

Overview of Poverty in Sri Lanka

Shakeela Jabbar and Dinushka Senanayake

A Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) Publication

Briefing Paper Series

No. 1 - 2004

The Poverty Briefs are part of the **CEPA Briefing Paper Series**, which aim to disseminate information in a timely and quick manner.

The Briefing Paper Series contains two categories,

1. **Poverty Briefs**: these are aimed at a specialist as well as non-specialist audience and are written in an informal and informative style
2. **Policy Briefs**: these have a clear policy orientation and are aimed at policy makers in government, non-government, research and donor organizations that work on poverty and development issues

ISBN: 955-1040-08-2

ISSN: 1800-0436

Shakeela Jabbar is a Professional at the Centre for Poverty Analysis working on the Poverty Information and Knowledge Management programme.

Dinushka Senanayake is a Junior Professional at the Centre for Poverty Analysis working on the Poverty Information and Knowledge Management programme. She has a BA in Economics from the University of Durham.

Foreword

This series of Poverty Briefs (No. 1 to 10) was produced for OXFAM Great Britain (GB) by the Centre for Poverty Analysis to provide a macro overview of key thematic areas relating to poverty, of relevance to Oxfam GB's work in Sri Lanka. They are specifically designed to provide Oxfam GB programme staff with insights into the major issues, concerns, and debates within these themes and their linkages and effects on poverty in Sri Lanka. They also aim to highlight potential areas for policy advocacy by Oxfam GB. This input was used in staff preparation for Oxfam GB's Strategic Review in August 2004.

Oxfam GB's mission is, to work with others to overcome poverty and suffering. Its current programme focus is on: Livelihoods and poor people's access to markets; Gender equality, empowerment and ending violence against women; Public health promotion and access to quality water and sanitation facilities; Emergency preparedness and response; Relationship building between and within communities; and Empowerment of the poor through building of Community Based Organisations.

The views and opinions expressed in the Poverty Briefs are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Oxfam GB or the Centre for Poverty Analysis.

This series of Poverty Briefs was prepared in mid 2004, prior to the events of the Tsunami on 26th December 2004. The context and issues discussed in some of the Briefs could have changed since then.

Overview of Poverty in Sri Lanka

1. Definitions

Poverty is usually viewed as either a form of absolute or relative deprivation. “Absolute poverty is perceived as subsistence below the minimum requirements for physical well-being” (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2001). Absolute poverty is most commonly measured with respect to the ability of a household to afford a minimum set of consumption requirements. Relative poverty is taken as income or consumption levels that are below a particular percentage of the national average. In other words, relative poverty “is determined by an individual’s or household’s deprivation (or lack of well-being) in comparison to its position relative to others in society” (Gunewardena, 2004). An analysis of relative poverty, therefore, focuses on income inequality. Economics Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen notes that relative deprivation in terms of incomes can yield absolute deprivation in terms of capabilities depending on a person’s ability to convert income into well-being, which in turn is based on, for example, health status, age, gender, and differences in social or ecological environment.

The subjective approach to understanding poverty and measuring poverty argues that poverty and ill-being must be defined by ‘the poor’. In the “Perceptions of the Poor” (ADB, 2001) study, poverty was defined in terms of lack of something: lack of employment, sufficient income, infrastructure, housing, land, water and food. The definition of poverty further differed based on the person’s location. In Hambantota, poverty was defined as poor economic conditions, not having a house, a job, water for drinking and for cultivation, and crops being damaged by animals. In Trincomalee, on the other hand, poverty was defined as having no food, clothes, employment and freedom. In the conflict-affected North and East many aspects of poverty were linked to the armed conflict and its consequences. Therefore, in addition to the material dimension, the lack of freedom (for mobility and to earn a living) was also pointed out as a condition of poverty.

