	<i>per cent Decline</i> 5.3

TABLE 2.3. VARIOUS FERTILITY MEASURES 1953 AND 1963

Age Group	Age specific Fertility rates		
	1953	1963	
15—19	68.8	52.4	
20—24	259.3	226.4	
25—29	295.1	276.1	
30—34	246.0	238.0	
35—29	150.1	157.2	
40—44	38.1	46.0	
45—49	6.8	6.6	
General Fertility rate (15—44)	189.5	169.1	<i>Per cent Decline</i> 10.7
Total Fertility Rate	5.32	5.01	5.8
Gross Reproduction Rate	2.61	2.46	5.7

Source : Tables 2.2 and 2.3 are from—D. F. S. Fernando, Fertility Trends in Ceylon 1953-68 and the National Family Planning Programme Monograph 17 (Department of Census and Statistics, Ceylon, 1970).

(2) Nicholas H. Wright, "Recent Fertility change in Ceylon and prospects for the National Family Planning Programme", Demography 5, 2 (1968) D. F. S. Fernando, "Fertility Trends in Ceylon 1953-68 and the National Family Planning Programme", Monograph No. 17 (Department of Census & Statistics, Department of Government printing, Ceylon, 1970).

Nuptiality Transition. In Sri Lanka females tend to marry males about 5 years older. The availability of males and females at the marriageable ages is an important factor regulating the contracting of marriages. An investigation into the availability of males and females at the marriageable ages is shown in Table 2.4 and does not indicate any sexual imbalance in 1946 and 1953. In 1963 there seems to be a minor sexual imbalance in favour of the female.

TABLE 2.4. MALES PER 100 FEMALES IN THE AGE GROUP 5 YEARS YOUNGER
1946, 1953, 1963 AND 1971 CENSUS

Male age Group	1946	1953	1963	1971
20—24	103.7	116.4	88.3	90.6
25—29	97.9	99.7	85.1	73.4
30—34	91.2	84.5	95.9	77.7
35—39	128.3	124.1	109.2	102.2
40—44	88.0	86.5	83.4	87.1
20—44	101.1	101.7	91.1	84.9

Source : Census Reports of 1946 and 1953 and unpublished data from the 1963 Census and a 10% sample tabulation of the 1971 Census.

In 1971 the sexual imbalance seems to have aggravated, since for every 100 females in the age-group (15—39), there were only 84.9 males in the age-group (20—44), resulting in a serious "Marriage Squeeze", while if the relative availability is only confined to never married males and females the corresponding ratio is 84.7. The sexual imbalance seems to have been further accentuated by the unemployment situation in 1971 according to which male unemployment is quite pronounced in the age-groups (20—24), (25—29) and (30—34) in decreasing order of magnitude.

Tables 2.5 and 2.6 attempt to summarize the proportion of women currently married and never married by five year age groups of the reproductive span at the population Censuses of 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1971. Although very little female marital postponement is in evidence between 1946 and 1953, there seems to be a definite trend in this direction during the past two decades, and more particularly since 1963. Estimates obtained at the Censuses indicate that marriage registration in Sri Lanka was 69 per cent complete in 1953 while the completeness had improved to the level of 80 per cent and 84 per cent in 1963 and 1971 respectively. Since marriage registration in Sri Lanka is thus far from complete, information on proportions single at the various censuses has been utilized to compute the average age at marriage (3) (Vide Table 2.7).

(3) John Hajnal, "Age at marriage and proportions marrying", Population Studies 7, 1 (July 1953).

TABLE 2.5. PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN CURRENTLY MARRIED IN 1946, 1953, 1963 AND 1971

Age of Women	Proportions of Women Currently Married			
	1946	1953	1963	1971
15—19	23.9	23.7	14.8	10.3
20—24	68.4	65.7	57.6	45.9
25—29	84.4	84.4	81.0	73.5
30—34	87.1	87.8	88.6	85.9
35—39	85.5	86.5	89.8	89.3
40—44	78.4	80.7	86.1	87.8
45—49	71.4	73.8	81.6	84.9

TABLE 2.6. PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN NEVER MARRIED IN 1946, 1953, 1963 AND 1971

Age of Women	Proportions of Women Never Married			
	1946	1953	1963	1971
15—19	75.3	75.7	85.0	89.5
20—24	29.4	32.5	41.3	53.1
25—29	11.8	12.8	17.1	24.6
30—34	6.6	7.5	8.3	10.9
35—39	4.3	5.4	4.8	5.6
40—44	4.1	5.0	4.3	4.3
45—49	3.4	4.4	3.9	3.6

TABLE 2.7. AVERAGE AGE AT MARRIAGE

	1946	1953	1963	1971
Male	27.0	27.2	27.9	28.0
Female	20.7	20.9	22.1	23.5

Source : Tables 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8 have been prepared using the respective reports of the 1946 and 1953 Censuses, the unpublished tabulations of the 1963 census and the 10 per cent Sample Tabulations of the 1971 Census.

The female average age at marriage seems to have increased by 0.2 years between 1946 and 1953, 1.2 years between 1953 and 1963 and 1.4 years between 1963 and 1971 thus confirming the observations made earlier of a greater tendency towards female marriage postponement.

In this context it is logical to examine whether the female marriage postponement has also been accompanied by any changes in the marital structure of the males. Tables 2.8 and 2.9 focus attention on male marriage postponement and show the proportion of males currently married and never married by five-year age groups. The male average ages at marriage were 27.0 in 1946, 27.2 in 1953, 27.9 in 1963 and 28.0 in 1971 (vide Table 2.7), thus showing that the changes in male marital structure are considerably less significant than changes in the female marital structure.

TABLE 2.8 PROPORTIONS OF MEN CURRENTLY MARRIED IN 1946, 1953, 1963 AND 1971

Age of Men	Proportions of Men currently married			
	1946	1953	1963	1971
15—19	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.6
20—24	18.9	15.8	15.0	13.6
25—29	55.1	53.3	49.0	46.9
30—34	75.3	76.4	72.8	73.7
35—39	84.3	85.4	85.2	84.9
40—44	85.9	87.2	87.0	88.7
45—49	86.0	86.5	88.6	89.3

TABLE 2.9. PROPORTIONS OF MEN NEVER MARRIED IN 1946, 1953, 1963 AND 1971

Age of Men	Proportions of men never married			
	1946	1953	1963	1971
15—19	98.7	98.7	99.0	99.4
20—24	80.5	83.5	84.7	86.3
25—29	43.4	45.4	50.5	52.6
30—34	22.4	21.7	26.1	25.5
35—39	12.5	11.8	13.1	13.7
40—44	9.3	8.7	10.4	9.4
45—49	7.6	7.6	7.2	7.9

Source : Tables 2.8 and 2.9 have been prepared using the respective reports of the 1946 and 1953 Censuses, the unpublished tabulations of the 1963 census and the 10 per cent sample tabulations of the 1971 census.

The proportions of never married females in the age-group (40—44) which may be taken as an index of spinsterhood has been remarkably stable at the level of four to five per cent at the 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1971 censuses (vide Table 2.6). Thus the nuptiality transition that has occurred up to 1971 in respect of females is clearly the result of marriage postponement and is not due to a higher level of spinsterhood. The observance of celibacy has been employed in some Western countries in the past as an effective method of fertility reduction. In view of this declining trend in the availability of males of marriageable age and the high levels of unemployment

among them, the chances of female marriage are likely to become more difficult in years to come. A higher level of spinsterhood may also be anticipated and this would no doubt contribute towards a reduction in fertility.

The proportion of males never married in the age-group (40—44) which may be taken as an index of bachelorhood has remained relatively stable at the level of 8 to 10 per cent at the 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1971 censuses. The developments in the coming years are awaited with considerable interest as to changes in the level of bachelorhood in view of the unemployment situation and the inadequacy of males at the marriageable ages.

Fertility decline between 1963 and 1971. The decline in fertility between 1963 and 1969 has been documented in 'Population Studies' (4). The most significant contributory factor in the decline in the crude birth rate between 1963 and 1969 has been a change in the proportions marrying. In fact changes in the female marital structure have accounted for the whole decline in the crude birth rate between 1963 and 1969. But while changes in the marital structure have tended to reduce the birth rate, changes in the age-structure have worked in the opposite direction. Their net effect was to reduce the birth rate (4). It will no doubt be interesting to note the changes in the marital structure between 1946 and 1971. In 1946 and 1953, 68 per cent of the females of the reproductive span were currently married, in 1963, 1969 and 1971 these proportions have steadily reduced to 65 per cent, 60 per cent and 59 per cent respectively.

In 1963, women of the reproductive span (15-49) constituted 22.3 per cent of the population while in 1971 it rose to 23.7 per cent. The distribution by five-year age-groups of the reproductive span in relation to the total population is shown in Table 2.10.

In all ages of the reproductive span except (30—34) and (35—39), the 1971 proportions were higher than those of 1963 thus indicating that the 1971 age-structure was more favourable towards high fertility as compared with that of 1963.

A detailed analysis of the decline in the crude birth rate between 1963 and 1971 shows that changes in the proportions of females marrying accounted for the whole decline of the crude birth rate between 1963 and 1971. The age-structure in 1971 tended to increase the crude birth rate, while changes in the proportions marrying tended to reduce it. Their combined effect was to reduce the birth rate. The analysis indicates that changes in proportions marrying accounted for 100 per cent of the decline in the crude birth rate while changes in the age-structure was responsible for an increase of 40 per cent. Jointly they accounted for 60 per cent of the decline.

(4) Dallas F. S. Fernando, "Recent Fertility Decline in Ceylon", *Population Studies* 26, 3 (November 1972).

TABLE 2.10. WOMEN IN EACH CHILD BEARING AGE-GROUP AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION—1963 and 1971

Age of Women	Women in each Age-Group as a per cent of total population	
	1963	1971
15—19	4.8	5.3
20—24	4.2	4.9
25—29	3.5	3.7
30—34	3.0	2.8
35—39	2.9	2.8
40—44	2.0	2.2
45—49	1.9	2.0
15—49	<u>22.3</u>	<u>23.7</u>

Source : The figures for 1963 are based on unpublished tabulations from the 1963 census while those for 1971 are based on 10 per cent sample tabulations from the 1971 Census.

Thus changes in marital fertility accounted for 40 per cent of the decline in the crude birth rate.

Family Planning and changes in Marital Fertility. The National Family Planning Programme was inaugurated by the then Government in late 1965. Its object was to achieve a crude birth rate of 25 by 1975. Family Planning services were incorporated in the Maternal and Child Health services of the Health Department. The Ceylon Family Planning Association which had been actively engaged in popularising family planning since its inception in 1953, continued to function effectively even after the inauguration of the National Programme. In 1971 there were about 500 Family Planning Clinics serving the entire island conducted by the Health Department, various Municipalities and the Ceylon Family Planning Association. Table 2.11 shows the new acceptors recruited according to contraceptive device commencing from 1967 up to 1971.

Age specific acceptance rates indicate that new acceptors enlisted each year commencing from 1968 up to 1971 were respectively 29.6, 32.0, 30.9 and 28.6 in relation to 1,000 married women aged (15—44) (5). Further the shift in the pattern of contraceptive acceptance from the loop to the pill that has occurred since the second quarter of 1968 is bound to have had adverse effects on the National Programme and the achievement of the final target, in view of the relatively poor continuation rates of orals, when compared with the high retention rates of loops, as shown by Sample Surveys conducted in a few health districts.

(5) Reports on New Acceptors of Family Planning, Ceylon, 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1971, Office of the Medical Statistician, Ministry of Health, Colombo (Mimeographed).

TABLE 2.11. NEW ACCEPTORS RECRUITED IN 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 AND 1971 BY CONTRACEPTIVE DEVICE

	Loops	Orals	Condoms	Foam	Tablets	Sterilizations	Other	Total
1967	Number 18,506	8,892	5,681*	—	—	3,616	—	36,695
	Per cent 50.4	24.2	15.5	—	—	9.9	—	100.0
1968	Number 20,615	16,014	4,375	821	821	1,011	1,128	43,964
	Per cent 46.9	36.4	10.0	1.9	1.9	2.3	2.6	100.0
1969	Number 19,537	25,284	5,207	763	763	2,947	796	54,534
	Per cent 35.8	46.4	9.6	1.4	1.4	5.4	1.5	100.0
1970	Number 15,799	26,889	6,416	508	508	4,971	686	55,269
	Per cent 28.6	48.7	11.6	0.9	0.9	9.0	1.2	100.0
1971	Number 11,446	25,828	6,945	361	361	4,335	408	49,323
	Per cent 23.2	52.4	14.1	0.7	0.7	8.8	0.8	100.0

Source : Obtained from Reports on New Acceptors of Family Planning, Ceylon 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1971 (Office of the Medical Statistician, Ministry of Health, Colombo).

* The figure of 5,681 for 1967 is for condoms and foam tablets together.

Table 2.12 and 2.13 attempt to summarize changes in Age-specific fertility and age-specific marital fertility during the period 1963 to 1971. Age-specific fertility rates have declined in all age-groups, if the less important age-group (45—49) is excluded. The decline in age-specific fertility is particularly marked in the younger years of reproduction (15—19), (20—24) and (25—29) perhaps due to a decline in proportions married. Age-specific marital fertility too has declined in all age-groups and increased considerably in the youngest age-group (15—19).

TABLE 2.12. AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES IN SRI LANKA
1963 AND 1971 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

Age Group	Age Specific Fertility Rates		Percentage Change
	1963	1971	
15—19	52.2	43.0	—17.6
20—24	227.8	178.0	—21.9
25—29	278.4	230.0	—17.4
30—34	239.5	203.5	—15.0
35—39	157.0	140.3	—10.6
40—44	45.8	43.3	— 5.5
45—49	6.6	6.7	+ 1.5

TABLE 2.13. AGE SPECIFIC MARITAL FERTILITY
RATES IN SRI LANKA
1963 AND 1971 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

Age Group	Age Specific Marital Fertility Rates		Percentage Change
	1963	1971	
15—19	354	418	+18.1
20—24	396	388	— 2.0
25—29	344	313	— 9.0
30—34	270	237	—12.2
35—39	175	157	—10.3
40—44	53	49	— 7.5
45—49	8	8	—
15—29	366	354	— 3.3
30—44	181	155	—14.4
General Fertility (Rate 15—44)	166.8	138.7	—16.8
Total Fertility Rate	5.04	4.22	—16.3

Source : Tables 2.12 and 2.13 have been obtained using complete tabulations from the 1963 Census and 10 per-cent sample tabulations of the 1971 census held on 9th October 1971 corrected to mid year 1971. The births by maternal age for 1963 and 1971 have been obtained from the Registrar General's Department.

The consistently high level of marital fertility in the age-group (15—19) may perhaps be due to the following reasons; (1) High fecundity on account of improved health conditions, (2) Pregnancy as a factor influencing marriage (3) Births outside wedlock. If the reproductive span is divided into two fifteen year age groups (15—28) and (30—44) the changes in marital fertility could be demonstrated more convincingly. Marital fertility of older women (30—44) has registered a significant decline of 14 per cent while that of younger women (15—29) has only registered a slight decline of 3 per cent. The significant decline in the marital fertility of older women would perhaps be attributed to contraceptive use within and outside the scope of the National Family Planning Programme, the practice of induced abortion, higher educational attainment of women and the progress achieved in urbanization and industrialization. The General Fertility Rate (15—44) and the Total Fertility Rate have also declined by 16 per cent during the period 1963 to 1971 (Vide Table 2.13).

Cumulative Fertility Rates. At the 1971 census information was elicited on live-births borne by ever married women of the reproductive span and are shown in Table 2.14. The live-births borne by ever married women (45—49) may be regarded as a measure of completed family size and is equal to 5.6.

TABLE 2.14. LIVE-BIRTHS BORNE BY EVER
MARRIED WOMEN BY AGE AT THE 1971 CENSUS

Age Group	Live-births borne per ever married woman
15—19	0.584
20—24	1.492
25—29	2.720
30—34	3.945
35—39	5.140
40—44	5.522
45—49	5.605

Source : The live-births per ever married woman has been calculated using data from the 10 per cent sample tabulations of the 1971 census.

Urban/Rural Fertility Differentials. In Sri Lanka over 65 per cent of the annual deliveries take place in Government Medical Institutions and there seems to be a considerable movement of expectant mothers from rural areas to the better equipped Government Medical Institutions which are usually located at urban centres for purposes of delivery. In many such cases the expectant mothers tend to give an address of a relative or friend in the area in which the hospital is situated, instead of her correct home address, for fear of being requested to avail of facilities in a hospital or maternity home nearest to her actual home. This type of movement therefore prevents the determination of the correct urban or rural character of deliveries in most cases, thus detracting the use of the Registrar General's natality statistics in the study of urban/rural fertility differentials. Therefore the child-women ratios obtained from census data were utilized in the study of urban and rural differentials. In 1953 rural fertility was higher than urban fertility by 23 per cent. A similar pattern prevailed in both 1963 and 1971 but a steady narrowing of the differentials to the level of 20 per cent and 15 per cent in 1963 and 1971 was observed (Table 2.15). These trends are consistent with the higher levels of urbanization and industrialization that are being achieved with the passage of time.

TABLE 2.15. URBAN-RURAL FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS
FOR SRI LANKA

Child Woman ratio

(Children 0—4 per 1000 females aged 15—49)

Year	Urban	Rural	$\frac{\text{Rural}}{\text{Urban}} \times 100$
1953	549	672	123
1963	594	712	120
1971	500	575	115

Source : The child-woman ratios for 1953 have been calculated using data from the 1953 Census Reports. The ratios for 1963 are based on complete tabulations at the 1963 Census while those for 1971 are based on 10 per cent sample tabulations from the 1971 Census.

Regional Fertility Differentials. For the study of regional differentials the island is divided into four zones on an agro-climatic basis as follows :—

Zone I—Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and Matara Districts.

Zone II—Hambantota, Amparai, Moneragala, Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura and Puttalam Districts.

Zone III—Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Batticaloa and Trincomalee Districts.

Zone IV—Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Ratnapura, Kegalle, Badulla and Kurunegala Districts.

TABLE 2.16. CRUDE BIRTH RATES, GENERAL FERTILITY RATES (15-44) AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES ACCORDING TO ZONES FOR SRI LANKA IN 1963 AND 1971 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE. COEFFICIENTS OF VARIATIONS FOR ZONAL RATES IN 1963 AND 1971 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

	Crude Birth Rate			General Fertility Rate —15-44			Total Fertility Rate		
	1963	1971	Percent change	1963	1971	Percent change	1963	1971	Percent change
	Zone I	31.7	27.8	- 12.3	150.4	125.4	- 16.6	4.61	3.86
Zone II	40.0	33.9	- 15.3	218.3	167.2	- 23.4	6.24	5.10	- 18.3
Zone III	36.9	33.3	- 13.3	188.4	162.1	- 14.0	5.52	4.83	- 12.5
Zone IV	34.7	30.1	- 12.5	168.3	136.5	- 18.9	4.98	4.16	- 16.5
Sri Lanka	34.4	30.1	- 12.5	166.8	138.7	- 16.9	5.04	4.22	- 16.3
Coefficient of Variation for Zonal rates	9.3	6.8	- 13.7	13.7	12.0	- 12.4	11.0	10.5	- 4.5

Source : Table 2.16 has been obtained using complete tabulations at the 1963 Census held on July 8, 1963 and 10 per-cent sample tabulations of the 1971 census held on 9th October 1971 corrected to mid-year 1971. The births by maternal age for 1963 and 1971 are obtained from the Registrar General's Department.

The relative population distribution according to Zones was 37.7, 12.4, 10.2 and 39.7 per-cent in 1963 while in 1971 it was 37.2, 13.7, 10.4 and 38.7 per-cent. Table 2.16. affords a comparative study of various fertility indicators such as crude birth rate, general fertility rate (15-44) and the total fertility rate for the various zones both in 1963 and 1971 (such as investigation is not possible in respect of 1953 since separate figures on this new district basis was not available in 1953).

The rankings of the four Zones as regards fertility as indicated by these three fertility indices starting from the highest is as follows both in 1963 and 1971 :

Zone II, Zone III, Zone IV, Zone I

The identification of regions of low fertility in the context of a relatively high fertility situation is of considerable importance, since the possible causes for such a situation could be investigated in great detail and would undoubtedly be applied for fertility reduction in other regions as well. Considerable declines in each fertility indicator has been witnessed during the 1963 to 1971 period. The coefficient of variation of each fertility indicator too has registered a decline thus confirming that the inherent variability of the fertility indices has considerably narrowed during the intercensal period 1963 to 1971 (vide Table 2.16).

Educational Fertility Differentials. Most of the available research evidence indicates the negative association between female educational attainment and fertility(6). Much interest is focussed especially in developing countries on the potential use of higher female educational attainment as an effective weapon in fertility reduction. Regardless of location, education in Thailand seems to have had a very important impact on fertility levels, suggesting that extending secondary and higher education to increasing proportions of Thai women may significantly reduce fertility levels in the Kingdom as a whole(7). At the 1971 census, ever married females of the reproductive span were classified according to live-births borne for five different levels of educational attainment such as No Schooling ; Grade (1-4) ; Grade (5-9) ; passed General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) ; Passed General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) or higher. There was a category of women for each level of educational attainment where the live births borne was unspecified. This type of non-specification is quite common in developing countries and techniques developed by M. A. El Badry were utilized to adjust the data for each level of educational attainment(8). The live-births borne by ever married women (45-49) with no schooling, namely 5,973, steadily diminishes to 5,758, 5,084, 4,094 and 3,240 with each successive higher level of educational attainment (vide Table 2.17).

(6) Wilson H. Grabill, Clyde de V. Kiser, Pascal K. Whelpton—"The Fertility of American Women". John Wiley & Sons INC. New York (1958), Chapter 6.

(7) Sidney Godlstein "The Influence of Labour Force Participation and Education of Fertility in Thailand" population Studies 26, 3 (November 1972).

(8) M. A. El Badry, "Failure of enumerators to make entries of Zero : Errors in recording childless cases in population censuses" Journal of the American Statistical Association, 56 (December 1961).

TABLE--2.17 NUMBER OF LIVE-BIRTHS BORNE BY EVER MARRIED WOMEN ACCORDING TO AGE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND FERTILITY INDICES CONSIDERING LIVE-BIRTHS BORNE BY WOMEN WITH NO SCHOOLING AS EQUIVALENT TO 100

Age Group	No schooling	Grade (1—4)	Grade (5—9)	Passed G.C.E. (O.L.)	Passed G.C.E. (A.L. and over)
Live Births Per Ever married Women					
15—19	0.633	0.624	0.534	0.380	—
20—24	1,681	1.634	1.365	0.942	0.519
25—29	3.100	3.077	2.480	1.580	0.940
30—34	4.463	4.426	3.665	2.415	1.859
35—39	5.706	5.450	4.593	3.221	2.561
40—44	6.035	5.687	5.080	3.594	3.099
45—49	5.973	5.758	5.084	4.094	3.240
Indices					
15—19	100	98.6	84.4	60.0	—
20—24	100	97.2	81.2	56.0	30.9
25—29	100	99.3	80.0	51.0	30.3
30—34	100	99.2	82.1	54.1	41.7
35—39	100	95.5	80.5	56.4	44.9
40—44	100	94.2	84.2	59.6	51.4
45—49	100	96.4	85.1	68.5	54.2
<p><i>Source</i> : Table 2.17 has been obtained from 10 per cent sample tabulations of the 1971 census after making adjustments for ever-married women who had not stated the live-births borne for each level of educational attainment employing the method developed by M. A. El Badry, "Failure of enumerators to make entries of Zero : Errors in recording childless cases in population censuses," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 56 (December 1961).</p>					

For other age-groups of the reproductive span too, this pattern is clearly in evidence. It will also be observed that the distinction between the two lowest levels namely No Schooling and Grade (1—4) is minimal as regards fertility reduction. Women below age 30 at the 1971 census could have availed of the benefits of free education that started in October 1945 but in spite of its free availability 23 per cent females in the age-group (25—29) and 18 per cent females in the age-group (20—24) had no schooling whatsoever. Achievement of the highest level of educational attainment could have reduced live births borne by about 70 per cent while the next higher level would have achieved about 50 per cent reduction at the age (25—29). For every married women (45—49) who had achieved the highest educational level a 45 per cent reduction in cumulative fertility was noticed while those who had passed the next higher level i.e., the G. C. E. (Ordinary Level) a 31 per cent reduction was in evidence. A scrutiny of females according to educational attainment discloses that only 9.7 per cent of the females in the age group (20—24) had passed the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level), while only 9.2 per cent have passed the same level in the age group (25—29) in spite of the

fact that education was free from the Kindergarten to the University. The imparting of education with a view to ensuring that a very much higher percentage of females pass at least the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level), a level which is undoubtedly attainable by a preponderance of our females, would certainly be a very significant factor contributing to fertility reduction.

Fertility Differentials by Ethnic Group. The crude birth rates by ethnic groups are shown in Table 2.18 :

TABLE 2.18.—CRUDE BIRTH RATES BY ETHNIC GROUPS

Year	Sinhalese	Ceylon Tamils	Indian Tamils	Ceylon Moors	Malays	Burghers and Eurasians
1946	38.7	35.6	41.2	41.7	48.8	35.3
1953	41.0	39.2	33.0	42.7	45.2	31.1
1963	34.5	37.6	28.3	42.9	44.7	26.9
1969	30.0	27.5	28.6	42.6	51.2	17.5

Source : The births according to ethnic groups have been obtained from the Registrar General's Department. The population by ethnic groups for 1946 and 1953 has been obtained from the respective census reports. The population for 1963 by ethnic groups are from the complete tabulations of the 1963 census while the populations for 1969 by ethnic groups are from the Socio-Economic Survey.

The birth rates of the Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils and the Indian Tamils who constituted 71.9 per cent, 11.1 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively of the population at the 1971 census have registered a significant decline during the 1946 to 1969 period. The birth rate of Burghers and Eurasians too has recorded a dramatic decline while that of Ceylon Moors and Malays has shown a slight increase. The birth rates of the Ceylon Moors, Malays and the Burghers and Eurasians who respectively constituted only 6.5, 0.3 and 0.3 per cent of the population at the 1971 census have to be interpreted with considerable degree of caution, since small errors in the completeness of birth registration and under enumeration at censuses in relation to these ethnic groups are likely to cause considerable errors in the birth rates.

B. MORTALITY

Mortality. From the beginning of this century up to the year 1923 the crude death rate fluctuated about the level of 30 reaching high levels of 35.1 in 1906, 34.8 in 1911 and 37.6 in 1919. From the year

1924 a slight decline in the crude death rate is in evidence up to the year 1945, with a violent interruption in 1935 when as a result of a malaria epidemic the crude death rate attained a phenomenally high level of 36.6 and even exceeded the crude birth rate for that year. The spraying of D. D. T. commenced in 1946 and was mainly responsible for the dramatic decline in malaria morbidity, malaria mortality and overall mortality (vide Table 2.19).

TABLE 2.19—MALARIA MORTALITY AND CRUDE DEATH RATES
1946—1969

Year	Number of deaths due Malaria	Malaria Mortality Rate per 1,000,000 of the population	Crude Death Rate per 1000 population
1946	12,578	1,835	20.2
1947	4,557	648	14.3
1948	3,349	462	13.2
1949	2,403	302	12.6
1950	1,903	252	12.6
1951	1,599	206	12.9
1952	1,049	132	12.0
1953	722	89	10.9
1954	447	52	10.4
1955	268	31	11.0
1956	144	16	9.8
1957	177	19	10.1
1958	105	11	9.8
1959	82	9	9.1
1960	61	6	8.6
1961	43	4	8.0
1962	31	3	8.5
1963	28	3	8.5
1964	8	1	8.7
1965	10	1	8.2
1966	3	0.2	8.3
1967	4	0.3	7.5
1968	171	14	7.9
1969	221	18	8.1

Source : Registrar General's Department.

The crude death rate attained a level of 12.6 in 1950 thus registering a phenomenal decline of 37 per cent in the space of 4 years. It may be interesting to record here that the advanced countries in the West took a considerable period of time for the reduction in the death rate from 25 to a level of 10, whereas Sri Lanka accomplished this in a period of about 30 years (from a level of 25.2 in 1930 to a level of 9.7 in 1958) while Sweden accomplished this task in 140 years (from a level of 25 in 1820 to a level of 10 in 1960(9)). Besides the part played by D.D.T. spraying in the control of malaria other factors such as the availability of medical

(9) Edward G. Stockwell, "The population Explosion : World, National and Local", Bulletin 378, Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, The University of Connecticut June 1963.

facilities even in the remotest areas, improvements effected in the field of environmental sanitation, the ready availability of free education, free milk and the free mid-day meal for School Children, vaccines and antibiotics also effected considerable improvements in health conditions resulting in substantial declines in the death rate.

Mortality differentials. Table 2.20 presents an analysis of age-specific mortality rates by sex for Sri Lanka. Significant declines in age-specific mortality has been observed for all age-groups for, males as well as females during the period 1946—1968.

The decline in the death rate has, however, not been uniform among all age groups of the population. Table 2.20 highlights the extent of the decline in age specific death rates that took place between 1945 and 1950 when the death rate fell from 21.9 to 12.6 and again from 1950—1968 when the death rate fell from 12.6 to 8.0. In discussing these changes it should be noted that the period 1945—1950 is of 5 years duration and that the period 1950—68 covers a period of 18 years. The decline in the period 1945—50 was very sharp while the decline from 1950 to 1968 has been gradual.

