

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20503
BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET

FOR AID USE ONLY ARDA

Batch 87

1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY Development and economics	DA00-0000-0000
	B. SECONDARY General	

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Ethnic socio-economic redistribution; Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Trinidad and Tobago and Israel

3. AUTHOR(S)
Grove, D.J.; West, Pat

4. DOCUMENT DATE 1978	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 100p. 101p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC
--------------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------------

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
Rice

8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publisher, Availability)
(In Program of Development Studies. Paper)

9. ABSTRACT Examines the extent of ethnic redistribution in four LDCs - Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago and Israel - which have all implemented governmental policies designed to equalize ethnic distribution. The degree to which ethnic development has tended to converge and diverge at the inter- and intra-group levels has important policy ramifications for multi-ethnic societies trying to reduce socio-economic disparities between groups. This study concentrates on the major ethnic groups comprising over 90% of the population in each of the four countries. They are divided by ethnicity, religion or language, or a combination thereof. Socio-economic variables included income, education, occupation and quality of life indicators (life expectancy and infant mortality rates). The results of the study show only limited support for the thesis that ethnic inequalities are widening. Although there is no linear relationship between economic development and ethnic redistribution, as one moves up the development ladder, the movement towards greater ethnic equality increases. The direction of redistribution often depended on whether focus was on the inter- or intra-ethnic level. For example, in Sri Lanka the income distribution within each ethnic had become less skewed over a twenty year period, although at the inter-ethnic level the opposite trend emerged. The distributional trends discussed in this paper suggest that redistributive policies must focus on both inter- and intra-ethnic levels. The time lag between creating greater educational and occupational opportunities for certain minorities needs further examination. Evidence suggests that it is not really a question of the level of economic development that determines the size and pattern of ethnic distribution, but that government policies determine the speed and direction of redistribution.

10. CONTROL NUMBER PN-AAF-003	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT
12. DESCRIPTION Ethnic groups Government policies Income distribution Israel Malaysia Socioeconomic status Sri Lanka Tobago Trinidad	13. PROJECT NUMBER 93105200
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER AID/otr-C-1394 Res.
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN EVALUATED AS SUBSTANDARD COPY FOR
ROUTINE REPRODUCTION. EFFORTS IN AID/W TO OBTAIN A MORE
ACCEPTABLE COPY OF THE DOCUMENT HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL.
DESPITE THIS DISADVANTAGE, WE HAVE CHOSEN TO REPRODUCE THE
DOCUMENT BECAUSE OF THE SUBJECT TREATED AND TO MAKE THE
DISCERNIBLE INFORMATION AVAILABLE.

PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
121 Sewall Hall
WILLIAM MARSH RICE UNIVERSITY
Houston, Texas 77001

Ethnic Socio-Economic Redistribution:
Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Trinidad and Tobago and Israel

by

D. John Grove

and

Pat West

Spring, 1978

The authors are members of the faculty of the Center on International Race Relations, Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver. The charts were executed by Ms. Patty R. Gainer, a graduate student at Rice University.

The research reported in this study was funded by the Agency for International Development under Contract AID/otr-C-1394 on "Distribution of Gains, Wealth and Income from Development," as part of the research conducted by the Program of Development Studies at Rice University.

This study will examine the extent of ethnic redistribution in four developing countries - Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago and Israel - which have all implemented governmental policies designed to equalize ethnic development. The extent of redistribution in multi-ethnic developing countries has become a debatable issue. The process of modernization and industrialization and the introduction of the welfare state system, are expected to bring about not only greater socio-economic equality but also, indirectly, greater ethnic equality. Modernization, and more specifically the welfare state, has as its prime goal a more equitable distribution of resources. However, while welfare state services may raise the standard of living of the entire population, and thereby improve the conditions of minority groups or the poor, they do not necessarily reduce the socio-economic gaps between ethnic groups.

For example, there are a number of studies of third world countries which reveal that the initial stages of economic growth exacerbate income inequalities (Adelman and Morris, 1973; Chenery et al, 1972; Fishlow, 1972; Arndt, 1975; Paukert, 1973; Swamy, 1967; Welskoff, 1970; Wells, 1974). These studies show that the process of economic growth shifts the income distribution from the richest 5 percent to the top 20 percent of the population, but little or no income filters down to the poorest 60 percent. Similarly, the dependency literature argues that the capitalist/industrial world system has penetrated third world countries to such an extent that their economies are marked by severe structural distortion and the persistence, even increase, of economic inequalities (Girlling, 1973; Galtung, 1971; Amin, 1973; Rubinson,

1976; Santos, 1970). Progressive policies designed to redistribute wealth from the rich to the poor, or from one ethnic group to another, will inevitably fail because of the bonds of dependency.

There are, unfortunately, few systematic comparative studies that have been conducted on ethnic inequality in developing countries. To fill this gap, the Center on International Race Relations, University of Denver, has been conducting research on the question of ethnic redistribution cross-nationally. Although the project is only half complete, the findings suggest some disturbing trends in developing countries. For example, ethnic educational differentials at all levels have changed significantly in the last few years and there are now far greater opportunities for minority groups; however, this change has had little impact on ethnic income differences. In fact, inter-ethnic income inequalities have steadily increased in a number of developing countries (Grove, 1977a). In another study we found contradictory trends in intra-ethnic income distribution which often pointed in the opposite direction to the inter-ethnic movements (Grove, 1977b). What is needed, therefore, is an in-depth analysis of inter- and intra-ethnic trends in selected third world countries.

If wealth is being unevenly distributed in developing countries, then we obviously need to know more about the patterns of ethnic distribution. The degree to which ethnic development has tended to converge or diverge at the inter- and intra-group levels has important policy ramifications for multi-ethnic societies trying to reduce socio-economic disparities between groups.

To test the ethnic equalization thesis we have chosen four countries which have varying commitments or doctrines that envision the eventual

equalization of ethnic development. The second Malaysian plan, 1971-75, is explicit about equalizing the ownership of the means of production. The plan favors the Malay group with special rights and quota systems in education and government jobs. The target that has been set by the government states that within twenty years the Malays should manage and own at least thirty percent of the industrial and commercial sectors. In Sri Lanka, welfare state policies have been the primary means to accelerate egalitarian trends. Roughly half of government expenditure has been diverted towards social welfare, primarily free education, health services and subsidized food and transportation. Similarly, in Israel the welfare state system has been designed to absorb different ethnic immigrants into the dominant Ashkenazim culture and has focused primarily on educational opportunity and occupational mobility. In Trinidad and Tobago, on the other hand, the market system is the primary socio-economic redistributor.

In each of the four countries we have chosen the major ethnic groups comprising over ninety percent of the population. In Malaysia, the Malays, Chinese and Indians have separate languages and religions. The same is true of the Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims of Sri Lanka. In Israel, the Oriental Jew (from Afro-Asia) and the Ashkenazi Jew (from Europe or America) belong to the same religious and linguistic culture, but are separated by ethnicity. It should be noted that we are not including Arabs or the non-Jews in our sample because of unreliable and insufficient data. Finally, the Blacks and East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago affiliate with different religions but speak the same language. In short, the groups selected represent the major ethnic cleavages in each society; they are divided by ethnicity, religion or language or a combination thereof.

In this study we examine the extent of ethnic redistribution in these four countries. In Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Israel socio-economic distribution will be analyzed over time. In Trinidad, since data over time is not published, we will simply present the available published material. Socio-economic redistribution will be defined as the changes in the ethnic gap between and within each group. Socio-economic behavior will be operationalized to include income, education, occupation and quality of life indicators (life expectancy and infant mortality rates). These four variables encompass broad enough territory for us to be able to make conclusions about the behavior of ethnic groups. It should be noted that in some of the countries specific variables had to be left out because of lack of reliable and comparable data.

Our basic measure of inter-ethnic redistribution is the coefficient of variation (V), a sensitive measure of dispersion. It is the standard deviation over the mean (Sen, 1973:27). We did not weight the size of the group(s) for fear of obscuring overall trends. As well, there is no theoretical reason why some groups should weight higher than others, particularly since the focus of the study is on ethnic socio-economic differentials. Gini coefficients and delta indexes are the primary statistical measures used to examine intra-ethnic distribution patterns. The gini coefficient is still the most widely used indicator of income concentration. It is defined as the arithmetic average of the absolute differences between all pairs of incomes. The index of dissimilarity - or delta index - is a measure of the unevenness of two percentage distributions, and can be interpreted as the minimum percent of one population which would have to be redistributed to achieve equal percentage distribution across all categories (see Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965: 195-245).

