

Fertility and Female Labour Force Participation in Sri Lanka

by

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1. Introduction

The relationship between fertility and female labour force participation has received considerable attention both because of its relevance for policy makers and because of its intrinsic socio-economic interest. There are different opinions concerning the existence and the nature of the relationship. In developed countries it has been suggested that fertility and female labour force participation are inversely related (Weller, 1977)¹. In contrast, the data for developing countries reveal inconsistencies. Analysing census data on areal differences in Latin American fertility, Heer et al., (1965) conclude that there is a negative relationship between female employment and fertility. Similarly the national level Indonesian data support the hypothesis of inverse relationship (Hull, 1977). On the other hand, the studies based on the aggregate data for Thailand (Goldstein, 1972) and for Korea (Lee Hyo-Chae et al., 1967) suggest that economically active women had higher fertility than inactive women. However, the disaggregated data for both the countries reveal the inverse relationship among the urban women engaged in non-agricultural type of work. A positive relationship emerges when the data for rural women engaged in the agricultural sector are analysed separately. Conversely, in Sub-Saharan African countries high female labour force participation exists side by side with high levels of fertility (Ware, 1977).

The reported variations have led some scholars in this field to conclude that the relationship between women's work and fertility is itself a variable and as such, under some conditions it may be positive, under others negative and under still other conditions become null (Weller, 1977). According to Kupinsky (1977), one cannot separate female employment and the level of fertility in a given country from other social, economic, and psychological factors. Concerning the diverse relationship in Thailand, Goldstein (1972) concludes that it may not be the labour force participation *per se*, but a series of other variables associated with labour participation that affects fertility.

1. However, the inverse relationship may not be uniform throughout all the sub-groups of population. For example, Clifford et al., (1977) found that the relationship holds more for Whites than for Blacks or Indians in the USA.

The casual relationship between female labour force participation and fertility is not simple. Weller (1977) contends that four major types of causal links are possible between these two variables :

- a. fertility affects labour force participation;
- b. labour force participation affects fertility;
- c. both fertility and labour force participation affect each other;
- d. the observed negative relationship is spurious and is caused by a common antecedent of both variables.

Even for the developed countries, in which the inverse relationship is found, the direction of the causal relationship is not well established (Stycos et al., 1967).²

2. Objective and Hypotheses

Sri Lanka is a developing country with a rapidly growing female labour force and declining fertility. During the intercensal period 1963-71 female labour force increased by 62.7 percent from 715.9 thousand in 1963 to 1164.6 thousand in 1971, averaging 6.1 percent per year.³ On the other hand, the crude birth rate declined by 12 percent from 34.1 per 1000 in 1963 to 30.1 per 1000 in 1971 (Dept. of Census, 1974). However, no previous study of the relationship between fertility and female labour force participation has been reported in Sri Lanka. Hence there are three major objectives of this study :

- a. to examine the effect of fertility upon female labour force participation;
- b. to examine the effect of labour force participation upon fertility; and
- c. to determine whether the observed relationship between labour force participation and fertility varies among the different occupations.

There are two major sets of factors affecting female labour force participation—(a) factors influencing women's propensity to work and, (b) the type of work available to them. Conceptually, the first set may be taken to represent supply factors and the second, demand factors (Darian, 1972). The effect of fertility is primarily on the supply side. As observed by Oppenheimer (1970) the two extremely important factors affecting a woman's propensity to work are her marital status and her fertility.

On the other hand, fertility is determined by a host of socio-economic factors. Among them female labour force participation has been cited as one of the most important variables though there is contradictory evidence of its impact on fertility in the developing countries (Speare et al., 1973). The argument is that the work role conflicts with that of the role of mother. In this paper, therefore, interest focuses on occupational structure of females to highlight the role compatibility.

2. According to Kupinsky (1977) not only the direction of causality but also the nature of the relationship is yet to be resolved.