TABLE 2.20—AGE SPECIFIC DEATH RATES AND THEIR DECLINE

Age	Age Specific death rates			Percent Decline	
	1945	1950	1968	1945—50	1950—68
<i>Males</i>					
All Ages	21.4	12.2	8.5	43	30
0—4	61.5	46.9	15.7	24	66
5—9	7.7	4.1	1.9	47	54
10—14	3.6	1.4	1.3	61	20
15—19	6.5	1.9	1.6	71	39
20—24	7.5	2.9	2.2	61	24
25—34	8.1	3.5	2.4	57	31
35—44	13.1	5.0	4.0	62	20
45—54	23.4	9.7	8.4	58	13
55 & Over	78.2	42.3	42.7	46	—
<i>Females</i>					
All Ages	22.7	13.0	7.3	43	44
0—4	63.0	44.4	14.2	29	68
5—9	9.0	4.7	1.9	48	60
10—14	4.5	1.7	1.0	62	41
15—19	7.3	2.5	1.6	66	36
20—24	10.8	4.4	2.0	59	54
25—34	11.3	5.5	2.3	51	58
35—44	14.4	6.1	3.4	58	44
45—54	17.2	8.3	5.7	52	31
55 & Over	90.2	45.6	41.5	49	9

In the period 1945 - 50 the decline in the age specific death rates has been highest in the ages between 10 and 54 for both sexes. For males as well as females the highest decline has been in the 15 - 19 age group with the male rate dropping by 71 per cent and the females rate by 66 per cent. The smallest decline has been for the 0 - 4 age group with a decline of only 24 per cent in the case of males and 29 per cent in the case of females.

The percentage declines in the female death rate has been higher in all the age groups upto 14 years and also above age 55. But in the age range 15 - 54 the decline in the female death rate has been lower. As the reproductive age group for women is generally taken as 15 - 44 years the reason for the lower decline in the death rate for females of this age group could be attributed to the effect of maternal mortality. The overall death rate for males and females has each declined by 43 per cent.

Quite a different pattern in mortality decline of the various age groups is revealed for the period 1950 - 1968. The overall death rate for females has dropped by 44 per cent compared to 30 percent for males. It should however be mentioned that this drop is over a period of 18 years while the 43 percent drop in the period 1945 - 50 was over a period of only 5 years. The age group 0 - 4 which recorded the lowest decline in the period 1945 - 50 has recorded the highest increase for both sexes in the period 1950 - 68. The lowest decline has been for females above age 55 while the rate for males above age 55 has increased slightly. Also the per cent decline for females has been higher in all age groups except in the 15 - 19 age group.

Another change in the mortality pattern that is striking is that in 1946 female age-specific death rates were higher than the male rates in all age groups except in the 45 - 54 age group. In 1968 however the age specific death rates for females in all age groups are either less than or equal to that of the males even in the female child bearing years. This confirms that age-specific mortality in Sri Lanka is fast approaching the pattern in advanced Western countries.

The infant and maternal mortalities too have registered sharp declines in the post war period. The infant mortality rate which was 141 infant deaths per 1000 live births dropped sharply to 82 in 1950 and then more gradually to 50 in 1968. The maternal mortality rate which was 15.5 maternal deaths per 1000 live births dropped sharply to 5.6 in 1950 and then gradually to 1.8 in 1968. The infant mortality and maternal mortality rates for 1970 are 50 and 1.2 respectively. The rates for the period 1946 - 1970 are shown in Table 2.21 below.

The expectation of life at birth is a more refined measure of the level of mortality, as unlike the crude death rate it is unaffected by the age structure of the population. It represents the average number of years of life a group of newborn babies could expect to live if they continue to be subjected to the risks of mortality at each age observed for the period to which the measure refers.

TABLE 2.21. INFANT MORTALITY AND MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES 1946—1971

Year	Infant Mortality Rate	Maternal Mortality Rate
1946	141	15.5
1947	101	10.6
1948	92	8.3
1949	87	6.5
1950	82	5.6
1951	82	5.8
1952	78	5.8
1953	71	4.9
1954	72	4.6
1955	71	4.1
1956	67	3.8
1957	68	3.7
1958	64	3.9
1959	58	3.4
1960	57	3.0
1961	52	2.5
1962	53	3.0
1963	56	2.4
1964	57	2.8
1965	53	2.4
1966	54	2.2
1967	48	1.7
1968	50	1.8
1969	53	1.5
1970	50	1.2
1971	43	1.2

Source : Registrar General's Department.

Table 2.22 shows the expectation of life at birth for males and females commencing from 1920—22. It will be seen that there have been substantial gains in life expectation since the period 1920—22. The expectation of life at birth for males increased from 32.7 in 1920—22 to 46.8 years in 1945—47 and to 64.8 in 1967. For females the expectation of life at birth has increased from 30.7 years in 1920—22 to 66.9 years in 1967.

Another important aspect of mortality revealed by table 2.22 is that upto and including the year 1952, the expectation of life at birth was lower for females than for males. In 1920—22 the female expectation was lower than the male expectation by about 2 years. This male advantage persisted until 1952 when the male excess was 2.1 years. Commencing from 1962—64, there has been a definite reversal of this pattern. In 1962-64 the female life expectation at birth was higher than that of the male by 0.4 years. In the years since 1963 the female advantage has steadily increased with the female expectation at birth exceeding that of the male by 2.1 years in 1967.

TABLE 2.22—EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN YEARS

Period	Male	Female	Excess of Female expectation over the male expectation
CEYLON			
1920—22	32.7	30.7	— 2.0
1945—47	46.8	44.7	— 2.1
1952	57.6	55.5	— 2.1
1962—64	63.3	63.7	+ 0.4
1964	63.0	63.6	+ 0.6
1965	63.7	65.0	+ 1.3
1966	63.6	65.0	+ 1.4
1967	64.8	66.9	+ 2.1
SWEDEN			
1961—65	71.6	75.7	+ 4.1

Source : T. Nadarajah—Life Tables, Ceylon 1962-1967, Department of Census & Statistics, Ceylon 1970.

Thus, Sri Lanka which has often been cited as one of the very few countries with a lower female life expectation has now joined the much larger group (which includes all the developed countries) in which female life expectation is higher than that of the male.

Cause of Death. The declines in the death rates have been achieved by greater control over the causes of death through a number of measures such as the eradication of the malaria mosquito by the use of D.D.T., the use of antibiotics, extension of health education and improvements in environmental sanitation and other public health measures. Table 2.23 shows the death rates per 100,000 population due to broad cause groups and the changes between 1945 and 1949 in which period the dramatic fall of the death rate occurred and again from 1953 to 1965.

The death rate for infectious and parasitic diseases has shown the steepest decline with the rate in 1965 being only a fifth of the 1941 rate. Death rates for cancer and diseases of the circulatory system have shown increases which may be partly accounted for by improved diagnosis and reporting. The death rate from violence has declined to about two thirds of the 1945 value while the death rate from all other causes has declined by the same proportion as deaths due to all causes.

TABLE 2.23. DEATH RATES DUE TO BROAD CAUSE GROUPS
1945, 1949, 1953 AND 1965

	Death Rate per 100,000 Population				Index 1945=100			
	1945	1949	1953	1965	1945	1949	1953	1965
1. All Infectious and parasitic diseases	607	331	230	115	100	55	38	19
2. Cancer	13	14	16	27	100	108	123	208
3. Diseases of the circulatory System	61	48	77	95	100	79	126	156
4. Deaths by Violence	54	44	42	36	100	81	78	67
5. All other causes	1,416	795	709	547	100	56	50	39
All Deaths	2,149	1,233	1,074	822	100	57	50	38

C. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

During the last three decades of the 19th century, immigration played a very vital role in the population growth of the island. During the three intercensal periods 1871—1881, 1881—1891 and 1891—1901 the migration increase constituted 66.7, 41.8 and 59.6 per-cent of the respective intercensal increases in population. The migration increase was occasioned by the influx of labourers from South India to work in the plantations of the hill country. In the first three decades of this century migration contributed to a lesser extent to population growth. Restrictive policies relating to immigration adopted by the government in the thirties have considerably reduced the migration contribution to the intercensal increase during 1931—46 to the level of only 5.2 per cent. In contrast the intercensal periods 1953—1963 and 1963—1971 were characterized by migration losses although these losses constituted even less than 1 per cent of the respective intercensal increases.

Since the death rate in Sri Lanka has stabilized itself at the level of nearly 8 per 1,000 population, while net migration (which is negative) is comparatively negligible at the level of even less than 1 per 1,000 population, all attention is focussed on the birth rate, and the effective methods by which it could be reduced, so that economic development could make a significant contribution to the betterment of living standards of the vast majority of the population.

Loss of population through emigration is likely to continue at a faster pace for at least a decade or two with progress in the repatriation of persons of Indian origin opting to return to India under the Indo-Ceylon Agreement referred to in Chapter I.

POPULATION COMPOSITION

A. AGE AND SEX

Age and Sex. In Demographic and related studies, sex is a factor of prime importance. Besides, for many purposes of social and economic planning, separate data for males and females are required. The balance of the sexes affects social and economic relationships within a community.

In Sri Lanka statistical data on natality, mortality, migration, marital status and economic characteristics of the population are generally tabulated separately for males and females. The definition and classification of sex present no statistical problems. It is an item that has been included in every census questionnaire from the very beginning and for which information is easily obtainable from census reports. Estimates of the sex distribution of the population for Sri Lanka as a whole are also available for each year and appear in the Sri Lanka Annual Vital Statistics Reports. Almost every characteristic in the 1971 Census tabulation was cross classified by sex. The principal problem relating to the quality of the data on sex collected in censuses concerns the differential completeness of coverage of the two sexes. The number of persons whose sex was not reported in the 1971 census was quite small. In such cases sex was assigned on the basis of other information given in the census schedule.

The numerical measures of sex composition are few and simple to compute. They are (1) percentage of males in the population or the masculinity proportion and (2) the sex ratio or masculinity ratio. These measures are useful for comparison over space or time.

At the 1971 census of population of Sri Lanka, 51.3 per cent of the population was reported as males and 48.7 percent as females. The sex ratio expressed in terms of number of males per 1,000 females is observed to be 1055.

At every census taken from 1871 onwards there has been an excess of males over females. (See Table 3.1 below). This is a characteristic feature of most developing countries in contrast to the situation in most countries of Western Europe where there is an excess of females over males.

It will be seen from Table 3.1 that the sex ratio has remained at a high level for a long period, but a declining trend has been observed since 1946. The higher ratio of males to females in the earlier censuses is due to interaction of several factors. In the first place, the number of male births has throughout exceeded the number of female births every year. Secondly, the female death rate at most ages has been generally higher than that of

TABLE 3.1. POPULATION OF SRI LANKA, CLASSIFIED BY SEX
1871—1971

Census Year	Total	Males	Females	Ratio of males per 1000 females
1871	2,400,380	1,280,129	1,120,251	1143
1881	2,759,738	1,469,553	1,290,185	1139
1891	3,007,789	1,593,376	1,414,413	1127
1901	3,565,954	1,896,212	1,669,742	1135
1911	4,106,350	2,175,030	1,931,320	1126
1921	4,498,605	2,381,812	2,116,793	1125
1946	6,657,339	3,532,218	3,125,121	1130
1953	8,097,895	4,268,730	3,829,165	1115
1963	10,582,064	5,498,674	5,083,390	1082
1971	12,711,143	6,525,948	6,185,195	1055

the male. Thirdly, in the past, there has been an excess of male immigrants over female. Lastly, it is possible that there may have been an under-enumeration of females at the various censuses. The decline in the sex-ratio in recent years may be attributed to the reduction in the female mortality and increase in the life expectancy of women. In fact since 1963, mortality rates for females have been lower than that of males in all age groups except in the child bearing age groups.

Sex Ratio at birth. The balance between male and female births in the human population has been shown to be very stable. It has undergone so little change that it was earlier believed that nature compensated for the loss of males during war years by producing more male

TABLE 3.2. NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS IN SRI LANKA BY SEX 1961—71
SHOWING RATIO OF MALE BIRTHS PER 1000 FEMALE BIRTHS

Year	Male Births	Female Births	Ratio of male births per 1000 female births
1961	184,984	178,693	1035
1962	188,938	181,824	1039
1963	186,484	179,358	1040
1964	183,721	177,856	1033
1965	187,757	181,680	1033
1966	187,796	181,357	1036
1967	187,575	181,956	1031
1968	195,601	188,577	1037
1969	189,370	183,404	1033
1970	187,535	180,366	1040
1971	195,397	187,083	1044

births. It has been estimated that at the moment of conception the ratio of males to females may be in the order of 160 to 100. Excess male mortality has been found in various stages of foetal life. Even then, at the time of birth the sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) still averages from 103 to 104. Table 3.2 gives the number of registered live births since 1961 and shows the number of males born per 1000 females in each year in Sri Lanka.

It is observed that there is a differential in the sex ratio at birth with about 4 additional male births to every 100 female births. But this initial gain is lost because of the relatively larger number of male infant deaths. Table 3.3 shows the number of infant deaths by sex during the first year of life in 1961—1971. It is observed that the number of male infant deaths is still very high and averages about 1,234 for every 1000 female infant deaths.

TABLE 3.3. INFANT DEATHS BY SEX DURING 1961—1971

Year	Males	Female	Ratio of Males per 1000 females
1961	10,342	8,599	1203
1962	10,800	8,767	1232
1963	11,331	9,100	1245
1964	11,394	9,170	1243
1965	10,810	8,846	1222
1966	11,093	8,906	1246
1967	9,846	7,799	1262
1968	10,702	8,610	1243
1969	10,758	8,905	1208
1970	9,664	7,802	1239
1971	9,537	7,618	1252

Sex-ratio by age group. Though the overall sex-ratio was 1055 in 1971, males out numbered females only slightly at ages below 30 years. The sex-ratio which was 1041 for the 30—34 age-group increased steadily to a peak of 1272 for the 60—64 age group. The comparison of the sex-ratio for the census years from 1946 onwards is shown in Table 3.4.

It is seen that in every age group except 0—4 and 5—9 the sex ratio in 1971 is less than that of the previous years. This is partly a consequence of the relatively greater improvement in recent years in the female mortality rates as compared with the male.

TABLE 3.4 SEX-RATIO; MALES PER 1000 FEMALES BY FIVE YEAR AGE GROUPS 1946—1971

Age Groups	1946	1953	1963	1971
0 — 4	1032	1015	1026	1030
5 — 9	1031	1026	1020	1024
10 — 14	1060	1066	1047	1045
15 — 19	1153	1074	1028	1014
20 — 24	1045	1061	1006	976
25 — 29	1137	1099	1020	978
30 — 34	1212	1212	1123	1041
35 — 39	1260	1200	1107	1007
40 — 44	1304	1304	1217	1131
45 — 49	1347	1329	1253	1109
50 — 54	1148	1348	1275	1142
55 — 59	1383	1367	1371	1125
60 — 64	1201	1208	1348	1272
65 & over	1190	1203	1212	1180
All Ages	1130	1115	1082	1055

Age Composition. Age is another item of information collected in every census in Sri Lanka since 1871. Age is a continuous variable that follows by ever-increasing amounts from birth till death. At the last census of 1971 age was reported in terms of completed years and also by date of birth. As in other developing countries, digit preference, and age heaping are observed in all the censuses taken in Sri Lanka but the extent of such errors have diminished in the recent censuses. With high increased literacy due to compulsory schooling, age appears to be reported more correctly now than in the earlier censuses.

Age composition and fertility. Differences in age composition of population could be explained in terms of differences in birth rates. Sri Lanka with a high birth rate has a population heavily weighted towards the younger age groups whereas countries with low birth rates have a high proportion of their population at the middle and upper ages. In the 1971 census 39.3 percent of Sri Lanka's population was in the 0—14 age group (See Table 3.5) as compared to about 20 per-cent to 30 per-cent in the developed nations.

Age statistics are of fundamental importance in demographic as well as in all social science analysis, in that they reflect changes in behaviour at various stages of the life cycle. Throughout history every society has placed its own interpretation on the social meaning of the life cycle. There is a

TABLE 3.5. POPULATION OF SRI LANKA BY FIVE YEAR AGE GROUPS AND SEX - 1971 CENSUS

Age Group	Both Number	Sexes Per cent	Male		Female	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All Ages	12,712,277	100.0	6,497,494	100.0	6,214,783	100.0
Under 1	349,186	2.7	178,167	2.7	171,019	2.8
1—4	1,339,491	10.5	678,677	10.4	660,814	10.6
5—9	1,686,331	13.3	853,093	13.1	833,238	13.4
10—14	1,622,708	12.8	829,130	12.8	793,578	12.8
15—19	1,365,077	10.7	687,270	10.6	677,807	10.9
20—24	1,242,434	9.8	613,820	9.4	628,614	10.1
25—29	933,434	7.3	461,496	7.1	471,938	7.6
30—34	719,176	5.7	366,780	5.6	352,396	5.7
35—39	717,687	5.6	360,176	5.5	357,511	5.8
40—44	586,176	4.6	311,198	4.8	274,978	4.4
45—49	548,149	4.3	288,238	4.4	259,911	4.2
50—54	421,634	3.3	224,805	3.5	196,829	3.2
55—59	339,478	2.8	195,036	3.0	164,442	2.6
60—64	272,274	2.1	152,410	2.3	119,864	1.9
65—69	226,505	1.8	124,135	1.9	102,370	1.6
70—74	162,737	1.3	91,486	1.4	71,251	1.1
75—79	75,868	0.6	38,746	0.6	37,122	0.6
80—84	48,236	0.4	25,378	0.4	22,858	0.4
85 & over	35,715	0.3	17,461	0.3	18,254	0.3

socially appropriate age at which, to attend school, to leave the parental household, to enter the working force, to contract marriage and so on. The limitations of strength and physical and mental agility determine the social prescriptions. But to some extent they are determined by tradition or administrative rules. For example in Sri Lanka the normal age for a state officer to retire from service is 55 years whereas in United States it is 65. Cultural differences greatly affect the rate of growth of the population, principally through age at marriage and the age pattern of child bearing. In Sri Lanka the 25—29 year age group is the peak age of child bearing and very little child bearing take place after age 40 whereas in some populations the peak age group of child bearing is 20—24.

The population of Sri Lanka by single years of age and sex has been tabulated at recent censuses. Examination of these data show that there is an undue concentration of reported numbers at ages ending in 0 and 5. It is thus clear that there has been an almost alternating understatement and overstatement of age at the censuses. Indication of error in the single year distribution does not constitute a very good guide for evaluating the five year age distribution. There are several methods for testing the accuracy of an age-group tabulation. One method is to compare the sex-ratio of successive age groups as recorded at the census. If the distributions are accurate or if errors for males are as frequent and of the same kind as those for females, sex-ratios will change very gradually from one age to another. The presence of marked fluctuations in these ratios testifies to errors which are not the same for the two sexes.

Table 3.6 indicates that there has been a considerable improvement in the age reporting between 1946 and 1971 censuses.

TABLE 3.6. AGE ACCURACY INDEX 1946 AND 1971

Age Group	1946				1971			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	Age Ratio	Deviation from 100	Age Ratio	Deviation from 100	Age Ratio	Deviation from 100	Age Ratio	Deviation from 100
5—9	97.7	— 2.3	98.7	— 1.3	100.8	+ 0.8	101.7	+ 1.7
10—14	104.4	+ 4.4	106.0	+ 6.0	105.0	+ 5.0	103.3	+ 3.3
15—19	98.8	— 1.2	92.9	— 7.1	96.8	— 3.2	96.8	— 3.2
20—24	98.4	— 1.6	104.6	+ 4.6	104.5	+ 4.5	106.0	+ 6.0
25—29	104.6	+ 4.6	103.0	+ 3.0	96.0	— 4.0	97.4	— 2.6
30—34	90.8	— 9.2	89.6	— 10.4	92.6	— 7.3	89.5	— 10.5
35—39	113.5	+ 13.5	112.9	+ 12.9	104.1	+ 4.1	108.9	+ 8.9
40—44	87.3	— 12.7	86.8	— 13.2	102.8	+ 2.8	92.4	— 7.6
45—49	116.9	+ 16.9	111.1	+ 11.1	104.9	+ 4.9	106.6	+ 6.6
50—54	82.1	— 17.9	92.6	— 7.4	95.2	— 4.8	95.1	— 4.9
55—59	105.0	+ 5.0	93.7	— 6.3	102.2	+ 2.2	102.5	+ 2.5
60—64	73.5	— 26.5	76.5	— 23.5	97.0	— 3.0	93.0	— 7.0
Total		<u>115.8</u>		<u>106.8</u>		<u>46.6</u>		<u>64.8</u>

It is also possible to derive a measure of the degree of variability exhibited by sex and age ratios by computing a 'sex-ratio score', and an "age-ratio score". The sex ratio score has been defined as the mean difference between sex ratios for the successive age groups, averaged irrespective of sign, while the 'age ratio score' has been defined as the mean deviation of age-ratios from 100 per-cent, also irrespective of sign. With the help of these two scores it is convenient to arrive at a 'joint score' which will take account of the variation in the sex as well as the age ratios. A joint score is computed by adding three times the sex-ratio score to the sum of the age ratio scores for the two sexes. The sex-ratio scores, the age-ratio scores and the joint scores calculated from the censuses of population of 1891, 1921, 1946, 1953, 1963 and 1971 are given in Table 3.7 below :

TABLE 3.7. SEX-RATIO SCORE, AGE RATIO SCORE AND JOINT SCORES FOR POPULATION CENSUS YEARS

	1891	1921	1946	1953	1963	1971
Sex Ratio Score	32.0	22.0	9.6	4.4	4.6	4.7
Age Ratio Score : Male	29.4	14.1	12.2	8.8	8.8	4.5
Female	49.0	17.4	11.3	11.0	9.4	5.4
Joint Score	174.4	97.5	52.3	33.0	32.0	24.0

It is evident from the above Table that the scores for the earlier censuses were higher than those for recent censuses. This means that the errors in age reporting were greater in the past and that there has been a gradual improvement in age reporting over the years.

Dependency Ratio. Dependency ratio is used to measure the impact of age composition on the livelihood activity of the population. It is assumed that the age group 15—64 years is the productive segment of the population and children under 15 years and elderly persons aged 65 years and over are considered as the dependent segment. A crude measure of the dependency load that the productive population must bear is the ratio of the population under 15 years and 65 years and over to the population aged 15 to 64 multiplied by 100. In Sri Lanka the population under fifteen years is 39.3 per-cent and the population 65 years and over constitutes only 4.5 per-cent unlike the developed countries where the problem is one of ageing population where nearly 18 to 20 per-cent consist of old people. Table 3.8 shows the distribution of the 1971 census population by broad age groups.

TABLE 3.8. POPULATION BY BROAD AGE GROUPS AND SEX 1971

Age Group	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All Ages	12,712,277	100.0	6,497,494	100.0	6,214,783	100.0
0—14	4,997,706	39.3	2,539,067	39.1	2,458,649	39.6
15—64	7,165,500	56.3	3,661,207	56.3	3,504,293	56.4
65 and Over	549,068	4.4	297,230	4.6	251,838	4.0

It is observed that the dependency ratio of the youth and the aged have increased during the post war period. The dependency ratio of children according to the 1971 census of population is 70.0 per-cent. But this ratio in 1946 was only 62.8 per-cent. The dependency load of the aged in 1971 was 7.7 per-cent as compared to 5.8 per-cent in 1946.

B. MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status. Marital status is an important factor in population dynamics as it effects fertility to a large degree and mortality and migration to a lesser extent. Almost all cultures recognize four marital statuses—single (never married), married, widowed and divorced. Each status has religious, legal as well as social significance. Most religions solemnize changes in status with a ceremony.

Marriage Laws. The registration of vital events including marriages was introduced in Sri Lanka in 1867, though the earliest law in regard to registration of marriages was passed in 1847, and has since been amended from time to time. Three distinct systems of marriage operate, one for the general population, one for Kandyan Sinhalese and one for the Muslims. The marriage law enacted in 1907 is now in operation. The solemnisation of christian marriages is usually performed by a christian minister in church upon the certificate of a Registrar of Marriages. Non-christian marriages are solemnized by the Registrar himself, but many Hindus do not allow consummation unless the marriage ceremony, which is regarded as a religious and sacred rite, is performed by a priest.

The Kandyan marriage law was passed in 1870 embodying the ancient marriage laws and customs of the Sinhalese. These customs included the practice of polyandry and ploygamy, but both these practices had been legally abolished in 1859. This practice prevailed in some remote villages in Kandyan Districts even in the first few decades of this century, though it is now believed to have died out.

The registration of Muslim marriages is regulated by a law enacted in 1886 and subsequently modified in certain details. Although religion and law permit Muslims four wives at a time monogamy is the more general form of marriage among muslims in Sri Lanka.

Marital status was included in the questionnaire of the first real census in 1871, but was omitted in the subsequent censuses of 1881 and 1891 because it was found that the information collected in 1871 was not reliable on account of the prevalent uncertainty as to what constituted a legal marriage. Later much of the uncertainty was removed by holding that registration was not essential for the validity of a marriage and that the marriage relationship could be presumed on adequate evidences of cohabitation and repute. From 1901 onwards marital status was once again included as a subject of inquiry at the censuses. The entry 'married' was made in the case of a person claiming to be married according to custom or repute, though the marriage may not have been registered according to the law.

In the census reports of 1911 and 1921 it was recorded that enumerators were inclined to enter the parties to unregistered marriages as "unmarried" with the result that the figures relating to the number of married persons in Sri Lanka were generally regarded with suspicion. With a view to eliminate this source of error from the 1946 census onwards, the enumerators were instructed to record registered and customary marriages separately.

The married population. At the 1971 census out of a total of 2,133,481 married males, 1,751,123 or 82 per cent had their marriages registered among 2,229,734 married females 1,820,286 or 82 per cent had their marriages registered.

At the 1946 census the percentage of registered marriages was 69 per cent. These figures reveal that at present more people are having their marriages registered to give it a legal binding and that the porportion of persons marrying according to custom has declined appreciably.

TABLE 3.9. POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER BY MARITAL STATUS 1971

	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Never Married	2,885,655	37.4	1,716,274	43.3	1,169,381	34.1
Married Registered	3,571,409	46.3	1,751,123	44.2	1,820,286	48.5
Married Customary	791,806	10.3	382,358	9.6	409,448	10.9
Widowed	426,924	5.3	93,060	2.2	333,864	8.9
Divored	19,495	0.3	7,899	0.3	11,596	0.3
Legally separated	19,293	0.2	7,716	0.2	11,577	0.3
Total	7,714,582	100.0	3,958,430	100.0	3,756,152	100.0

In the 1971 Census out of 4,828,927 ever married persons of age 15 years and over 74.0 per cent had their marriage registered and 16.4 per cent were married according to custom. 90 per cent of the ever married population 15 years and over were currently married as on the census date while 9 per cent were widowed. Divorced and legally separated formed only one per cent. 626 persons out of every 1000 persons aged 15 years and over or 380 persons out of every 1000 persons of the total population were reported as married. When these proportions are worked out separately for the two sexes, it is observed that 566 males out of 1000 males aged 15 years and over or 345 males out of 1000 males of all ages were married as on the census day. The corresponding figures for females were 689 out of 1000 females aged 15 and over or 417 females out of every 100 females of all ages.

Age at Marriage. Age at marriage, especially of females has been known to be low in Sri Lanka since the beginning of the Christian Era. But in recent years an increasing trend in the mean age at marriage is observed, although available marriage registration data do not substantiate this fact (see table 3.10 below).

TABLE 3.10. AVERAGE AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR FEMALES FROM REGISTRATION DATA

Year	Female age at marriage
1961	22.7
1962	23.1
1963	23.2
1964	23.8
1965	24.8
1966	22.4
1967	23.2
1968	23.6
1969	23.5

Source : Registrar General's Report.

It should be noted that the above data relate only to all registered marriages, which comprise about seventy per cent of total marriages.

Singulate mean age at marriage. The singulate mean age at marriage calculated from the census data is shown in Table 3.11. It is calculated from the proportions who remained single on census dates.

TABLE 3.11. SINGULATE MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE 1901 TO 1971

Census Year	Singulate Mean Age at marriage	
	Males	Females
1901	24.6	18.3
1911	26.5	20.8
1921	27.0	21.4
1946	27.0	20.7
1953	27.2	20.9
1963	27.9	22.1
1971	28.0	23.5

Singulate mean age at marriage in 1971 was 28 years for males and 23.6 years for females. Though there is not much of a change in the male age at marriage the female age at marriage has increased by 1.4 years during the period 1963 to 1971. Looking at the sequence of the mean ages at marriage from 1901 onwards, it is evident that there has been a steady increase in female singulate mean age at marriage up to end of 1921 when it reached 21.4 years. In 1946 it dropped slightly to 20.7 years and since then it has steadily increased to 23.5 years in 1971. The singulate mean age at marriage has increased by 1.2 years in the decade 1953 to 1963, and by 1.4 years during the intercensal period 1963 to 1971.

The District-wise figures (Table 3.12) show that the singulate mean age at marriage for various Districts had increased by 1 to 2.3 years during the period 1963—71, as against a 1.4 years increase for the country as a whole. It may be noted that while no District recorded any fall during the period, eighteen out of the twenty two Districts have recorded an increase of more than the national increase of 1.4 years. The highest increase of 2.3 years was recorded in Anuradhapura and the lowest increase of one year was recorded in Galle District.

It is observed from recent census and survey data that more women are delaying marriage or not marrying at all. This trend is indicated by the proportion of women currently married in different age groups. The proportion of currently married women has declined considerably in the three age groups 15—19, 20—24 and 25—29. Since some of the women who do not get married when they are still young may continue to remain unmarried in the future, the proportion married in the older age groups would also decline. Late marriage could be attributed to the fact that an increasingly large proportion of girls are now completing their senior secondary education and also entering the labour force.