Malaysia

Demography

The ethnic distribution of the West Malaysian population has not changed significantly over the last fifty years. The largest group, the Malays, remained around 50 percent between 1921-1970, (See Table 1) and is expected "to remain very much the same". (Third Malaysian Plan, 1976:145)

The Chinese population has experienced the widest fluctuations, from 29.4 percent in 1921, to 38.4 percent in 1947, to 35.4 percent in 1970. The Post Enumeration Survey of the 1970 Census showed that the Chinese were the group most under counted in that census. When recomputation was made, the Chinese were shown to represent 35.8 percent of the population (R. Chander, 1973:2).

The Indian group has a declining portion of the West Malaysian population. In 1921, they represented 15.1 percent, but by 1970 the proportion had dropped to 10.5 percent; the adjusted post enumeration figure for the Indians in 1970 was 10.7 percent. In 1970, the Ceylonese were included in the Indian group for the first time. However, the number of the Ceylonese is so small that its inclusion had only a slight effect.

Table 1 also shows the urban distribution by ethnic group and the urbanization of each group. While the Malays comprise about 50 percent of the population, they made up only 18.4 percent of the urban population in 1921 and 27.6 percent in 1970. The Chinese dominated the urban areas throughout 1921-1970; they were 60.2 percent in 1921 and 60 percent in 1970. The Indians maintained an urban representation only slightly more than their proportion of West Malaysia. In 1921 they comprised 17.8 percent of the urban population and 11.3 percent in 1970.

Table 1

Percentages of Population and Urbanization of Ethnic Groups

A. Population

	1921	1931	1947	1957	1970
Malays	54.0	49.2	49.5	49.8	53.1
Chinese	29.4	33.9	38.4	37.2	35.4
Indians	15.1	15.1	10.8	11.3	10.5

B. Urban Population 1,000 and above

Malays	18.4	19.2	21.1	22.6	27.6
Chinese	60.2	59.6	62.3	63.9	60.0
Indians	17.8	17.8	13.8	10.7	11.3

C. Urban Concentration for Each Ethnic Group 10,000 and above

	1947	1957	1970	1975*
Malays	7.3	11.2	14.9	18.0
Chinese	31.1	44.7	47.4	50.7
Indians	25.8	30.6	34.7	37.7

* Estimates

Sources: Sidhu, 1976:22; Ooi Jin Bee, 1975: 43; Third Malaysian Plan, 1976:150.

The shift in the urban/rural distribution between 1947 and 1970 for each ethnic group is also shown in Table 1. The Malays went from 7.3 percent in 1947 to 18.0 percent in 1970. The Chinese urbanization rate rose from 31.1 percent to 50.7 percent in 1970; while the Indians increased their urban population from 25.8 percent to 37.7 percent.

While 1,000 population has been the cutoff for urban towns in previous censuses, the 1970 census defined as urban towns of 10,000 and over. Ooi Jin Bee concludes that the latter cutoff is more realistic, since this excludes most of the new villages and other places essentially rural in character. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that a substantial portion of the Chinese internal movement was due to the resettlement policy of the 1948-1960 emergency when "nearly half a million Chinese rural squatters were resettled in new villages" (Ooi Jin Bee, 1975:46). Nonetheless, the influx of Chinese has been so large that the differential in urbanization rates between ethnic groups has persisted.

The life expectancy changes which have taken place between 1947 and 1970 are shown in Table 2. Differences between the ethnic groups have been reduced (1947, $V = .132$; 1970, $V = .059$). The Malays have had the largest increase in life expectancy, that is, 22.1 years. The Chinese have had an increase of 14.4 years, and the Indian group only 11.1 years. The lowered overall variance is due to the big reduction in the gap between Chinese and Malay; in 1947 the difference was 12.2 years, and in 1970 only 4.5 years. The difference in life expectancy between Indians and Malays

Table 2.

Life Expectancy and Infant Mortality Rates

<u>Life Expectancy: 1947-70</u>			
	1947	1957	1970
Malays	40.4	50.5	62.5
Chinese	52.6	59.8	67.0
Indians	<u>48.5</u>	<u>55.0</u>	<u>59.6</u>
V =	.132	.084	.059

Infant Mortality Rates (per 1000 live births)

	1957	1965	1967	1969	1970	1972	1974
Malays	95.6	61.1	53.3	48.8	47.6	43.0	39.5
Chinese	46.9	32.4	30.2	31.1	28.5	27.4	26.5
Indian	<u>75.7</u>	<u>53.1</u>	<u>51.5</u>	<u>52.4</u>	<u>46.0</u>	<u>44.6</u>	<u>40.1</u>
V =	.337	.303	.285	.258	.260	.248	.217

Sources: Padmore et al., 1975:62; Department of Statistics, 1971:111; 1976:125.

dropped from 8.1 in 1947, to 4.5 in 1957, to 2.9 years in 1970, when the Malays surpassed the Indians. Contrary to the other trends, the difference between Chinese and Indian increased. It was 4.1 years in 1947, and it increased to 7.4 years in 1970.

It should be noted that these life expectancy figures are based on a reworking of the official statistics by James A. Padmore et al. (1975). When contrasted with other sources, the Padmore data appears to reduce the amount of change for 1947-57, and increase it slightly for 1957-70.

Table 2 shows an across the board reduction in infant mortality rates (1957, $V = .337$; 1974, $V = .217$). From 1957 to 1970 the Malay rate decreased 48 per thousand, and from 1970 to 1974 it decreased 8.1 per thousand. The Chinese saw a less drastic reduction of 19.4 per thousand for 1957-1970, and 2 per thousand for 1970-1974. It must, however, be pointed out that the Chinese began with a much lower infant mortality rate. The Indian group saw from 1957-1970 a reduction of 29.7 per thousand and from 1970-1974 a reduction of 5.9. The overall variance was reduced, and in the case of infant mortality it appears to be general, regardless of which two races are compared. The differential between Malay and Chinese was reduced from 19.9 in 1957 to 13 in 1974. The differential between Malay and Indian decreased from 19.9 to 0.6 for the same period, with the Malay having the lower infant mortality rate in 1974. This switch in position between Malay and Indian first appeared in 1968 and continued through 1974 with the exception of 1970. The Indian-Chinese differential also decreased from 28.8 in 1957 to 13.6 in 1974.

As with the life expectancy figures, the infant mortality rates vary from year to year. Unfortunately, the official figures are the only ones available. Thus, comparisons from one year to the next may not be valid, and small differentials may have no basis in fact. What can be drawn, however, from the data is that there has been a reduction distributed more or less equally between ethnic groups.

Education

Table 3 shows educational data of two types--enrollment and attainment. For 1967/68 the educational attainment of employed persons by primary and secondary levels is recorded; the 1970 and 1975 figures for primary and secondary education are enrollments; and the 1961/62 to 1975 university figures are all enrollments.

The educational rankings according to percentage enrollment figures of the ethnic groups show that the Chinese exceeded the Malaysians at the primary level until 1975 when Malaysian proportional representation overtook the Chinese. The Indian enrollment in 1975 still lagged behind the other two groups. Comparing 1970 to 1975, it can be seen that the Malays made the greatest strides. (See Chart 1.) They increased their primary enrollment 10.3 percentage points. The Chinese, already at a high level, increased 5.3 percentage points, while the Indians, low to begin with, increased the least, with only 4.2 percentage points. The dispersion in enrollment figures in 1975 is substantially more skewed than the achievement levels in 1967. This was borne entirely by the Indian group. The difference between the Malays and Indians and between the Chinese and Indians rose, while only the difference between the Malays and the Chinese decreased.