3. The definitions of the two censuses are not exactly comparable.

The demographic situation in Sri Lanka is unique in many respects as compared to other developing countries, particularly in the Asian region; it is more closer to developed countries than to developing countries. Thus, the basic hypotheses of the study are as follows :

- a. the relationship between female labour force participation and fertility is inverse;
- b. the negative relationship varies among occupations but it is quite strong for white-collar occupations.

3. Source of Data

The data used in this study have been obtained from the two percent special sample tabulations of the 1971 census of Sri Lanka. The analysis is restricted to currently married women aged 15-49.

In the determination of female labour force participation in Sri Lanka, it seems that the estate sector⁴ is very important (Wilson, 1975). But in order to minimize the sampling errors (sample size is small, N=10306 for economically active) the estate sector was regrouped into rural when fertility differentials by place of residence are analysed.

The labour force participation is a current situation. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use current fertility to analyse the relationship between labour force participation and the level of fertility (Elizaga, 1971). Because of the limitations in the available data,⁵ however, this study is based on the cumulative fertility measured in terms of the number of ever-born children.

4. Labour Force Status of Currently Married Women

In 1971, of the females aged 15 years and over in Sri Lanka 59.1 percent were currently married and 31.3 percent were single. The proportion of divorced, widowed and separated women were relatively small (9.6 percent). For every 100 currently married women (CMW) nearly 27 were in the labour force (Table 1), with 22 employed and 5 unemployed. The participation rate among CMW was relatively lower than that of the single women. But the rate of employment⁶ was substantially higher among CMW than single women. If the analysis is limited to CMW of reproductive ages (15-49) the data show that 30 percent of them were in the labour force.

Between urban and rural areas there appears a remarkable difference in the level of labour force participation. In rural areas women's participation is much higher than in urban areas: 29 percent of the CMW in the rural sector were economically active as against the 18.5 percent of their urban counterparts. Nearly one-half of the economically active urban women were un-

4. 63.8 percent of females 10 years of age and over was economically active in the estate sector in 1968 as against the 17.6 percent and 14.5 percent in urban and rural sectors respectively.

5. In Sri Lanka, vital statistics were not cross classified by activity status.

6. Defined as a percent of total currently married women of 15 years and over.

employed.⁷ But the unemployment rate among rural women was very low (only 3.6 percent). The high rate of participation in rural areas is largely due to the availability of agricultural work for women.

Table I presents the activity status by age for CMW in Sri Lanka as a whole and separately for urban and rural areas. The age specific activity rate at younger ages increases and reaches a peak in the age group 25-34 (35-49 in the case of urban sector) and then declines with increasing age. In the developed countries, in which the inverse relationship has been well established, the age pattern for CMW deviates from that of Sri Lanka. In the USA, for example, the activity rate increases with age until the age group 22-24, then declines in the age group 25-29 and begins to rise again to reach the second peak in the age group 40-44 (US Bureau of the Census, 1973). The Sri Lankan pattern does not change even if the rates in the five year age groups are considered: The age specific employment rates follow the same general pattern but reach a peak at age 35-39. However, the age specific unemployment rates decline regularly with increasing age. As observed by Cain (1966) and Bowen et al. (1969), the declining unemployment rates with age may be a result of the discouraged worker effect which is predominant among married women.

The rural-urban differences in the age specific employment and unemployment rates are remarkable. The rural employment rates were considerably higher as compared to urban ones. For example, the urban unemployment rates are twice as high as corresponding rural rates. The relatively high unemployment in the urban sector is a common phenomenon in developing countries (Beier, 1976).

Traditionally, women have been concentrated in a limited number of occupations (Oppenheimer, 1973). Even to-day, occupations with larger concentrations of women workers generally offer lesser financial rewards (Hudis et al., 1978). The occupational structure of Sri Lankan women is not an exception. In Sri Lanka, about 62 percent of CMW were employed in agricultural occupations, the figure being 42 percent in modern agriculture (cultivation of tea, rubber, and coconut) and 20 percent in traditional agriculture (cultivation of rice and other food stuffs). However, as can be expected relatively high proportion (42 percent) of urban women were engaged in white-collar occupations.

Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of total female workers (15+) and CMW workers by occupation.⁸ As shown by the data in the left hand side, female workers were concentrated in three occupations; weaving, teaching, and modern agriculture were in that order. The female share exceeds 50 percent in each of these three occupations. The health and domestic service were also two other occupations with substantially high female shares.

7. Interestingly, the standardized rate of employment exceeds the corresponding rate of employment by 0.8 percentage points.

8. On the basis of the Population Studies Center classifications (developed by Prof. Miller for use in international studies of labour force structure) occupations were regrouped in order to emphasise the 'female labeled' occupations.

The data in the right hand side of Table 2 show that CMW dominated all occupations but three—clerical, weaving and domestic services. The proportions of unmarried women in these three occupations seem to be high. The variations in the occupational distribution of CMW may be explained by the differences in the 'role compatibility'—role of mother and role of worker.

Generally, in developing countries the combined proportion of own account workers and unpaid family workers is substantially high. But in Sri Lanka as a result of the paid employment opportunities in the modern agriculture, the majority of CMW were paid employees (Table 3). At least, most of the self-employed may be engaged in the type of work where the pressure of role compatibility is not so acute as among those employed in the paid employment type of work.

5. Fertility as a Determinant of Women's Labour Force Participation

The effect of fertility upon women's labour force participation is often divided into two types : (a) the effect of the number of children and (b) the effect of the presence of small children who need care (Frejka, 1971). For obvious reasons the presence of young children is the prime deterrent to labour force participation by the mothers (Oppenheimer, 1970). Unfortunately, sufficient data are not available (regarding the age of the children) to examine the effect of the presence of small children on the mother's labour force participation in Sri Lanka.⁹ The available data on the age of the youngest child do not demonstrate any effect on the labour force participation rate of CMW.

Table 4 demonstrates the labour force participation rates for CMW according to the number of ever-born children. It seems that there is a mixed pattern of participation (Table 4 bottom) with respect to parity. In the rural sector, women's labour force participation tends to decrease as the number of ever-born children increases at least until the sixth child after which participation rate increases among the women with larger families. But as in the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia (Dixon, 1975), urban women with one child are more likely to be in the labour force than women with no children. The observed mixed pattern does not change even if the women's age structure is taken into consideration. However, the participation rate in the age group 25-34 appears to be inversely related to the level of fertility at least among the rural women—the rate declines regularly as the number of ever-born children increases. In the other two age groups (15-24 and 35-49) women with more than seven children demonstrate relatively higher participation rates than women with five to six children. Similarly, the CMW with one-child tend to be in the labour force more than women with no children. The relatively higher participation rate among married women with large families (more than seven children) can be attributed to two factors. First, the pressure of a large family upon mothers to work in order to meet the family needs is very high in the developing countries like Sri Lanka (Boserup et al, 1975)¹⁰. Secondly, the presence of siblings and/or relatives to serve as parental surrogates encourages mother's labour force participation outside the home.

9. The data are available only up to age five of the youngest child.

10. In Sri Lanka, the lack of data on work history as well as on birth order precludes the testing of this hypothesis.

6. Women's Labour Force Participation as a Factor Affecting Fertility

Table 5 indicates that the number of ever-born children per CMW is slightly lower among those who are in the labour force than among those who are not. For Sri Lanka as a whole the fertility level of women in the labour force in 1971 was 1.5 percent less than that of women classified as housewives. The former reported 3.88 ever-born children compared to 3.94 children per housewife. The differential increases slightly when the effect of age structure is controlled (3.64 versus 3.90). Although, the evidence for some other developing countries in the region suggests that the economically active women in the rural sector are relatively more fertile than housewives (Debavalya, 1975) it is clear from the data in Table 5 that even in rural areas, economically active women in Sri Lanka have fewer children than inactive women. However, the negative relationship is more pronounced among the urban women. The average number of ever-born children per currently married urban woman in the labour force is relatively low as compared to corresponding number of children among the economically active rural woman. Similarly, economically active urban as well as rural women in all ages show consistently lower fertility than those who are inactive. As the age increases the number of ever-born children increases for both active and inactive women reflecting the effect of duration of marriage.