2. Measurements

i. Absolute and relative poverty

Measurement of poverty in Sri Lanka is mostly calculated using monetary measures. These measures are uni-dimensional which means that they look purely at economic deprivation. The monetary measurement of poverty can look at poverty in absolute or relative terms. Although various individual researchers and research organisations had been calculating poverty lines in Sri Lanka since the 1970s, it lacked an officially accepted poverty line. The major change in poverty research came in June 2004, with the release of the official poverty line calculated by the Department of Census and Statistics (DCS). Hereafter the DCS would release poverty lines once in every two years. The poverty line calculated by the DCS relates to absolute poverty and the poverty line is based on the Cost of Basic Needs Method (CBN).¹ Under this method, all households whose real per capita monthly total consumption expenditure is less than Rs.1423 in the year 2002 are considered poor. Furthermore, an upper poverty line and lower poverty line is also calculated in order to make a distinction between the poor and the ultra poor (to examine the depth of deprivation). The upper poverty line was calculated as Rs.1579 and the lower poverty line as Rs.1267. The poverty line was adjusted for price variations using the CCPI² for the years 2004, 1995/96 and 1990/91.

Although the majority of studies on poverty in Sri Lanka focus on absolute poverty, the importance of relative poverty in the Sri Lankan context, is fast gaining recognition. Probably the most relevant measures of relative poverty (based on available data) in Sri Lanka are the following:

- Gini coefficient
- Income per capita by income deciles³
- Expenditure per household by expenditure deciles

¹ A food poverty line is calculated by an estimate of the cost of the food bundle, which satisfies a person's minimum caloric requirements. To that is added a non-food component, which estimates the allowance for basic necessities such as housing, clothing, transport etc.

² CCPI denotes the Colombo Consumer Price Index

³ A decile is 10% of the total population of 100%

Although the gini coefficient conventionally measures income inequality rather than poverty per se, it is considered a fair proxy measure of relative poverty. It is a number between zero and one that measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of income in a given society. The coefficient would register zero (0.0 = minimum inequality) for a society in which each member received exactly the same income and it would register a coefficient of one (1.0 = maximum inequality) if one member got all the income and the rest got nothing.

As an example, the Gini coefficient for China was calculated in 2002 at 0.45. India's coefficient has hovered around 0.32 over the past five decades. The Gini coefficient for Sri Lanka remained unchanged at 0.52 from 1981/82 to 1995/96. It increased slightly in 2002 to 0.55, a 0.03 point increase from 1995/96. This implies that although Sri Lanka records hardly any change in income inequality over the past two decades, in 2002 one could notice marginal increase in the gap between the rich and the poor.

Income per capita by decile is used to measure relative poverty by calculating the share of income received by the lowest two deciles as a percentage of income received by the highest decile. The same method applies for calculating relative poverty using expenditure (both food and non food) deciles. In the year 2002 the lowest two deciles earned only 2.5% of the total income, while the highest decile earned 41.8% of the total income. Furthermore, in 2002 the lowest four deciles⁴ (earned 10.2% of total income) earnings amounted to just 25% of the highest decile which also emphasises that relative poverty is considerably high in Sri Lanka.

Hence, in Sri Lanka one third of the total population earn little more than two third (67.9%) of the total income while the other two third of the population earn just around one third (32.1%) of the total income. It is also note worthy to state that in Sri Lanka more than 70% of the households spend more than half of their total expenditure on food and drinks which are basic necessities.

It is not easy to come to any firm conclusions regarding the trends in the relative position of the poor in the income distribution structure in Sri Lanka. However, looking only at the terminal years of the data, one can say that the

⁴ Lowest four deciles could also be defined as the poorest 40% of the total households

Table 1: Income Distribution by Decile - Selected Years 1963-1996/97
(Percent of income receivers)

| Decile | 1963 | 1973 | 78/79 | 81/82 | 86/87 | 90/91 | 96/97 | 2002 |
|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Lowest | 1.17 | 1.80 | 1.19 | 1.17 | 1.09 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 0.6 |
| Second | 2.70 | 3.17 | 2.57 | 2.45 | 2.45 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 1.8 |
| Third | 3.56 | 4.38 | 3.57 | 3.41 | 3.40 | 4.3 | 3.9 | 3.2 |
| Fourth | 4.57 | 5.70 | 4.80 | 4.53 | 4.39 | 5.3 | 4.9 | 4.4 |
| Fifth | 5.55 | 7.10 | 5.93 | 5.53 | 5.69 | 6.4 | 6.1 | 5.7 |
| Sixth | 6.82 | 8.75 | 7.37 | 6.86 | 6.79 | 7.5 | 7.4 | 7.2 |
| Seventh | 8.98 | 10.56 | 9.10 | 8.54 | 8.37 | 9.2 | 9.1 | 9.3 |
| Eighth | 11.46 | 12.65 | 11.36 | 10.68 | 11.08 | 10.8 | 11.5 | 11.2 |
| Ninth | 16.01 | 15.26 | 15.36 | 14.87 | 15.37 | 14.9 | 15.7 | 14.9 |
| Highest | 39.24 | 29.98 | 38.73 | 41.93 | 41.37 | 36.5 | 37.3 | 41.8 |