TABLE 3.12. SINGULATE MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR FEMALES BY DISTRICT IN 1963 AND 1971

Districts	Singulate mean age at marriage for Females		Increase
	1963	1971	
Colombo	23.3	24.4	1.1
Kalutara	24.0	25.2	1.2
Kandy	22.0	24.0	2.0
Matale	20.8	22.7	1.9
Nuwara Eliya	21.6	23.4	1.8
Galle	24.8	25.8	1.0
Matara	24.2	25.7	1.5
Hambantota	21.4	23.5	2.1
Jaffna	21.7	23.4	1.7
Mannar	18.5	20.2	1.7
Vavuniya	18.6	20.3	1.7
Batticaloa	18.2	20.1	1.9
Amparai	18.2	20.1	1.9
Trincomalee	18.1	19.7	1.6
Kurunegala	20.9	22.8	1.9
Puttalam	20.7	22.1	1.4
Anuradhapura	19.1	21.4	2.3
Polonnaruwa	19.0	21.0	2.0
Badulla	21.2	23.3	2.1
Monaragala	18.8	21.0	2.2
Ratnapura	22.0	23.8	1.8
Kegalle	22.5	24.4	1.9
Sri Lanka	22.1	23.5	1.4

It is evident from table 3.13 that between 1953 and 1971 the proportion of currently married females has dropped in the age group 15—19 by 56.5 per cent and in the 20—24 group by 30.2 per cent and in the 25—29 group by 13 per cent. However for the other age-groups, there appears to have

TABLE 3.13. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN CURRENTLY MARRIED BY AGE GROUP 1953—1971

Age Group	1953 Census	1963 Census	1971 Census
15—19	23.7	15.0	10.3
20—24	65.8	57.4	45.9
25—29	84.4	80.9	73.5
30—34	87.8	89.2	85.9
35—39	86.5	89.9	89.3
40—44	80.7	86.1	87.8
45—49	73.8	81.7	84.9
15—49	68.4	65.2	59.2

been an increase in the proportion married, probably due to a reduction in the incidence of widowhood. The marked reduction in the proportion married at ages under 30 years is one of the factors responsible for the decline in fertility observed in recent years.

Marital Disruption. Persons who are widowed, divorced or separated from their spouse comprise that segment of the evermarried population who are living in a state of marital disruption. This status can be lost by remarriage or death. The proportion of the population who are in this status is an important demographic factor for fertility studies. In Sri Lanka, at every Census, figures on marital disruption are available, but it is only from the 1946 Census onwards that the figures relating to the widowed and divorced have been tabulated separately.

TABLE 3.14. PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION WIDOWED AT SPECIFIED AGES IN CENSUS YEARS

Year	Percent Widowed by age—Census years				
	30	35	40	45	50
1901	14.0	24.0	31.5	42.4	48.5
1911	10.6	16.5	27.1	34.4	45.3
1921	10.9	17.4	27.3	35.4	45.7
1946	5.9	9.8	17.1	24.8	34.8
1953	4.1	7.5	13.6	21.1	32.3
1963	1.6	3.0	5.3	8.1	13.3
1971	0.7	1.3	2.5	3.9	6.2

It is seen from table 3.14 that at the 1971 Census only 6.2 per cent were widowed by the age of 50 while at the turn of this century in 1901, about 48.5 per cent at this age were widowed. The total number of persons widowed at the 1971 census was 426,985 or 3.4 per cent. The corresponding figure in 1946 when mortality started to decline was 363,235 or 5.4 per cent.

Divorce. Figures in respect of Divorces have been collected and tabulated separately only from the 1946 census onwards.⁽¹⁾ Table 3.15 shows the proportion of the population divorced at specified ages in census years.

(1) In addition to census data on divorces the Registrar General registers divorces occurring annually and statistics of divorces are published in his Vital Statistics Report.

TABLE 3.15. PER CENT OF THE POPULATION DIVORCED AT SPECIFIED AGES

Year	Age								
	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60
1946	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
1953	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4
1963	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4
1971	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4

In most nations of the world less than 1 or 2 per cent of the adult female population is found in the divorced state. This testifies to the fact that the family is one of the most stable and universally accepted aspects of social organization. In Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim countries only a comparatively small fraction of the marriages are broken by formal divorce. Where divorce does occur, it is very often followed by remarriage. In Sri Lanka the total number of persons divorced at the 1971 census was only 19,519 or 0.2 per cent and the legally separated was 19,313 or 0.2 per cent. The number of males divorced was only 7,899 as compared with 11,616 females. The number legally separated were also of the same magnitude viz. 7,716 males and 11,598 females. There were more females in these categories because most of the males divorced and separated tend to re-marry.

C. ETHNICITY

Ethnicity. The term race has been used in Sri Lanka to signify a social or ethnic grouping. The population of Sri Lanka consists of several ethnic groups each of which possesses a distinctive consciousness which has developed on the basis of differences in social, historical and religious background.

At the 1824 Census of Sri Lanka, population was classified by caste, and not according to race. Europeans and Burghers appeared as distinct castes. The Sinhalese and Tamils were not reported as such but as members of their respective castes. The term Nationality was used in the earlier censuses until 1901. From the 1911 Census onwards the word race was used in place of nationality and it had recognition in all official and unofficial records. The Census Reports prior to 1901 classified the population into seven groups viz. Europeans, Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Malays, Veddahs and others. The Sinhalese were divided into Low Country Sinhalese and Kandyan Sinhalese from the 1901 Census onwards. The 1911 Census separated the Tamils into Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils and the Moors into Ceylon Moors and Indian Moors. These races thus classified are

TABLE 3.16. POPULATION OF SRI LANKA BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN CENSUS YEARS (IN THOUSANDS)

Ethnic Group	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1946	1953	1963	1971
All Ethnic Groups	2,759.7	3,007.8	3,565.9	4,106.4	4,498.6	5,306.4	6,657.3	8,097.9	10,582.0	12,712
Low Country Sinhalese	1,846.6	2,041.2	1,458.3	1,716.9	1,927.1	2,216.2	2,902.5	3,469.5	4,470.3	5,446
Kandyan Sinhalese			872.5	998.6	1,089.1	1,256.8	1,718.0	2,147.2	3,042.6	3,701
Ceylon Tamils	687.2	723.9	951.7	528.0	517.3	598.9	733.7	884.7	1,164.7	1,416
Indian Tamils				531.0	602.7	818.5	780.6	974.1	1,230.0	1,105
Ceylon Moors	184.5	197.2	228.0	233.9	251.9	289.6	373.6	464.0	626.8	824
Indian Moors				32.7	33.0	36.3	35.6	47.5	55.4	29
Europeans	4.8	4.7	6.3	7.6	8.1	9.2	5.4	6.5	—	—
Burghers and Eurasians	17.9	21.2	23.5	26.7	29.4	32.3	41.9	46.0	45.9	44
Malays	8.9	10.1	11.9	13.0	13.4	16.0	22.5	25.4	33.4	43
Veddhas	2.2	1.2	4.0	5.3	4.5	5.2	2.4	0.8	0.4	—
Others	7.5	8.3	9.7	12.7	22.0	27.4	41.1	32.2	19.5	14

believed to be partly ethnological except for the division of Sinhalese into Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese. The linguistic, religious and geographic locations also have some significance in this classification. Sinhala, Tamils and English are the three major languages spoken in Sri Lanka. Sinhalese is the official Language of the country which replaced English, progressively after Independence. Sinhala is the mother tongue of the Sinhalese people and Tamil that of the Tamils. Moors use either one of these languages. English is spoken by all Burghers and Eurasians, as well as by the more well to do Sinhalese, Tamils and Moors. Table 3.16 shows the distribution of population of the Island by ethnic groups from 1881 to 1971.

The Sinhalese. The Sinhalese are the descendants of the ancient Aryan settlers. The founding of the Sinhala race is ascribed to a prince of Northern India, Vijaya, in the 5th century B.C. Vijaya and his followers found the Island occupied by a tribe called 'Yakkas', and found no difficulty in subjugating them. Their disappearance from recorded history as a separate and distinctive race group suggests a quick merger with the Sinhalese, although some believe that the nomadic 'Veddahs' living in the Uva and Eastern Provinces of the Island are descended from them.

The Sinhalese of low country origin i.e., those in the Western or Southern Provinces and the Chilaw/Puttalam District were generally classified as Low-Country Sinhalese, while Sinhalese who traced their origin to the Central, North Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa Provinces, the Kurunegala District, and the Sinhalese Divisions of the District of Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Vavuniya were enumerated as Kandyan Sinhalese. Kandyan Sinhalese formed about 25 per cent of the total population of the Island at the Census of 1971. They were 24.5 per cent at the 1901 Census.

Low Country Sinhalese numbered 1,458 thousand when they were counted separately for the first time in the 1901 Census and their number doubled by 1946 to 2,902 thousand i.e., over a period of 45 years. But since 1946 the population has increased sharply to 5,446 thousand which indicated an increase of 87.7 per cent over a period of 25 years.

During the same period the Kandyan Sinhalese, who numbered 873 thousand in 1901 increased to 1,718 thousand in 1946 and 3,701 thousand in 1971. During the 45 year period 1901 to 1946 they have doubled themselves and during the 25 year period 1946 to 1971, they had increased by 1,983 thousand or 115.4 per cent.

During the period, if we consider the Sinhalese as a whole, they numbered 2,331 thousand in 1901 and 4,620 thousand in 1946 thus doubling in 45 years. In 1971 they numbered 9,147 thousand thus doubling again in the 25 year period 1946—1971. The growth of the Sinhalese population is due solely to natural increase and not to any migration.

The Tamils. The Ceylon Tamils are predominantly found in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka and the Indian Tamils in the Central hilly plantation areas. The Ceylon Tamils are the descendants of early settlers in the Island who originally came from South India for the purpose of conquest while Indian Tamils were brought into Sri Lanka in the 19th Century to work mainly in the Plantations.

The classification of Tamils by Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils commenced with the 1911 census. In that year the number of Ceylon Tamils was 528 thousand and Indian Tamils 531 thousand. At the Census of 1946, Ceylon Tamils amounted to 734 thousand and this number increased to 1,416 thousand in 1971, an increase of 682 thousand or 93 per cent over the last 25 years. The majority of Ceylon Tamils live in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Indian Tamils numbered 1,195 thousand at the 1971 Census, showing an increase of 414 thousand or 53.0 per cent over a period of 25 years since the 1946 Census. Indian Tamils live mainly in the plantation areas as estate labourers and are most numerous in the Kandy, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla Districts. The number of Tamils and Moors of Indian origin have shown a decline in 1971 due to migration during the inter censal period 1963—1971.

Moors. The Moors were known to be skilful traders and their enterprise brought them across to Sri Lanka to sell their crafts. A whole colony is said to have landed at Beruwela in the Kalutara District in 1024 A.D. The Moors soon obtained a firm footing in the Island and spread themselves throughout the country. Despite the adoption of the Tamil language and the freedom with which they intermarried, the unifying influence of their religion has helped the descendants of these early Arab settlers to preserve a distinctive race consciousness and to regard themselves as a separate group. At the 1881 Census, Moors numbered 184.5 thousand and increased to 228.0 thousand at the 1901 Census. From the 1911 Census onwards Moors were divided into Ceylon Moors and Indian Moors. This was the outcome of the influx of Indian Labourers to the Plantation areas comprising both Moors and Tamils, who had to be distinguished separately. At the 1971 Census, Ceylon Moors numbered 824.3 thousand and Indian Moors 29.4 thousand, totalling 853.7 thousand. The largest number of Ceylon Moors were found in Batticaloa and Amparai Districts. They also formed a high percentage of the total population of Mannar, Puttalam and Trincomalee Districts. The Indian Moors who numbered 29,416 at the 1971 Census is the only other ethnic group besides Indian Tamils which shows a decline from the previous Census figure. This may be partly due to the fact that many Indian Moors have returned to India and partly because some of the Indian Moors may have declared themselves and been enumerated as Ceylon Moors. Indian Moors are mostly found in Colombo and Kandy Districts. Colombo Municipality claimed more than 75 per cent of the Indian Moors found in Colombo District.

Malays. The Malays whose origin is traced to Java numbered 41,615 or 0.3 per cent of the population at the 1971 Census. They numbered only 22.5 thousand in 1946. Thus they have increased by 19.1 thousand or 84.9 per cent over the last twenty five years. They are followers of Islam and live practically in every part of the island. About two third of their population were found in Colombo District, while Kandy and Hambantota Districts also contain large numbers of Malay population.

Burghers & Eurasians. In the category of Burghers and Eurasians were included the descendants of the civil and military employees of European ancestry. The mixed descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch were known as Portuguese Burghers and Dutch Burghers respectively. The Burghers and Eurasians numbered 44.2 thousand at the 1971 Census. They formed 0.3 per cent of the country's population. Their growth rate is the least among the ethnic group in Sri Lanka. They numbered 41.9 thousand in 1946 and in the twenty five year period they increased numerically by 4.3 thousand or by 10.3 per cent. This slow growth is due to the large numbers of this community migrating to other countries particularly Australia.

Veddahs. Veddahs were counted separately upto the 1963 Census. The number of Veddahs fluctuated considerably from Census to Census since 1871 and in 1963 they numbered only 412. The fluctuation of the number of Veddahs at various censuses may be ascribed to differences in the connotation of the term as understood by the enumerators. The rather small number of Veddahs reported at the later censuses may be partly due to a disinclination of the more civilised Veddahs to call themselves as Veddahs and partly due to their integration with other ethnic groups. Hence at the 1971 Census the Veddahs were not enumerated separately but grouped with others.

D. RELIGION

Buddhism. Buddhism is the most widely professed religion in Sri Lanka. At the 1971 Census, out of a total population of 12,711,143 persons, 8,8,567,570 persons or 67.4 per cent were enumerated as Buddhist. According to the Sinhalese chronicles, Buddhism was introduced into the Island, in or about 300 B.C. and has been the predominant religion in Sri Lanka for over twenty-two centuries. Buddhism is the religion professed by a large majority of the Sinhalese.

Census data collected and tabulated by religion is available from the 1871 census. Table 3.17 below gives the number and percentage by religion at each census.

TABLE 3.17. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RELIGION 1871—1971

Year	Buddhists		Hindus		Muslims		Christians	
	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population
1871	1,520,575	63.3	465,944	19.4	171,542	7.1	—	—
1881	1,698,070	61.5	593,630	21.5	195,775	7.2	277,977	10.1
1891	1,877,043	62.4	615,932	20.5	211,995	7.0	302,127	10.0
1901	2,141,404	60.1	826,826	23.2	246,118	6.9	349,239	9.7
1911	2,474,170	60.3	938,260	22.8	283,631	6.9	409,200	10.0
1921	2,769,805	61.6	982,073	21.8	302,532	6.7	443,400	9.8
1946	4,294,932	64.5	1,320,352	19.8	436,556	6.6	603,235	9.1
1953	5,209,439	64.3	1,610,561	19.9	541,506	6.7	724,461	8.9
1963	7,003,287	66.2	1,958,394	18.5	724,043	6.8	883,900	8.4
1971	8,567,570	67.4	2,239,310	17.6	909,941	7.1	996,687	7.8

The largest concentration of Buddhists is found in the Southern Province. At the 1971 Census 97.2 per cent of the population in Hambantota District were reported as Buddhists. Other Districts which have large concentrations of Buddhists are Galle (93.9%) and Matara (93.8%). In Kandy District, which may be considered as the Headquarters of the Buddhist hierarchy, there were only 61.7 per cent Buddhist. This is due to the presence of a large number of Indian Tamil Hindus (26 per cent), mainly working in the estate sector. During the last twenty five years (1946—71) the Buddhist population has increased by 4,272,638 or 99.5 per cent. This is in keeping with the growth of the population which itself has doubled within the last twenty five years.

Hinduism. Hinduism is the religion which, next to Buddhism, has the largest number of followers in Sri Lanka. At the 1971 Census there were 2,239,410 Hindus comprising 17.6 per cent of the total population. The distribution of Hindu population at various censuses is shown in Table 3.17. It is observed from the table that the percentage of Buddhists in the total population is almost constant, whereas the percentage of Hindus varies widely. This may be partly due to the fact that more than half of the Hindu population are immigrant Indians who are non-indigenous in character. Hinduism is the principal religion of the Tamil population. Jaffna District has the largest concentration (83.1 per cent) of Hindus. The other Districts which have large concentrations of Hindus are Vavuniya (65.4 per cent) Batticaloa (64.9 per cent) and Nuwara Eliya (52.3 per cent). During the last twenty five years the Hindu population has increased by 69.6 per cent.

Roman Catholics. Catholics were counted separately from the 1946 Census onwards. At the 1971 Census, Roman Catholics numbered 883,111 or 6.9 per cent of the total population. They formed the largest group (89.5%) out of all christians who numbered 986,687 or 7.7 per cent of the total population. They were mostly found in Puttalam (38.8 per cent) Mannar (32.8 per cent) and Colombo (15.9 per cent) District.

Other Christians. At the 1971 Census, all Christians other than Roman Catholics were grouped together and numbered 103,576 or 0.8 per cent of the total population. They consisted of Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians etc. and are evenly distributed throughout the Island. The distribution of the christian population (Roman Catholic and other) as at the various censuses is given in table 3.18.

Islam. Islam is the Religion of the Moors and the Malays. Prior to the 1946 Census the term used was "Muhamadanism". The followers of Islam are called Muslims. At the 1971 Census 909,941 persons were enumerated as Muslims. They formed 7.1 per cent of the total population. Muslims are mostly found in Amparai (46.2 per cent) Trincomalee (32.4 per cent) and Batticaloa (24.2 per cent) Districts. The Muslim population of Sri Lanka since 1871 is shown in Table 3.17. During the last twenty five year period they have increased by 473,385 or by 108.4 per cent.

TABLE 3.18. DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN POPULATION FROM 1946—1971

Year	All Christians		Roman Catholics		Other Christians	
	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population
1946	603,235	9.1	507,418	7.6	95,617	1.4
1953	724,461	8.9	609,938	7.5	114,523	1.4
1963	883,900	8.4	768,833	7.3	116,116	1.1
1971	996,687	7.8	883,111	6.9	103,576	0.8

E. EDUCATION

The progress of nations in the modern world is increasingly dependent upon education and modern governments require adequate knowledge of the educational status of the people and the level of literacy. While information on this subject is essential for evaluating the needs of education, and planning specific measures to meet these needs, it is equally important in the formulation and execution of plans in other fields such as industrial and agricultural development, measures to improve productivity, public health programmes etc.

Data on the educational attainment of the population are also of special value for research in demography and related social and economic fields, since education has an important influence on many aspects of human behaviour. A high level of educational attainment is a powerful force for social change and its effects can be anticipated to some extent by comparing the behaviour and characteristics of population groups at different educational levels.

The education system in Sri Lanka. There have been many important developments in the educational system of Sri Lanka during the last three decades. Firstly, as a result of the recommendations of a sub-committee on education made in 1943, education in Sri Lanka was made free from the Kindergarten to the university and the mother tongue of the pupil was adopted as the medium of instruction. These measures stimulated popular interest in education throughout the country and largely account for the unprecedented growth in the school going population, which was one of the chief concerns of the policy makers during 1945-60. Secondly, important steps were taken to establish and to expand educational facilities in vocational and technical fields. In view of the growing pressure on existing institutes of higher academic education and the problems created as a result of an ever increasing

number of graduates being turned out by universities, attempts are now being made to diversify the educational system.

The main problem which the educational reforms introduced since 1970 seek to resolve is the very fundamental question of re-structuring and re-organizing the school system to meet the challenges of a developing economy. The traditional pattern of school curricula which have come down from colonial times has been found to be inadequate to meet the needs of Sri Lanka in the 1970's. It was satisfactory so long as the number of pupils leaving secondary school each year found ample job opportunities in clerical and administrative work. But with an expanding school population and a growing number of job seekers from among the educated, it was imperative to introduce radical changes in school curricula so as to prepare pupils for a whole range of occupations in which they could be usefully employed and the changes in curricula were introduced in two ways. On the one hand, the content of the traditional subject areas were reviewed with the objective of bringing about a closer link between each subject area and the life and work of the community in which the pupil lived. A second step was the attempt to relate the general education curriculum to the needs of the community by placing greater emphasis on pre-vocational studies. The problem of 'educated unemployment' facing Sri Lanka and hopefully, its experience with educational reforms of the kind now being introduced in the schools, will no doubt be of value to other developing countries, which are likely to experience similar situations in years to come.

Literacy. Data on literacy was obtained for all persons 10 years old and over. Literacy was defined as ability to read and write with understanding a simple paragraph pertaining to day-to-day-life.

The Census of population 1971 returned a total number of 7,293,986 persons in Sri Lanka as literate. Thus the literate population represented 78.1 per cent of the population over 10 years. The percentage of literacy by sex at the various censuses are given in Table 3.19:

TABLE 3.19. PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY IN SRI LANKA 1881—1971

Census Year	Percentage of Literates		
	Both Sexes	Males	Females
1881	17.4	29.8	3.1
1891	21.7	36.1	5.3
1901	26.4	42.0	8.5
1911	31.0	47.2	12.5
1921	39.9	56.4	21.2
1946	57.8	70.1	43.8
1953	65.4	75.9	53.6
1963	71.6	79.3	63.2
1971	78.1	85.2	70.7

There has been a continuous improvement in literacy since 1881 as may be observed from the above table. The rate of literacy can be considered relatively high in Sri Lanka when compared with other developing countries in this region. It is observed that illiteracy was high among females particularly from about the beginning of the century till about the twenties. The decline in illiteracy among females over the next fifty years was due to many factors, such as the establishment of free Government schools which were mainly co-educational in character and the emergence of women from the seclusion of their home and the opening of more avenues of employment to educated women.

According to the 1971 census of population there were 4,078,807 males and 3,215,177 females who were literate as against an illiterate population of 708,752 males and 1,334,535 females. Thus the percentage of literates for males and females was 85.2 and 70.7 respectively. The percentage of literacy in the urban areas as 85.6 per cent for all persons and 89.5 per cent and 81.3 per cent for males and females respectively. In the rural sector the percentage of literacy was 75.9 per cent for all persons and 83.8 per cent and 67.6 per cent for males and females respectively. The higher literacy rate in the urban sector can be attributed to many factors such as the availability of more facilities for education and a greater awareness of the urban community of the need for education for purposes of employment.

Table 3.20 gives the percentage of literate persons by age groups and sex for Sri Lanka by sectors.

TABLE 3.20 PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES BY AGE GROUPS AND SEX FOR SECTOR—1971 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Age Group	Urban and Rural Sectors			Urban Sectors			Rural Sectors		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Female
Total 10 & over	78.1	85.2	70.7	85.6	89.5	81.5	75.9	83.8	67.6
10—14	82.8	83.5	82.1	87.7	87.8	87.6	81.5	82.4	80.6
15—19	86.5	88.0	85.1	91.1	91.4	90.8	85.2	86.9	83.5
20—24	86.8	90.6	83.1	92.1	93.7	90.2	85.1	89.5	81.0
25—29	84.3	90.5	78.3	90.8	93.5	87.8	82.2	89.5	75.4
30—34	82.4	90.1	74.4	89.3	92.8	85.3	80.2	89.2	71.1
35—39	74.2	85.9	62.5	84.5	89.9	78.6	71.2	84.6	58.0
40—44	74.7	86.5	61.4	84.0	90.3	76.5	71.9	85.3	56.9
45—49	69.5	83.6	53.8	80.8	88.3	71.9	66.2	82.2	48.8
50—54	68.2	83.1	51.2	78.6	87.5	68.2	64.9	81.7	46.0
55—59	63.1	78.2	45.1	74.5	83.6	63.7	59.8	76.7	39.7
60—64	59.8	75.5	39.9	70.4	82.5	56.8	56.7	73.6	34.6
65—69	57.0	73.0	37.6	67.2	79.1	54.4	54.1	71.4	32.4
70—74	52.2	68.9	30.8	63.2	74.8	50.6	49.3	67.5	24.9
75 & over	42.1	60.4	23.0	52.6	66.5	40.4	39.5	59.1	18.3

The rising level of Education. With the introduction of free education not only the literacy level but also the educational attainment of the population has shown significant improvements. Table 3.21 shows for the population aged 15 years and over the percentages of the males and females as well both sexes in each age group that have attained specified educational levels as at the 1971 Census. It can be readily seen that the younger age groups have greater proportions

TABLE 3.21. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION
AGE AND SEX FOR SRI LANKA 1971

Educational Attainment	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75 & over	Total
No Schooling*	T	15.0	18.0	20.3	28.1	27.6	32.3	34.6	39.6	42.9	45.3	50.7	60.3	25.9
	M	12.2	12.5	13.8	17.8	17.0	20.2	21.0	25.7	28.5	30.9	35.4	43.8	20.3
	F	15.6	18.3	27.1	38.6	39.6	47.0	50.2	56.0	61.1	62.8	70.3	77.6	31.8
Passed Grades 1, 2, 3 & 4	T	19.4	19.0	21.5	22.4	25.5	27.2	24.1	23.4	22.7	24.2	23.0	19.8	30.3
	M	20.0	19.0	21.2	22.8	27.4	30.2	28.4	28.2	28.0	30.1	30.5	23.3	32.2
	F	18.6	18.2	21.8	22.0	23.6	23.8	21.7	39.6	17.8	15.9	13.4	10.9	28.4
Passed Grades 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9	T	53.1	41.5	37.9	39.4	34.8	36.3	35.7	32.3	30.5	27.4	24.1	17.6	34.1
	M	55.3	45.4	42.7	44.3	41.4	42.1	43.5	40.2	38.3	34.9	31.1	24.5	37.5
	F	50.9	37.7	33.3	34.2	28.2	29.7	27.0	26.7	22.9	20.6	15.1	10.4	30.5
G. C. E. 'O' less than 6 subjects or equivalent	T	9.6	13.8	10.4	6.9	4.2	2.6	1.4	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	4.7
	M	8.7	13.3	10.8	7.2	4.7	3.2	2.2	1.7	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.7	4.6
	F	10.5	14.2	10.1	6.6	3.6	1.9	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	4.8
G. C. E. 'O' more than 6 subjects or equivalent	T	3.7	8.6	8.6	7.8	4.7	3.6	2.0	1.5	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	3.5
	M	3.4	8.5	8.7	8.0	5.6	4.4	2.8	2.7	2.0	1.2	0.9	1.0	3.6
	F	3.9	8.7	8.4	7.5	3.9	2.6	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.3	3.3
Higher qualifications	T	0.4	2.2	3.6	3.3	2.7	2.8	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.6	1.1	1.2	1.5
	M	0.4	2.3	4.1	3.9	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	1.5	1.7	1.8
	F	0.4	2.2	3.0	2.7	2.1	2.5	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.4	0.6	0.6	1.2

Note : T = Total. M = Males. F = Females.

*It has been assumed that a person for whom an educational attainment had not been reported would almost certainly be one who has had no schooling.

in the higher education levels. This is the situation that could be expected with an improvement in school attendance and an increase in the educational facilities over time. For example if we compare the 25—29 age group with the 45—49 age group we find that while over 18 per cent of the former have had no schooling, 32 per cent of the latter fall into this category. Further, while 12 per cent of the 25—29 group have G.C.E. 'O' in more than 6 subjects or an equivalent or higher qualification, only 4.4 per cent of the 45—49 group have this level of attainment.

Another interesting feature that may be observed from table 3.21 is that in each age group the sex differential in educational attainment is in favour of the males but the differential declines with the level of education. Thus, in the 20—24 group 18.3 per cent of females have had no schooling compared to 11.5 per cent of the males, while 2.3 per cent of the males as opposed to 2.2 per cent of the females possess G.C.E. 'A' level or higher qualifications.

This trend is apparent in all the age groups but is more marked in the case of the younger groups. In other words, the equalisation of the sexes in terms of educational attainment is more complete at the higher educational levels and younger ages than at the lower level and older ages. This is indicative of a trend which will bring about equalisation in the future.

F. HOUSEHOLDS & FAMILIES

At the Socio-economic Survey carried out in 1969—70 at which one-member households were excluded from the coverage of the survey the average size of a household was estimated as 5.8 for the country. Sectorwise the averages were 6.3, 5.8 and 5.2 in the urban, rural and estate sectors respectively. Nearly 75 per cent of all households were estimated to have between 3 to 8 members.

The 1971 Census of Population Questionnaire did not seek any information on household or family size or composition. Information on the number of households and families occupying each housing unit was however, collected on the Housing Schedule with a view to estimating the extent of sharing of housing units.

The Census showed that 90 per cent of the housing units were occupied by single households while the balance 10 per cent were shared by two or more households. While a household, defined as one or more persons living together for the purpose of taking meals and sharing expenses, would include servants, relatives and etc., a family by definition consists of either a married couple with or without children or one parent living with unmarried children. The census showed that 12 per cent of the housing units accommodated more than 1 family.

The average number of occupants per housing unit was 5.6 for the country as a whole. The urban sector had an average of 6.2 occupants per unit while the rural and estate sectors had averages of 5.6 and 4.8 respectively.

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

A. DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

Distribution and Density. An analysis of the distribution of the population of the country over its subdivisions is important and useful for many purposes. The land area of the country is used for varied purposes such as agriculture, manufacturing, residence, sport etc. Such land usage in some ways influences and is also influenced by the concentration of population in the various parts of the country. If population distribution is related to the geographic distribution of natural and other resources some indication could be obtained of the extent of over-population or under-population. Such knowledge could help in the formulation of policies intended to influence re-distribution of population within the country.

Density of Population. The density of population is a simple concept much used in studies relating to population size. Density is usually computed as population per square mile of land area. Table 4.1 shows the population per sq. mile of the various Districts at the 1971 Census.