Table 3

Educational Attainment and Enrollment
in Primary, Secondary and Higher Education

<u>Educational Attainment of Employed Persons</u>		<u>Educational Enrollment</u>		
	Primary		Primary	
	1967/68	1970	1975	
Malays	57.3	66.9	77.2	
Chinese	58.7	71.8	77.1	
Indians	<u>54.7</u>	<u>62.2</u>	<u>66.4</u>	
V =	.036	.072	.084	
	Secondary		Secondary	
	1967/68	1970	1975	
Malays	8.3	32.3	55.7	
Chinese	20.7	36.7	49.8	
Indians	<u>17.7</u>	<u>27.2</u>	<u>41.3</u>	
V =	.416	.148	.148	
<u>Educational Enrollment: Higher Education*</u>				
	1961/62	1965/66	1970	1975
Malays	0.1	0.3	1.7	5.4
Chinese	0.3	0.9	2.1	3.5
Indians	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>1.3</u>
V =	.494	.481	.390	.603

*University figures are given as a percentage of the 20-24 year old population

Sources: Educational Attainment, 1967-68: Choudry, 1970:35.
Primary and Secondary Enrollments: Third Malaysian Plan, 1976:400;
University Enrollments: Arles, 1971:534; Third Malaysian Plan, 1976:401

MALAYSIA

EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENT in

CHART 1

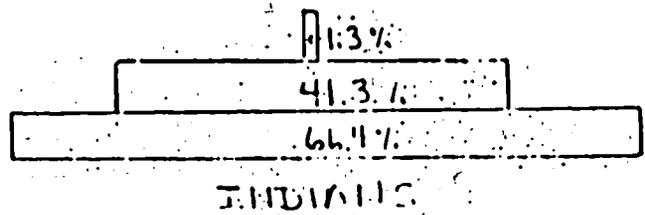
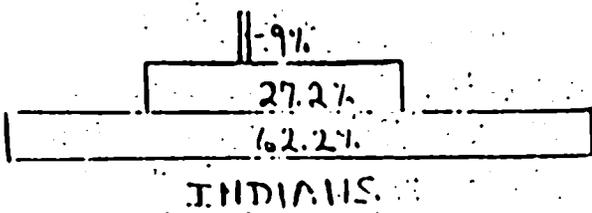
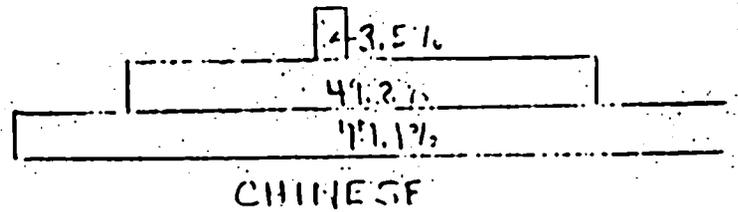
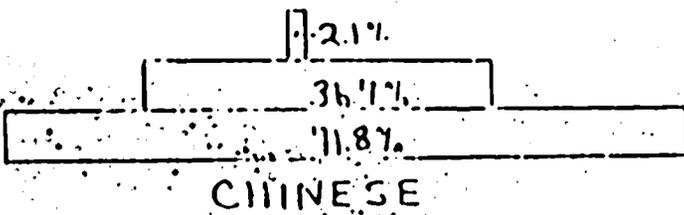
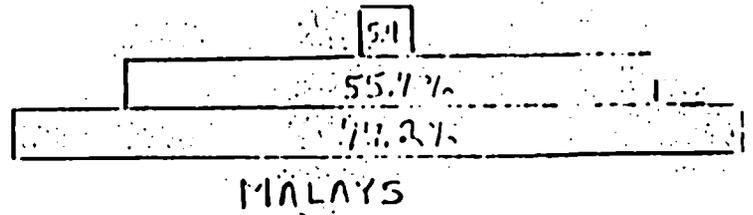
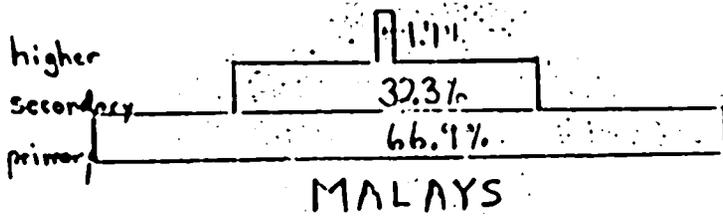
PRIMARY, SECONDARY, and

HIGHER EDUCATION

1970 and 1975

1970

1975



The educational attainment of the working population in 1967-68 showed considerable ethnic differences ($V = .416$) which are not reflected in the current enrollment in secondary schools ($V = .148$). At the secondary level, the Chinese ranked number one until surpassed by the Malays in 1975. The Indians ranked number two in 1967/68, but dropped to third place for 1970 and 1975. Once again, it was the Malays who made the greatest strides. Their secondary enrollment increased 23.4 percentage points; the Chinese increased 13.1 percentage points; and the Indian group increased 14.1 percentage points. The overall variation between 1970 and 1975 indicates no change, but there were increasing differentials between the Malay-Chinese and the Malay-Indian. Only the Chinese-Indian differential showed a small decrease.

The difficulties in comparing educational attainment of employed persons aged 15 to 64 with educational enrollments are evident. Since the group covered in the first instance ranges from 15 to 64 years of age, the time span is a long one, with the bias slanting towards the past. Educational enrollment is a present activity of a more limited age range. Furthermore, there are biases in the direction of those groups least affected by unemployment. One check on the validity of the educational attainment figures is a breakdown of the school population by ethnic group made for the 1967/68 survey (Choudhry, 1970:60). Here it is pointed out that 23.6 percent of the Malay population were currently enrolled; 24.9 of the Chinese; and 22.4 of the Indians. It could be assumed that these figures substantiate at least the primary educational figures.

The university enrollments show a great deal of change. The relative position of all three groups improved from 1961-66, and conse-

quently the overall dispersion did not change. But from 1970-75 the enrollment picture changed drastically. The Malays and Chinese during this period made marked improvement, while the Indian representation changed only marginally. The Malays' entrance into universities was at an accelerated pace, increasing their percentage from 1.7 to 5.4 percent in just five years, a phenomenal increase. The differences between each group over the fourteen year period show a general trend toward greater differences (1961/62, $V=.494$; 1975, $V=.603$). Between 1961/62 and 1975 the differences grew between the Chinese, Malays and Indians, partly because of the substantial increase of the Malays, but also because of the slow rate of progress of the Indians.

Though the increase in Malay enrollment has been phenomenal, questions about the value of the increase have been raised. Arles (1971:534) reports that in 63/64 Malay university students were underrepresented in the technical and the scientific fields, and in fact were underrepresented in all faculties except for the arts. By 1975, however, the picture had changed. The increase in Malay enrollments had affected all faculties, including the technical and the scientific which suggests that there has been both a qualitative and quantitative change in educational representation (Third Malaysian Plan, 1976: 402-3).

Occupations

Both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic distribution trends for occupations can be seen in Tables 4 and 5. The index of dissimilarity (Table 5) has been used to summarize the occupational data shown in Table 4. The delta index, a measure of the inequality or unevenness between two percentage points, has a range from 0 (complete similarity) to 100 (complete dissimilarity)

Table 4
Occupational Composition of Employed Males by Ethnic Group 1931-1967

Occupation	1931				1947			
	Total	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Total	Malay	Chinese	Indian
Professional & Technical Workers	1.5%	1.5%	1.2%	1.1%	1.9%	1.7%	1.6%	2.1%
Administrative, Executive & Managerial Workers	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.9	0.6	1.3	0.7
Clerical Workers	1.9	0.9	2.4	1.7	2.4	1.1	3.5	2.7
Sales Workers	8.0	2.1	14.1	7.7	9.3	2.8	16.4	9.9
Service Workers	5.8	2.5	6.5	9.6	6.5	4.1	7.3	10.9
Craftsmen & Production Process Workers	6.7	2.6	10.9	4.6	8.9	4.1	13.9	9.4
Transport and Communication Workers	4.8	4.3	4.2	7.2	4.5	4.0	4.0	7.6
Miners	5.1	0.2	10.5	1.9	2.1	0.6	4.0	1.7
Laborers	7.4	2.8	8.1	14.3	3.9	2.8	2.8	10.2
Agricultural Workers	57.8	82.4	40.8	50.9	59.5	78.2	45.1	44.7
Not Reported	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total Employed	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Occupation	1957				1967			
	Total	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Total	Malay	Chinese	Indian
Professional & Technical Workers	2.9%	2.7%	2.8%	2.6%	5.1%	5.1%	4.6%	5.4%
Administrative, Executive, & Managerial Workers	1.5	0.2	2.6	1.3	2.2	1.0	4.0	1.6
Clerical Workers	3.6	2.2	4.4	5.3	4.8	3.2	6.2	6.6
Sales Workers	10.3	2.8	19.3	13.4	10.5	4.4	19.7	9.3
Service Workers	9.1	8.7	5.9	8.9	6.1	5.8	5.7	8.0
Craftsmen & Production Process Workers	11.6	4.9	20.2	13.4	12.6	6.9	20.3	13.4
Transport and Communication Workers	4.1	3.7	4.6	4.7	5.2	4.7	5.5	6.2
Miners	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	1.1	0.4	2.0	0.9
Laborers	6.5	4.3	7.3	12.8	9.1	8.7	8.5	13.5
Agricultural Workers	50.1	69.8	32.3	37.2	43.2	59.8	23.5	34.9
Not Reported	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total Employed	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Hirschman, 1975:22-23.