Sources: CFS, Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1964, 1974, 1981/82 and 1986/87, HIES Department of Census and Statistics, 1997, 2002.

relative position of the poor has deteriorated in the last four decades. The income of the poorest in the country fell from 18.9 percent of the income of the richest in 1963 to 13.4 percent in 2002.

ii. Human poverty

Although, most of the studies on the estimation of poverty in Sri Lanka focus on monetary measurements, there is a general acceptance of a need to progress to a multidimensional method to encompass social, human and political dimensions of poverty such as social exclusion, empowerment and vulnerability. Poverty is not only manifested in an inability to afford basic consumption goods, but also in terms of a lack of access to services such as education, health care, utilities such as safe drinking water, safe sanitation facilities, lack of freedom being subject to vulnerability, etc..

The Human Development Index (HDI) and Human Poverty Index (HPI) are non-monetary measurement of poverty, which have been adopted in Sri Lanka. Both the HPI and HDI focus on absolute poverty. Whilst, Sri Lanka adopts the

standard HDI, the HPI is modified by the inclusion of certain indicators, which best capture human poverty in the Sri Lankan context. “While the concept of human development (measured by the HDI) focuses attention on levels of achievement and fulfilment, the concept of human poverty (measured by the HPI) concentrates on deprivation and shortfalls” (UNDP, 1998).

Table 2. Indicators for the measurement of poverty

| Monetary measures | Non-Monetary measures | |
|---|---|---|
| CBN method | HDI indicators | HPI indicators |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income/ consumption | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • life expectancy • adult literary rate • real GDP per capita | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of population dying before age 40 • adult illiteracy rate • inability to obtain safe drinking water • households with no toilet facilities • proportion of child births outside formal medical institutions • proportion of children not immunised • proportion of pregnant women not immunised • proportion of population without access to electricity |

3. Demographics

According to the Population census carried out in 2001, Sri Lanka has an estimated population of 19.3 million. This is an estimate as some divisions in the North and East were not fully enumerated due to unstable political condition at that time. It is also important to point, that as a result, much of the data included in this brief does not incorporate the entirety of the North and East. The census results showed that 80% of the total population reside in the rural sector and only 15% and 5% in urban and estate sector respectively. 32% of the total population is in the Western Province and almost 25% reside in Colombo and Gampaha districts. Colombo district records the highest population density of 3305 persons per square km, which is more than ten times the national average of 307 persons per sq. km. The lowest density is recorded in Monaragala with 72 persons per sq. km.

The country is also geographically divided into the dry zone, wet zone and central highlands based on the climatic conditions and type of soil and type of crops cultivated.

Table 3: Districts and main crops cultivated by climatic zones

| | Dry Zone | Wet Zone | Central Highland |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| Districts | Jaffna, Batticaloa, Ampara, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Vavuniya, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Mannar, Moneragala, Puttalam, Hambantota | Colombo, Gampaha, Matara, Kalutara, Galle, Kurunegala, Kegalle, Ratnapura | Kandy, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya, Matale |
| Main Crops | Rubber, coconut, up-country tea, paddy, grains, tobacco, minor cash crops (cinnamon, cardamom) | Paddy, green gram, gram, pumpkin, corn, chena cultivation | Tea, country vegetables (leeks, carrot, beetroot, beans, potatoes), paddy |

Sri Lanka records a population growth rate of 1.2%. Crude birth rate is 19.1 per 1000 people and total fertility rate is 1.9 births per women. 82% of the total population is Sinhalese, 4% Sri Lankan Tamils (this figure is low because the entire population from the North and East are not included), 5% Indian Tamils and 8% Sri Lankan Moors.