Because of the high incidence of unemployment among the married women in Sri Lanka it appears more appropriate to examine the fertility levels of employed and unemployed females separately. As indicated in Table 6, in the rural sector the number of ever-born children is relatively higher (unstandardized) among employed than unemployed. Conversely, the employed women in the urban sector show relatively low fertility. This anomaly does not disappear even after the controlling for age. But in rural areas, the elimination of the effect of the age structure narrows down the gap between the average number of ever-born children per employed and unemployed woman; in the case of urban women the standardization for age widens the gap.

The rural-urban differences in the level of fertility among employed may be mainly due to the variations in the role compatibility. Generally, it is believed that there is a conflict between role of mother and role of worker in urban areas. But in rural areas the type of female work is such that the role incompatibility is minimum, if not negligible. The relatively low fertility among unemployed CMW in the rural sector may be attributed to the effect of education—the unemployed in the rural sector were educationally more qualified than unemployed urban women (Wilson, 1975).

The differentials in fertility between economically active and inactive females may reflect the effects of education rather than labour force participation *per se* (Goldstein, 1972). In general fertility varies inversely with educational level. Speare et al., (1973) and Gendel et al., (1970) conclude that the effect of education is stronger than female labour force participation. Analysing 1971 census data of Sri Lanka, Fernando (1977) finds that regardless of location, a pronounced reduction in fertility is achieved in Sri Lanka by the completion of junior secondary or higher level of education.

The hypothesized inverse relationship is clearly shown by the data in Table 7. The economically active women as well as housewives with no schooling have the highest average number of ever-born children. On the other hand, the women with successful completion of more than nine years of schooling demonstrate the lowest fertility. Moreover, for all levels of educational attainments the number of ever-born children per CMW in the labour force is relatively low (standardized) in rural as well as in urban areas. As can be expected the differentials are much higher among urban women with similar qualifications.

The smaller families among economically active educated women is not only a result of the opportunity cost and/or tastes but also the effect of age at marriage. The data presented in table 10 show that a currently married woman with the highest educational qualifications have a mean age at marriage of 25.8 while illiterate women have a mean of 19.6. In non-contracepting societies like Sri Lanka the age at marriage affects fertility because girls marrying at young ages have the highest fecundity and they are exposed to the risk of pregnancy for a longer period of time.

The influence of female employment upon fertility is more apparent in fertility differentials among women in different types of occupations. As suggested by various scholars (Kupinsky, 1977; Goldstein, 1972; Stycos and Weller, 1967) white-collar workers generally have lower fertility than blue collar workers (Table 8). This is true for every age group. The highest level of fertility was among the CMW engaged in traditional agriculture while the lowest was among the CMW employed in clerical occupations (4.64 versus 1.86). Although the average number of children born by a woman in the modern agriculture is 18 percent lower (age standardized) than that of the average number of children born by a woman in the traditional agriculture it is more than double that of the number of children born by a CMW employed as a clerk. In fact, the level of fertility among women in the modern agriculture is almost identical with that of housewives¹¹ (see Table 5 also). Interestingly, the level of fertility among women in the traditional agriculture is about 19 percent higher than that of housewives.