Table 4 (cont)

Occupational Composition of Employed Persons by Ethnic Group: 1970-75

Occupation	1970			Total
	Malay	Chinese	Indian	
Professional & Technical Workers	4.3	4.7	5.5	4.6
Administrative & Managerial Workers	0.3	1.4	0.6	0.8
Clerical Workers	3.2	6.9	6.8	5.0
Sales Workers	5.3	19.8	11.7	11.3
Agricultural Workers	65.3	27.4	44.2	48.8
Production Workers	7.8	20.8	10.3	12.9
Service & Other Workers	13.8	19.0	20.9	16.6
Total Employed	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Occupation	1975			Total
	Malay	Chinese	Indian	
Professional & Technical Workers	4.7	5.3	6.2	5.2
Administrative & Managerial Workers	0.6	1.5	1.0	1.0
Clerical Workers	4.0	7.3	6.3	5.4
Sales Workers	4.6	17.2	9.0	9.6
Agricultural Workers	57.3	24.6	45.1	41.1
Production Workers	10.1	21.1	12.8	14.3
Service & Other Workers	18.7	23.0	19.6	20.4
Total Employed	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Third Malaysian Plan, 1976:82-3

Table 5

Indexes of Dissimilarity between Ethnic Occupational Distributions:

Peninsular Malaysia: 1931-75

Delta Indexes for Within-Ethnic Group Comparisons over Time

	<u>Malay</u>				<u>Chinese</u>				<u>Indian</u>			
	1931	1947	1957	1970	1931	1947	1957	1970	1931	1947	1957	1970
1931												
1947	4.6				12.6				11.1			
1957	13.4	9.3			20.4	18.0			20.6	14.0		
1967	22.8	18.7	13.2		27.0	25.5	9.3		21.0	15.4	7.5	
1975				8.6				5.2				4.4

Delta Indexes for Between-Ethnic Group Comparison at Each Period

Index between	1931	1947	1957	1967	1970	1975
Malay and Chinese	42.0	33.2	40.4	37.0	37.4	32.6
Malay and Indian	32.2	33.4	32.7	24.8	19.5	21.2
Chinese and Indian	22.5	13.2	14.5	20.7	21.0	13.5

Sources: Hirschman, 1975:22-3; Third Malaysian Plan, 1976: 82-3 .

It should be noted that the data used for the indexes between 1931 and 1967 were official data reworked by Charles Hirschman to insure comparability over time. The data for 1970 and 1975 are from official government sources. Thus, the comparability between 1931-1967 and 1970-1975 may be questioned.

The overall picture from 1931 to 1967 (Table 4) shows occupational trends for each ethnic group becoming more similar or equal, but there are still substantial differences in certain occupations. The trends show reductions in agricultural employment, and increases in white collar and craft occupations for all ethnic groups. The occupational differences between groups that have emerged over time can be found in sales, clerical, administrative and craft positions. In professional occupations the ethnic parity has largely been maintained over time, and the unskilled positions such as laborers in service, transport and communication have narrowed their ethnic differentials.

While the structure of occupational distribution between ethnic groups is becoming more similar for all but the Indian group, poor distribution in individual fields is still evident from 1970-75. The Third Malaysian Report showed that in 1975, 68.3 percent of all agricultural workers were still Malaya, but Malays were only 52.6 percent of the labor force. The reduction in this preponderance occurred at a slow rate. Within the remaining six occupational categories, the Malays showed a growing strength over the 1970-1975 period. Only in agriculture did the Chinese show less than their proportion of the labor force. While they were 20.3 percent of agricultural workers, they were 36.3 percent of the labor force. In every other group they were overrepresented. Yet in every case except for sales

workers, that preponderance was being reduced. The Indian group presents a very different picture. In four fields, the Indians were slightly underrepresented. They represented 9.9 percent of administration and management, 9.6 percent of sales workers, 9.2 percent of production workers and 9.9 percent of service and other workers; whereas their portion of the total workforce was 10.3 percent. In administration and production the portion had been increased since 1970. In sales and in service, reductions were evident. The slight edge in the professional and clerical fields were slightly reduced between 1970 and 1975.

To what extent these occupational trends accumulate to a definite movement toward greater ethnic mobility is shown in Table 5. At the intra-group level, the trends in Malay occupational structure show that there was a total of 27 points which had changed from 1931-67 (4.6 + 9.3 + 13.2); however, this resulted in a net redistribution of only 22.8. From 1970-75 this cumulative trend continued with a total of 8.6 points of change. The occupational trends in the Chinese group show that a total of 39.9 points changed with only 27.0 points of cumulative redistribution; Chinese also had a net change of 5.2 points from 1970-75. The Indian occupational structure shows a gross change of 32.6 points which resulted in only 21.0 points of cumulative redistribution points from 1931-67 and 4.4 points from 1970-75. In terms of net cumulative change, therefore, the trends in Chinese occupational structure changed or redistributed the most from 1931-67, with Malays and Indians showing similar trends in net change. However, from 1970-75, the Malays' occupational structure had a much higher net redistribution figure than either the Chinese or Indian deltas.

In the inter-ethnic comparisons, the indexes between Malays and Chinese become more equal (similar) between 1931-47, but then there was a divergence from 1947-57 where the deltas become more dissimilar, and it is only after 1957 that the indexes moved towards greater equality. The delta indexes for Malays and Indians also show a slow trend toward greater similarity. Comparing the Chinese with the Indians we find that between 1931-57, a general trend toward greater occupational similarity, but between 1967-70 the deltas begin to rise again, and it is only from 1970-75 that the deltas dropped significantly, from 21.0 to 13.5.

Restructuring has appeared to have made some inroads in increasing occupational similarity, particularly between the Malays and the Chinese. However, the differential in unemployment rates has been growing, as shown in Table 6. Although the ratio between the Chinese and Malays has remained relatively even, Indian unemployment shot up from 6 percent in 1962 to 12.2 percent in 1975.

Income

Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic income figures are shown in Table 7. The mean and the median show the differences between groups for West Malaysia and for rural and urban areas. The Gini ratios give a measure of the income inequality within each ethnic group.

The trends in income distribution from 1957-58 to 1970 between the three groups show the dispersion levels becoming more skewed at both the median and mean levels. In 1957-58 the Chinese earned 2.16 times the mean income of Malays, and by 1970 this 'disparity ratio' had increased to 2.25. Similarly, the mean disparity ratio for Indians and Chinese in 1957-58 was

Table 6

Ethnic Unemployment Rates 1962-1975				
	1962	1967/68	1970	1975
Malay	6.1	5.7	8.1	6.9
Chinese	5.9	6.9	7.0	7.2
Indian	<u>5.9</u>	<u>10.3</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>12.2</u>
V =	.009	.360	.237	.339

Sources: Federation of Malaysia, 1963: T. 2.8; Choudry, 1970: T.51; Third Malaysian Plan, 1976: 78.

Table 7

Distribution of Income

between and within Ethnic Groups: 1957-70

<u>1957/58</u>	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini
Malays	139	112	.342	125	108	.305	232	192	.320
Chinese	300	223	.374	260	216	.310	283	225	.345
Indians	237	188	.347	213	192	.261	222	163	.374
V =	.363	.325	.048	.344	.330	.092	.133	.160	.078
<u>1967/68</u>	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini
Malays	163	120	.400						
Chinese	349	261	.391						
Indians	260	191	.403						
V =	.361	.369	.015						
<u>1970</u>	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini	Mean	Median	Gini
Malays	177	122	.466	152	111	.419	333	229	.445
Chinese	399	269	.455	337	254	.399	469	289	.474
Indians	310	195	.463	239	185	.363	442	239	.520
V =	.378	.376	.013	.381	.390	.071	.174	.127	.079

Sources: Snodgrass, 1975:264; Lean, 1974:20.

1.26, and by 1970 it had increased to 1.29. When income distribution is broken down by urban/rural sectors, the results magnify the unfavorable position of Malays. As is expected, rural dwellers earn less than groups who live in cities; however, we find that Malay urban income is less than Chinese rural mean income. The urban Indians have extracted the largest share of the income gains, but the Malays--both rural and urban--and the rural Indians are shouldering the largest burden of the rising income inequality.

Increasing intergroup inequality is matched by increasing intragroup inequality. Over time the Gini scores for each group have risen, but most particularly for the Malays. In 1957/58 the Malays had the least amount of income inequality followed by Indians and Chinese. By 1970, the tide had reversed and the Malay Gini coefficient was the highest while the Chinese was the lowest. Snodgrass (1975) observes that the Chinese moved into modern well-paid activities more rapidly and broadly based than either of the Malays or Indians. In contrast, Malays moved into selective high income public service jobs, but the majority of Malays remained in poorly paid occupations. The Gini coefficients for each group are all larger in urban areas than in rural districts. The most unequal sectors in both 1957 and 1970 are the urban Indians, where 43 percent of the Indian population are in the top decile. This is one of the reasons for the dramatic increase in mean incomes of the urban Indians from 1957-70. It has also meant that a higher proportion of Indians are stuck at the bottom decile.