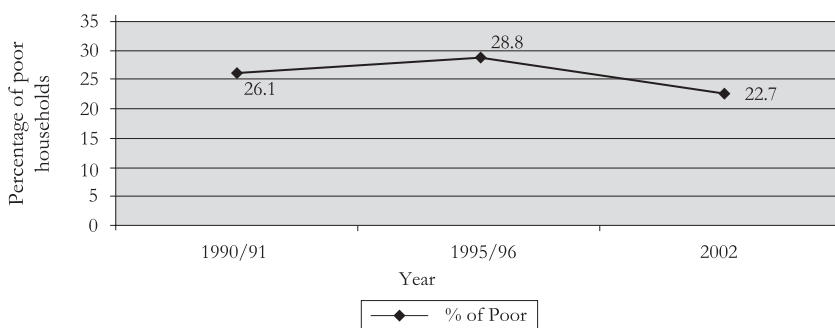
Sri Lanka records a declining trend with regard to its dependency ratio. The dependency ratio is the percentage of the young population against the old population. (A high dependency ratio, for example, means that the working population has to support a large elderly population). In 1970 the dependency ratio was 83.7% of the total working population whereas it was 65.4% in the year 1990 and by 2003 it came further down to 49.3%. This is indicative of an ageing population, which has increased its share from 4.2% of total population in 1980 to 6.4% in 2003.

4. Poverty Levels

i. National

Sri Lanka has been and continues to be of great interest to development researchers due to its outlier position within “the low-middle income countries” category. Although its GDP per capita of US\$947 (in 2003) categorises it as a low-middle income country, as its performance in human and social indicators are on par with mid/high middle-income nations. Furthermore, this success story does not hold for consumption poverty, irrespective of it being measured in its absolute or relative form.

Figure 1. National Poverty Trends



Source: Department of Census and Statistics, 2002

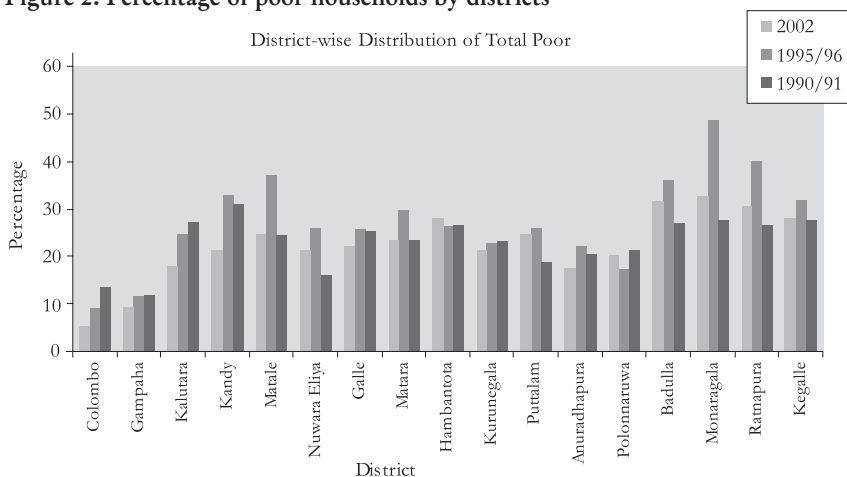
According to the official poverty line released by the DCS the incidence of poverty in 1990/91 was 26.1%, and 28.8% in 1995/96. In the year 2002 it declined to 22.7%, however this translates into more than 4 million people lying below the poverty line.

ii. District and provincial

The provincial poverty levels ranged from the highest of 31.8% of households in the Uva province to 9.2% in the Western province in 2002. Although only 9.2% of the households in the Western province are poor, when it comes to

absolute numbers it has the largest number of the poor as one third of the total population reside in this Province. Comparing 1995/96 to 2002 there is a decline in overall poverty levels. However, it is accepted that 1995/96 was an outlier year due to the severe drought, which prevailed in most parts of the country. However, when comparing poverty figures for the past decade, there has been a slight increase in poverty levels in the Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces, which reinforces the necessity for a lead development effort for these two regions.