**TABLE 4.1. DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY OF POPULATION BY DISTRICTS
AND PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION 1971**

District	Population in thousands	Per cent of total Population	Per cent of total area	Density per sq. mile	Urban Population	Per cent Urban
Colombo	2,673	21.0	3.2	3,308	1,470,134	55.0
Kandy	1,187	9.3	3.6	1,299	148,181	12.5
Matara	588	4.6	1.9	1,223	66,357	11.3
Kalutara	732	5.8	2.5	1,173	161,404	22.1
Galle	737	5.8	2.6	1,131	157,538	21.4
Kegalle	653	5.1	2.5	1,016	45,995	7.1
Nuwara Eliya	453	3.6	1.9	956	21,765	4.8
Jaffna	704	5.5	3.9	705	235,631	33.5
Badulla	616	4.8	4.3	565	51,691	8.4
Kurunegala	1,028	8.1	7.3	557	43,148	4.2
Ratnapura	662	5.2	4.9	529	47,817	7.2
Matale	316	2.5	3.0	411	38,161	12.1
Hambantota	241	2.7	4.0	337	33,349	9.8
Puttalam	380	3.0	4.6	324	52,243	13.8
Batticaloa	258	2.0	4.0	254	70,860	27.5
Amparai	273	2.1	4.7	231	32,069	11.8
Trincomalee	192	1.5	4.1	183	74,766	38.9
Anuradhapura	389	3.1	11.1	139	38,938	10.0
Polonnaruwa	164	1.3	5.3	123	16,138	9.8
Mannar	78	0.6	3.8	81	11,157	14.3
Moneragala	192	1.5	11.0	69	4,166	2.2
Vavuniya	96	0.8	5.8	65	20,569	21.5

*Arranged in order of decreasing density of population.

The population of Sri Lanka is not evenly distributed over its land area. It is observed that about 60 percent of the country's population is concentrated in the eight administrative districts of Colombo, Kalutara, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matara, Ratnapura and Kegalle. All these eight districts which are contiguous, together constitute the Wet Zone (with a rainfall of over 75 inches per annum) in the south-west part of the Island. The land area of these eight districts constitutes only 23 percent of the total land area. Thus only 40 per cent of Island's population is distributed over the remaining 77 per cent of land area which is mainly the dry zone area.

Urban and Rural Populations. At the 1971 Census 2,842,077 persons were enumerated in urban areas and the remaining 9,869,066 persons in rural areas (inclusive of the estates). Urban areas were defined as the local government areas designated as Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and Town Councils. The urban population constituted 22.4 percent of the total population of the Island while the rural population constituted 77.6 percent. The proportion of urban population has been increasing over the years, as seen from the Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2. URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF SRI LANKA AT CENSUSES 1901 TO 1971

Census Year	Total Population	Urban Population	Rural Population	Percent Urban	Percent Rural
1901	3,565,954	418,969	3,146,985	11.8	88.2
1911	4,106,350	542,945	3,563,405	13.2	86.8
1921	4,498,605	637,870	3,860,735	14.2	85.8
1931	5,306,871	737,272	4,569,599	13.9	86.1
1946	6,657,339	1,032,793	5,624,546	15.5	84.5
1953	8,097,895	1,239,133	6,858,762	15.3	84.7
1963	10,582,064	2,016,285	8,565,779	19.1	80.9
1971	12,711,143	2,842,077	9,869,066	22.4	77.6

It has however to be noted that the urban population as counted at the various censuses are subject to two limitations in the official definition of urban areas. One is that the urban boundaries as officially defined may include within it populations which cannot be regarded as urban as defined in demographic, occupational, sociological or morphological terms. The other is that clusters of population that would qualify as 'urban' according to definitions based on population density, occupational structure or some other criterion may simply never have been granted urban status in administrative terms and are therefore included in the rural population by the Census(1). Subject to these limitations, the data shows that there has been a steady but slow growth in the country's urban population. At the 1901 census the urban population was 418,969 or 11.8 percent of the total

(1) Gravin W. Jones, and S. Selvaratnam, "Urbanisation in Ceylon 1946--63" in *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2.

population and it grew slowly and reached 1,032,793 at the 1946 census claiming 15.5 per cent of the total population. The urban proportion increased to 19.1 per cent in 1963 mainly as a result of the inclusion of Town Council areas into the urban category. It increased further to 22.4 per cent in 1971.

Principal Towns. The population of the principal towns of Sri Lanka is shown in Table 4.3. During the twenty five year period 1946—71 the populations of the following towns have more than doubled—Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia, Kotte, Matale, Batticaloa, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Badulla, Ratnapura and Kegalle. Except for the capital city of Colombo with a population of 562,160, only two other towns, Dehiwala-Mt.Lavinia and Jaffna had populations of more than 100,000 at the 1971 census. It must be noted that in Sri Lanka as elsewhere, with improved means of communications the countryside itself is becoming more urbanized. The isolation of the villages is being gradually eliminated as a result of increasing vehicular traffic and telecommunication facilities.

TABLE 4.3. POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL TOWNS—1946—1971

Town	1946	1953	1963	1971
1. Colombo	362,074	426,127	511,644	562,160
2. Dehiwala-Mt-Lavinia	56,881	78,213	110,934	154,785
3. Negombo	32,479	38,628	46,908	57,115
4. Moratuwa	50,698	60,215	77,835	96,489
5. Kotte	40,218	54,381	73,833	92,042
6. Kalutara	18,965	20,323	25,260	28,748
7. Kandy	51,266	57,200	68,202	93,602
8. Matale	14,090	17,244	22,197	60,517
9. Nuwara Eliya	10,829	14,405	19,888	16,347
10. Galle	49,009	55,848	64,942	72,720
11. Matara	22,908	27,641	32,284	36,641
12. Hambantota	3,970	4,299	5,387	6,908
13. Jaffna	62,543	77,811	94,248	107,663
14. Mannar	—	—	8,988	11,157
15. Vavuniya	—	—	7,176	15,639
16. Batticaloa	13,037	17,439	22,957	36,761
17. Trincomalee	32,507	26,356	34,872	41,784
18. Kurunegala	13,372	17,505	21,293	25,189
19. Puttalam	7,792	10,237	13,250	17,982
20. Chilaw	9,108	11,392	14,070	17,603
21. Anuradhapura	12,314	18,390	29,391	34,836
22. Badulla	13,387	17,043	27,088	34,658
23. Ratnapura	12,441	16,598	21,582	29,116
24. Kegalle	4,903	5,510	3,062	13,262

B. INTERNAL MIGRATION

Internal Migration. The people of Sri Lanka are free to move within the 25 thousand square miles of its land area, wherever, in their own judgment, they find it suitable to settle down. People

have been free to follow the call of opportunity wherever it led within the borders of Sri Lanka. They are free to move freely from one area to another, and back and forth between areas. Except for Government agricultural policy aimed at settling people in colonization schemes, there has been no overall national program for population distribution or re-distribution. The national Government gave some assistance and held out some incentives to settle people in the major colonization schemes.

The limited availability of statistics make it difficult to measure trends in internal migration. There are four major sources of information on the movements of people within the country : (1) inferences concerning migration from changes in the number of individuals in a given area between two points in time (2) comparisons of district of birth and district of residence ; (3) statistics comparing the present residence of individuals with their residence at some earlier time and (4) special field surveys designed to secure information about migrants. The first two methods are used here to study the trends in internal migration in Sri Lanka.

Table III in the appendix shows the distribution of the Census Populations in 1963 and 1971 and also the birth and deaths that occurred in each district during the intercensal period 1963—1971. It is observed that out of the 22 districts 9 districts have gained population by immigration (1) Colombo, (2) Anuradhapura, (3) Polonnaruwa, (4) Moneragala (5) Trincomalee, (6) Vavuniya, (7) Puttalam, (8) Batticaloa and (9) Mannar in that order. The largest inflow of immigrants is of course to Colombo District where the capital city and the centre of Government as well as Commerce is located. This is followed by Anuradhapura district where a large number of colonization schemes have been opened up by the Government.

Although Colombo (41,592) received the largest number of migrants, the migration rate of Polonnaruwa (11.45 per cent) is more than 5 times that of Colombo District (1.7 per cent) followed by Moneragala District with a rate of 9.17 per cent.

The remaining 13 districts showed out-migration of varying degrees during the intercensal period. Though Kandy showed a net out-migration of 74,810, the highest rate of out-migration (8.03 per cent) is from Matara District. Where out-migration rates are concerned the district rates in order are Matara (8.03 per cent), Kandy (6.70 per cent) Jaffna (5.9 per cent) Nuwara Eliya (4.61 per cent) and Badulla (4.37 per cent).

An examination of internal migration statistics by place of birth as reported at the 1971 census (see Table III in appendix) shows that 12 districts have gained through lifetime migration. The districts which have so gained are Colombo, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Amparai, Trincomalee, Moneragala, Vavuniya, Puttalam, Kurunegala, Hambantota, Ratnapura and Matale in descending order. The other ten districts have lost through lifetime out-migration. This method of estimating net migration is far

from satisfactory except for the purpose of studying migration streams. Place of birth statistics are derived from answers received to a question at the census regarding one's district of birth. A person born in a particular locality could have moved out without ever coming back to this place and made a number of moves before coming to the place at which he is enumerated. Yet he is counted as a migrant from this area to the area in which he was enumerated although he might happen to spend only a few days or weeks at the place of enumeration. Also the time at which migration occurred is not known and the movement might have taken place anytime between birth and time of enumeration.

Urban Migration. In Sri Lanka there were only eight towns which had a population of over 50,000 at the 1971 census. They are the Municipal Councils of Colombo (562,160), Dehiwala Mount Lavinia (154,785), Negombo (57,115), Kandy (93,602), Galle (72,720), Jaffna (107,663) and the Urban Councils of Moratuwa (96,489) and Kotte (92,042). In the Colombo M.C. area the 1971 census shows that of the population with usual residence in the town 53.5 per cent was resident there since birth while in Dehiwala Mount Lavinia only 39.7 per cent were resident there since birth. In contrast, 77.7 per cent of the population in the Jaffna M.C. area was resident there since birth. Table 4.4 shows the population of these towns and the distribution of life-time migrants.

TABLE 4.4. URBAN AREAS WITH A POPULATION OF MORE THAN 50,000 SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RESIDENCE STATUS—1971 CENSUS

	Enu- merated population 1971 Census	Number with usual residence in the town	Resident Since Birth		Life- time migrants
			Number	%	
1. Colombo M.C.	562,160	549,230	293,838	53.5	255,392
2. Dehiwala Mt-Lavinia M.C.	154,785	150,606	59,791	39.7	90,815
3. Negombo M.C.	57,115	56,887	39,195	68.9	17,692
4. Moratuwa U.C.	96,489	94,656	69,667	73.6	24,989
5. Kotte U.C.	92,042	91,122	44,559	48.9	46,563
6. Kandy M.C.	93,602	89,484	44,474	49.7	45,010
7. Galle M.C.	72,720	77,993	52,987	73.6	19,006
8. Jaffna M.C.	107,663	106,694	82,901	77.7	23,793

When the population is analysed by residence since birth and sex it is seen that the percentage of females resident since birth is higher than the males showing the preponderance of male migrants to towns. For instance in Colombo M.C. area only 50 per cent of males are resident since birth whereas the corresponding figure for females is 58 per cent. In the Dehiwala-Mount Lavinia Municipal Council area only 38 per cent of the males are resident since birth while in the case of females the rate was 41 per cent. This town is one of the fast growing areas neighbouring the principal city of Colombo.

Kotte Urban Council is another town which has more migrants. There it is observed that 48 per cent of the population were resident since birth (males 47 per cent and females 51 per cent).

But in Galle and Jaffna M.C. areas 73 and 77 per cent respectively were resident since birth and there is not much difference between the sexes.

Duration of Stay. In the Colombo M.C. area 45 per cent of the lifetime migrants were resident there for ten years and over. Those who were resident for less than one year consisted of 18.5 per cent and those who were resident for 1—4 years were 21.4 per cent and those resident for 5—9 years were 15.5 per cent.

In Dehiwala Mt. Lavinia 33.7 per cent of the lifetime migrants were resident for ten years and over while 23.5 per cent were resident for less than one year. In the Kandy Municipal council area 38.6 per cent of the lifetime migrants were resident there for ten or more years. The respective figures for Galle M.C. and Jaffna M.C. areas were 33.4 per cent and 45.4 per cent respectively.

Metropolitan Areas Colombo, the capital city of Sri Lanka owes its importance and development, chiefly to its harbour, Colombo City. one of the largest artificial harbours in the world. The Portuguese negotiated with the Sinhalese kings and built a fortress here. The Dutch took over from the Portuguese.

The Sinhalese with the aid of the British ousted the Dutch from the Island and with the fall of the city of Colombo in 1796 all their possessions finally passed into the hands of the British. In 1827 the population of Colombo Fort was 734 persons and of "Pettah" or "within Kayman's Gate" 4979 persons. The number of tiled houses was 205 and 857 respectively. In 1865 an Ordinance was passed establishing the Municipalities of Colombo, Kandy and Galle. The City of Colombo which had only 9 wards and an area 9.5 square miles to start with expanded rapidly through the years, and at the 1971 census it had 47 wards covering an area of 14.4 square miles.

Growth of Population of the City. The growth of the city population was chiefly due to the development of commercial and financial enterprises and other economic activities in the

TABLE 4.5. AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY OF COLOMBO CITY
1881—1971

Census Years	Area in Square Miles	Population	Density
1881	9.45	110,502	11,693
1891	9.45	126,825	13,350
1901	10.00	154,691	15,469
1911	11.94	211,274	17,698
1921	12.94	244,163	18,872
1931	13.00	284,155	21,858
1946	13.28	362,074	27,852
1953	13.88	426,127	30,694
1963	13.40	511,644	38,182
1971	14.40	562,160	39,038

city. The growth of the city population could be attributed to the natural increase in population, net migration and the extension of the city limits. The third factor is of minor significance since the area has increased only by 5.0 square miles during the last hundred years. Up to the early part of this century, migration contributed more to the growth of the city than natural increase.

While the area of the city of Colombo has increased by 53 per cent between 1881 and 1971 the population has increased more than fivefold. In 1921 the density of population per square mile was 18,872 persons. This was almost doubled in 1971 to a figure of 39,032. The density of the whole Island was 508 persons per square mile in 1971.

If we compare the city's growth with that of the Island for the Census years it is seen that the increase in the city was always higher than that of the island prior to 1946 as seen from Table 4.6 below. After 1946 the rate of growth of the city has fallen behind that of the Island. This could be attributed to the crowded conditions in the city and the population being attracted to the suburbs of the city rather than to the city itself due to the high levels of rent and the increased cost of buildable land in the city.

TABLE 4.6. POPULATION, INTERCENSAL INCREASE AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE FOR THE CITY OF COLOMBO AND THE ISLAND

Period	Colombo City		Sri Lanka	
	Numerical Increase	Per cent Increase	Numerical Increase	Per cent Increase
1871—1881	14,654	15.3	359,358	15.0
1881—1891	16,323	14.8	248,051	9.0
1891—1901	27,866	22.0	558,165	18.6
1901—1911	56,583	36.6	540,396	15.2
1911—1921	32,839	15.6	392,255	9.6
1921—1931	39,992	16.4	808,266	18.0
1931—1946	77,919	27.4	1,350,468	25.4
1946—1953	63,807	17.6	1,441,298	21.6
1953—1963	85,517	20.0	2,552,702	31.5
1963—1971	50,516	9.9	2,061,677	19.4

Ethnic Group and Religion The Sinhalese, both low-country and in the City of Colombo. Kandyan, together formed 50.6 per cent of the city population in 1971. Ceylon Tamils formed 18.3 per cent and Ceylon Moors also 18.3 per cent. Indian Tamils were 6.2 per cent, Indian Moors 0.9 per cent, Malays 2.6 per cent and Burghers 1.9 per cent. Table 4.7 shows the per cent distribution of the city population by ethnic groups for the census years from 1921 onwards.

TABLE 4.7. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN COLOMBO CITY 1921—1971

Race	1921	1931	1946	1953	1963	1971
Low Country Sinhalese	45.2	43.0	44.3	44.6	47.2	46.7
Kandyan Sinhalese	1.7	2.0	2.4	2.7	3.8	3.9
Ceylon Tamils	6.0	6.7	9.8	12.6	17.2	18.3
Indian Tamils	16.2	16.4	12.5	11.8	6.6	6.2
Ceylon Moors	10.4	10.3	12.4	13.5	17.4	18.1
Indian Moors	5.8	5.2	4.4	4.2	1.4	0.9
Burghers	6.1	5.6	4.8	4.0	2.6	1.9
Malays	2.4	2.5	3.0	2.7	2.2	2.6
Others	6.2	8.3	6.4	3.8	1.5	1.1

In the city significant numbers of adherents of the four major religions of the world, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam are found. In the Island the Buddhists, mainly Sinhalese, formed a little more than two-thirds of the population, Hindus, (mainly Tamils) a sixth, Christians 7.7 per cent and Muslims 7.1 per cent. In the city Buddhists are under-represented as compared to the Island, forming only 43.4 per cent of its population at the 1971 Census; Muslims were 22.1 per cent, Hindus 16.6 per cent and Christians 17.4 per cent. Table 4.8 below shows the per cent distribution of the city population by religion from the Census of 1946 onwards.

TABLE 4.8. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION ON THE VARIOUS RELIGIONS IN COLOMBO CITY—1946—1971

Religion	1946	1953	1963	1971
Buddhists	38.5	39.2	43.2	43.4
Hindus	18.1	17.3	15.6	16.6
Muslims	20.5	21.1	21.4	22.1
Christians	22.7	22.2	19.6	17.4
Others	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4

During the twenty five year period 1946—71 the percentage of Buddhists and Muslims have increased by 4.9 and 1.6 percentage points respectively while the percentages of Hindus and Christians have shown a decrease.

CHAPTER V

THE LABOUR FORCE

The Labour Force is generally understood to comprise all those persons of either sex who contribute to the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services. It includes not only those classified as employed at the time of the investigation but also those unemployed but available for work.

The four censuses of population taken in Sri Lanka since the second world war have all used the concept of gainful occupation in recording data relating to the economic activities of the population. This concept is the more likely choice in any predominantly agricultural economy where seasonal variations in employment will have to be accounted for if the Labour Force concept based on the criterion of whether a person was employed or seeking employment during a specified reference period is used. While adhering consistently to the gainful occupation approach, however, the definitions used to categorise persons as employed and unemployed have not been consistent at successive censuses.

In 1946, particulars were recorded only in respect of those who were gainfully employed, meaning only those employed and those temporarily unemployed. By inference, those who were unemployed, but were not previously employed were left out. Unpaid family workers were specifically excluded from those gainfully employed. In 1953 persons unemployed, but not previously employed were still kept out but unpaid family workers were included among employed persons. In 1963 all those without employment whether previously employed or not were considered unemployed and their particulars recorded, but only if they were actively seeking employment. In 1971 all those without employment were considered unemployed if they were available for work irrespective of whether they were actively seeking employment or not. Those changes would have in effect enlarged the Labour Force by definition at each successive census. At the 1953 census 169,055 persons or 5.6 per cent of those gainfully employed were classified as unpaid family workers—the category excluded at the 1946 Census. At the 1963 census 202,610 persons or 7.7 per cent of the total labour force were classified as unemployed, but not previously employed—the category excluded at the two previous censuses. At the 1971 census 330,955 persons or 41 per cent of those unemployed were classified as not actively seeking work—the category excluded at the 1963 census. These figures should be viewed with some caution. The employment situation has been more or less steadily worsening since 1946 and the sizes of these groups of unemployed and underemployed persons at the particular censuses at which they were included in the labour force would not be fair indicators of their sizes at earlier censuses. It is quite probable on the other hand that these groups were excluded earlier because the census authorities felt they

would not be of sufficiently significant size or importance to merit consideration. Further the very definitions used may have influenced the strictness with which they would have been applied. For example a person who may have been considered as not actively seeking employment by the enumerator in 1971 may not have been so treated in 1963 as it would have meant his automatic exclusion from the ranks of the unemployed and the labour force.

The population and the labour force for all ages and for the age group 15—59 years which accounts for about 90 per cent of the Labour Force as recorded at these censuses and the corresponding activity rates are shown in Table 5.1. The figures in brackets show each figure as a percentage of the corresponding figure for 1946.

It would be observed that while the total population has increased by about 90 per cent over the 25 years spanned by the four censuses, the Labour force has increased by only about 70 per cent in spite of the much wider definition adopted in the 1971 census. This disparity between widening definition and declining relative size of the labour force is observed even in the intervening censuses of 1953 and 1963, being most pronounced in 1963. The figures relating to males who contribute the bulk of the labour force follow the same pattern as the total population except that the rate of increase is lower. The statistics relating to females, however, show a different picture. Firstly the rate of increase in the population has been higher than in the case of males, and secondly the rate of increase in the size of the labour force has been higher than the rate of population increase except for the aberration in 1963.

Since about 75 per cent of those aged 10—14 years are full time students (as reported at the 1963 and 1971 Censuses) and since for many years the age of compulsory retirement in the public sector as well as most private sector establishments has been 60 years the age group 15—59 years which accounts for over 90 per cent of the labour force in 1971 may well be considered the working age group. As is to be expected the changes in the labour force in this age group are more in consonance with changes in the corresponding population and the activity rates more stable. The separate statistics for the two sexes, however, show that whereas in the case of males the differences in the relative increases in the population and the labour force have decreased, they have become more pronounced in the case of the females, who are a much smaller group in the labour force.

A. AGE AND SEX

Age and Sex. The age and sex composition of the labour force in five year age groups is shown in Table IV in the Appendix. The distortions in the age composition of the total population due probably to mis-statement of age, are naturally reflected in the age composition of the labour force too. The composition of the total population and the labour force by some selected age groups of significance in the study of the labour force is shown in Table 5.2. The figures for each group are shown as percentages of the total for all ages. The activity rates for each group are also shown.

TABLE 5.1. POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE 1946—1971

Year	All Ages			Ages 15—59 years		
	Population	Labour Force*	Activity Rate	Population	Labour Force	Activity Rate
1946 T	6,657,339 (100)	2,611,524 (100)	39.2	3,818,949 (100)	2,308,694 (100)	60.5
M	3,532,218 (100)	2,041,524 (100)	57.8	2,072,390 (100)	1,822,396 (100)	87.9
F	3,125,121 (100)	570,000 (100)	18.2	1,746,559 (100)	486,298 (100)	27.8
1953 T	8,097,895 (122)	2,993,349 (115)	37.0	4,445,697 (116)	2,673,624 (116)	60.1
M	4,268,730 (121)	2,268,740 (111)	53.1	2,398,773 (116)	2,044,820 (112)	85.2
F	3,829,165 (123)	724,609 (127)	18.9	2,046,924 (117)	628,804 (129)	30.7
**1963 T	10,582,064 (159)	3,451,707 (132)	32.6	5,502,173 (144)	3,099,731 (134)	66.3
M	5,498,674 (156)	2,736,046 (134)	49.8	2,889,200 (139)	2,441,931 (134)	84.5
F	5,083,390 (163)	715,661 (126)	14.1	2,612,973 (150)	657,800 (135)	25.2
1971 T	12,711,143 (191)	4,418,185 (169)	34.8	6,893,237 (181)	4,086,558 (177)	59.3
M	6,525,948 (185)	3,253,579 (159)	49.9	3,508,811 (169)	2,980,050 (164)	84.9
F	6,185,195 (198)	1,164,609 (204)	1.88	3,384,413 (194)	1,106,508 (228)	32.7

*Aged 10 and over.

**Includes 4,052 males and 3,235 females of unspecified age.

TABLE 5.2. AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION AND THE LABOUR FORCE
1946—1971

Age Group	Population %				Labour Force %				Activity Rate			
	1946	1953	1963	1971	1946	1953	1963	1971	1946	1953	1963	1971
Under 10 Years	T	25.1	28.3	28.9	26.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	M	24.0	27.2	28.1	26.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	F	26.4	29.7	29.7	26.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10—14 Years	T	12.1	11.4	12.6	12.8	4.0	3.1	2.4	1.9	13.0	10.2	5.2
	M	11.7	11.1	12.4	12.7	2.9	2.2	2.0	1.6	14.1	10.5	6.3
	F	12.5	11.6	12.8	12.8	8.1	6.1	3.9	2.8	11.8	9.9	4.1
15—19 Years	T	10.2	8.7	9.7	10.7	11.2	8.8	10.2	11.6	43.0	37.4	37.6
	M	10.3	8.5	9.4	10.5	10.6	7.5	8.8	10.3	59.2	46.5	48.6
	F	10.1	8.9	9.9	11.0	13.5	13.0	15.4	15.4	24.2	27.7	26.4
20—59 Years	T	47.1	46.2	42.3	43.5	77.2	80.6	80.5	80.9	63.2	64.4	64.6
	M	48.4	47.7	43.1	43.2	78.7	82.7	81.2	81.3	94.1	92.2	93.8
	F	45.8	44.6	41.5	43.8	71.8	73.8	77.6	79.7	28.6	31.3	34.3
60 years & over	T	5.4	5.4	5.9	6.5	7.6	7.5	6.9	5.6	55.2	38.2	30.0
	M	5.5	5.5	6.3	6.9	7.9	7.7	7.9	6.8	82.2	62.0	49.2
	F	5.2	5.3	5.4	6.0	6.6	7.1	3.1	2.2	23.0	8.0	6.8
All Ages	T	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	39.2	37.0	34.8
	M	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	57.8	53.1	49.9
	F	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	18.2	18.9	18.8

Children. Of the children aged 10—14 years who are approximately an eighth of the Population only a small and steadily decreasing fraction have been in the labour force. The activity rate has declined from 13.0 per cent in 1946 to 5.2 per cent in 1971. Their proportion in the total labour force fell to less than 2 per cent in 1971. This is a natural trend in a developing country. Participation of both male and female children followed this general pattern. The activity rate for females is lower than those for males as it is in every other age group, but it may be noted that a greater proportion of the female labour force than of the male labour force belongs to this age group.

Most of the children in this age group who do not belong to the labour force are students. The distribution by activity of all persons in this age group in 1963 and 1971 is shown in Table 5.3.

TABLE 5.3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACTIVITY OF CHILDREN AGED 10—14 YEARS ; 1963 AND 1971

Year		Employed	Un-employed	Students	Engaged in home duties	Others	Total
1963	T	5.1	1.1	75.2	8.8	9.7	100.0
	M	6.5	1.6	78.7	3.5	9.6	100.0
	F	3.6	0.7	71.6	14.3	9.9	100.0
1971	T	3.3	1.9	73.6	4.9	16.2	100.0
	M	4.2	2.1	76.2	1.8	15.6	100.0
	F	2.4	1.7	70.9	8.1	16.9	100.0

Increases have been recorded in the case of children unemployed and those categorised "others". The "others" category consists almost wholly of those described as children not attending school in the census schedules. Since they are not looking for work and are not needed for household duties at home they are probably out of school due either to the lack of suitable schooling facilities in their neighbourhoods or not having the wherewithal to purchase school books, suitable clothing, or other such needs. If the situation is not remedied, this category of children not at school will expand in the years to come and perhaps flow into the labour force.

Young Persons. The age group 15—19 years which forms about a tenth of the population contributes roughly the same proportion to the membership of the labour force. The activity rates for the males show a sharp drop from 59.2 per cent in 1946 to 46.5 per cent in 1953, perhaps due to employment opportunities which existed during the time of the second World War and its aftermath having disappeared by 1953 and the increase in the student population consequent on tuition fees being abolished in schools and universities in 1945. There has been a slight increase in the rate between 1963 and 1971. The activity rate for females shows a peculiar drop in 1963. The comments on the same disturbance

in the adult age group of 20—59 years should apply here also. These changes are perhaps better viewed in the context of the distribution by activity of both the economically active and inactive members of this age group. This distribution by activity of all persons in the age group is shown in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACTIVITY OF YOUNG PERSONS AGED 15—19 YEARS, 1963 AND 1971

Year		Employed	Un-employed	Students	Engaged in home duties	Others	Total
1963	T	27.4	6.7	40.0	20.0	5.7	100
	M	26.0	10.3	43.3	4.3	6.0	100
	F	18.5	3.1	36.6	36.3	5.4	100
1971	T	22.7	14.8	34.3	17.3	10.8	100
	M	30.6	18.0	36.4	3.2	11.8	100
	F	14.8	11.6	32.2	31.7	9.7	100

The increase in the proportion unemployed no doubt would have been affected by the fact that in 1963 those not actively seeking work would have been not included among the unemployed but it must be noted that such persons would have been included in the category 'others' which itself has recorded an increase. It is at those ages that a large number of persons finish their schooling at high school level to either enter the labour force or as in the case of many females become engaged in household duties. The category 'others' would include a number who at the time of the census were in a process of transition between these two stages. This category would also include young persons out of school and either awaiting results of public examinations or preparing to repeat examinations in order to qualify for further academic or professional education. These two groups 'unemployed' and 'others' are the only two groups that have increased between 1963 and 1971 and together formed about a quarter of the population in this age group in 1971. In a sense they are unlike those employed or engaged in home duties or still at school and are persons not directly engaged in purposeful activity. The increase in the 'others' category when viewed together with the decreases recorded in the proportions engaged in studies and home duties is indicative of a movement of young persons away from these latter, activities towards the labour force.

Adults. The adults aged 20—59 years form the most important and stable component of the labour force. This age group which forms less than one half of the total population supplies approximately 80 per cent of the working population. While the proportion of the male population in this age group has declined over the 25 years, the proportion of the male labour force in this age group has been stable since 1953. The activity rate has been relatively stable. The more detailed figures in terms of five year age groups show that the two extreme age groups of the 20—24 year olds

and the 55—59 year olds had been subject to larger variations in activity rates with an increasing trend in the case of the youngest group and a decreasing trend in the case of the oldest. In the case of the females, the picture is quite different. There have been increases both in the proportion of the labour force in this age group and in the activity rate. Occurring once again in this age group is the sharp drop in the activity rate in 1963. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of females of all ages in the labour force by employment status for the censuses taken in 1953, 1963 and 1971. Sharp decreases are noticeable in the case of those categorised as workers on own account and unpaid family workers in 1963.