The figures utilized for West Malaysia as a whole have been taken from the analysis of Donald Snodgrass and Lim Lean. They used official survey figures adjusted to reduce intergroup and intragroup distortions as much as possible. Still, distortions remain. The 1970 rise in inequality may be exaggerated by the effects of the economic cycle. On the other hand,

the use of household rather than per capita income may underestimate the inequality because of intergroup family size and composition differences.

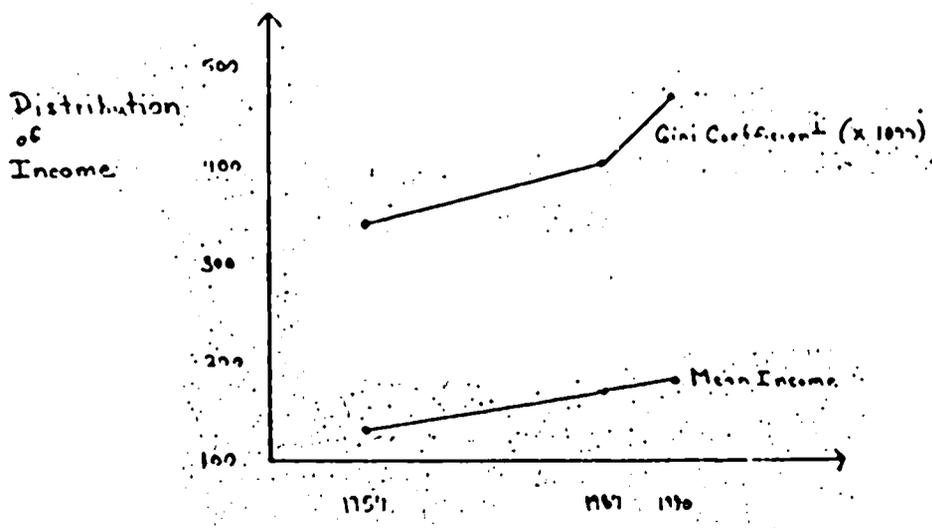
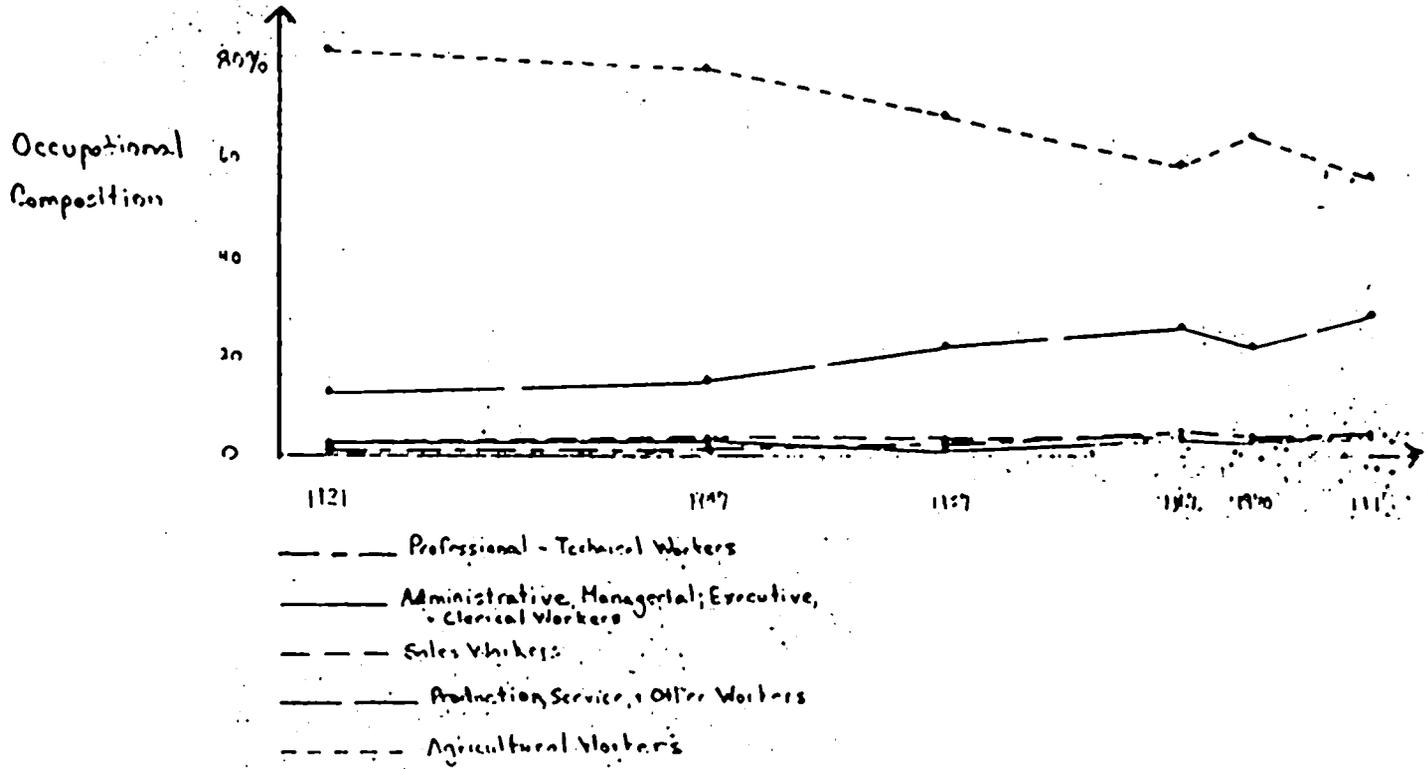
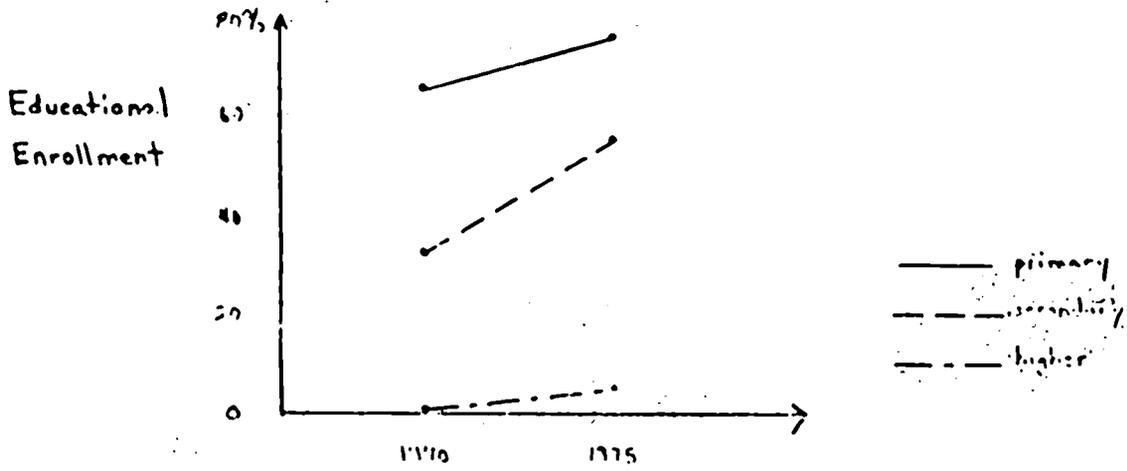
As expected, the Malays have the largest percentage below the poverty line. Snodgrass found that 55.7 percent of the Malays were in poverty in 1957/58 but the percentage declined to 49.3 by 1970. The Chinese percentage below the poverty level remained relatively stable at the thirteen percent mark for the two time periods. Poverty within the Indian group stabilized at the twenty percent level over the thirteen year period. These results led Snodgrass to conclude:

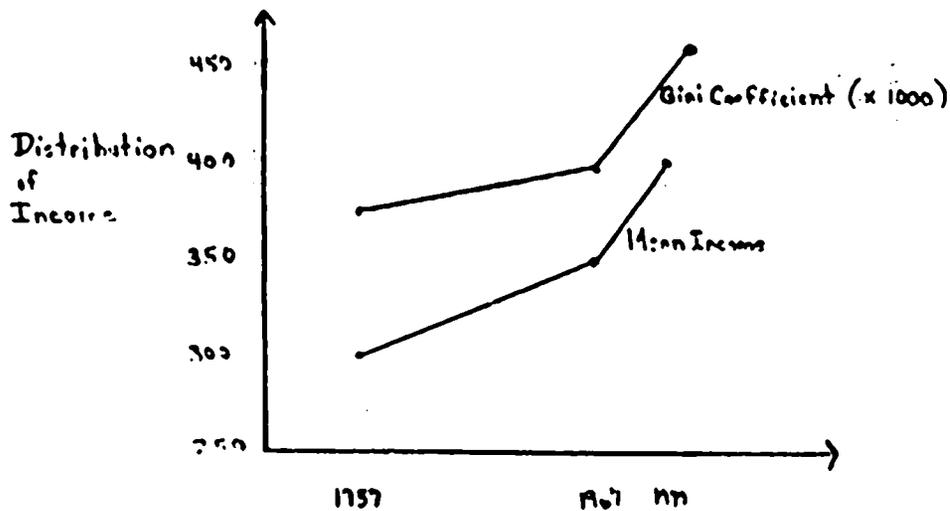
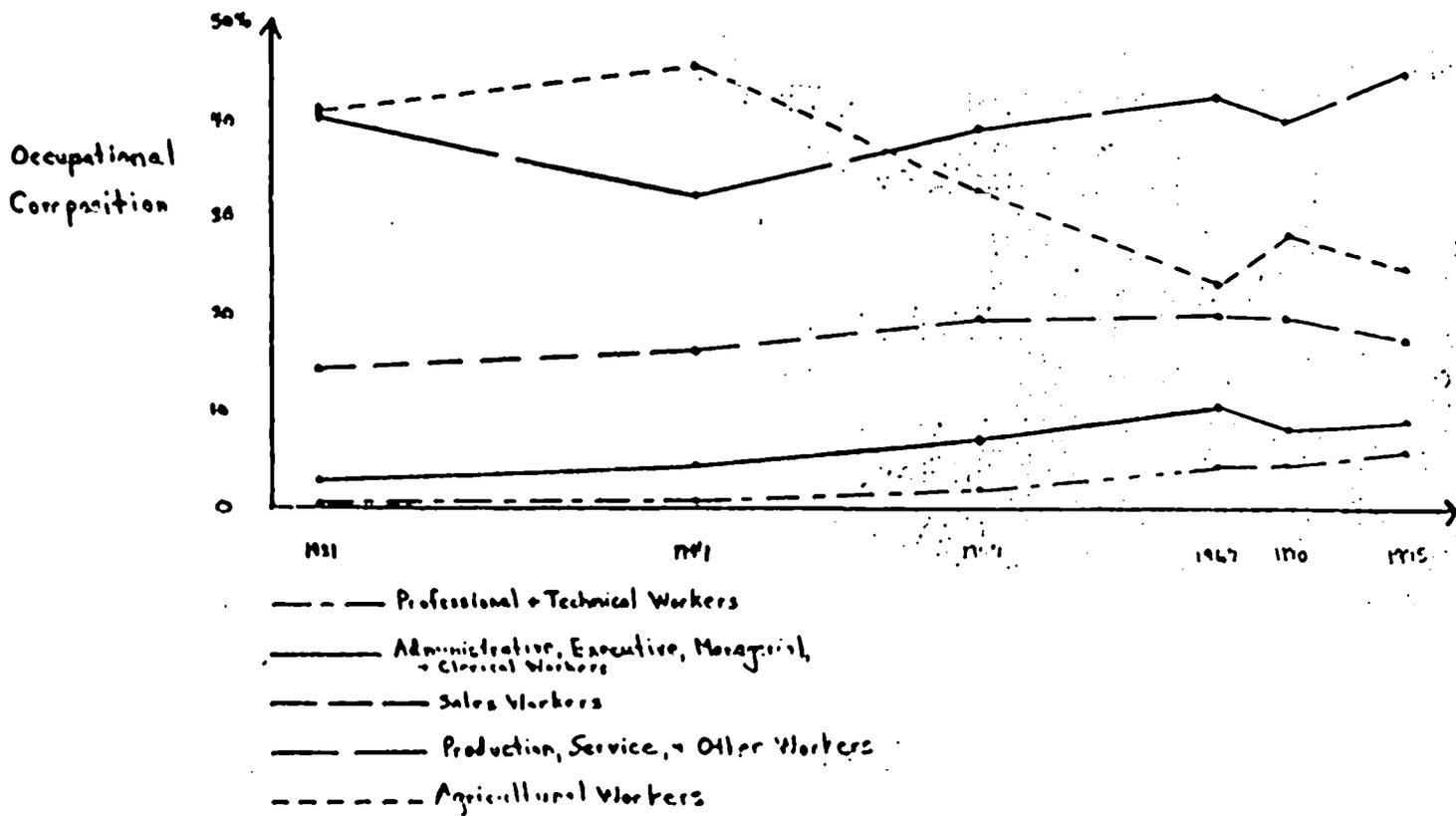
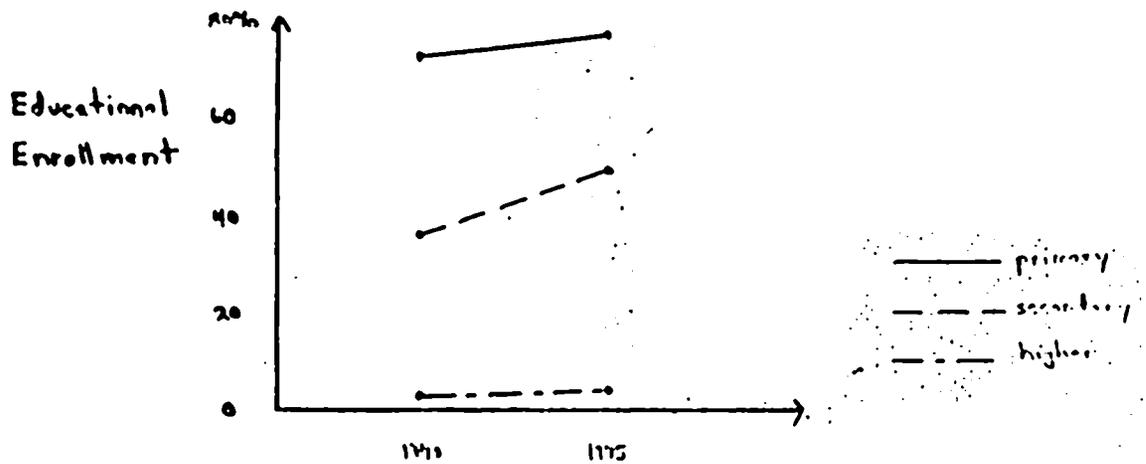
There has been no real change in the overall share of households living in poverty since Independence. (1975:261)

Some change has taken place in the Malaysian holdings of equity capital. Table 8 shows that Malays and Malay interests held 2.4 percent in 1970. These holdings increased to 7.8 percent in 1975. The holdings of the Chinese and the Indians remained at more or less the same level. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the advance of the Malays and the Malay interests was made at the expense of foreign ownership.

Summary

This brief review of the socioeconomic trends between and within each group shows some curious findings. The results generally support the contention that there has been considerable progress achieved in ethnic socioeconomic redistribution. (See Charts 2-4.) In health (life expectancy, infant mortality), education, occupational mobility and ownership of capital there has been a substantial movement toward creating a more equitable multi-ethnic society. Chart 5 shows the extent of ethnic convergence in Malaysia. It is clear, however, that progress has not been made in all areas, and that the distribution of that progress has not always been equitable. Occupa-