Figure 2. Percentage of poor households by districts



Data Source: DCS

The district-wise distribution of the poor households range from 5% in Colombo to 32.4% in Moneragala. Out of a total of 17 districts,⁵ seven districts report more than quarter of their households as poor. All districts, with the exception of Colombo, Gampaha, Kalutara, Nuwara Eliya and Anuradhapura, exhibit more than 20% of their households below the poverty line. The highest decline (close to 10%) in poverty was reported from the Kalutara and Kandy districts. On the other hand, a high increase (5% and above) were recorded in the Puttalam, Badulla, Moneragala and the Ratnapura districts. In general, districts with poor economic and social infrastructure and relatively low linkage to growth centres seem to have a higher incidence of poverty.

⁵ The data for the 8 districts in Northern and Eastern provinces was not released at the date of publication

iii. Sectoral distribution of the poor

Poverty in Sri Lanka is predominantly a rural phenomenon. Ninety percent of the total poor reside in the rural areas. However, estimations of rural and urban poverty should be interpreted with caution because the areas governed by town councils are classified as rural which were earlier classified as urban. Further the urban population in Sri Lanka is only 20%. If a more rigorous method is used for the classification of urban sector, this picture might change depicting a considerably higher percentage of the urban population as poor.

In the year 2002 the estate sector fares the worst in terms of poverty and also with regard to social indicators such as housing, access to education and health services, safe drinking water, sanitation, electricity and malnutrition. On the other hand the rural sector has poor access to economic infrastructure such as electricity, telecommunication services and road networks. Despite lesser rates of poverty in urban areas, the urban poor are more prone towards marital instability, crime, domestic violence, and alcoholism than are the rural poor (Silva, 1998).

5. Socio-Economic Conditions

i. Education

Sri Lanka's high achievement in human and social development can be attributed to its long standing egalitarian approach to social welfare. Universal free education has led to a primary net enrolment ratio of 97%. Adult literacy rate is on the increase with 90.7% of the population being literate, 92.3% of males and 89.2% of females (DCS, 2002). The average number of schooling years for males and females stands at 7.7 years and 7.5 years respectively (Gunewardene, 2000). Further the literacy rate and the average number of schooling years per person varies by sector, district and the economic background of the individual.

Table 4: Literacy and schooling for the poor and non-poor in urban and rural sector, 1995/96

| | Literacy rates | | Average years of schooling | |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Urban | | | | |
| Very poor | 90.40 | 84.80 | 6.90 | 6.30 |
| Poor | 90.20 | 89.80 | 7.60 | 7.10 |
| Non poor | 97.20 | 94.10 | 9.50 | 9.10 |
| Urban average | 95.80 | 92.40 | 9.00 | 8.50 |
| Rural and Estate | | | | |
| Very poor | 87.50 | 81.70 | 6.30 | 6.20 |
| Poor | 90.70 | 83.70 | 7.00 | 6.60 |
| Non poor | 93.60 | 88.40 | 8.20 | 8.00 |
| Rural/est. average | 91.70 | 86.00 | 7.50 | 7.30 |
| National | 92.20 | 87.00 | 7.70 | 7.50 |

Source: Gunewardena, 2000

The literacy rate is the highest amongst non-poor urban males, which is 97.2%, while the lowest percentage 81.7 for very poor females in both the rural and estate sectors. This pattern is similar for average years of schooling. The overall average is approximately 7.5 years of schooling to those above 10 years. The highest average number of schooling years is evident amongst urban sector non-poor males (9.5) and the lowest amongst the rural and estate sector females (6.2). Furthermore, for both males and females, this average ranges from about 5.2 years of schooling for the poorest group to about 10.8 to the richest group (Gunewardene, 2000). Therefore, it is apparent that there is a link between poverty and the level of education and geographical location of the person.

ii. Health

Heavy government expenditure allocated to health care in the past has resulted in an impressive life expectancy of 73 years and a remarkable improvement in under 5 child mortality rates; 19 per 1000 children in 2002 as opposed to 133 in 1966. The child immunisation rate is also impressive at 95%. There is a decline in maternal mortality rate and an improvement in the number of births attended by skilled health personnel from 75% in 1980 to 96% in 2000.