TABLE 5.5. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WOMEN 1953—1971

Status	1953		1963		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Paid Employees	484,745	66.90	544,125	83.11	620,198	76.12
Employer	9,200	1.27	3,757	0.57	6,549	0.80
Own account Worker	136,742	18.87	56,422	8.62	91,627	11.24
Unpaid family worker	93,922	12.96	42,742	6.53	96,442	11.84
Status Un-specified	—	—	7,672	1.17	—	—
Total	724,609	100	654,718	100	814,816	100

This drop in the activity rate has to be counter balanced by an increase in the rate of those economically inactive. In this age group the major group of those inactive is that of those engaged in home duties. The percentage of those engaged in home duties among women of this age group was 67.6 per cent in 1963 as against 60.7 per cent in 1971. It would therefore appear that the short fall in 1963 among women who were economically active was due to a shift of workers in the categories of own account workers and unpaid family workers to home duties. In 1963 the census was taken in July and the censuses of 1946 and 1953 in March and the Census of 1971 was taken in October and the information would have been recorded at the preliminary censuses held a month or so earlier in each case. The information for the 1963 Census would therefore, have been recorded in the month of June which is a slack month for agricultural activity whereas for the other three censuses the information would have been recorded in months in which agricultural activity is high. A partial explanation for the drop in the activity rate in 1963, therefore, may be that women who are seasonal workers are reported as attending to home duties if at the time of the census they are not actually at work. Table 5.6 shows the distribution by employment status of women in agricultural occupations only.

TABLE 5.6. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS 1953—1971

Status	1953		1963		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Paid Employees	337,722	79.35	356,371	86.66	353,415	70.60
Employer	3,145	0.74	925	0.23	1,196	0.23
Own account worker	35,185	8.27	19,785	4.81	61,201	12.23
Unpaid family worker	49,548	11.64	33,940	8.26	84,792	16.94
Unspecified	—	—	136	0.03	—	—
Total	425,600	100	411,157	100	500,604	100

The difference in the numbers between 1963 and 1971 in the status groups of own account workers and unpaid family workers is due mainly to those in agricultural occupations. Between 1953 and 1963 there have been large decreases in other occupational groups too. It could however, therefore, be inferred that the activity rate is to some degree affected by the timing of the Census, the use of the gainful occupation concept notwithstanding, and that a number of women are willing to work and would do so if work which could be performed in or near their homes is available. This may also be part of the explanation for the big increase in the number of unemployed women recorded at the 1971 census, when the definition of the "unemployed" was amended to include all those who were available for work even if not actively seeking it.

Old Persons. Those 60 years of age and older form about a twentieth of the populations. This proportion has been increasing slowly over the years, while the proportion in the labour force has been declining. The activity rate has declined steadily and considerably over the 25 year period. This declining trend in the older age groups is a characteristic feature of economic development and would continue especially if more establishments lower the age of compulsory retirement as the Government and some private sector establishments have done. Among the economically inactive in this age group, the males are mostly classified either as too old to work or as income recipients and pensioners, while among females a large number are also engaged in home duties. Table 5.7 shows the activity status of the old persons aged 60 years and over.

TABLE: 5.7 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ACTIVITY STATUS OF OLD PERSONS AGED 60 YEARS AND OVER, 1971

	Employed	Unemployed	Engaged in Home Duties	Income recipient and pensioners	Too old or unable to work	Others	Total
Total	28.0	2.0	15.4	8.2	45.2	1.3	100
Males	47.1	2.1	1.9	10.9	36.5	1.5	100
Females	5.0	1.8	31.6	4.9	55.7	1.0	100

Sex composition of the labour force. In 1971, of the 4,418,185 persons in the labour force 3,253,579 persons or 73.6 were males. The proportion of females in the labour force shows an increase from 20.7 per cent in 1963 to 26.4 per cent in 1971.

81.3 per cent of the men in the labour force belonged to the adult age group 20—59 years, 10.3 per cent were in the 15—19 group while only 1.6 per cent were in the 10—14 group. Old men aged 60 years and over comprised 6.8 per cent of the male labour force.

The activity rate for men rises sharply from 6.3 per cent in the 10—14 age group to 48.6 in the 15—19 age group. It reaches a high level of 93.8 per cent for the 20—59 age range and falls again to 49.9 per cent in the 60 and over group.

The proportion of women in the working population (both male and female) in each age group is shown in Table 5.8. The age group 20—59 years has been divided into two groups to show the child bearing ages separately.

TABLE 5.8. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE, 1946—1971

Age Group	Percentage of females in labour force				Percentage of Female population (Activity Rate)				Percentage of total female labour force			
	1946	1953	1963	1971	1946	1953	1963	1971	1946	1953	1963	1971
10—14 years	44.0	47.0	33.5	38.5	11.8	9.9	4.3	4.1	8.1	6.1	3.9	2.8
15—19 "	26.3	35.7	31.2	34.9	24.2	27.7	21.6	26.4	13.5	13.0	15.4	15.4
20—44 "	20.2	22.3	21.3	27.9	27.8	30.2	27.1	37.1	35.4	56.4	63.0	66.5
45—59 "	20.6	21.9	15.8	19.3	31.6	35.4	22.4	24.7	16.4	17.4	14.6	13.1
60 years & Over	19.0	22.9	9.3	10.3	23.0	25.6	8.0	6.8	6.6	7.1	3.1	2.2
All Ages	21.8	24.2	20.7	26.4	18.2	18.9	13.9	18.8	100	100	100	100

The low figures recorded for women in the labour force in 1963 are very much in evidence in the table. The overall activity rate has changed very little except in that year. In spite of this almost unchanged activity rate there has been an increase in the proportion of women in the labour force, between 1946 and 1971. This has been due partly to a decrease in the overall activity rate for males and a slight increase in the proportion of women in the total population.

As a proportion of labour force (both male and female) the females are most prevalent in the lowest age group falling away from the labour force with increasing age. This pattern has been almost consistently maintained at all censuses. In the recent censuses females have been about a third or more of the labour force in the lowest two age groups covering the ages 10—14 years and 15—19 years. However, between 1946 and 1971 marked increases in the age groups 15—19 years and 20—44 years and marked decreases in the age groups 10—14 years and 60 years and over have been recorded. In time to come, therefore, females may be most prevalent in the labour force between the ages of 15 and 59 years.

Where activity rates are concerned, it is found that whereas in the earlier two censuses activity rates had been highest in the 45—49 years age group at the most recent censuses the highest activity rate has been occurring in the 20—44 years age group. The more detailed statistics show that the largest increases over the 1946 rates have been registered in the ages 20—34 years, but that almost all such increases are accounted for by those recorded as unemployed.

The age composition of the female labour force shows the same trends as the male labour force. There is a decreasing trend in the proportions of the children and the older persons. The young persons aged 15—19 years and the younger adults aged 20—44 years, have shown an increasing trend. These two groups together account for 82 per cent of the female labour force in 1971 as opposed to 72 per cent in the case of males.

The trend appears to be that in future the 20—44 years age group will be the predominant age group for women in the labour force whether they be considered in relation to the male labour force, the total female labour force or in terms of the activity rate.

B. INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

Industrial Classification. The distribution of the employed population according to the major divisions of the Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities for Sri Lanka as recorded at the Censuses of 1953, 1963 and 1971 is shown in Table V in the Appendix. The Industrial Classification used for the tabulation of the 1971 Census of population was based on the 1968 Revision of the International

Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic activities. Re-arrangements have been made in earlier statistics to make the figures comparable. Major division 0—Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing has been divided into three parts to separate out employment in Tea, Rubber and Coconut cultivation and in Fishing. Cultivation of the three crops mentioned is very well organised and most of those employed are paid workers on extensive plantations as opposed to those engaged in the other principal agricultural activities which are not as well organised and are mostly operated by own account workers and unpaid family workers largely following traditional methods.

Table 5.9 shows the figures condensed into the three conventional groups designated the Agricultural, Industrial and Service Sectors consisting

TABLE 5.9. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS
1953—1971

Sector		1953		1963		1971	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>All Sectors</i>	T	2,993,349	100	3,194,125	100	3,621,987	100
	M	2,268,740	100	2,540,407	100	3,621,987	100
	F	724,609	100	654,718	100	814,816	100
<i>Agriculture</i>	T	1,584,141	52.0	1,681,937	52.6	1,823,957	50.4
	M	1,147,404	50.6	1,266,315	49.8	1,319,217	47.0
	F	436,737	60.3	415,622	63.5	504,735	61.9
<i>(a) Tea, Rubber and coconut</i>	T	856,110	28.6	787,872	24.7	727,263	20.1
	M	507,003	22.3	432,331	17.0	384,462	13.7
	F	349,107	48.2	355,541	54.3	342,803	42.1
<i>(b) Other agriculture, Hunting Forestry and Fishing</i>	T	728,031	24.3	894,065	28.0	109,694	30.3
	M	640,401	28.2	833,984	32.8	934,755	33.3
	F	87,630	12.1	60,081	9.2	161,932	19.9
<i>Industry</i>	T	362,985	12.1	394,660	12.4	484,597	13.4
	M	267,659	11.8	329,055	13.0	381,364	13.6
	F	95,326	13.2	65,605	10.0	103,238	12.7
<i>Services</i>	T	848,408	28.3	943,173	29.4	1,015,183	28.0
	M	695,493	30.6	792,766	31.1	852,897	30.4
	F	152,915	21.1	150,407	23.0	162,278	19.9
<i>Activities not adequately described</i>	T	197,815	6.6	175,355	5.5	298,267	8.2
	M	158,184	7.0	152,270	6.0	253,710	9.0
	F	39,631	5.4	23,085	3.5	44,559	5.5

of Major Division 1, Major Divisions 2—5, and Major Divisions 6—9 of the Industrial Classification. Here again the Agricultural Sector is split into two parts, the first consisting of Tea, Rubber and Coconut and the second of the rest. Major Division 9 consisting of those whose activities have not been adequately described is shown separately.

Growth in employment in the different sectors between 1953 and 1971 has been of varying magnitude. While the population has increased by 57 per cent and the population aged 15 to 59 years by 55 per cent total employment has increased by only 21 per cent. Of the three sectors, only the Industrial Sector has shown a higher increase than total employment namely 33 per cent. The Services sector has increased by almost the same amount as total employment, while employment in Agriculture has risen by only 15 per cent. But within the Agriculture Sector employment in the organised sub-sector comprising Tea, Rubber and Coconut has decreased by 15 per cent while employment in the traditional sector has increased by as much as 51 per cent.

The changes in the percentage composition by sector reflects the growth in each sector. There is a small increase in the industry sector, an almost negligible change in the service sector and a small decrease in the agriculture sector. In the two sub-sectors of the agriculture sector there have been much larger changes which have almost cancelled out each other in the total when aggregated.

Agriculture. The percentage of those engaged in the non-agricultural sectors is often used as an indicator of economic development or more specifically of industrial development. This measure shows an increase of only 0.9 between 1953 and 1971 (if we exclude those engaged in activities not adequately described). Employment in the Agriculture sector itself decreased from 52.9 per cent of those employed in 1953 to 50.5 per cent in 1971. (An approximation of the corresponding figure for 1946 obtained from the occupational classification of those gainfully employed is 52.9 per cent). The percentage of those employed in what we have termed the organised sub-sector, comprising those engaged in the cultivation of Tea, Rubber and Coconut has declined from 28.6 per cent to 20.1 per cent. While decreases have been recorded for both males and females the change in the case of males is very much more marked, so much so that in 1971 females composed 47 per cent of those employed in this sub-sector—a proportion very much higher than that in any other section of economic activity. As mentioned earlier the percentage of those employed in the rest of the Agriculture Sector has increased by as much as 51 per cent as compared with an increase of 21 per cent in total employment. There has been much expansion in this sub-sector since 1953. Table 5.10 shows the employment, acreage under cultivation and employment per cultivated acre, for Tea and Rubber which account for the bulk, of the employment in the organised sub-sector in Agriculture and for paddy (Rice) which accounts for most of the employment in the rest of the sector.

TABLE 5.10. EMPLOYMENT AND ACREAGE CULTIVATED UNDER TEA, RUBBER AND PADDY (RICE) 1953—71

Acreage Cultivated	Tea			Rubber			Paddy (Rice)		
	1953	1963	1971	1953	1963	1971	1953	1963	1971
Acreage Cultivated	574,250	587,375	597,171	657,427	568,094	567,994	964,484	1,230,491	1,419,195
Employment	550,191	587,785	550,711	210,171	160,527	136,313	378,277	623,937	786,226
Employment per acre	.96	1.00	.92	.32	.28	.24	.39	.51	.51

Note: In the case of Paddy acreage shown in Asweddumized Acreage—that is land prepared for cultivation—Some of this acreage may not be cultivated and some cultivated more than once per year.

It is seen that employment per acre in the case of paddy (rice) has increased by 41 per cent between 1953 and 1971, whereas there have been decreases in the case of Tea and Rubber. Therefore the increase in employment in the traditional section of the Agriculture sector is not due solely to the increase in the acreage cultivated.

The experience of developed countries has been that as development progresses and agriculture becomes more mechanised, the surplus manpower released thereby moves from the Agriculture Sector to the Industry and Service Sectors. The statistics presented above would indicate that the other sectors have not expanded sufficiently to keep pace with the increase in the population or the total labour force, let alone absorb any surplus from the Agriculture Sector, which thus appears to have become a veritable reservoir of underemployed manpower.

Sri Lanka is an Island with a coast line of approximately 1100 miles and the Fishing Industry is potentially an important one. Employment in the Fishing Industry has increased from 43,071 in 1953 to 56,317 in 1971 which is an increase of 30 per cent. The statistics are shown in Table 'V' in the Appendix.

Table 5.11 which shows the distribution of those employed in the Agriculture Sector by status brings out clearly, the difference between what have been termed the organised and the traditional sectors of the Agriculture Sector.

In the organised activities of Tea, Rubber and Coconut cultivation 95.8 per cent of the males and 98.2 per cent of the females are paid workers. The estates are well organised. Three research institutes one for each crop have been in existence for quite some time providing research support to these three industries which have for long been the mainstay of Sri Lanka's economy and export trade.

TABLE 5.11. DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR BY STATUS 1971

Category	Total		Employers		Paid workers		Workers on own account		Unpaid Family Workers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry and Fishing	T	1,823,957	23,205	1.3	931,218	51.1	701,125	38.4	168,410	9.2
	M	1,319,217	22,008	1.7	573,852	43.5	639,760	48.5	83,599	6.3
	F	504,735	1,193	.2	357,367	70.8	61,365	12.2	84,816	16.8
Tea, Rubber & Coconut (organized section)	T	727,263	3,548	.5	702,768	96.6	17,290	2.4	3,654	.5
	M	384,462	3,116	.8	366,566	95.3	13,075	3.4	1,704	.4
	F	342,803	433	.1	336,204	98.1	4,215	1.2	1,949	.6
Other Agriculture Hunting, Forestry and Fishing (Traditional section)	T	1,096,694	19,657	1.8	228,450	20.8	683,835	62.4	164,756	15.0
	M	934,755	18,892	2.0	207,286	22.2	626,685	67.0	81,895	8.8
	F	161,932	760	.5	21,163	13.1	57,150	35.3	82,867	51.2

In the rest of the Sector, own account workers are the predominant group and together with unpaid family workers form over 75 per cent of the total employment. The large number of own account workers as opposed to the very small number of employees shows the predominance of small holdings which imply little capital and limited use of modern cultivation practises.

Also noticeable is the fact that females account for more than half the unpaid family workers—most of them perhaps wives of own account workers. It is very likely that most of the underemployed persons mentioned in the previous paragraph are also in the category of unpaid family workers. Productivity of labour therefore is bound to be low in this part of the Sector.

Industry. The Industrial Sector is relatively small, accounting for about an eighth of the total employment and has shown little change in its share of total employment between 1953 and 1971. The largest of the major divisions in this sector is 'Manufacturing' which accounts for about 80 per cent of the total employment in this sector. Experience in the developed countries has been that with advancing industrial development, employment in the first two sub-divisions, that is, in industries engaged in manufacturing food, beverages and tobacco, textiles, weaving apparel and leather products decrease in proportion to other divisions. Table 5.12 shows the distribution of employment among the sub-divisions in the manufacturing group.

The Food Manufacturing and Textile Manufacturing Divisions are two of the three large manufacturing divisions. Together they accounted for 49.7 per cent of all employment in manufacturing industries in 1953 and for 57 per cent in 1971. The number employed has itself increased from 140,734 in 1953 to 199,471 in 1971 which is an increase of 42 per cent. The other large division relates to manufacture of wood and wood products which accounted for 69,552 persons or 20 per cent of the employment in manufacturing industries in 1971 as compared with 72,832 persons or 25 per cent in 1953.

Other major divisions in the Industry Sector are relatively small except 'Construction' in which major division employment has almost doubled between 1953 and 1971 and which accounted for 112,420 persons employed in 1971. Of these 72,083 or 64 per cent were engaged in building construction.

Sri Lanka's Industrial Sector, it would appear, is still primarily engaged in providing the basic necessities of Food, Clothing and Shelter.

Table 5.13 shows the distribution of those employed in the Industry Sector by status.

It will be noticed that in the sector as a whole and in every major division, both in absolute numbers and in terms of percentage composition, the categories of own account workers and unpaid family workers have decreased between 1953 and 1971 and the category of paid employees has increased. The pattern has been repeated in the case of both sexes except

TABLE 5.12. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 1953—1971

Category		1953		1963		1971	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Manufacturing	T	289,245	100	292,275	100	347,424	100
	M	199,083	100	229,075	100	247,090	100
	F	90,162	100	63,200	100	100,340	100
Food Manufacturing	T	479,891	16.6	70,504	24.1	78,426	22.6
	M	40,538	20.4	61,271	26.7	64,484	26.1
	F	7,451	8.2	9,233	14.6	13,937	13.9
Manufacture of Textile	T	92,745	32.1	66,470	22.7	121,045	34.8
	M	24,746	12.4	21,752	9.5	44,460	18.0
	F	67,999	75.4	44,718	70.8	76,578	76.3
Manufacture of Wood and Wood Products	T	72,832	25.1	71,620	24.5	69,548	20.0
	M	68,062	34.2	70,080	30.6	67,537	27.3
	F	4,770	5.3	1,540	2.4	2,015	2.4
Manufacture of Paper and Paper Products	T	8,253	2.9	13,092	4.5	13,670	3.9
	M	7,831	3.9	12,656	5.5	13,036	5.3
	F	422	.4	436	.7	636	.6
Manufacture of Chemicals	T	11,672	4.0	16,419	5.6	13,852	4.0
	M	9,626	4.8	13,998	6.1	10,495	4.2
	F	2,046	2.3	2,421	3.8	3,354	3.3
Manufacture of Non Metallic Mineral Products	T	19,450	6.7	17,667	6.0	19,337	5.6
	M	14,690	7.4	13,897	6.1	16,412	6.6
	F	4,760	5.3	3,770	6.0	2,928	2.9
Basic Metal Industries	T	1,661	.6	1,281	.4	5,340	1.5
	M	1,516	.8	1,263	.6	5,320	2.2
	F	145	.2	18	.0	20	.0
Manufacture of Metal Products and Machinery	T	17,625	6.1	18,996	6.5	13,297	3.8
	M	16,755	8.4	18,630	8.1	12,741	5.2
	F	870	1.0	366	.6	557	.6
Other Manufacturing	T	17,018	5.9	16,226	5.6	12,917	3.7
	M	15,319	7.7	15,528	6.8	12,610	5.1
	F	1,699	1.9	698	1.1	307	.3

TABLE 5.13. DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE INDUSTRY SECTOR BY STATUS 1953 and 1971

	Total		Employer		Paid Employees		Workers on Own Account		Unpaid Family Workers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Industry Sector—1953*	T	378,794	11,420	3.0	207,880	54.9	138,591	36.6	20,903	5.5
	M	282,668	10,416	3.7	190,124	67.3	77,199	27.3	4,929	1.7
	F	96,126	1,004	1.0	17,756	18.5	61,392	63.9	15,974	16.6
1971	T	484,597	19,443	4.0	404,469	83.5	55,591	11.5	5,091	1.0
	M	381,364	17,280	4.5	320,968	84.2	40,039	10.5	3,063	0.8
	F	103,238	2,160	2.1	83,490	80.9	15,553	15.1	2,025	1.9
Mining & Quarrying—1953	T	13,790	332	2.4	10,688	77.5	2,198	15.9	572	4.1
	M	12,033	303	2.5	9,628	80.0	1,953	16.2	149	1.2
	F	1,757	29	1.7	1,060	60.3	245	13.9	423	24.1
1971	T	15,309	489	3.2	13,344	87.2	1,370	8.9	102	.7
	M	13,863	489	3.5	11,992	86.5	1,310	9.4	71	.5
	F	1,444	—	—	1,351	93.6	61	4.2	31	2.1
Manufacturing—1953 †	T	303,038	9,375	3.1	148,067	48.9	126,932	41.9	18,664	6.2
	M	212,335	8,482	4.0	133,326	62.8	66,256	31.2	4,271	2.0
	F	90,703	893	1.0	14,741	16.2	60,676	66.9	14,393	15.9
1971	T	347,424	16,610	4.8	276,984	79.7	49,154	14.1	4,679	1.3
	M	247,090	14,447	5.9	296,262	79.4	33,683	13.6	2,692	1.1
	F	100,340	2,160	2.1	80,717	80.4	15,472	15.4	1,984	2.0
Electricity, Gas & Water—1953	T	5,280	290	5.5	4,543	86.0	309	5.9	138	2.6
	M	4,853	247	5.1	4,256	87.7	291	6.0	59	1.2
	F	427	43	10.1	287	67.2	18	4.2	79	18.5
1971	T	9,444	165	1.7	9,162	97.0	115	1.2	—	—
	M	9,197	165	1.8	8,914	96.9	115	1.3	—	—
	F	248	—	—	248	100	—	—	—	—
Construction — 1953	T	56,686	1,423	2.5	44,582	78.6	9,152	16.1	1,529	2.7
	M	53,447	1,384	2.6	42,914	80.3	8,699	16.3	450	.8
	F	3,239	39	1.2	1,668	51.5	453	14.0	1,079	33.3
1971	T	112,420	2,179	1.9	104,979	93.4	4,952	4.4	310	.3
	M	111,214	2,179	2.0	103,800	93.3	4,931	4.4	300	.3
	F	1,206	—	—	1,174	97.4	20	1.7	10	.8

* Includes 2,016 employed in sanitary services which were transferred to the Services Sector in 1971.

† Includes 13,793 employed in various repair services which were transferred to the Services Sector in 1971.

that the total number of female paid employees in the major divisions of Electricity, Gas and Water and Construction, has decreased. The changes are most marked in the case of manufacturing industries which account for the bulk of the employment in this sector (72 per cent in 1971). Between the sexes, the changes are more marked in the case of the females. A small fraction of the own account workers may have expanded their establishments and become employers. But most of the change is no doubt due to changes in organization with small establishments and establishments operated by own account workers closing down and yielding place to bigger establishments using mechanised methods, in place of the traditional manual methods of craftsmen.

This is the expected direction of change as economic development and industrialisation take place, but the magnitudes are remarkable. Both in the Industrial Sector as a whole and in the manufacturing industries the number of paid employees has almost doubled while the number of own account workers and unpaid family workers have fallen to almost a third of the 1953 figure. These changes are reflected in the percentage composition too. Paid employees who formed 55 per cent of those employed in 1953 formed 84 per cent of those employed in 1971 while own account workers and unpaid family workers decreased from 45 per cent to 13 per cent. In the manufacturing industries this pattern is repeated. More detailed figures for the manufacturing industries including the statistics for 1963 also are given in the Appendix. It is not surprising that the changes are more marked in the case of females than in the case of males. It is they who are mostly unpaid family workers or own account workers engaged in traditional handicrafts on their own account, often as a spare time activity in addition to attending to their home duties, and who are therefore most easily displaced by the better organised establishments using mechanised methods. This may in part explain the large decrease in employment of females recorded in the Census of 1963, as they are less likely to seek alternative employment on giving up their work and also are less likely to be appointed to the fewer places that mechanised establishments will have.

The conclusion that seems to be indicated is that employment-wise Sri Lanka's industrial development has so far been mainly in the direction of expanding and modernising the manufacture of food and clothing.

Services. As is to be expected in developing countries, which do not have a sizeable industrial sector, Sri Lanka has a fairly large Service Sector which accounted for 28 per cent of all employment in 1971. The growth of employment in this sector has kept pace with the increase in total employment. Statistics relating to the more important activities in the Sector from the point of view of employment are shown in Table 5.14.

Wholesale and Retail trading establishments are shown together as most of wholesale establishments are also engaged in retail trade. Retail trade of-course forms the large bulk of this group and comprises largely of small establishments with a very small number of employees. The restaurants are also mostly small establishments with very few employees. Land Transport is the principal component of the major division of Transport,

TABLE 5.14. EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED ACTIVITIES IN
THE SERVICE SECTOR 1953—1971

		1953		1963		1971	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total Services Sector	T	848,408	100	943,173	100	1,015,193	100
	M	695,493	100	792,766	100	852,897	100
	F	152,915	100	150,407	100	162,278	100
Wholesale & Retail Trade	T	232,633	27.4	279,658	29.7	278,301	27.4
	M	207,253	29.8	260,304	32.8	258,815	30.3
	F	25,380	16.6	19,354	12.9	19,484	12.0
Restaurants	T	38,110	4.5	60,180	6.4	65,712	6.5
	M	34,534	5.0	56,454	7.1	62,360	7.3
	F	3,576	2.3	3,726	2.5	3,351	2.1
Land Transport	T	84,129	9.9	85,145	9.0	107,559	10.6
	M	80,145	11.5	84,566	10.7	106,244	12.5
	F	3,984	2.6	579	0.4	1,314	0.8
Public Administration and Defence	T	116,202	13.7	121,477	12.9	153,704	15.1
	M	107,271	15.4	114,063	14.4	141,154	16.5
	F	8,931	5.8	7,414	4.9	12,554	7.7
Educational and Health Services	T	85,356	10.1	136,340	14.5	178,658	17.6
	M	52,347	7.5	77,535	9.8	101,513	11.9
	F	33,009	21.6	58,805	39.1	77,132	47.5
Domestic Services	T	111,451	13.1	95,654	10.1	65,251	6.4
	M	56,677	8.1	47,394	6.0	29,231	3.4
	F	54,774	35.8	48,260	32.1	36,020	22.2

Communication and Storage. The Ceylon Government Railway and the Ceylon Transport Board which operates all public omnibus services are by far the two largest organizations in this activity. These two establishments are state-run. The services of retail trade, restaurants and passenger transport being consumer services will have to expand in response to increase in population besides any expansion resulting from economic development.

Educational and Health Services are almost totally state run services and it will be noted that employment in these two activities has more than doubled between 1953 and 1971. It is also noticeable that the percentage composition in the case of females shows increases only in Public Adminis-

tration and Defence and in the Educational and Health Services. This is a result of the change in recruitment policy in the Public Service allowing females to be recruited into many grades earlier reserved only for males and the larger numbers of females entering the teaching profession which has for many years been the principal avenue of employment for educated women. As the educational and the health services improve, employment in these services will no doubt continue to increase in this way in the future.

Domestic service, not surprisingly, has shown a sharp decline both in absolute numbers and percentage composition. Being a not very attractive form of employment to start with, and becoming more and more expensive to the employer, a continuing decline in the future is to be expected. The other activities in the service sector not shown in the table are not so very important from an employment point of view.

The distribution of those employed in the Service Sector by Status is shown in Table 5.15. In the case of Retail Trading establishments and Restaurants, there are quite sizeable proportions of establishments operated by own account workers. Except for these two categories of establishments, employment in this sector is mostly in the category of paid employees.

The general trend for the proportion of paid employees to increase is noticeable. But also noticeable is the increase in the number of employers. This is due probably to successful own account workers becoming employers. The small increase in the number of unpaid family workers between 1963 and 1971 is also probably due to the success of some own account workers who have called in family members to help in the work. Separate statistics for Restaurants being not available for 1953 the statistics for Retail and Wholesale trade only are shown separately in Table 5.15 and they exhibit these trends more noticeably than the statistics for the whole sector.

C. OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Occupational Classification. The occupational classification used at the different censuses have been different and it is not possible to make adjustments to make them comparable. The distribution of employed persons at the 1971 Census by the major groups of the Standard Occupational Classification for Sri Lanka are given in Table VII in the Appendix cross classified by the major divisions of the industrial classification. Most noticeable is the high proportion of those in the White Collar Occupations employed in Community and Personal Services. This is due to employment in the Public Service and the Health and Educational Services.