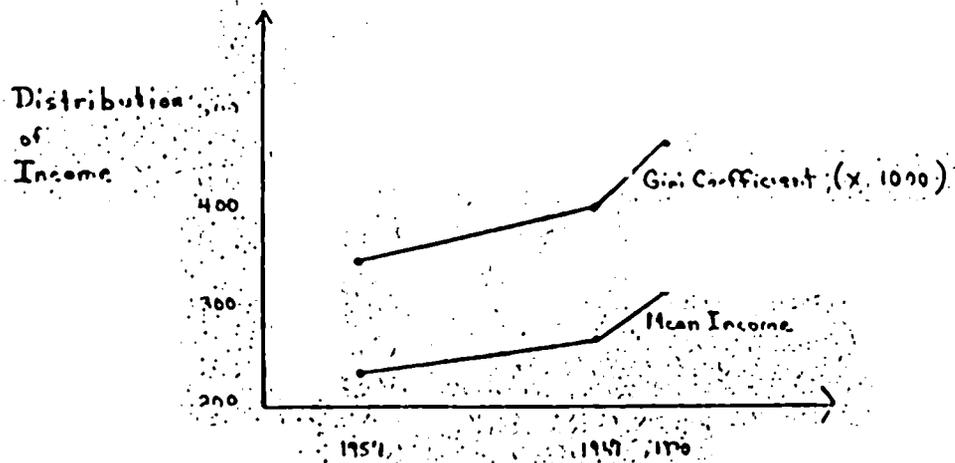
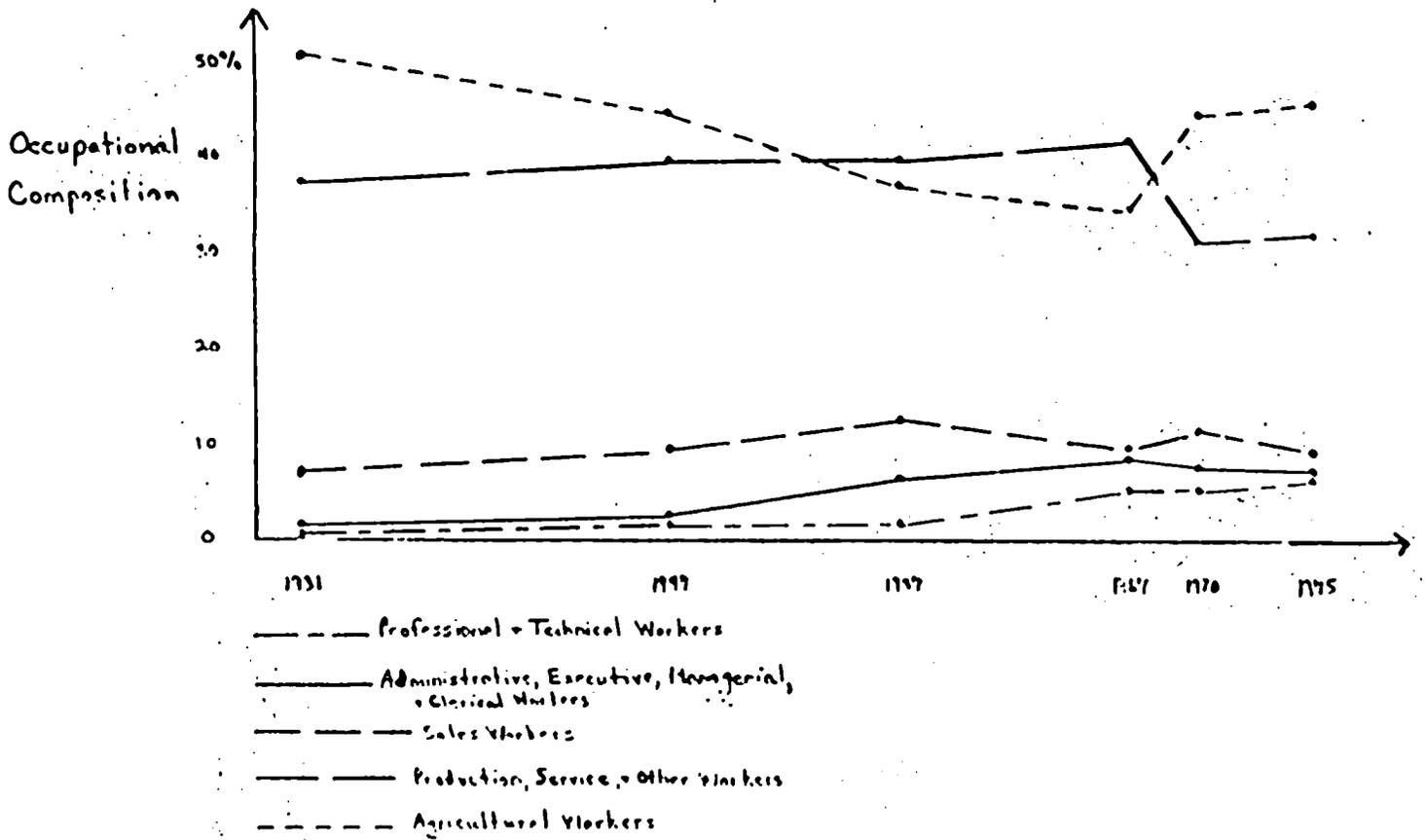
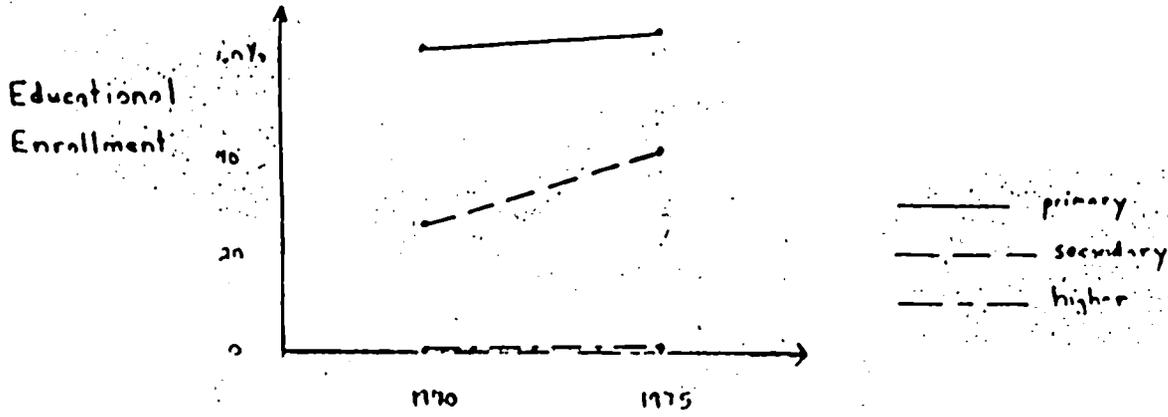




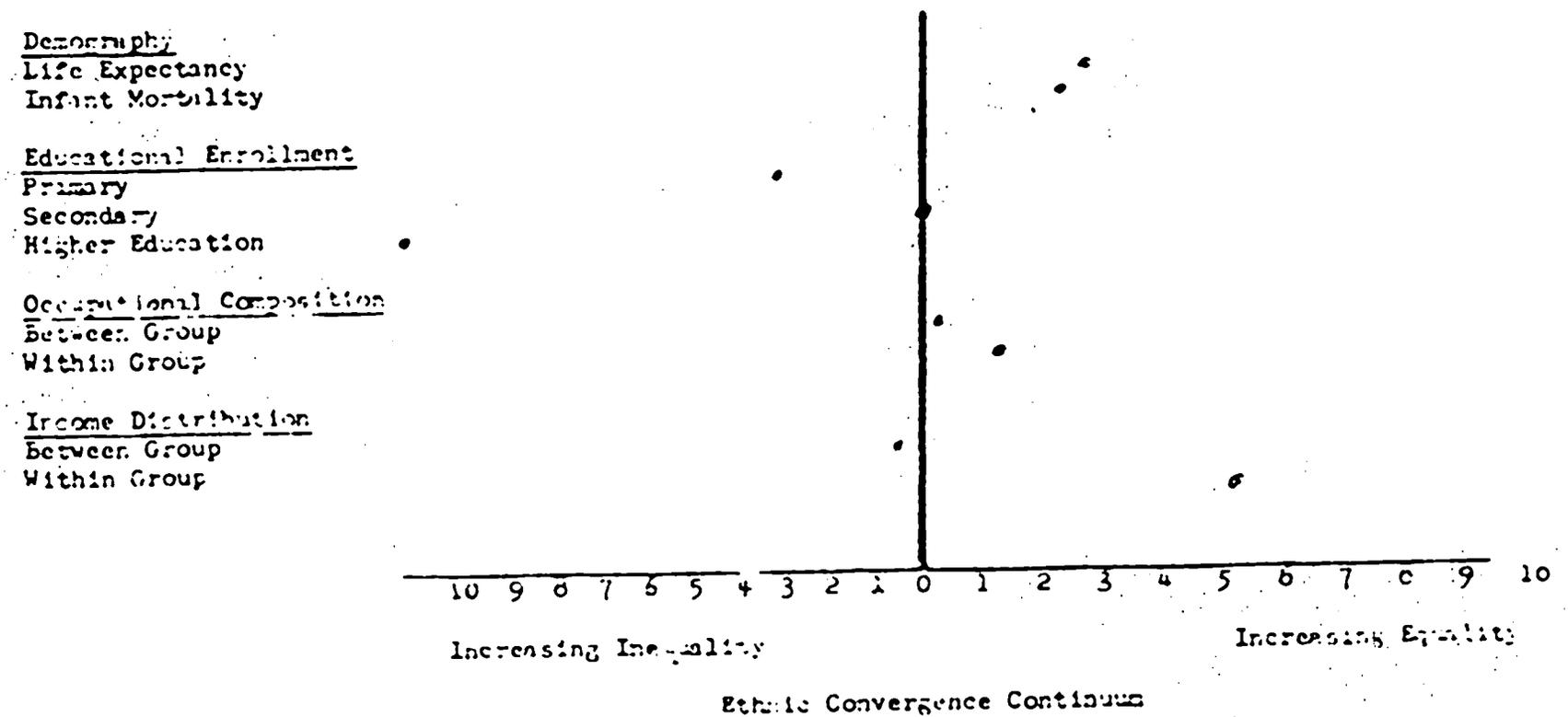
MALAYSIA

INDIANS

CHART 4



The Extent of Ethnic Convergence:
Malaysia



<u>Mean Convergence Coefficients</u>			
Life Expectancy	2.4	Secondary Enrollment	0.0
Infant Mortality Rates	2.1	Higher Educ. enrollment	-10.0
Primary Enrollment	-3.33	Occupations between groups	0.69
		Occupations within groups	1.37
		Income between groups	-0.32
		Income within groups	5.61