Whilst basic healthcare is satisfactory, Sri Lanka's achievement in preventive healthcare is less successful and is one of the major causes of poverty.⁶ In addition, the provision of healthcare varies greatly across districts and even across villages within a district. It should also be noted that the national estimates of healthcare exclude the Northern and Eastern Provinces, where health achievements are expected to be far worse than the rest of the country.

iii. Living conditions

Sri Lanka records a remarkable improvement in terms of living standards. According to 2001 statistics more than 80% of total households have access to safe drinking water, more than 90% have safe sanitation facilities and 68.2% have access to electricity. However, in terms of safe drinking water Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces perform worse as 30% to 40% do not have access to safe drinking water while the Eastern province, mainly in Batticaloa and Trincomalee little more than 70% of the households lack access to sanitary latrines.

With regard to acquiring knowledge and seeking information using new technologies Sri Lanka depicts a sharp improvement. This is clearly evident due to an increase in usage of radio and television. The increase is 111% for television (114 per 1000 people) and 92% for radio (296 per 1000 people) from 1990 to 2000. Usage of computers, e-mail and internet does not seem to have gained widespread use as yet. The expansion in television viewers is due to widespread availability of electricity and because television is considered one of the essential goods of the household. The private sector investment in wireless telephones has expanded telephone utilisation among rural households too.

iv. Gender development:

Sri Lanka has a mixed performance with regard to gender development. On the one hand females' literacy rates are high and school enrolment rates are higher than for males. However, overall females' participation in the labour market is somewhat weak compared to males. The Gender Development Index (GDI

⁶ Household interviews carried in 17 districts to gather data for Sri Lankan Report on Community Food Security Profiling, 2002 (unpublished report)

calculated by UNDP) is considered the most useful indicator to measure the level of gender development in a country. GDI is measured by three variables: 1) life expectancy, 2) literacy and schooling enrolment and 3) real income. Sri Lanka performs moderately well in gender development, with the GDI of 69% in 1994 (UNDP, 1998), which is above the average for developing countries (56%) and the world average of 64%.

| District | GDI | Rank |
|------------------|--------------|------|
| Anuradhapura | 0.558 | 1 |
| Polonnaruwa | 0.557 | 2 |
| Nuwara Eliya | 0.537 | 3 |
| Gampaha | 0.506 | 4 |
| Colombo | 0.490 | 5 |
| Kalutara | 0.483 | 6 |
| Kurunegala | 0.482 | 7 |
| Badulla | 0.479 | 8 |
| Hambantota | 0.474 | 9 |
| Matale | 0.462 | 10 |
| Ratnapura | 0.447 | 11 |
| Galle | 0.425 | 12 |
| Matara | 0.419 | 13 |
| Monaragala | 0.411 | 14 |
| Kegalle | 0.401 | 15 |
| Kandy | 0.402 | 16 |
| Puttalam | 0.358 | 17 |
| Sri Lanka | 0.465 | |

Source: UNDP National Human Development Report, 1998

Overall status of human development attained by women is fairly evenly distributed within the country mainly with regard to life expectancy levels and education attainments. However, gender development is marginally better in Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Nuwara Eliya districts because larger proportions of women in these areas are engaged in productive market activities (farming) and have become income earners. As a result, the share of economic production accruing to women in these districts has been relatively even as compared with the male earnings. Females are mainly involved in low skilled agriculture jobs and medium level service sector activities in these three districts.

However it is also important to note that female participation in skilled, professional and managerial jobs is depicted by the higher GDI in Gampaha and Colombo districts.

Women's standing according to the Gender Empowerment Index (GEM; measured by women's power in economic and political decision making) is low in Sri Lanka. In 2001 merely 4.4% of the seats in parliament were held by women and 3.1% of ministerial posts. However, female's engagement in professional and skilled work shows an increase to 23% of the total workforce in 2000, which is a total increase of 9.25% since 1980.