Table 5.16 gives the 1971 occupational distribution condensed into three groups namely ; white collar workers consisting of major groups 0 to 4 of the occupational classification, agricultural workers consisting of major group 6 and others consisting of all the other major groups, and classified by educational attainment. It appears that agricultural work seems to be the occupation of those with little or no schooling. Almost 70 per cent of those with schooling up to grade V are engaged in agricultural occupations. Among those who have had a few years in high school without completing the 'O' level examinations the biggest group (42 per cent) falls into the

TABLE 5.15. DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE SERVICE SECTOR
BY STATUS 1953—1971

	Total		Employer		Paid Employee		Workers on Account Own		Unpaid Family Worker	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Service Sector—1953	T	832,599	37,695	4.5	565,154	67.9	201,412	24.2	28,338	3.4
	M	680,484	35,271	5.2	462,537	68.0	172,991	25.4	9,685	1.4
	F	152,115	2,424	1.6	102,617	67.5	28,421	18.7	18,653	12.2
1963	T	921,165	47,711	5.2	697,687	75.7	163,063	17.7	11,612	1.3
	M	771,133	45,661	5.9	569,054	73.9	148,360	19.2	7,162	0.9
	F	150,032	2,050	1.4	128,633	85.7	14,703	9.8	4,450	3.0
1971	T	1,015,183	62,834	6.2	813,773	80.2	123,817	12.2	14,747	1.4
	M	852,897	60,123	7.0	669,399	78.5	113,724	13.3	9,650	1.1
	F	162,278	2,718	1.7	144,377	89.0	10,090	6.2	5,099	3.1
Wholesale & Retail Trade—1953	T	232,633	22,036	9.5	83,681	36.0	117,426	50.5	9,490	4.1
	M	207,253	21,136	10.2	80,628	39.0	101,632	49.0	3,857	1.8
	F	25,380	900	3.5	3,053	12.0	15,794	62.2	5,633	22.2
1963	T	279,658	30,987	11.1	140,734	50.3	102,292	36.6	5,370	1.9
	M	260,304	29,903	11.5	133,493	51.3	92,958	35.7	3,705	1.4
	F	19,354	1,084	5.6	7,241	37.4	9,334	48.2	1,665	8.6
1971	T	278,301	42,323	15.2	149,601	53.7	79,492	28.6	6,889	2.5
	M	258,816	40,513	15.7	139,347	53.8	73,823	28.5	5,146	2.0
	F	19,484	1,818	9.3	10,261	52.6	5,668	29.1	1,733	9.0

TABLE 5.16. DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN 1971

		White Collar Occupations		Agricultural Occupations		Other Occupations	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	T	654,598	18.1	1,790,902	49.4	1,173,861	32.5
	M	542,368	19.3	1,290,296	46.0	971,892	34.7
	F	112,235	13.8	500,604	61.4	201,974	24.8
No Schooling	T	2,440	4.1	41,406	69.3	15,911	26.6
	M	1,720	4.9	23,402	66.7	9,966	28.4
	F	724	2.9	18,008	73.0	5,945	24.1
Grades I—V	T	115,960	8.0	853,821	59.1	474,254	32.9
	M	108,609	9.1	681,711	57.1	404,700	33.9
	F	7,349	2.9	172,109	69.1	69,555	28.0
Grades VI—X	T	274,811	26.3	333,298	31.8	436,795	41.9
	M	245,388	26.7	298,239	32.4	374,393	40.8
	F	29,423	23.2	35,061	27.6	62,405	49.2
G. C. E. 'O'	T	120,600	69.1	14,566	8.4	39,049	22.4
	M	90,177	66.5	13,306	9.8	31,386	23.7
	F	30,426	77.3	1,258	3.2	7,666	19.4
G. C. E. 'A'	T	65,295	94.6	1,145	1.7	2,564	3.7
	M	35,968	91.7	1,095	2.8	2,125	5.5
	F	29,332	98.4	49	.1	438	1.5
Degree	T	30,126	94.5	386	1.2	1,320	4.3
	M	22,759	93.4	386	1.6	1,175	5.0
	F	7,366	98.0	—	—	144	1.9
Unspecified	T	45,352	5.7	546,279	68.7	203,971	25.6
	M	37,745	9.2	272,152	59.4	148,143	32.4
	F	7,608	2.2	274,125	81.2	55,825	16.5

'others' category of occupations—the production and service workers. Among those with at least 'O' level education (The G.C.E. 'O' level examination is at the end of 10 years of schooling and the 'A' level examination at the end of 12 years of schooling) the most popular occupations are the white collar occupations (70 per cent among those with 'O' level qualifications and 95 per cent of those with higher qualifications).

That those who are educated above the 'O' level should prefer the professional, administrative and other white collar occupations is to be expected. But not so obvious perhaps is the preference for white collar occupations among those with 'O' level qualifications and the preference for the so called blue collar occupations as opposed to agricultural occupa-

tions among the less educated. These preferences are based on many factors ; such as nature of employment and employee incomes in those occupations and the need for some minimal amount of capital for self employment. Employment in agricultural occupations is mostly at the level of unskilled labour with low wages and without much assurance of continued availability of employment, except on the tea, rubber and coconut estates. Self employment on own account is also possible for the poorer person as tenant operator in small farms. Incomes in these occupations are low. In the blue collar occupations, more attractive employment both from the point of view of the nature of employment and monetary returns is available. The white collar occupations, of course, are the best paid not only at the higher levels but for a long time even at the lower levels of clerical workers and sales workers. In the Industry and Service sectors, where the blue collar and white collar jobs are found, the establishments are better organised and there is not only greater probability of continued employment, but also the protection afforded by trade union organizations and labour legislation. Social prestige that goes with different vocations no doubt reflects these considerations and would also be an important factor in influencing any choice of occupation.

D. DISTRIBUTION BY STATUS

Distribution by Status. The distribution by status of those employed has been discussed separately under each sector. Table 5.17 shows the consolidated figures for all sectors. The proportion of paid employees has increased between 1953 and 1971, while the proportion of own account workers has decreased and the proportion of employers and unpaid family workers have decreased between 1953 and 1963 and then increased between 1963 and 1971. These changes are the resultants of the changes for the two sexes which have not followed identical patterns.

Between 1953 and 1963 the proportions of male employers and own account workers have fallen, while those of paid employees and unpaid family workers have risen. Between 1963 and 1971 the proportions of employers and paid employees have risen while those of own account workers and unpaid family workers have fallen. In general it would appear that between 1953 and 1963 there has been a relative contraction in self employment. This would have resulted in some paid employees also losing their positions and becoming unpaid family workers or being unemployed in the absence of other employment. Between 1963 and 1971 there has been an increase in the case of employers and decrease in the case of unpaid family workers, but the number unemployed has risen.

In the case of the females, however, there had been decreases in total employment and in employment under every category other than paid employees between 1953 and 1963. The larger decreases, have been recorded under the categories of own account workers and unpaid family workers. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the decreases may be due to two causes. Firstly, due to displacement of workers from employment as industry became organised and traditional methods and crafts were supplanted and

TABLE 5.17. DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING POPULATION BY STATUS 1953—1971

Year	Employers		Own Account workers		Paid Employees		Unpaid Family workers		Miscellaneous		Total Employed		Total Unemployed	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1953	93,843	3.14	898,156	30.01	1,832,295	61.21	169,055	5.65	—	—	2,993,349	100	—	—
	84,643	3.73	761,414	33.56	1,347,550	59.40	75,133	3.31	—	—	2,268,740	100	—	—
	9,200	1.27	136,742	18.87	484,745	66.90	93,922	12.96	—	—	724,609	100	—	—
1963	77,941	2.44	853,975	26.73	2,080,057	65.10	162,104	5.07	21,048	.66	3,195,125	100	263,869	7.63
	74,184	2.92	797,553	31.39	1,535,932	60.46	119,362	4.70	13,376	.53	2,540,407	100	199,691	7.86
	3,757	.57	56,422	8.62	544,125	83.11	42,742	6.53	7,672	1.17	654,718	100	64,178	8.93
1971	113,700	3.14	911,259	25.16	2,401,030	66.29	195,998	5.41	—	—	3,621,987	100	796,199	18.02
	107,133	3.82	819,634	29.20	1,780,827	63.44	99,562	3.55	—	—	2,807,172	100	446,406	13.72
	6,549	.80	91,627	11.25	620,198	7.12	96,435	11.83	—	—	814,816	100	349,798	30.04

secondly due to those engaged in agricultural activities being enumerated as attending to home duties in 1963 as the census in that year was taken in July which is a slack month for agricultural activity. In fact most of the loss between 1953 and 1963 under agricultural occupations in the categories of own account workers and unpaid family workers have been made up in 1971. No such increases have been recorded in non-agricultural occupations.

E. UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment. . . The last two columns in table 5.17 show the statistics of unemployed persons in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total labour force. As stated at the beginning of this chapter the recording of data relating to the unemployed has changed between the censuses. In 1946 and 1953 only those earlier employed but temporarily unemployed were enumerated as such. The figures were 25,058 in 1946 and 22,694 (8,469 males and 14,225 females) in 1953. In 1963 those unemployed but not previously employed were also enumerated and 77 per cent of the 260,982 persons unemployed were those who had never been employed previously. In 1971 those persons without employment and willing to accept work but not actually seeking work were also included among the unemployed and 42 per cent (37 per cent among males and 48 per cent among females) of the unemployed were of this category. The statistics are therefore, not comparable, nor is it easy to make any adjustments to make them comparable. The change of definition would have affected the statistics relating to males and females differently. In 1963 only those actively seeking work were enumerated as unemployed. This could have been interpreted by enumerators strictly in the sense that a person should be registered at the local employment exchange or at the other extreme as looking for work which may mean very little.

Persons not in employment could be assigned by the enumerator to one of the categories of "unemployed" or "other" and in the case of females "engaged in home duties". It is very likely that most enumerators' wary of using the category "other" would have enumerated most of the males not in employment as unemployed even if they were not making any serious efforts at finding employment while enumerating the females of the same description as "engaged in home duties".

The change in definition in 1971 is not therefore likely to have seriously affected the classification of males. In the case of females however, the change in definition is likely to have increased the number of females unemployed and hence in the labour force by the inclusion of many females who would have been recorded as unemployed on the basis that they were willing to accept work. This willingness, however, would probably be subject to rigorous restrictions as to the nature of the work that was acceptable. Non-existence of such work may have been the very reason for their not seeking work.

TABLE 5.18. UNEMPLOYED PERSONS AGED 15—59 YEARS CLASSIFIED BY AGE AND SEX 1963—71

Age Years	Males				Females			
	1963		1971		1963		1971	
	Number	As % of the labour force	Number	As % of the labour force	Number	As % of the labour force	Number	As % of the labour force
15—19	53,086	22.2	12,3861	37.1	15,531	14.3	78,662	44.0
20—24	60,021	16.0	155,605	28.4	23,028	17.8	122,391	46.2
25—29	23,771	6.7	61,979	13.9	9,983	9.8	59,884	32.3
30—34	12,036	3.5	25,323	7.1	3,088	3.9	25,567	20.9
35—39	7,859	2.4	17,061	4.9	1,417	1.8	14,906	12.8
40—44	5,179	2.1	12,168	4.0	948	1.7	9,870	11.6
45—49	4,568	1.9	10,090	3.7	936	1.8	8,237	10.6
50—54	3,902	2.2	7,378	3.6	913	2.8	5,615	11.7
55—59	3,920	2.9	5,982	3.8	885	4.7	4,288	15.6
15—59	174,342	7.1	419,447	14.0	56,729	8.6	329,420	29.8

Table 5.18 presents the distribution of the unemployed by age and sex for the years 1963 and 1971. The increase in unemployment as represented by these figures is as explained earlier, partly due to the change in definition. The markedly different rates for males and females in 1971 as compared with 1963 support the view that the change in definition is likely to have had a greater effect on the statistics of unemployment of females. The difference between the census years is only eight years. Even if we compare the unemployed in any age group, in 1963 with that of the next but one age group in 1971, we find increases in the number unemployed in many age groups and particularly in the ages over 30 years. This cannot be due solely to those employed in 1963 being unemployed in 1971 but in larger measure due to those who were not considered unemployed as they were not actually seeking employment in 1963 being so classified in 1971. This discrepancy is even more evident in the case of females.

The very large increases in unemployment at the younger ages of less than 30 years particularly among males, however, are largely due to a genuine increase in the number unemployed.

CHAPTER VI

POPULATION PROJECTIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

While the size and age composition of a population determines the labour supply of a country the absolute and relative sizes of the population in the pre-school age, school age, working age, old age and other age groupings are of fundamental importance in assessing the demand for and supply of basic economic and social services in the country. Hence the expected future size and age distribution of the population provides the essential basis for any realistic planning for the economic and social development of a country.

Demographers are averse to calling their estimates of the future population as "forecasts" or "predictions". They call them "projections" instead. A population projection is not a forecast in the strict sense of the word but an estimate of what the future population would be under certain specified assumptions as to the future course of fertility, mortality and migration. Of course, the assumptions made with regard to these three factors are based on a study of past trends as a guide to the most probable trends in the future. Such trends however have an element of uncertainty attached to them and hence the avoidance of the term "forecast".

In view of this uncertainty it is customary to make projections based on alternative assumptions. A projection based on the most likely course of future events is generally called the Medium Projection. Alternative projections based on alternative assumptions within the limits of plausibility indicating the higher and lower limits to the future population are called High and Low Projections respectively. Besides their use as upper and lower limits to the future population, High and Low Projections also serve to illustrate the implications of different trends in fertility, mortality and migration. This could be a useful guide for decisions on questions of population policy.

The generally accepted method of making a population projection, provided the necessary data is available, is the component method. In this method one starts from the existing population classified by sex and age and applies assumed age specific survival ratios to determine the number of survivors at the future date. Assumed birth rates for each age group of women are utilized to determine the number of births that will occur in the future. To these births are applied appropriate survival ratios to determine the number of survivors in the future.

B. POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SRI LANKA

The Population projections by sex and age presented in this chapter have been prepared by the component method.

Three different projections viz : High, Medium and Low have been computed on the basis of 3 different assumptions with regard to the future course of fertility combined with a single assumption regarding future trends in mortality.

During the period 1963—1971 age specific fertility rates for women have declined, the biggest declines being in the 20—24 and 25—29 year age groups. With the adoption and spread of family planning activities it is most likely that fertility levels will decline gradually to reasonably low levels. This is indicated by the fertility declines that have already occurred during the period 1963—1971. The Medium projection is based on the assumption of a gradual fertility decline to 60 per cent of the present levels by 2001, and may be taken as the one which represents the most probable future population of the country.

The High projection based on the assumption of fertility levels stabilising after only a slight decline below the 1971 level may be taken as an upper limit to the future population. This is likely to be the course taken by the population if the family planning program now under way does not prove to be as effective as might be desired.

The low projection is based on the assumption of a very rapid decline in fertility to 50 per cent of the 1971 level within a period of 15 years. This is a very optimistic assumption and the chances of this being achieved are rather remote. However, such an assumption has been made in order to determine what the population and its structure would be in the event of such a decline actually taking place. It represents the lower limit of the population and shows that even a very rapid fertility decline cannot prevent a considerable increase in the population of the country.

With regard to mortality only one single assumption has been made. It is assumed that mortality will decline gradually with the expectation of life increasing to 72.2 years for females and 68.5 years for males by the year 2001 A.D.

The base population i.e., the starting point of the projection is the 1971 mid-year population. The 1971 census age distribution based on the 10 per cent sample was corrected for under-enumeration of children under 5 years and graduated to remove the effect of age reporting errors. The proportions in the adjusted age distribution was then used to distribute the estimated population as at mid-year 1971 among the various sex and age groups to provide the sex-age distribution for the initial year of the projection.

The relative importance of the assumptions with regard to future fertility and mortality. In a population projection made by the component method the projected population may be divided into 2 parts as follows :—

- A. The survivors in the future of the population that is already alive as on the base date, that is mid-year 1971. For example the persons aged 0—4 on 1.7.71 were all alive on this date. The survivors of this group after exactly five years on 1.7.76 will yield the 5—9 group as on 1.7.1976 and so on.
- B. The survivors of the births that will occur in the future period commencing on the base date. For example the survivors of the births that occur during the five year period 1.7.1971—1.7.1976 will yield the population aged 0—4 as on 1.7.1976.

The figures in A are dependent only on the assumed course of future mortality because future births do not enter into these computations. B however, is dependent on future fertility as well as mortality.

Since mortality is already at a fairly low level, future trends can be predicted with reasonable accuracy. Predicted mortality rates would differ only slightly from the actual future rates and the resulting error in the future population estimates would be relatively small. Hence this part of the projection which gives the population aged 5 and over in 1976, 10 and over in 1981, 15 and over in 1986, 20 and over in 1991, 25 and over in 1996 and 30 and over in 2001 may be taken as a reasonably accurate estimates of the future population in the respective age groups. It may also be noted that the figures for these age groups are the same in the High, Medium and Low projections.

The future course of fertility is however more difficult to predict and the actual future rates may turn out to be entirely different from the assumed ones. It is because of this uncertainty that three different assumptions are made with regard to fertility.

The Projected Population. The projections illustrate the demographic implications of the continuing growth of the population.

Table 6.1 below shows the total population of Sri Lanka at intervals of 5 years according to the three projections. The implied average annual rates of growth are also shown.

TABLE 6.1. PROJECTED TOTAL POPULATION OF SRI LANKA
1971—2001 A.D. AND THE IMPLIED AVERAGE ANNUAL
RATES OF GROWTH

Year	Population as at mid-year ('000)					
	High Projection		Medium projection		Low Projection	
	Population	Average annual rate of growth	Population	Average annual rate of growth	Population	Average annual rate of growth
1971	12,762	—	12,762	—	12,762	—
1976	14,283	2.3	14,283	2.3	14,208	2.2
1981	15,960	2.3	15,826	2.1	15,339	1.6
1986	17,885	2.3	17,357	1.9	16,244	1.2
1991	20,009	2.3	18,868	1.7	17,245	1.2
1996	22,291	2.2	20,338	1.5	18,313	1.2
2001	24,730	2.1	21,786	1.4	19,315	1.1
1971—2001	—	2.2	—	1.8	—	1.4

The High projection shows that if the age specific fertility rates remained stable after 1981 at rates only slightly below the 1971 level the population will continue to grow at 2.3 per cent per annum and will very nearly double itself to 24.7 million in the period of 30 years from 1971 to 2001. This will be the result if family planning is not adopted by the large majority of the population and provided that no catastrophic event occurs to deplete the population.

If the future course of fertility follows the trends assumed in the Medium projection, the population in 2001 will be 21.8 million, an increase of 70 per cent. The rate of growth declines gradually from 2.3 per cent in the period 1971—76 to 1.4 per cent in the period 1996—2001. This will be the result if observed declines in fertility during the period 1963—71 continue into the future and the rates stabilise at 60 per cent of the 1971 rates in the five year period 1996—2001. This assumption with regard to fertility is the one which is most likely to be followed in the future upto the year 2001.

The low projection which assumes a rapid fertility decline gives an estimated population of 19.3 million in the year 2001. The rate of growth too drops sharply to 1.2 in the period 1981—1986 and remains constant thereafter. Thus even if fertility registers a dramatic drop, as dramatic as the decline in mortality in the period 1946—1950, and the rate of growth too drops to 1.2, the population in 2001 will be 19.3 million, an increase of 51 per cent. This is because the potential for population growth has already been built into the age structure of the population and even a rapid decline of fertility to 50 per cent of the 1971 levels in a period of 15 years cannot offset the increasing numbers of females who will be entering the reproductive age groups in the immediate future.

C. TRENDS IN AGE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONAL AGE GROUPS

Apart from the growth in the total population, changes in the age structure have important implications for the planning of economic and social development. The future population in the pre-school age, school age, working age and old age groups are shown in Table 6.2.

TABLE 6.2. PROJECTED POPULATION BY FUNCTIONAL AGE GROUPS
1971 —2001—HIGH, MEDIUM AND LOW PROJECTIONS

(‘000)

	Total Population		Pre-school Age Group (0—4 years)		School Age Group (5—14 years)		Working Age Group (15—64 years)		Old Age Group 65 years and above	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
High Projection										
1971	12,762	100.0	1,748	13.7	3,254	25.5	7,223	56.6	537	4.2
1976	14,283	100.0	1,885	13.2	3,399	23.8	8,370	58.6	629	4.4
1981	15,960	100.0	2,091	13.1	3,559	22.3	9,592	60.1	718	4.5
1986	17,885	100.0	2,379	13.3	3,899	21.8	10,749	60.1	858	4.8
1991	20,009	100.0	2,622	13.1	4,382	21.9	11,985	59.9	1,020	5.1
1966	22,291	100.0	2,853	12.8	4,926	22.1	13,331	59.8	1,181	5.3
2001	24,730	100.0	3,067	12.4	5,391	21.8	14,937	60.4	1,335	5.4
Medium Projection										
1971	12,762	100.0	1,748	13.7	3,254	25.5	7,224	56.6	536	4.2
1976	14,283	100.0	1,885	13.2	3,399	23.8	8,371	58.6	628	4.4
1981	15,826	100.0	1,962	12.4	3,561	22.5	9,575	60.5	728	4.6
1986	17,357	100.0	1,996	11.5	3,766	21.7	10,745	61.9	850	4.9
1991	18,868	100.0	2,019	10.7	3,868	20.5	11,981	63.5	1,000	5.3
1996	20,338	100.0	2,034	10.0	3,925	19.3	13,199	64.9	1,180	5.8
2001	21,786	100.0	2,070	9.5	3,965	18.2	14,400	66.1	1,351	6.2
Low Projection										
1971	12,762	100.0	1,748	13.7	3,254	25.5	7,224	56.6	536	4.2
1976	14,208	100.0	1,819	12.8	3,396	23.9	8,382	59.0	611	4.3
1981	15,339	100.0	1,549	10.1	3,497	22.8	9,572	62.4	721	4.7
1986	16,244	100.0	1,348	8.3	3,281	20.2	10,754	66.2	861	5.3
1991	17,245	100.0	1,500	8.7	2,845	16.5	11,900	69.0	1,000	5.8
1996	18,313	100.0	1,593	8.7	2,820	15.4	12,710	69.4	1,190	6.5
2001	19,315	100.0	1,622	8.4	3,032	5.7	13,309	68.9	1,352	7.0

The Pre-School age group. (0—4 years) A comparison of the three different projections shows that the most significant advantage to be gained from a decline in fertility is a reduction in size of the pre-school age group. The pre-school age group stands at 1,748,000 in 1971. By 2001 it increases to 3,067,000 i.e., by 75 per cent according to the high projection compared to only 2,070,000 or by 18 per cent according to the medium projection. In the low projection the pre-school age group increases to 1,819,000 in 1976, decreases to 1,348,000 in 1986 and then increases again to 1,622,000 in 2001. The figure in the year 2001 is smaller than the figure in 1971.

School age Population. (5—14 years) In the more developed regions of the world, children under 15 years of age constitute only 28 per cent of the population whereas in the less developed regions the percentage under 15 years is 42(1). The figure for Sri Lanka in 1971 was 39.2.

(1) The World Population Situation in 1970 (United Nations Publication, Sales No. E. 71 XIII 4) Page 50.

It may be seen from the figures in Table 6.2 that the main advantage to be gained by a fertility decline is a bigger reduction in the proportion of children under 15 years. According to the High projection, the proportion will be 34.2 per cent in the year 2001. The number of children of school age (5—14 years) will increase by 65.6 per cent from 3,254,000 in 1971 to 5,391,000 in 2001. This represents a net addition of 2,137,000 to the children of school age.

The corresponding figures according to the medium projection are 27.7 per cent of children under 15 years of age. The school age population will increase from 3,254,000 in 1971 to 3,965,000 in 2001 A.D. an increase of only 713,000. This is only about a third of the addition to this age group under the high projection.

The low projection shows that if a rapid decline in fertility were to take place, the population of school age will remain about the same for the next thirty years. However the proportion of the population that is of school age will decline from 25.5 per cent in 1971 to 15.7 per cent in 2001.

Working Age Group. (15—64 years) The projected figures of the population of working age under the three different assumptions do not differ by appreciable amounts. In fact, up to the year 1986 the figures are the same. This is because the persons who will be 15 years and over in each of the years upto 1986 have already been born by 1971 and reductions in the number of births taking place after 1971 will not affect these numbers. The reduced number of births occurring after 1971 will effect the working age group only after 1986. From that year onwards the numbers begin to decline under the assumption of a fertility decline. The population of working age doubles itself during the three decades under consideration. According to the High projection the population of working age will be 14,937,000 in 2001 while under the medium projection the figure will be 14,400,000.

However, the percentage of the population in the working age group will be 66.1 per cent under the medium projection as compared to 60.4 in the high projection.

Thus the reduction in fertility will not ease the problem of unemployment and its solution during the next 2 or 3 decades. However, in the long run when the survivors of the reduced births occurring after 1971 begin to enter the working age group in the period 1986—1990 and after the numbers in the working age-group will begin to decline and the problem will be eased thereafter.

The old age group (65 years and over) The size of the old age group is the same under all three projections for the simple reason that the persons who comprise this group in the future years under consideration have already been born and were adults in 1971. The size of the group which is 537,000 in 1971 increases to 1,335,000 in 2001. This is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the size in 1971.

The percentage of the total population in the old age group rises from 4.2 in 1971 to 5.4 in 2001 under the high projection. Under the medium projection the percentage in 2001 is 6.2.

The Dependency Ratio. The number of persons aged 0—14 and 65 and over per 100 persons aged 15—64 years, called the dependency ratio is shown in Table 6.3 for all three projections. This ratio indicates the number of dependents, both young and old, in the population to every 100 persons in the working age group.

TABLE 6. 3. DEPENDENCY RATIOS ACCORDING TO THE THREE PROJECTIONS 1971—2001

	High	Medium	Low
1971	76.8	76.8	76.8
1976	70.5	70.5	69.6
1981	66.5	65.1	60.1
1986	66.3	61.4	51.0
1991	67.0	57.5	44.8
1996	67.2	54.1	43.9
2001	65.7	51.2	45.1

In the High projection the decline in the dependency ratio is much less than in the Medium or Low projections. The dependency ratio which stood at 76.8 in 1971 declines to 65.7 in the High projection by the year 2001. In the Medium projection the ratio declines to 51.2 in the year 2001. In the Low projection the ratio declines to 51.0 in the year 1986, thus achieving in 15 years the same reduction that is achieved in 30 years in the Medium projection. The ratio declines further to 43.9 in 1996 and increases again to 45.1 in the year 2001.

D. THE LABOUR FORCE

The Labour Force is generally understood to comprise the employed population as well as those unemployed but available for work. The future labour force could be calculated by applying estimated future activity rates in each age group to the population in the corresponding age group. This method applied to the two sexes yields the male and female labour forces separately.

Activity Rates. The male and female activity rates according to the censuses of 1963 and 1971 are shown in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4. ACTIVITY RATES BY AGE AND SEX—1963 AND 1971

	Male		Female		Projected Rates Females
	1963	1971	1963	1971	2001
Total 10 & over	69.2	68.0	20.0	25.6	—
10—14	8.1	6.3	4.3	4.1	3.9
15—19	46.2	48.6	21.6	26.4	31.2
20—24	84.4	89.2	29.3	42.2	55.1
25—29	94.1	96.9	27.7	39.3	50.7
30—34	96.5	97.8	25.0	34.8	44.4
35—39	96.8	97.3	25.9	32.6	39.2
40—44	96.1	96.8	25.9	30.9	35.7
45—49	95.7	95.7	26.0	29.8	33.4
50—54	92.7	92.3	21.4	24.5	27.5
55—59	87.8	80.9	17.5	16.7	17.3
60—64	76.7	65.6	11.4	10.5	16.7
65 and over	52.2	40.7	6.0	5.1	5.1

The male and female activity rates in the 10—14 age group show a slight decline from 1963—1971. The activity rates in the age range 15—44 show increases for both males and females but the increases for the females are more substantial. The female activity rate for the age group 20—24 has increased from 29.3 per cent in 1963 to 42.2 per cent in 1971. It must however be mentioned that these increases are mainly due to a disproportionate increase in the unemployed persons rather than to any increases in the actual numbers employed. The activity rates beyond age 55 show a decrease for both males and females.

Projected Activity Rates. For the purpose of projecting the labour force into the future it is necessary to project the activity rates on the basis of some plausible assumption with regard to the course these rates will take in the future. In the case of the males it has been assumed that 1971 rates will remain constant in all age groups except the 10—14 age group. In the 10—14 age group it is assumed that the rate will decline linearly to 4.5 per cent in 2001.

In the case of the females it is assumed that the activity rates will increase linearly to the values indicated in the last column of Table 6.4.

It has already been pointed out that the population of working age does not differ appreciably in the 3 different projections. As the medium projection is regarded as the one expected to conform most closely to the future population, the projected activity rates have been applied to this projection in order to obtain the future labour force. No attempt is made to estimate the labour force according to the other two projections as these

will not differ very much from that corresponding to the medium projection. The projected labour force figures by sex are given in Table 6.5 below. The projected labour force by sex and age is given in Table IX in the Appendix.

TABLE 6.5. PROJECTED LABOUR FORCE BY SEX 1971—2001

	('000)			
	Total	Male	Female	Per cent of females in the Labour Force
1971	4,434	3,265	1,169	26.4
1976	5,172	3,776	1,396	27.0
1981	5,954	4,321	1,633	27.4
1986	6,744	4,875	1,869	27.7
1991	7,544	5,440	2,104	27.9
1996	8,359	6,017	2,342	28.0
2001	9,145	6,578	2,567	28.1

As we have taken the lower age limit for the labour force as 10 years current changes in fertility will not affect the size of the labour force until 1981. Moreover, since the activity rates for the age group 10—14 are very low the effect of current fertility changes will be negligible until the year 1986. Hence the labour force projections until 1986 may be taken as fairly accurate forecasts upto the period 1986. Estimates of the size and composition of the labour force for the years after 1986 therefore have to be interpreted with caution in view of the uncertainty with regard to fertility trends.

The labour force increases from 4.4 million in 1971 to 6.7 million in 1986, an increase of 52 per cent in 15 years. The male component increases by 50 per cent and the female component by 60 per cent.

By the year 2001 the total labour force will be a little more than twice the size in 1971. The percentage increase from 1986—2001 is 36 per cent compared to the increase of 52 per cent in the period 1971—1986.

Age and sex composition of the future Labour Force. The proportion of females in the labour force grows steadily from 26.4 per cent in 1971 to 28.1 per cent in 2001 (Table 6.5). This is of course due to the assumption that female activity rates will continue to rise while male activity rates will remain stationary.

The changing age composition of the labour force is shown in table 6.6.

The proportion in the 10—19 age group continues to decrease until 2001 for both males as well as females. The proportion in the 20—34 age group increases slightly to 1986 and declines again by 2001 to a little less than the percentage in 1971.