Traditional agricultural jobs are mostly seasonal, temporary and usually close to the home. As a result, women's employment does not particularly interfere with their motherhood responsibilities. Older siblings from a very early age get involved in child-care and other household tasks, thus releasing the mother for work (Chahil, 1977). Similarly, as far as the modern agricultural jobs are concerned the child care facilities are provided by some estates. In all estates mothers are allowed to carry their young children on their back. Although these jobs are continuous and permanent the role of mother and worker are compatible but to a lesser extent as compared to traditional agriculture. Conversely, the white-collar occupations, particularly clerical, health and teaching, usually require more training and necessarily take a woman from home. Therefore, role conflict is more likely to arise; they certainly experience more difficulty than do other workers in combining employment and

11. The findings of World Fertility Survey (Dept., of Census, 1978) suggest that the lowest fertility among the females in the estate sector which consists of basically modern agricultural employment.

child bearing. In addition, as shown in Table 10 the mean age at marriage for the women engaged in white-collar occupations was substantially higher (27.3 years). This certainly acts to reduce the level of fertility among white-collar workers.

Generally, teaching, clerical and health occupations have similar educational qualifications. But according to the data in Table 8 the level of fertility among teachers is considerably high. The average number of children born by a teacher is almost identical with that of a woman engaged in weaving; normally an illiterate or poorly educated woman. As reported by Dixon (1975) a high level of education may not motivate a woman to have a smaller family if her training does not lead to active participation in employment outside the home. It is true that teaching is not a home base profession. But in Sri Lanka, as compared to clerks and health workers, particularly married female teachers are employed closer to their homes. Similarly, the duty hours for teachers are relatively less (5 hours against 8 hours for clerks and health workers).

The observed fertility differentials by occupation do not change by place of residence. However, as can be expected all the occupations in the rural sector demonstrate relatively higher level of fertility than corresponding level of fertility in the urban sector with two exceptions; the level of fertility among urban women engaged in modern agriculture and health was relatively high (standardized). This may be a result of sampling errors.

Table 9 shows that the women categorized as own account workers and unpaid family workers have relatively higher fertility as compared to the women categorized as employees and employers in both urban and rural areas. These findings are consistent with those of other developing countries (Debavalya, 1975). The relatively higher fertility among the former groups of workers can be partly attributed to the effect of age structure. In part, as shown by the data in Table 10 it may reflect the effect of younger age at marriage. In part it may be a result of the compatibility of mother and worker roles. On the other hand, if a woman works as a paid employee and in particular if she has to leave the house for work, the work activities and family chores interfere with each other (Jaffe et al., 1960) and thus reduce the level of fertility.

7. Summary and Conclusions

Research carried out in several developed countries have repeatedly demonstrated that economically active women have fewer children than inactive women. In contrast, the evidence of a negative relationship between female labour force participation and fertility is not convincing among the developing countries.

Using the special sample tabulations (2 percent) from the 1971 census of Sri Lanka on children ever-born for currently married women aged 15-49, this study examined the relationship between fertility and labour force participation. The analysis points out that as a factor affecting female labour force

participation fertility does not seem to be strongly correlated with activity rate in Sri Lanka. The activity rate for CMW in the urban sector shows a mixed pattern in relation to fertility while in the rural sector activity rate is negatively related to fertility only in the age group 25-34. The pressure of increasing family size among the CMW in the age group 35-49 might have given more incentive to contribute to the income of the family. Secondly, the extended family system encourages CMW labour force participation irrespective of the level of fertility.

On the other hand, the examination of the effect of labour force participation upon fertility has clearly shown that there exists a slight inverse correlation between fertility and female labour force participation. The observed inverse relationship is more pronounced among economically active women in the urban sector. However, we are not certain that the forces producing such an inverse relationship in Sri Lanka are the same as those that may operate in developed countries.

The employed women in the urban sector show relatively lower fertility as compared to unemployed (2.59 versus 3.46). But in the rural sector the level of fertility among employed was about 17 percent higher than that of unemployed.