6. Sri Lanka's Economic Performance

Sri Lanka recorded a GDP of \$18.2 billion in 2003 with a per capita income of US\$947. The GDP growth rate per annum has averaged around 5% over the past two decades. Following the JVP insurgency (1987-1989), increased privatisation reform and an emphasis on export-oriented growth helped revive the economy's performance (despite the ongoing war), taking GDP growth to 7% in 1993. In 2001, however, GDP registered negative growth of 1.4% for the first time since independence. The economy was hit by a series of global and domestic economic problems during this period. In 2002, Sri Lanka commenced a gradual recovery. The cease-fire agreement in 2002 led to a reduction in defence expenditures and began to focus on getting public sector debt under control. In addition, the economy has benefited from lower interest rates, a recovery in domestic demand, increased tourist arrival, a revival of the stock exchange, and increased foreign direct investment (FDI).

In 2003, economic growth bounced up to 5.9%, helped by strong service sector growth especially in telecom and financial services. The service sector is the largest component of GDP (54.7%). Industrial sector accounts for about 26.3% of GDP. The textile, apparel, and leather products sector is the largest within manufacturing. Agriculture has lost its relative importance to the Sri Lankan economy in recent decades. It accounts for only 19% of GDP and provides employment to 33% of the working population.

7. Summary

- There has been significant progress with regard to measurement of poverty and poverty reduction in Sri Lanka from 1960s to 2000. Poverty lines, gini-co-efficient, and distribution of income are the most popular methods of measuring poverty.
- There was a decline in the percentage of poor households from 30.4% in 1990 to 23.9% in 2002. However, more than 4 million people still lie below the poverty line.

- There is a substantial regional variation in poverty levels. Uva province has the highest share of the poor.
- When it comes to the sectors, the estate sector is the most prone to poverty. However, unemployment rates are higher in the rural sector.
- In comparison to other developing nations Sri Lanka fares well with regard to gender development, however females' participation in mainstream decision making is low.
- Since independence Sri Lanka managed to have a constant GDP growth of about 5% despite the war in the North and East. Only in 2001, did Sri Lanka register negative growth, largely due to local fiscal management and global economic decline.
- Sri Lanka fares much better in terms of social indicators such as education, health and living condition compared to other developing countries and there is little variation across districts. However this picture might completely change or show a higher discrepancy if one includes data from the North and East.

First prepared: July 2004

Updated: November 2004

References/ Further Reading

Asian Development Bank. 2001. *Perceptions of the Poor: Poverty Consultations in four districts of Sri Lanka*. Manila

Central Bank of Sri Lanka (2002) *Annual Report 2003*, CBSL, Colombo

Chronic Poverty Research Centre (2001) *Chronic poverty: meanings and analytical framework*, United Kingdom

Centre for Poverty Analysis (2002) *Sri Lankan Report on Community Food Security Profiling, 2002* (unpublished report), CEPA, Colombo

Department of Census and Statistics (1997) *Household Income and Expenditure Survey 1995/96: Final Report*, DCS, Colombo.

Department of Census and Statistics (2003) *Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2002, Preliminary Report*, DCS, Colombo.

Department of Census and Statistics. 2002. *Statistical Abstract 2002*. Colombo.

Department of Census and Statistics (2003) *Sectoral and Provincial Poverty Lines for Sri Lanka*, DCS, Colombo

Department of National Planning (2002) *Employment and Unemployment of Youth in Sri Lanka* (unpublished working paper)

Peiris, G.H. (1996) *Development and Changes in Sri Lanka. Geographical perspectives*, International Centre for Ethnic Studies. Kandy. Sri Lanka

Silva, K.T. (1998) "Sociological Perspectives relating to selected Aspects of Poverty in Sri Lanka", *Paper presented to the consultative group, Poverty Alleviation project*, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Colombo. December 1998.

Gunewardena, D. (2000) *Consumption Poverty in Sri Lanka. 1985-1996*, External Resources Department, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Colombo

Gunewardena, D. (2004) *Poverty Measurements: Meanings, Methods and Requirements*. Centre for Poverty Analysis, Colombo

SAARC (2003) *Regional Poverty Profile 2003*, SAARC Secretariat. Kathmandu

Sri Lanka Government (2000) *A Framework for Poverty Reduction*, Colombo

United Nations Development Programme (1998) *National Human Development Report*, Colombo.