The proportion in the age group 35—54 increases from 34.1 per cent in 1971 to 40.4 per cent in 2001 for males. The corresponding increase for females is from 27.1 per cent to 32.0 per cent. Thus on the whole the labour force can be expected to contain a larger proportion of older workers in the future under the assumption of a gradual decline in fertility.

TABLE 6.6. PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE BY SEX 1971, 1986 AND 2001

Age	Both Sexes			Males			Females		
	1971	1986	2001	1971	1986	2001	1971	1986	2001
Total 10 & over									
10—19	13.9	11.1	9.4	12.2	9.6	7.9	18.4	16.5	13.2
10—14	1.9	1.3	0.9	1.5	1.0	0.7	2.7	3.6	1.5
15—19	12.0	9.8	8.5	10.7	8.6	7.2	15.7	12.9	11.7
20—34	44.4	47.0	41.9	42.2	44.8	39.1	50.1	52.3	49.0
20—24	17.5	17.0	15.0	16.0	15.3	13.0	21.6	21.4	20.1
25—34	26.9	30.0	26.9	26.2	29.5	26.1	28.5	30.9	28.9
35—54	32.2	32.3	38.1	34.1	33.9	40.4	27.1	28.0	32.0
35—44	18.6	20.0	22.1	19.4	20.7	23.2	16.6	18.1	19.1
45—54	13.6	12.3	16.0	14.7	13.2	17.2	10.5	9.9	12.9
55 and over	9.7	9.8	10.6	11.5	11.7	12.6	4.4	4.8	5.8

E. THE URBAN POPULATION

According to the censuses the urban component of the population has grown steadily from 15.4 per cent in 1946 to 22.4 per cent in 1971.

TABLE 6.7. URBAN RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF SRI LANKA

Year	Per cent	
	Urban	Rural
1946	15.4	84.6
1953	15.3	84.7
1963	19.1	80.9
1971	22.4	77.6

In both the 1946 census and the 1953 census, areas delimited for local government purposes as Municipal Councils and as Urban Councils were included under the Urban category. Areas delimited as Town Councils were included under the rural category. In 1963, however Town Council

areas were transferred into the urban category and this partly accounts for the sudden increase in the urban component to 19.1 per cent in 1963. The definition of urban areas in the 1971 census was the same as in 1963.

Table 6.8 below attempts to compare the population of those areas which were classified as Urban in both the 1963 and 1971 censuses.

TABLE 6.8. URBAN POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE 1963 AND 1971 CENSUS

	1963		1971		Per cent Increase 1963—71
	Population	%	Population	%	
(a) Total (Urban & Rural)	10,582,064	100.0	12,711,143	100.0	20.1
(b) All Urban areas	2,014,285	19.0	2,842,077	22.4	41.1
(c) All areas which were classified as urban in 1963 as well as in 1971	2,014,285	19.0	2,337,951	18.4	16.1
(d) All urban areas which existed as Municipal and urban councils in 1963	1,587,625	15.0	1,848,162	14.5	16.4

Between 1963 and 1971 the urban population increased by 41.1 per cent compared to an increase of 20.1 per cent in the total population of the country. However when only the areas which were classified as urban in the census of 1963 as well as in 1971 are considered, the population increase of these areas is only 16.1 per cent. Thus the growth rate of population within the areas specified as urban in 1963 was lower than that of the country as a whole. Hence the increase in the urban component of the population from 19.0 per cent in 1963 to 22.4 per cent in 1971 was solely due to the accretion of new urban areas. The population of such newly added urban areas in 1971 was 504,126 compared to the increase of 323,666 in the population within the areas that existed as urban in 1963.

Since in the past the rate of growth of the population within urban areas has been somewhat lower than the all island rate of growth it is unlikely that in the future, the population within urban areas will grow at a higher rate than the island as a whole. The growth of the total urban population is likely to continue to be due primarily to the creation of new urban areas. Hence for the purpose of projecting the urban population it has been assumed that the urban component of the population will increase linearly to 30 per cent in 2001. On this assumption the projected urban population according to the High, Medium and Low projections are given in Table 6.9.

TABLE 6.9. PROJECTED URBAN POPULATION 1971—2001

Year	Per cent Urban	Urban population according to		
		High Projection	Medium Projection	Low Projection
1971	22.4	2,859,000	2,859,000	2,859,000
1976	23.7	3,386,000	3,386,000	3,367,000
1981	24.9	3,974,000	3,940,000	3,819,000
1986	26.2	4,686,000	4,548,000	4,256,000
1991	27.4	5,483,000	5,169,000	4,898,000
1996	28.7	6,397,000	5,837,000	5,256,000
2001	30.0	7,419,000	6,536,000	5,795,000

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS AND POLICY

A. INTRODUCTION

Over the years, governments in Sri Lanka have pursued economic and social policies, designed to secure maximum welfare to its population. These policies have contributed towards (a) a better distribution of income and wealth, (b) substantial improvements in literacy and education and (c) better standards of health. These welfare measures were maintained in spite of rising costs due to the sharp increases in population. While the rate of social advance was remarkable, the necessary transformation of the economy to sustain the welfare measures did not take place simultaneously. This led to a difficult situation, where the need for resources turned out to be far in excess of their availability. Accordingly, the economic and social policies pursued in the past have been redesigned to facilitate the co-ordination of economic growth with desired social change. A comprehensive plan for economic and social development, covering the period 1972—76, has been drawn up. The plan outlines the various policy measures for ensuring the smooth transformation of the economy and for the realisation of the social objectives. The genesis of the current economic and social policies and their implications for development are reviewed in the rest of this Chapter.

B. BACKGROUND TO THE CURRENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION

Sri Lanka provides many welfare services free or at nominal cost to its people, chief amongst which are subsidised food, free education and health schemes, transport subsidies, etc. The result is that almost 80 per cent of Government expenditure is incurred on recurrent items, as can be seen from Table 7.1 below. For the financial year 1970/71, whereas the Government spent 20 per cent of the resources available on capital expenditure, it spent almost an equal amount in providing free health and education facilities to the population and a slightly lesser proportion on subsidising the major food items consumed in the country.

TABLE 7.1. BREAKDOWN OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AT
CURRENT PRICES

Items	(Rupees Million)		
	1969—70	1970—71	Percentage of total 1970—71
Total expenditure	3,915.1	3,975.4	100
I. <i>Current Payments</i>	2,824.5	3,094.9	77.8
Of which			
(a) Defence & administration	820.8	1,009.6	25.4
(b) Social services	732.9	746.6	18.8
Of which			
Health and education	708.1	721.5	18.1
(c) Economic services (agriculture, irrigation, fisheries and communications etc.)	130.3	151.9	3.8
(d) Transfer payments	1,256.6	1,419.9	35.7
Of which			
Food Subsidy	537.8	612.3	15.4
II. <i>Capital payments</i>	883.1	799.6	20.1
III. Net payments for operations financed through advance accounts	207.5	80.9	2.03

Source : Central Bank of Ceylon—Annual Report for 1972—Table 36, Appendix III.

The impact of these wide ranging welfare measures on the country's economy was to gradually constrain the availability of resources for the expansion of production. Population growth, increased cost of welfare measures and the continued clamour for improvement in the quantity and quality of free welfare services were all factors, which contributed to a situation, where social reform could no longer be sustained by the economy. At the time these social welfare policies were initiated, the economy had the strength to support their implementation. But with the passage of time, economic expansion turned out to be inadequate to meet the expenditures involved in maintaining the welfare policies. The main reasons for the slowing down of economic development were (1) the non-availability of sufficient funds for investment after meeting the expenditure on welfare needs ; and (2) rigidity in the economic structure making it incapable of responding to changing situations both in the domestic and external spheres.

On the other hand, the welfare measures contributed immensely towards investment in human resources. The universal access to education, the availability of free health services, the provision of a significant subsidy in the supply of food items were all instrumental in the creation of a considerable resource of educated and healthy manpower. In the event, this large investment in human resources without the creation of matching opportunities for their utilisation, resulted in a gradual increase in the number of unemployed persons.

The continued increase in welfare expenditure imposed an intolerable strain on government revenues. Despite a very high level of taxation, government revenue collections had become insufficient to meet even the commitments towards recurrent expenditure. Often the deficit on current account had to be bridged mainly through expansionary financing. The capital account was invariably financed through domestic borrowing and foreign aid. Table 7.2 shows the details of government fiscal operations during 1969/70 and 1970/71.

TABLE 7.2. GOVERNMENT FISCAL OPERATIONS SHOWING THE BUDGET DEFICIT AND ITS FINANCING

	1969—70	(Rs. million) 1970—71
1. Government Revenue	2,736	2,815
2. Government Expenditure	3,886	4,143
Of which		
(a) Recurrent expenditure	2,873	3,225
(b) Capital expenditure	812	810
(c) Advance account & others	201	108
3. Budget deficit	1,150	1,327
4. <i>Financing the Budget Deficit</i>		
(a) Domestic non market borrowing	16	140
(b) Domestic market borrowing	815	693
(c) Foreign finance	343	370
(d) Decline in cash balance	—26	123
5. Expansionary impact of fiscal operation	425	218
6. Total of items 5 and 4C as a % of 3	67.8	44.3

Source : Central Bank Annual Report 1972, Table II (G) I—Page 126 and 127.

As can be seen from Table 7.2 in the financial year 1970/71, 44 per cent of the finance needed to bridge the budget deficit was found either from foreign finance or from expansionary borrowing from the banking system. Foreign finance alone accounted for 28 per cent of the financing of the budget deficit during this financial year. It would be an over simplification to view Sri Lanka's problem as one of essentially restoring balance to the government budget. Unless the overall resources available to the country could be substantially increased, prospects of continued improvement in the living standards of a growing population would be very much limited. Increasing the level of living requires that the total production of goods and services should expand more rapidly than the population. Expansion of goods and services would be possible only through the further utilization and the creation of new production capacities. This points to the need for a greater allocation of resources for investment to build up the productive capacities of the economy and to provide more employment to the people.

The economic record during the sixties has been one of modest achievement. The gross national product increased at an annual rate of around

4 per-cent. Rice production increased at a faster rate, but was still not adequate to meet the full domestic requirements. The ratio of investment to domestic product was around 16 per cent and even here, a sizable proportion was financed by foreign capital. The terms of trade for the country's major exports continuously worsened, thus aggravating an already difficult foreign exchange situation. By the end of the sixties, the country was in the grip of a vicious circle. While the public were cushioned against the effects of Sri Lanka's deteriorating foreign exchange position, this turned out to be at the cost of much needed economic development. In brief, the unfavourable external conditions, together with the rigidities in the economy were direct contributory factors for the emergence of large scale unemployment and attendant social tensions.

C. ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The interrelationship between population growth and economic development has been widely discussed in recent times. It has been shown that in the developed countries the fall in the death rate has been gradual and had commenced subsequent to or at least simultaneously with economic development. Hence the growth of the population in these countries in no way inhibited the process of economic development but was a positive factor contributing to socio-economic growth.

In the developing countries, on the other hand, the fall in the death rate following World War II has been much more rapid and has occurred in advance of or in the absence of economic development. At the same time birth rates continued to remain at a high level. The net result, a sharp increase in population far in excess of what the countries could presently cope with in order to maintain living standards, has therefore been a major obstacle to the process of economic development.

While the gap in the living standards of the developed and developing countries continues to widen, there has also been a 'revolution of rising expectations' in the developing countries. Economic development has become a major pre-occupation of the governments of the developing countries whose aim is to increase the real incomes of the people as fast as possible. However, the rapid growth of population in most of the countries has had a retarding effect on economic growth. In Sri Lanka too there has been a growing awareness of the magnitude of the problem which is now receiving the urgent attention of the Government. The economic and social implications of the growth of Sri Lanka's population and the role of population policy as an element in economic and social policy is considered in the rest of this chapter.

The rapid increase in population is not merely a problem with serious implications for future welfare but one which has already proved to be the underlying cause of numerous social and economic problems in the country. In comparison to countries in the Asian region, Sri Lanka has a very high density of population. At the 1971 census, the density was 502 persons per square mile. The pressure of population, particularly on the cultivated land, is very heavy and the extent of arable land available for further culti-

vation is very limited. According to a recent study(1) the area cultivated has increased by about 0.7 per cent per annum between 1946 and 1969, while the rural population has increased by about 2.5 per cent per annum during the same period. The density of rural population per cultivated acre has increased steadily from 1.34 in 1946 to 2.02 in 1969. Since additional land that can be brought under cultivation is limited any rapid increase in rural population will undoubtedly further aggravate the problem of fragmentation and uneconomic size of land holdings.

A rapidly growing population will also have a very serious impact on the food situation. During the past two decades Sri Lanka has made considerable progress in increasing the production of food both by expanding the area under cultivation as well as by increasing the average yields. The total production of paddy, increased from 14.5 million bushels in 1950 to 65.9 million bushels in 1969. The production of subsidiary foodstuffs such as potatoes, onions, chillies etc. has also increased substantially. In spite of this progress in food production self sufficiency in the matter of food has not been achieved and about Rs. 970 million worth of rice and other essential food items have to be imported from other countries. The increased production has therefore been largely used for feeding the increasing population and has not been sufficient to narrow the gap between domestic requirements and domestic production to an appreciable extent. The need to import substantial quantities of cereals and other foods from abroad in the context of rising import prices and falling prices for exports inevitably weakens Sri Lanka's foreign exchange position, thereby putting a brake on her own industrial and agricultural development, and postpones the day when the country could be independent of foreign economic aid. Despite improvements that have already been achieved, there is still a deficiency in regard to the nutritional quality of food since commodities like milk, meat, fish, eggs, fruits and vegetables are not sufficient to meet the country's requirements and do not form an adequate portion of the average diet. In the context of a rapidly increasing population, there has to be a substantial increase in both the output and the nutritional value of food if a deterioration in food and nutritional intake is to be prevented.

The high rate of population growth has aggravated the unemployment situation in the country. At present unemployment has become a very serious problem. According to the 1971 census about 700,000 persons or 18 per cent of the labour force remained unemployed. This high level of unemployment stems largely from the rapid growth of population in the postwar period which had caused a virtual explosion in the population of working age in the 1960's. The rate of increase in the number of newly created jobs has not kept pace with the increase in the numbers seeking employment. Apart from finding jobs for the existing backlog of the unemployed there is also the problem of the future additions to the labour force. According to the labour force projections presented in Chapter VI, the labour force is expected to increase by 52 per cent in 1986 in 15 years

(1) Jones and Selvaratnam : Population Growth and Economic Development, Hansa Publishers Ltd., Colombo, 1972.

from 1971. It will more than double in the 30 year period 1971 to 2001 even if fertility declines according to the medium assumption. More rapid increases can be expected if fertility does not decline at all. During the decade 1971—81, the labour force will grow at slightly over 3 per cent per annum. The net addition to the labour force will be about 150,000 per annum and unless action is taken to create adequate avenues of employment the problem of unemployment is likely to progressively worsen.

Economic development would also necessitate a progressive increase in the amount of capital per head of the labour force ; but rapid population growth makes it a difficult goal to achieve. In order to speed up the process of economic development it is essential that a major portion of the increase in national income is utilised in productive investment. If population is growing rapidly, a substantial share of the increase in national income will necessarily have to be spent on consumption, if current standards of living are to be maintained. Also for a given rate of growth of national income, per capita income will show a higher increase, the lower the rate of growth of population.

The main source of finance for capital formation is domestic savings and a better rate of saving could be achieved mainly through a restriction of current consumption expenditure. Though foreign capital may be available in different forms, excessive reliance on such capital is not also in the best interest of the country. Yet the capacity to save and the availability of domestic capital resources depends inter alia on the level of income in the country. The higher the income level, the higher the savings potential.

From a purely demographic point of view the rate of increase of the population and also the ratio of employed persons to the total population would be crucial determinants of the level and rate of saving in the community.

The dramatic and sharp decline in mortality during the post-war period unaccompanied by any noticeable fall in the birth rate has had far-reaching effects on the age-structure of the population. The 1971 census showed that about 40 per cent of the population consists of children in the age-group 0—14 years. The corresponding proportion in the developed countries is very low ranging from 22 to 30 per cent. Persons in the working age, 15 to 64 years, constitute only 56 per cent of the total population in Sri Lanka, while in advanced countries they account for 65 per cent or more of the total population. Thus in Sri Lanka high levels of fertility combined with declining mortality has resulted in a population with a high proportion of children in the non-productive ages and a relatively smaller proportion of persons in the working ages. This type of age-structure implies that childhood dependency in the country is very heavy with about 72 child dependants per 100 persons in the working age whereas in the developed countries there are only about 35 children per 100 persons of working age. An age-structure of the type now found in Sri Lanka has certain disadvantages from the point of view of the economic and social development of the country. In the first place since the age and sex-structure is

broad at the base, the cohort of young women entering the reproductive ages would be significantly higher than those leaving it. In other words the present age/sex structure of the population has a built-in potential for a rapid increase in population in the future.

The high proportion of dependent children increases the burden of dependency which in turn increases spending for immediate consumption. As a result public and private saving in investment and productive activities are restricted. Children below 15 years are economically unproductive but they have to be fed, clothed and educated. This increased burden on the economically active sector of the population means that resources that could otherwise be utilised for economic development have to be directed to provide various social services for them. Hence the present age-structure of the population tends to divert a large proportion of the increase in national income each year to social services such as health and education which may have only indirect and delayed effects on economic growth rather than towards more productive forms of investment having a more direct and immediate impact on development.

Since the attainment of Independence Sri Lanka has witnessed not only a growth in population but also a widening of the range of social services and transfer payments. The government has been influenced by strong political pressures to provide an expanded programme of health, education and housing and other social welfare measures. Considerable progress has been made particularly in the fields of education and health. From October 1945, education from the kindergarten to the University was declared free and under this free education scheme no tuition fees are charged in government schools, the Universities and the Technical Colleges. The government has also assumed the major responsibility for the health and medical care of the people and established hospitals and dispensaries throughout the country. Outdoor treatment is available at a nominal charge of 25 cents per visit at out-patient departments of all government hospitals and dispensaries and in-door treatment in non-paying wards is provided free to all patients. Since the early fifties, the government has been issuing to all persons age 1 year and over two measures of rice at subsidised prices. This scheme has subsequently been modified to provide all persons other than income tax payers and their dependants, one measure of rice per head per week free of charge and a second measure at market prices.

These expenditures which are linked to the size of the population comprise a substantial part of the government budget. A rapidly increasing population together with rising costs of providing most of these services has substantially raised the total outlay on these services. An important requirement for the success of the five year plan was a re-orientation of government budgetary policy aimed at increasing domestic savings and reducing dependence on foreign aid and deficit financing for the achievement of desired investment levels. Accordingly government budgetary policy has been reshaped to introduce the necessary changes in the pattern of current expenditure, so that there would be no substantial increase in the quantum of

welfare services provided by government especially in relation to food subsidies, education and health services. However, if population continues to grow at the current rate, this can only lead to a lowering of present standards of the welfare services which have to some extent contributed towards raising the quality of the labour force and perhaps also to the maintenance of political stability in the country.

The current level of expenditure on social and welfare services may be considered very high for a developing country. In the context of a rapidly increasing population and limited capital resources, a rising expenditure on social and welfare services for the population can be maintained only at the expense of achieving a rapid expansion in agricultural and industrial production and the overall growth of the economy. But it is a difficult task for any government to enforce any significant reduction in the present levels of social welfare services.

Hence the increase in expenditure on these services depend directly on the population increase. It is therefore important to determine what effect a slower rate of population growth will have on government expenditures on education, health, food subsidies and other measures. For any savings in the expenditure on the quantum of these services could be used either to improve their quality or for investment in other productive activities.

Studies (1), (2) have recently been undertaken to measure the impact of varying rates of population growth on the costs of providing education, health, transport, food subsidies etc. These studies were based on three alternative population projections for the period 1968—1998. The projections used in these studies have used assumptions with regard to mortality and fertility trends that are roughly comparable for most of the projection period to those in the projection presented in Chapter VI.

In considering the effect of alternative rates of population growth on the cost of providing public health care, the study takes into account the fact that the rate of use of the government health services is greater at the time of birth and infancy than at any other stage of the Life Cycle except old age. According to this study the population dependent on public health care in Ceylon which was estimated to be about 10.1 million in 1968 will increase to 21.8 million in 1998 if population trends were to follow the high projection and to only 15.8 million or 5.3 million less if the rates of population growth followed the low projection. Similarly, if availability of health services per head is to be expanded by two thirds during the 30 year period, the number of doctors required will increase by 233 per cent according to the high projections and only 146 per-cent according to the low projections. Roughly the same figures apply to requirements for hospital

(1) S. Selvaratnam: Presidential address (Social Sciences Section, C. A. A. S.) Published in the Proceedings of the Twenty sixth Annual Sessions of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, Colombo 1971.

(2) Jones and Selvaratnam: Population Growth and Economic Development, Hansa Publishers Ltd., Colombo, 1972.

beds. Health costs would rise much less rapidly and the savings over the 30 year projection period would be roughly Rs. 3,356 million or 17 times the entire sum spent by the government on health services in 1968. It is true that most of the savings come towards the end of the period, but during the first twenty years Rs. 1,198 million or six times the 1968 expenditure will be saved, while during the first 10 years the amount saved will be Rs. 228 million or more than the entire 1968 expenditure.

In the case of education, savings take a little longer to build up because of the delay before the decline in fertility affects the number of school entrants. But subsequently the benefits of a decline in fertility build up rapidly. The results indicate that by 1988, primary school enrolments would have to be 70 per cent higher if fertility stays constant than if it falls rapidly ; total costs of primary and secondary education would be approximately 50 per cent higher. Over the 30 year period from 1968 to 1998, the educational status quo can be maintained if fertility falls rapidly at a saving of Rs. 5,882 million or 15 times the entire expenditure on education in 1968. During the first 10 years savings would approximately equal the total 1968 expenditure.

The study on the impact of alternative population growth rates on the food subsidy programme shows that the cost of the food subsidy would increase much more rapidly if fertility remains constant at the 1968 level. The total savings resulting from a decline in fertility would amount to some Rs. 2,700 million or slightly more than the savings resulting in the health field if the health status quo is maintained.

These figures show that if the current rate of population growth were to continue, it will be necessary to spend an ever-increasing share of national income just to maintain the existing levels of social services and a reduction in the proportion of the resources available for implementing any programme of economic development. The rapid expansion in population which we are likely to experience in the future will not only tend to reduce the funds available for investment. It will also mean that the capital available for investment in industry and agriculture will have to be spread thinly over the labour force. In other words, the capital investment per worker will be quite low with the result that productivity will suffer and hence living standards will deteriorate rather than improve. Thus, the future prospects of an effective improvement in the standard of living of the population cannot be visualised unless there is a significant decline in the rate of growth of the population itself.

Education in Sri Lanka is free upto and including the University and other institutions of higher education. In the field of education too a great deal of progress has been made and in quantitative aspects Sri Lanka has one of the best developed educational systems in Asia. Although education is compulsory upto grade 8, there is no enforcement and the proportion of children in the 5—14 year age group attending school was 72.7 per cent in 1971. The proportion among boys was slightly higher with 74.6 per cent as compared with 70.8 per cent for girls. Even this could be considered a remarkable achievement for a developing country.

Expenditure on education is in the region of 4—5 per cent of the G.N.P. and is higher than in most developing countries.

According to the population projections given in Chapter VI the school age (5—14) population will increase from 3.25 million in 1971 to 5.39 million in 2001, if there is no substantial reduction in fertility (High Projection). The net addition to the school age population will be 2.14 million. If on the other hand fertility declines even gradually as assumed in the medium projection the net addition to the school age population will be only 0.71 million or a third of the addition under the high projection.

Therefore, in the absence of a fertility decline and on the assumption that the proportion of children aged 5—14 who will be attending school does not increase very much further, the expenditure on education will have to increase annually in order to provide schools, teachers and equipment for the additional children seeking admission to schools. If fertility were to decline even gradually there would be considerable savings in the additional expenditure required. This saving could be utilised for improving the quality of education or other urgent development efforts.

Rapid population growth will also have a tremendous impact on the housing situation in Sri Lanka. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that apart from the need to provide housing for the increasing population there is the question of clearing the existing backlog of inadequate or unsatisfactory houses.

The results of the 1971 Census of Housing show that the growth of the housing stock between 1963 and 1971 has fallen behind the growth of population. While population increased by 20.1 per cent the housing stock increased by only 12.1 per cent.

It has also been estimated that of the total housing stock of 2.217 million housing units about 600,000 units or a little more than quarter of the total stock need replacement. 800,000 units were found to be overcrowded in terms of number of persons per room or average floor area per person, while approximately 250,000 units accommodated more than one family.

Even if an allowance is made for overlapping of the above categories it is clear that the accumulated housing shortage has assumed such dimensions that investment on a large scale will be required to reduce the present deficit to any significant extent.

In addition to this, it would be necessary to provide additional housing for the increasing population. The increase in population during the 5 year period 1971—76 will be 1,521,000 or 304,000 persons annually. On the basis of an average occupancy rate of 5.6 per housing unit the annual requirements of housing units for the additional population will be 54,000. The demand for housing is directly related to the size and composition of the

population. With rapid population growth the problem of clearing the present deficit and constructing new units for the additions to the population and of also providing for replacement will be a difficult task.

The government has therefore given priority to housing in its Five Year Plan not only on the grounds of social justice but also because of its importance in promoting employment and economic development. The planned target of 3.5 per cent of GNP on housing investment of course would no doubt lead to easing off in the housing situation but the problem would continue for a much longer period if population continues to increase at the current rate.

Sri Lanka is fortunate in that urbanisation has not proceeded at the rapid pace it seems to have in some of the other developing countries. In fact, as pointed out earlier, the rate of growth of the population within the areas delimited as urban at the 1963 census has been lower than the rate of growth of the rural population. The increase in the proportion urban from 19 per cent in 1963 to 22.4 per cent in 1971 was due to creation of new urban and town councils. Even in the case of Colombo the principal urban centre, the population increase from 1963 to 1973 has been only 9.9 per cent compared to the island's population increase of 20.1 per cent during the same period. On the other hand the urban suburbs of Colombo City have grown much more rapidly.

The most plausible explanation for the slow growth of the urban population is the fact that Sri Lanka is a small country with a fairly good transport system which brings even the remotest rural area within a few hours' journey from the principal town with each district. Even Colombo City is only about a half day's journey from the remotest corner of the island. Hence in spite of the growing unemployment, the need to flock to urban centres and remain there in order to seek employment which seems to be the cause of rural-urban migration in other developing countries, has not reached significant proportions in Sri Lanka.

D. POPULATION POLICY

The preceding discussion clearly shows that a slower population growth brought about by a decline in fertility would have an important and favourable effect on socio-economic development. The need for moderating the rate of population growth has long been recognised in Sri Lanka.

The Ten Year Plan (1959—1968) recognised the significant role of population growth in the development effort of the country. It stated "It is clear that unless there is some prospect of a slowing down in the rate of population growth and of relative stability in at least the long run it is difficult to envisage substantial benefits from planning and development. It is not so much the size of the population in an absolute sense but rather the rate of increase that tends to frustrate attempts to step up the rate of investment and to increase incomes per head. Apart from the difficult process of cutting present levels of consumption, the source for increasing

the volume of investment is the "ploughing back" of portions of future increases in incomes. This task is handicapped if these increases have instead to be devoted each year to sustaining a larger population. Obviously, the impact on future investment and per capita income of a national income which is rising annually by say 5 to 6 per cent would substantially be different if population growth was 1 per cent instead of 3 per cent. Other developing countries experiencing similar and often a less serious population growth have already recognised this and have included "population policies" as part of their planning goals. These policies are not alternatives to vigorous attempts at development. On the contrary their purpose is merely to ensure that the fruits of these attempts are realised".

The principle implicit in the above statement, dominated the thinking in the population field for several years, and although a modest beginning, was made in the field of family planning by the Family Planning Association of Ceylon in 1953, government support to this activity was limited to a small grant and permission to use the facilities available in the Department of Health Services for some specified purposes.

In 1958, the activities of the Family Planning Association were intensified, the government grant was increased to Rs. 75,000 and an agreement was signed by the government with the Swedish International Development Authority to undertake a pilot project in the field of family planning. The objective of the project was to investigate attitudes to family planning, give instructions in family planning methods and assist in training Ceylonese public health staff in this work.

In 1965, family planning was accepted by the government as a national programme and it became an integral part of the maternal and child health services provided by the government. Shortly afterwards, an Advisory Committee was set up in the Ministry of Health to prepare a national programme and advise on the speedy implementation of the programme. The National Family Planning Programme which was prepared as a result of the work of this committee aimed at a gradual reduction in the birth rate from 33 in 1966 to 25 in 1975.

The government's policy in this field was strengthened and clarified in 1970. It was then emphasized that while family planning cannot be considered to be the solution for the economic problems facing the country, facilities should be made available for parents to make use of advice given in maternal and child health and welfare centres and these facilities should be intensified to reach parents in rural areas as well as in estates.

In 1971, at the request of the government, an Inter-Agency Mission of the United Nations visited the country to make a comprehensive review of the National Family Planning Programme, particularly its overall organisation and policy, implementation and evaluation, and research programme. The Mission made several far-reaching recommendations most of which were accepted by the government and are being implemented.

The recent Five Year Plan (1972—1976) gives very high priority to the diffusion of family planning facilities amongst the mass of the adult population. The Plan states “the continued growth of population at the present high rates will pose problems which would defy every attempt at solution. In the short-term, any further increase of the number of births from the present level of around 370,000 per annum will place inordinate strains on the school system, on hospitals, and the supply of other goods and services, and in such a situation, it is only by a shift of investment from productive activities that it would be possible to maintain these services even at present levels. In the long-run, the expansion of population at present rates would result in a population of about 27 million by the year 2000. The strain on resources imposed by the present rate of population growth would be almost intolerable”.