The analysis of occupational differentials suggests that women engaged in traditional agriculture have a higher average number of children ever-born than those in other occupations. It seems that many women in traditional agriculture and to a lesser extent in the modern agriculture manage both working and maternal roles. Understandably, the lowest fertility was among the CMW employed in the white-collar occupations irrespective of their place of residence. Within white-collar occupations, however, a clerk has a stronger inverse relationship with the level of fertility than the other white-collar occupations.

The average number of children born to a CMW categorized as paid employee was the lowest. Most of the unpaid family workers and the self-employed were engaged in the type of work where the pressure of role compatibility is not so acute as for those employed in the salaried or wage employment.

Education has a significant impact on fertility. The number of ever-born children is inversely related to the level of educational attainment for both economically active and inactive women in urban as well as in rural areas. However, education and fertility relationship is stronger among the currently married women in the labour force than those who are not in the labour force.

In general, the findings support the two hypotheses.

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TABLE I
ACTIVITY STATUS OF CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN BY AGE

(1) Age	(2) Total	(3) %	(4) Employed	(5) Unemp.	(6) Labour Force	(7) Others
Sri Lanka						
15—24 ...	6977	100	18.8	7.1	25.9	74.1
25—34 ...	12652	100	25.2	6.0	31.2	68.8
35—49 ...	15181	100	26.6	3.4	30.0	70.0
50+ ...	8701	100	12.9	2.7	15.6	84.4
Total ...	43511	100	22.2	4.6	26.8	73.2
Standardized ...			20.9	5.1	26.0	74.0
Urban						
15—24 ...	1339	100	4.0	11.7	15.7	84.3
25—34 ...	2700	100	10.5	10.1	20.6	79.4
35—49 ...	3157	100	14.4	7.3	21.7	78.3
50+ ...	1895	100	6.4	6.1	12.5	87.5
Total ...	9091	100	10.0	8.5	18.5	81.5
Standardized ...			8.4	9.2	17.6	82.5
Rural						
15—24 ...	5638	100	22.3	6.0	28.3	71.7
25—34 ...	9952	100	29.2	4.9	34.1	65.9
35—49 ...	12024	100	29.8	2.3	32.1	67.8
50+ ...	6806	100	14.7	1.7	26.4	83.6
Total ...	34420	100	25.4	3.6	29.0	71.0
Standardized ...			24.1	4.0	25.1	71.8

Note: 1. Column 4, 5 and 7 add to 100
2. Standardized on the age distribution of the total female population.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE WORKERS (15+)

Occupation	All Female Workers as a Per- cent of Employed Population			Currently Married Women Workers as a Percent of Employed Females		
	Sri Lanka	Urban	Rural	Sri Lanka	Urban	Rural
Traditional Agriculture ...	14.4	3.2	15.4	76.2	55.6	76.4
Modern Agriculture ...	50.1	34.2	50.3	66.1	66.7	66.1
Health ...	44.0	44.6	34.7	63.1	62.9	63.5
Teachers ...	53.1	59.7	50.3	71.0	69.2	72.0
Clerks ...	10.8	11.9	9.8	41.1	41.6	40.5
Other White-collar ...	6.3	5.1	7.2	63.4	55.1	67.6
Spinners ...	68.2	40.4	76.5	17.8	27.8	16.2
Domestic Servants ...	38.1	39.6	36.4	21.5	22.0	20.9
Other Blue-collar ...	8.7	5.7	10.1	57.6	54.0	47.9
Total ...	22.5	14.1	24.6	59.5	44.7	61.6
Currently Married Women Workers as a Percent of Total Female Population 15+	...	...	...	12.9	5.5	14.9
Currently Married Women Workers as a Percent of Female Labour Force	...	...	...	42.7	23.0	46.9
Currently Married Women Workers as a Percent of Total Labour Force	...	...	...	11.2	4.9	12.9

Note: Unspecified were excluded

TABLE 3

**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN
WORKERS BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS**