In order to support the Government's objectives of providing family planning facilities to all sections of the population, an agreement was signed with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities for assistance over a period of four years from January 1973 to cover several important fields of activity through a network of eleven projects. Among the significant elements of this agreement are assistance for the establishment of a Demographic Training and Research Unit in the University of Sri Lanka, provision for family health and population education to strategic groups in the urban, rural and estate sectors, dissemination of information on population, family planning and family health to government personnel who would have a multiplier effect viz., teachers, medical personnel, labour officials, and to non-government personnel viz. employers, trade unions officials, workers' representatives, voluntary workers, motivators and educators etc.

The evolution of an active population policy in Sri Lanka has been the result of a serious and continuing concern over population problems over the years. It has been recognised that the adoption of policies and programmes to bring about a reduction in the birth rate is the only satisfactory way of moderating the rate of population growth, and these policies and programmes must find a place in an integrated strategy for providing health care facilities. The well-developed net work of these facilities, moreover provides an organisational framework within which family planning services can be easily and speedily included. A recent analysis of data received from the maternal and child health clinics from the various parts of the country shows that there is a high rate of response from the people to these facilities and services and the programme is making appreciable progress.

APPENDIX

1. SOURCES OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The main sources of demographic information for the country are the periodical censuses commencing from 1871 and the annual vital statistics of births, deaths and marriages compiled and published by the Registrar General.

The first national census of population covering the entire country was taken in 1871. Since then there were regular censuses at intervals of ten years in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921. A Census was taken in 1931 but in view of the prevailing depression at the time its scope was limited to a detailed enumeration in the City of Colombo and a head count only in the rest of the island. The Second World War caused the census due in 1941 to be taken five years later in 1946. The irregularity in the time interval between censuses continued and the subsequent censuses were taken in 1953, 1963 and 1971. The year 1971 was deliberately chosen for the last census with a view to restoring the earlier national practice of taking the census in the year ending in one which also is in keeping with the U.N. recommendations suggesting that population censuses be taken in the year ending in zero or one.

The system of continuous registration of births, deaths and marriages commenced in 1867 with the creation of the Department of the Registrar General who was charged with the function of superintending and supervising the registration of births, deaths and marriages occurring in the Island. In the earlier years however the reliability of the statistics are questionable because registration of births and deaths was not made compulsory until 1895.

The statistics of births and deaths derived from the registration system have however improved in accuracy and coverage with time. A survey(1) carried out in 1953 to assess the coverage of the registration of births and deaths showed that birth registration was 88.1 per cent complete while death registration was 88.6 per cent complete. A similar survey(2) carried out in 1967 showed that birth and death registration were complete to the extent of 98.7 per cent and 94.5 per cent. respectively.

(1) " Post enumeration Survey, 1953 ", Department of Census & Statistics.

(2) " A Study of the extent of under-registration of births and deaths in Ceylon " Department of Census & Statistics, Colombo. 1970.

TABLE 1. BIRTHS- DEATHS- CRUDE BIRTH RATES- AND
CRUDE DEATH RATES—ANNUAL FIGURES AND
AVERAGES FOR INTER - CENSAL PERIODS 1921—1970

1921—1930

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1921	183,917	40.6	140,749	31.1
1922	179,856	39.1	126,820	27.5
1923	181,437	38.7	141,891	30.3
1924	178,867	37.5	122,958	25.8
1925	193,261	39.9	117,543	24.2
1926	206,888	42.0	124,884	25.3
1927	205,469	41.0	113,003	22.6
1928	213,308	41.9	132,334	26.0
1929	198,005	38.3	135,274	26.2
1930	205,107	39.1	133,709	25.5
Total	1,946,115	Mean 39.8	1,289,165	Mean 26.5

1931—1945

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1931	199,170	37.4	117,452	22.1
1932	199,370	37.0	110,649	20.5
1933	209,032	38.6	114,690	21.2
1934	206,512	37.2	127,069	22.9
1935	192,755	34.4	204,823	36.6
1936	192,060	34.1	123,039	21.8
1937	216,072	37.8	124,210	21.7
1938	208,389	35.9	122,299	21.0
1939	212,111	36.0	128,611	21.8
1940	212,980	35.8	122,738	20.6
1941	219,864	36.5	113,003	18.8
1942	221,064	36.7	112,044	18.6
1943	242,820	40.6	131,061	21.4
1944	232,827	37.1	133,985	21.3
1945	238,494	35.9	142,931	21.5
Total	2,038,792	Mean 39.0	1,928,604	Mean 22.1

1946—1952

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1946	256,886	37.4	135,937	19.8
1947	271,191	38.6	98,544	14.0
1948	287,695	39.7	93,711	13.0
1949	291,191	39.1	91,889	12.4
1950	304,635	39.7	95,142	12.4
1951	313,662	39.8	100,072	12.7
1952	313,532	38.8	95,298	11.8
Total	2,038,792	Mean 39.0	710,593	Mean 13.7

1953—1962

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1953	321,217	38.7	89,003	10.7
1954	303,894	35.7	86,794	10.2
1955	325,538	37.3	94,368	11.8
1956	325,067	36.4	87,561	9.8
1957	334,135	36.5	92,759	10.1
1958	335,690	35.8	90,815	9.7
1959	356,336	37.0	87,971	9.1
1960	361,702	36.6	84,918	8.6
1961	363,677	35.8	81,653	8.0
1962	370,762	35.5	88,928	8.5
Total	3,398,018	Mean 36.5	884,770	Mean 9.7

1963—1970

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1963	365,842	34.1	91,673	8.5
1964	361,577	33.2	95,618	8.8
1965	369,437	33.1	91,728	8.2
1966	369,153	32.3	94,419	8.3
1967	369,531	31.6	87,877	7.5
1968	384,178	32.0	94,903	7.9
1969	372,774	30.4	102,356	8.3
1970	368,262	29.4	94,129	7.5
Total	2,960,754	Mean 32.0	752,693	Mean 8.1

1971—1973

Year	Births	Crude Birth Rates	Deaths	Crude Death Rates
1971	382,480	30.1	97,374	7.7
1972	384,066	29.7	104,080	8.0
1973	366,186	27.8	100,850	7.7

TABLE II. INTERCENSAL INCREASE OF THE POPULATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS—1963—1971

Administrative District	POPULATION		INTERCENSAL INCREASE	
	1963 Census	1971 Census	Number	Per cent
SRI LANKA (All Districts)	10,582,064	12,711,143	2,129,079	20.1
Colombo	2,207,420	2,672,620	465,200	21.1
Kalutara	631,457	731,824	100,367	15.9
Kandy	1,043,632	1,187,170	143,538	13.8
Matale	255,630	316,342	60,712	23.7
Nuwara Eliya	397,756	453,243	55,487	14.0
Galle	641,474	737,451	95,977	15.0
Matara	514,969	588,254	73,285	14.2
Hambantota	274,297	341,005	66,708	24.3
Jaffna	612,596	704,350	91,754	15.0
Mannar	60,124	77,882	17,758	29.5
Vavuniya	68,621	95,536	26,915	39.2
Batticaloa	196,189	258,104	61,915	31.6
Amparai	211,732	272,790	61,058	28.8
Trincomalee	138,553	191,989	53,436	38.6
Kurunegala	852,661	1,028,107	175,446	20.6
Puttalam	302,546	379,787	77,241	25.5
Anuradhapura	279,788	389,207	109,419	39.1
Polonnaruwa	113,971	163,858	49,887	43.8
Badulla	521,845	616,315	94,470	18.1
Moneragala	132,260	191,505	59,245	44.8
Ratnapura	546,037	661,710	115,673	21.2
Kegalle	578,506	652,094	73,588	12.7

TABLE III. - NET MIGRATION BY DISTRICTS 1963-1971

District	Births and Deaths during the Inter-censal Period 1963-71			Population in 1971			
	Population at 1963 Census	Births	Deaths	Estimated from births and Deaths	Enumerated at Census	Net Migration	Rate
Colombo	2,207,420	595,068	169,460	2,631,028	2,672,620	+ 41,592	+ 1.70
Kalutara	631,457	150,803	43,274	738,986	731,824	- 7,162	- 1.05
Kandy	1,043,632	304,612	86,264	1,261,980	1,187,170	- 74,810	- 6.70
Matale	255,630	84,744	20,184	320,190	316,342	- 3,848	- 1.35
Nuwara Eliya	397,756	112,601	37,486	472,871	453,243	- 19,628	- 4.61
Galle	641,474	158,205	45,004	754,675	737,451	- 17,224	- 2.50
Matara	514,969	151,009	33,424	632,554	588,254	- 44,300	- 8.03
Hambantota	274,297	83,951	15,793	342,455	341,005	- 1,450	- .47
Jaffna	612,596	171,145	45,888	737,853	704,350	- 33,503	- 5.09
Mannar	60,124	20,528	4,718	75,934	77,882	+ 1,948	+ 2.82
Vavuniya	68,621	25,347	4,396	89,572	95,536	+ 5,964	+ 7.27
Batticaloa	196,189	77,961	19,555	254,595	258,104	+ 3,509	+ 1.54
Amparai	211,732	78,163	15,267	274,628	272,790	- 1,838	- .76
Trincomalee	138,553	51,622	8,360	181,815	191,989	+ 10,174	+ 6.16
Kurunegala	852,661	248,131	52,921	1,047,871	1,028,107	- 19,764	- 2.10
Puttalam	302,546	94,968	21,653	375,861	379,787	+ 3,926	+ 1.15
Anuradhapura	279,788	101,467	17,605	363,650	389,207	+ 25,557	+ 7.64
Polonnaruwa	113,971	39,709	5,721	147,959	163,858	+ 15,899	+ 11.45
Badulla	521,845	169,387	43,348	647,884	616,315	- 31,569	- 2.78
Moneragala	132,260	53,583	9,190	176,653	191,505	+ 14,852	+ 9.17
Ratnapura	546,037	160,354	44,185	662,206	661,710	- 496	- .08
Kegalle	578,506	134,622	34,366	678,762	652,094	- 26,668	- 4.33

TABLE IV—POPULATION AND ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS 1946-1971

Age Group Years	Population				Economically Active Population				Activity Rate							
	1946		1953		1963		1971		1946		1953		1963		1971	
10—14	805642	920186	1330796	1622706	104502	92488	82758	85152	13.0	10.2	6.2	5.2	14.1	10.5	8.1	6.3
	414620	474739	680637	829130	58491	50007	55025	52400	11.8	9.9	4.3	4.1	11.8	9.9	4.3	4.1
15—19	391022	445447	650159	793578	46011	44281	27733	32753	43.0	37.4	341	37.6	43.0	37.4	341	37.6
	680614	703844	1021354	1365074	292487	263479	348116	512836	59.2	46.5	46.2	46.4	59.2	46.5	46.2	46.4
20—24	364467	364432	517803	677807	76526	169340	239403	334017	24.3	27.7	21.6	26.4	24.3	27.7	21.6	26.4
	316147	339412	485859	678270	1242427	94139	108713	178823	54.2	55.8	84.4	65.4	54.2	55.8	84.4	65.4
25—29	641571	767472	885859	1242427	275035	428318	504388	812527	83.3	81.3	84.4	89.2	83.3	81.3	84.4	89.2
	327847	395165	444416	613820	74657	106853	129387	265064	23.8	28.7	61.3	42.2	23.8	28.7	61.3	42.2
30—34	313724	372307	441443	628614	362908	447906	455833	632367	62.8	63.2	94.1	96.9	62.8	63.2	94.1	96.9
	577518	708871	742112	933433	291804	351504	353660	447006	95.0	94.7	94.1	99.3	95.0	94.7	94.1	99.3
35—39	307253	371205	375758	461496	303319	342266	419777	102173	26.3	28.5	62.8	66.9	26.3	28.5	62.8	66.9
	270265	337666	368454	471938	71104	96402	12173	185363	67.4	65.7	96.5	97.8	67.4	65.7	96.5	97.8
40—44	449887	520785	667920	719182	303319	342266	419777	481285	99.3	95.1	96.5	97.8	99.3	95.1	96.5	97.8
	246477	285303	353325	366780	24477	70984	78747	122605	28.8	30.1	25.0	34.8	28.8	30.1	25.0	34.8
45—49	203410	235482	314395	352396	358572	358318	412566	467069	63.1	66.9	63.1	65.1	63.1	66.9	63.1	65.1
	468282	535590	653346	717688	321303	279940	332212	350539	98.4	95.8	96.8	97.3	98.4	95.8	96.8	97.3
50—54	261055	292138	343417	360176	256815	279940	332212	350539	88.4	82.2	25.9	32.6	88.4	82.2	25.9	32.6
	207227	243452	310129	357511	64488	78378	80354	116530	31.1	31.1	64.4	65.9	31.1	31.1	64.4	65.9
55—59	322232	372040	471368	586173	227675	256422	303535	386215	70.7	68.9	96.1	96.8	70.7	68.9	96.1	96.8
	182365	210565	258727	311198	180584	200632	248525	301212	99.0	95.3	96.1	96.8	99.0	95.3	96.1	96.8
60—64	139867	161475	212641	274978	47091	55790	55010	85000	33.7	34.6	64.7	64.5	33.7	34.6	64.7	64.5
	319564	370316	443826	548147	224224	258262	287306	353332	70.2	69.7	95.7	95.7	70.2	69.7	95.7	95.7
65 & over	183424	211357	246853	288238	178806	201632	236162	275892	97.5	95.3	26.0	29.8	97.5	95.3	26.0	29.8
	136140	158959	196973	259911	45418	56630	51144	77441	33.4	35.6	61.4	60.6	33.4	35.6	61.4	60.6
65 & over	196131	278154	345985	421634	229084	192155	212264	255555	69.1	69.1	61.4	60.6	69.1	69.1	61.4	60.6
	104804	159664	193882	224805	198748	149700	179789	207406	63.8	35.8	21.4	24.5	63.8	35.8	21.4	24.5
65 & over	91327	118490	152103	196829	180942	42455	32475	48152	90.7	67.1	58.1	51.6	90.7	67.1	58.1	51.6
	163150	188625	268103	359475	48142	126498	155876	185370	30.1	91.2	87.8	80.9	30.1	91.2	87.8	80.9
65 & over	94698	108944	155019	195036	19797	99325	136079	157841	34.1	34.1	17.5	16.7	34.1	34.1	17.5	16.7
	68452	79681	113084	164442	198748	27173	19797	27531	55.2	59.7	48.9	41.4	55.2	59.7	48.9	41.4
65 & over	130448	153448	241575	272267	198748	91611	118169	112590	84.2	84.2	76.7	65.6	84.2	84.2	76.7	65.6
	71168	83958	138707	152410	161057	70722	106393	100029	82.1	30.1	11.4	10.5	82.1	30.1	11.4	10.5
65 & over	59280	69490	102868	119864	37691	20889	11776	12560	23.0	30.1	31.3	24.4	23.0	30.1	31.3	24.4
	229498	283821	379357	549063	161057	133826	118767	133892	47.2	47.2	52.2	40.7	47.2	47.2	52.2	40.7
65 & over	124776	152218	207824	297210	37691	103191	108472	121100	52.4	23.3	6.0	5.1	52.4	23.3	6.0	5.1
	104722	131603	171533	251855	2611944	30635	10295	12788	76.1	51.6	45.9	47.3	76.1	51.6	45.9	47.3
Total	4984537	5803152	7453901	9337273	2041944	2993349	3451707*	4418190	24.8	73.0	69.2	68.0	24.8	73.0	69.2	68.0
	2682954	3109688	3916386	4787569	5700000	2268740	2736046	3253588	24.8	26.9	20.0	25.6	24.8	26.9	20.0	25.6
	2301583	2693464	3537533	4549723	5700000	724609	715661	1164611	24.8	26.9	20.0	25.6	24.8	26.9	20.0	25.6

*Includes 4052 males and 3235 females of unspecified age.

TABLE V. EMPLOYED POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY & SEX

	1953		1963		1971		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
All Economic Activities	T	2,993,349	100	3,195,125	100	3,621,987	100
	M	2,268,740	100	2,540,407	100	2,807,172	100
	F	724,609	100	654,718	100	814,816	100
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry & Fishing	T	1,584,141	52.9	1,681,937	52.6	1,823,957	50.4
	M	1,147,404	50.5	1,266,315	49.8	1,319,217	47.0
	F	436,737	60.3	415,622	63.5	504,735	61.9
(i) Tea, Rubber & Coconut	T	856,110	28.6	787,872	24.7	727,263	20.1
	M	507,003	22.3	432,331	17.0	384,462	13.7
	F	349,107	48.2	355,541	54.3	342,798	42.1
(ii) Other Agricultural Products	T	684,860	22.9	848,822	26.6	1,040,803	28.7
	M	600,086	26.5	789,570	31.1	879,618	31.3
	F	84,874	11.7	59,252	9.1	160,762	19.7
(iii) Fishing	T	43,071	1.4	45,243	1.4	56,317	1.6
	M	40,315	1.8	44,414	1.7	55,137	2.0
	F	2,756	.4	829	.1	1,180	.1
1. Mining & Quarrying	T	13,790	.5	9,412	.3	15,309	.4
	M	12,033	.5	8,466	.3	13,863	.5
	F	1,757	.2	946	.1	1,444	.2
2. Manufacturing	T	289,245	9.7	292,275	9.2	347,424	9.6
	M	199,083	9.8	229,075	9.0	247,090	8.8
	F	90,162	12.4	63,200	9.7	100,340	12.3

3. Electricity, Gas & Water	T	7,842	.1	3,264	.1	7,842	.2	9,444	.3
	M	7,719	.1	3,096	.1	7,719	.3	9,197	.3
	F	123	.0	168	.0	123	.0	248	.1
4. Construction	T	85,131	1.9	56,686	1.9	85,131	2.7	112,420	3.1
	M	83,795	2.4	53,447	2.4	83,795	3.3	111,214	4.0
	F	1,336	.4	3,239	.4	1,336	.2	1,206	.1
5. Wholesale & Retail Trade & Restaurants & Hotels	T	349,108	9.4	282,842	9.4	349,108	10.9	345,433	9.5
	M	325,513	11.2	253,343	11.2	325,513	12.8	322,480	11.5
	F	23,595	4.1	29,499	4.1	23,595	3.6	22,948	2.8
6. Transport, Storage & Communication	T	137,598	3.5	104,292	3.5	137,598	4.3	155,272	4.3
	M	135,183	4.4	98,980	4.4	135,183	5.3	151,587	5.4
	F	2,415	.7	5,312	.7	2,415	.4	3,687	.5
7. Financing, Insurance & Real Estate and Business Services	T	15,599	2.2	65,070	2.2	15,599	.5	26,347	.7
	M	14,765	2.5	57,104	2.5	14,765	.6	24,412	.8
	F	833	1.1	7,966	1.1	833	.1	1,936	.2
8. Community, Social & Personal Services	T	440,869	13.2	396,204	13.2	440,869	13.8	488,131	13.5
	M	317,306	12.6	286,066	12.6	317,306	12.5	354,418	12.6
	F	123,563	15.2	110,138	15.2	123,563	18.9	133,707	16.4
9. Activities not adequately described	T	175,355	6.6	197,815	6.6	175,355	5.5	298,267	8.2
	M	152,270	6.9	158,184	6.9	152,270	6.0	253,710	9.0
	F	23,085	5.5	39,631	5.5	23,085	3.5	44,559	5.5

TABLE VI. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES BY SEX AND STATUS

	Total		Employees		Paid Employees		Workers on Own Account		Unpaid Family Workers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Food, Beverage, Industries—1953	T	39,529	1,296	3.3	26,045	65.9	11,053	28.0	1,135	2.9
	M	32,901	1,211	3.7	23,460	71.3	7,917	24.1	313	.9
	F	6,628	85	1.3	2,585	39.0	3,136	47.3	822	12.4
	T	47,841	1,968	4.1	38,210	79.9	7,195	15.0	420	.9
	M	43,861	1,908	4.4	34,898	79.6	6,659	15.2	351	.8
	F	3,980	60	1.5	3,312	83.2	536	13.5	69	1.7
1971	T	78,426	3,645	4.6	69,181	88.2	5,055	6.4	540	.7
	M	64,484	3,348	5.2	56,195	87.1	4,527	7.0	412	.6
	F	13,937	296	2.1	12,987	93.2	528	3.8	127	.9
	T	93,258	1,637	1.8	22,355	24.0	59,881	64.2	9,385	10.1
	M	25,222	1,094	4.3	14,796	58.7	8,690	34.5	642	2.5
	F	68,036	543	.8	7,559	11.1	51,191	75.2	8,743	12.9
Manufacture of Textiles and Foot Wear—1953	T	67,179	1,034	1.5	45,384	67.6	19,357	28.8	1,314	2.0
	M	22,409	685	3.1	18,560	82.8	2,944	13.1	192	.9
	F	44,770	349	.8	26,824	59.9	16,413	36.7	1,122	2.5
	T	121,045	5,040	4.2	95,276	78.7	19,029	15.7	1,699	1.4
	M	44,460	3,310	7.4	34,269	77.1	6,543	14.7	338	.8
	F	76,580	1,730	2.3	61,003	79.7	12,487	16.3	1,361	1.7

Manufacture of Furniture & Fixtures 1953	T	72,832	100	2,409	3.3	42,321	58.1	25,129	34.5	2,973	4.1	
	M	68,062	100	2,345	3.4	41,398	60.8	23,044	33.9	1,275	1.9	
	F	4,770	100	64	1.3	923	19.3	2,085	43.7	1,698	35.6	
	1963	T	71,620	100	2,581	3.6	47,123	65.8	20,469	28.6	1,244	1.7
		M	70,080	100	2,568	3.7	46,614	66.5	19,620	28.0	1,086	1.7
		F	1,540	100	13	.8	509	33.1	849	55.1	158	10.3
	1971	T	69,548	100	4,351	6.3	51,378	73.9	12,690	18.2	1,133	1.6
		M	67,537	100	4,260	6.3	50,766	75.2	11,483	17.0	1,031	1.5
		F	2,015	100	91	4.5	614	30.5	1,206	59.9	101	5.0
Other Manufacturing Industries 1953	T	97,419	100	4,033	4.1	57,346	58.9	30,869	31.7	5,171	5.3	
	M	86,159	100	3,832	4.4	53,672	62.3	26,605	30.9	2,041	2.4	
	F	11,269	100	201	1.8	3,674	32.6	4,264	37.8	3,130	27.8	
	1963	T	126,785	100	5,164	4.1	93,257	73.6	25,393	20.0	2,772	2.2
		M	113,534	100	4,996	4.4	83,870	73.9	22,919	20.2	1,581	1.4
		F	13,251	100	168	1.3	9,387	70.8	2,474	18.7	1,191	9.0
	1971	T	78,405	100	3,574	4.6	61,149	78.0	12,380	15.9	1,307	1.6
		M	70,609	100	3,529	5.0	55,032	77.9	11,130	15.8	911	1.3
		F	7,808	100	43	.6	6,113	78.3	1,251	16.0	395	5.1

TABLE VIII. POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SRI LANKA—1971—2001
HIGH, MEDIUM & LOW PROJECTIONS—BOTH SEXES

Age and Type of Projection		Projected population of Both Sexes in thousands as at mid-year						
		1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
All Ages	H		14,283	15,960	17,885	20,009	22,291	24,730
	M	12,762	14,283	15,826	17,357	18,868	20,338	21,786
	L		14,208	15,339	16,244	17,245	18,313	19,315
0—4	H		1,892	2,088	2,384	2,636	2,851	3,073
	M	1,752	1,892	1,954	1,989	2,014	2,028	2,066
	L		1,814	1,544	1,353	1,492	1,592	1,628
5—9	H			1,854	2,050	2,343	2,594	2,808
	M	1,684	1,717	1,854	1,920	1,955	1,982	1,997
	L			1,781	1,516	1,329	1,468	1,568
10—14	H				1,847	2,041	2,333	2,585
	M	1,571	1,675	1,709	1,847	1,911	1,949	1,975
	L				1,772	1,509	1,343	1,463
15—19	H					1,841	2,035	2,327
	M	1,415	1,564	1,668	1,702	1,841	1,905	1,942
	L					1,765	1,504	1,320
20—24	H						1,830	2,025
	M	1,183	1,403	1,553	1,657	1,692	1,830	1,897
	L						1,757	1,499
25—29	H							1,818
	M	990	1,171	1,391	1,540	1,645	1,680	1,818
	L							1,745
30—34		781	980	1,161	1,378	1,528	1,633	1,669
35—39		652	772	968	1,148	1,365	1,514	1,619
40—44		607	641	760	955	1,133	1,348	1,497
45—49		525	594	629	746	939	1,114	1,327
50—54		430	510	578	612	728	916	1,089
55—59		351	412	489	555	589	702	886
60—64		283	328	387	460	523	558	666
65—69		215	250	292	345	412	470	502
70—74		162	173	203	237	282	339	388
75 & over		159	198	228	266	314	374	450

Note 1. H—High Projection, M—Medium Projection, L—Low Projection.

Note 2. When the figure is the same under all three projections this common figure is entered against M.

Note 3. For the age group 30—34 and higher age groups the figures are the same under all three projections.

TABLE VIII. POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SRI LANKA—1971—2001
HIGH, MEDIUM & LOW PROJECTIONS—MALES

Age and Type of Projection		Projected Male Population in thousands as at mid-year						
		1971	1976	1986	1991	1996	1996	2001
All Ages	H		7,275	8,104	9,055	10,105	11,233	12,439
	M	6,523	7,275	8,036	8,787	9,527	10,244	10,948
	L		7,237	7,788	8,223	8,704	9,228	9,697
0—4	H		960	1,059	1,209	1,335	1,444	1,556
	M	888	960	991	1,008	1,020	1,027	1,046
	L		920	783	686	756	806	824
5—9	H			941	1,040	1,188	1,314	1,422
	M	852	871	941	974	991	1,004	1,011
	L			904	769	674	744	794
10—14	H				938	1,035	1,182	1,309
	M	799	847	867	938	969	987	1,000
	L				899	765	691	741
15—19	H					934	1,031	1,178
	M	717	795	843	863	934	965	983
	L					895	762	669
20—24	H						927	1,025
20—24	M	586	710	789	837	857	927	960
	L						890	759
								920
25—29	H							920
	M	588	580	704	782	830	850	920
	L							883
30—34		392	483	575	697	775	824	844
		333	387	477	568	690	767	816
40—44		318	327	381	470	560	680	757
45—49		280	310	320	372	460	548	667
50—54		230	270	300	309	361	446	532
55—59		190	219	257	286	295	345	427
60—64		157	176	204	240	267	277	324
65—69		120	137	155	180	213	237	246
70—74		91	95	109	124	144	172	192
75 & over		81	106	122	141	162	189	223

TABLE VIII. — POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR SRI LANKA—1971—2001
HIGH, MEDIUM & LOW PROJECTIONS—FEMALES

Age and Type of Projection		Projected Female Population in thousands at mid-year						
		1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
All Ages	H		7,008	7,856	8,830	9,904	11,058	12,291
	M	6,239	7,008	7,790	8,570	9,341	10,094	10,838
	L		6,971	7,551	8,021	8,541	9,085	9,618
0—4	H		932	1,029	1,175	1,301	1,407	1,517
	M	864	932	963	981	994	1,001	1,020
	L		894	761	667	736	786	804
5—9	H			913	1,010	1,155	1,280	1,386
	M	832	846	913	946	964	978	986
	L			877	747	655	724	774
10—14	H				909	1,006	1,151	1,276
	M	772	828	842	909	942	961	975
	L				873	744	652	722
15—19	H					907	1,004	1,149
	M	698	769	825	839	907	940	959
	L					870	742	651
20—24	H						903	1,000
	M	597	693	764	820	835	903	937
	L						867	740
26—29	H							898
	M	502	591	687	758	815	830	898
	L							862
30—34		389	497	586	681	753	809	825
35—39		319	385	491	580	675	747	803
40—44		289	314	379	485	573	668	740
45—49		245	284	309	374	479	566	660
50—54		200	240	278	303	367	470	557
55—59		161	193	232	269	294	357	459
60—64		126	152	183	220	256	281	342
65—69		95	113	137	165	199	233	256
70—74		71	78	93	113	138	167	196
75 & over		78	92	106	125	152	185	227

TABLE IX. PROJECTED LABOUR FORCE BY SEX AND AGE, 1971—2001
(FIGURES IN THOUSANDS)

Age and Sex	1971	1974	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
Males Total	3,265	3,776	4,321	4,875	5,440	6,017	6,578
10—14	50	51	49	51	49	47	45
18—19	348	386	410	419	453	469	477
20—24	523	633	704	747	765	827	856
28—29	473	563	682	758	805	824	892
30—34	384	472	562	682	758	806	826
35—39	324	377	464	553	671	747	794
40—44	308	317	369	454	542	658	733
45—49	268	297	306	357	440	525	638
50—54	212	249	277	286	333	411	491
55—59	153	177	208	231	239	279	345
60—64	103	116	133	158	175	182	213
65 & over	119	138	157	181	211	243	269
Females Total	1,169	1,396	1,633	1,869	2,104	2,342	2,567
10—14	32	34	34	36	38	38	38
18—19	184	209	231	242	268	286	289
20—24	252	308	355	399	424	479	516
25—29	197	244	296	341	381	405	456
30—34	136	173	204	237	262	282	287
35—39	104	126	160	189	220	243	262
40—44	89	97	117	150	177	206	229
45—49	73	85	92	112	143	169	197
50—54	49	59	68	74	90	115	137
55—59	27	32	39	45	49	60	77
60—64	13	16	19	23	27	30	36
65 & over	12	15	17	21	25	30	35
Total of Males and Females	4,434	5,172	5,954	6,744	7,544	8,359	9,145