<i>Employment Status</i>	<i>Sri Lanka</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Employee	55.7	64.0	54.7
Employer	0.7	1.7	0.6
Own Account Worker	20.4	14.7	21.0
Unpaid Family Worker	23.2	19.6	23.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4

**AGE SPECIFIC ACTIVITY RATES FOR CURRENTLY MARRIED
WOMEN BY NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN**

<i>Number of ever-born children</i>	<i>Sri Lanka</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
15-24			
None	24.9	10.3	26.9
One child	24.5	12.7	27.3
2-4 children	18.1	7.9	20.8
5-6 children	19.1	14.3	21.3
7 and above	22.2	50.0	14.3
Total	23.0	10.7	25.9
25-34			
None	44.4	28.6	49.2
One child	34.4	27.2	36.6
2-4 children	27.7	13.6	31.3
5-6 children	25.9	12.0	29.0
7 and above	22.6	13.6	24.7
Total	29.3	18.5	32.1
35-49			
None	30.2	28.6	30.7
One child	34.1	32.7	34.7
2-4 children	30.4	24.5	32.3
5-6 children	27.4	15.5	30.4
7 and above	28.5	14.8	31.1
Total	29.3	20.6	31.6
15-49			
None	30.9	21.2	32.8
One child	30.4	23.5	32.3
2-4 children	27.6	17.5	30.4
5-6 children	26.6	14.1	29.7
7 and above	27.6	14.6	30.2
Total	28.3	18.2	30.8
Standardized	28.1	17.8	30.7

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TABLE 5
THE NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN PER CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMAN BY AGE

Age	Sri Lanka		Urban		Rural	
	LF	NLF	LF	NLF	LF	NLF
15-24	1.22	1.45	1.38	1.54	1.29	1.42
25-34	3.08	3.38	2.46	3.20	3.18	3.44
35-49	5.25	5.45	4.06	5.09	5.44	5.56
Total	3.88	3.94	3.16	3.77	3.99	4.04
Standardized	3.64	3.90	2.95	3.69	3.79	3.95

LF ... Labour Force
NLF ... Not in the Labour Force

TABLE 6
THE NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN PER CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMAN BY AGE AND LABOUR FORCE STATUS

Age	Sri Lanka		Urban		Rural	
	Emp.	Unemp.	Emp.	Unemp.	Emp.	Unemp.
15-24	1.34	1.23	1.35	1.48	1.34	1.11
25-34	3.08	2.61	2.03	2.92	3.17	2.45
35-49	5.30	4.86	3.63	4.83	5.49	4.88
Total	3.99	3.06	2.97	3.41	4.09	2.86
Standardized	3.70	3.32	2.59	3.46	3.81	3.24

Emp. = Employed
Unemp. = Unemployed

TABLE 7
THE NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN PER CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMAN BY AGE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Age	In the Labour Force				Not in the Labour Force				
	Illit.	Pr. & Se.	High	Unsp.	Illit.	Pr. & Se.	High	Unsp.	
Sri Lanka									
15-24	1.76	1.09	1.04	1.45	1.51	1.41	1.04	1.62	
25-34	3.05	3.05	2.15	3.38	4.27	3.32	2.05	3.85	
35-49	5.70	5.29	2.97	5.70	6.03	5.23	3.96	5.91	
Total	4.38	3.60	2.50	4.49	4.87	3.74	1.85	4.72	
Stand.	4.33	3.45	2.32	4.36	4.80	3.61	2.61	4.64	
Urban									
15-24	1.00	1.17	1.40	2.24	2.33	1.53	0.93	1.68	
25-34	4.25	2.73	1.57	3.31	3.14	3.25	1.91	3.53	
35-49	3.92	4.42	2.83	4.95	5.39	5.06	3.84	5.37	
Total	3.83	3.29	2.24	4.21	4.44	3.74	2.47	4.18	
Stand.	3.49	3.02	2.00	4.04	5.02	3.55	2.49	4.25	
Rural									
15-24	1.79	1.24	0.94	1.40	1.42	1.38	1.09	1.61	
25-34	2.99	3.11	2.54	3.39	4.47	3.34	2.12	3.94	
35-49	5.87	5.48	3.05	5.75	6.13	5.29	4.08	6.00	
Total	4.42	3.67	2.65	4.50	4.94	3.74	2.39	4.83	
Stand.	4.45	3.59	2.53	4.38	4.89	3.63	2.71	4.71	

Illit. = No Schooling
Pr. & Se. = Primary and Secondary (upto nine years schooling)
High = Nine and more than nine years of schooling
Unsp. = Unspecified

TABLE 8

**THE NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN PER CURRENTLY MARRIED
WOMAN BY AGE AND OCCUPATION**

AGE		TA	MA	HEA	TEA	CLC	OW	SPN	DOMS	OB
Sri Lanka										
15-24	...	1.38	1.31	1.00	1.75	1.00	0.67	1.04	2.25	1.26
25-34	...	4.01	3.06	1.21	1.78	1.45	2.57	1.97	2.25	3.37
35-49	...	6.46	5.51	3.10	2.95	3.00	4.34	3.94	3.33	5.28
Total	...	4.83	4.00	2.35	2.51	1.91	3.63	2.48	2.93	4.19
Stand.	...	4.64	3.79	2.29	2.47	1.86	3.53	2.44	2.92	4.09
Urban										
15-24	...	1.00	1.00	0	2.00	0.33	0	1.00	2.67	1.09
25-34	...	5.50	3.50	1.32	1.67	1.36	1.80	2.30	2.25	2.68
35-49	...	5.50	6.06	3.26	2.82	2.88	3.13	3.00	2.32	4.96
Total	...	4.88	4.86	2.56	2.38	2.00	2.62	2.68	2.71	3.95
Stand.	...	4.57	4.03	2.39	2.36	1.72	2.52	2.30	2.33	3.68
Rural										
15-24	...	1.38	1.31	1.00	1.00	1.67	0.67	1.04	1.00	1.39
25-34	...	4.01	3.05	1.10	1.83	1.51	2.88	1.92	2.25	3.52
35-49	...	6.47	5.50	2.89	3.02	3.43	4.75	4.38	3.82	5.36
Total	...	4.84	3.99	2.10	2.58	1.81	3.97	2.44	3.20	4.25
Stand.	...	4.65	3.79	2.13	2.53	2.07	3.88	2.55	3.14	4.20

TA	— Traditional Agriculture
MA	— Modern Agriculture
HEA	— Health
TEA	— Teachers
CLC	— Clerks
OW	— Other White-Collar
SPN	— Spinners
DOMS	— Domestic Servants
OB	— Other Blue-Collar

Note: Unspecified were excluded

TABLE 9

**THE NUMBER OF EVER-BORN CHILDREN PER CURRENTLY MARRIED
WOMAN BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (15-49)**

<i>Employment Status</i>		<i>Sri Lanka</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
Paid Employed	... ..	3.64	2.76	3.73
Employer	... ..	3.72	3.64	3.74
Own Account Worker	... ..	4.54	3.80	4.60
Unpaid Family Worker	... ..	4.41	3.67	4.47

TABLE 10

**MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR CURRENTLY
MARRIED WOMEN**

By Activity Status

Employed	...	...	...	21.0
Unemployed	...	...	...	22.0
Others (Housewives)	...	...	...	20.7

By Educational Attainment

No Schooling	...	...	...	19.6
Primary and Secondary	...	...	...	20.8
High	...	...	...	25.8
Unspecified	...	...	...	19.9

By Occupation

Traditional Agriculture	...	...	...	19.2
Modern Agriculture	...	...	...	19.9
White-Collar	...	...	...	27.3
Blue-Collar	...	...	...	21.4

By Employment Status

Paid Employee	21.6
Employer	21.7
Own Account Worker	20.2
Unpaid Family Worker	19.6

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