Table 8

Ownership of Share Capital in Limited Companies:

Peninsular Malaysia, 1970-75

(Figures in Percentages)

	1970	1973	1975*
Malays and Malay Interests	2.4	5.3	7.8
Malays	1.6	2.1	2.3
Malay Interest	0.8	3.2	5.5
Other Malaysians	34.3	36.6	37.3
Chinese	27.2	27.8	27.9
Indians	1.1	1.2	1.2
All Others	6.0	7.6	8.2
Foreigners	63.3	58.1	54.9

*Estimated

Source: Third Malaysian Plan, 1976: 184.

tionally and educationally, Malays as a group have improved their position vis-a-vis the other two ethnic groups. But as the results of the changes show, the Indians have often borne the brunt of the Malay advance. This is most evident in the Indian unemployment rates. It can be discerned in other areas as well. In income distribution, the Malays did not advance, but the urban Indians did. Here, it was the rural Indians who lost ground. Nonetheless, among the three groups taken as a whole, it has been the Malays who have been falling behind in income and who have experienced the highest rate of increase in income inequality within their group.

In this study, it is difficult to see any relationship between education, employment and income distribution, a relationship often claimed to exist. The greater access of the Malays to higher education and civil service jobs has not materialized in income gains. Only time will tell whether the training in higher education will eventually effect Malay income.

Sri Lanka

Demography

The ethnic distribution of the population has changed over the last ninety years. The post-World War II period in particular shows an increase in the Sinhalese population with a corresponding decrease in the Tamils (see Table 1). The Sinhalese, who were 66.9 percent of the population in 1881 comprise 71.9 percent in 1971. The Tamil population declined from 24.9 percent to 19.8 percent during the same period. The Moor and Malny populations have remained relatively stable over the ninety year span.

As shown in Table 1, the division into subgroups from 1911 on gives a more specific picture of this change. The Kandyans accounted for most of the increase in the Sinhalese population, and the Indians accounted for the Tamil decrease. The decrease in the Indian Moor position is almost exactly matched by the increase in the Ceylon Moors.

Official sources claim that migration is largely responsible for the actual decrease of the Indian Moors and for the relative decline of the Indian Tamils (Department of Census and Statistics, 1974:46). However, in the former case they admit that the reduction is also due to a number of Indians counting themselves as Ceylon Moors. Change in identity among the Tamils is raised as a possibility by Dr. Mukul K. Dey (1965:48). Furthermore, Sarker (1957:194) claims that the increase in the Sinhalese race may not be entirely due to natural population increase, but may be partly due to "conversion" from other races. Thus, and figures using census data as a racial classification must be viewed with some skepticism.

Table 1.

Ethnic Distribution of the Population of Sri Lanka:1881-1971

	1881	1911	1946	1953	1963	1971
<u>Sinhalese</u>	66.9	66.1	69.4	69.3	71.0	71.9
Low Country		41.8	43.6	42.8	42.2	42.8
Kandyan		24.3	25.8	26.5	28.8	29.1
<u>Tamils</u>	24.9	25.8	22.7	22.9	22.6	19.8
Ceylon		12.9	11.0	10.9	11.0	11.1
Indian		12.9	11.7	12.0	11.6	8.7
<u>Moors & Malays</u>	7.0	6.8	6.4	6.6	6.7	7.0
Ceylon Moors		5.7	5.6	5.7	5.9	6.5
Indian Moors		0.8	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.2
Malays	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, 1974:44.

The rate of urbanization of all groups except the Indian Tamil has increased significantly since 1963 (see Table 2). The Moors and Malays are still the most urbanized group, while only 6.7 percent of the Kandyan Sinhalese are urbanized. The only group that has not increased its urbanization rate is the Indian Tamils, who are less than 10 percent urbanized. The most significant migration to the urban centers has been by the Ceylon Tamils; their urban population has increased 180 percent in less than ten years.

The reclassification of village councils to town councils has obviously affected the urban trends, as shown in Table 2. One study shows that the change in the reclassification of councils in the 1971 census tends to distort the actual trend in urbanization and reflects spurts of urban growth which in fact did not take place (Gunatilleke, 1973:44). When conversions of the figures are made to include only towns of 2,000 and above in the urban column, the urbanization rate changes little over time. What effect such a conversion would have on the ethnic urban rates in Table 2 is difficult to evaluate.

In spite of decreasing infant mortality rates, differentials between the ethnic groups remain (see Table 3). Between 1910/12 and 1966, the coefficient of variation declined from .130 to .110. If only 1945/47 and 1966 are compared, then a slight increase in infant mortality rate differentials emerges.

When just Sinhalese and Tamils are compared, the gap between them reduces to the point where there is little difference between their infant mortality rates. The most significant decline in mortality rates has been experienced by the Malays, who in 1910-12 had the highest rate but by 1966 had the lowest.

Table 2

Urban Concentration of Ethnic Groups: 1881-1971

	1881	1911	1946	1953	1963	1971
<u>Sinhalese</u>	5.9	9.6	12.9	12.9		
Low Country		13.8	18.3	18.5	22.1	28.3
Kandyan		2.4	3.8	3.8	3.7	6.6
<u>Tamil</u>	13.8	12.6	14.3	15.2		
Ceylon		15.3	19.3	21.4	12.8	35.1
Indian		9.9	9.5	9.7	10.1	9.3
<u>Moors & Malays</u>	28.3	31.4	34.0	33.1	38.9	45.3
Ceylon Moor		25.1	28.8	28.6		
Indian Moor		60.3	64.3	57.0		
Malay	74.3	72.6	74.8	71.0		

Sources: 1881-1946 urban; Department of Census and Statistics
1953 urban; Department of Census and Statistics, 1957:184-5.
1963 urban; Central Bank of Ceylon, 1963:89.
1971 urban; Department of Census and Statistics, 1972:1.

1881-1871 population figures; Department of Census and Statistics, 1975:34

Table 3

Ethnic Infant Mortality Rates: 1910-66			
	1910/12	1945/47	1966
Sinhalese	190	124	48
Tamils	229	130	50
Moors	237	143	55
Malays	262	113	42
V =	.130	.098	.110

Sources: Sakar, 1957:200; Vital Statistics, 1966:182

Education

The index of educational attainment in Table 4 and Chart 6 shows that between 1963 and 1973 the level of education rose for all groups except the Ceylon Tamil. The latter experienced a slight reduction in achievement level. The Malays made the greatest advance in educational attainment; the Indian Tamils made the least. The overall picture shows that the ethnic dispersion of educational achievement has really not been redistributed. When educational attainment is broken down into different levels of education, we find there has been very little change in achievement levels. The only exceptions to this are primary school students and those who have passed GCE examinations; these people have made significant movements toward greater educational equality.

The Kandyan Sinhalese made the most significant improvement in literacy rates during the years 1953-63. (The census survey defines an improvement in literacy by a decline in the percent of population who have not attended school--see Table 4.) The Moors and Malays also made substantial improvement in eliminating illiteracy, but this was more evenly spread over the twenty year period. The literacy rate of the Indian Tamils increased from 1963-73, but not enough to bring them within range of the other groups.

When the secondary education and the secondary diploma levels are examined, the Low Country Sinhalese are shown to have made the greatest advance. Next come the Kandyan Sinhalese, the Moors and Malays, the Ceylon Tamils, and last, the Indian Tamils. Not only are the Indian Tamils last, but their rate of advance over the twenty year period is significantly below the other four groups.

Table 4

Educational Attainment by Ethnic Group: 1953-73

Index of Education Attained

	1963	1973
Kandyan Sinhalese	3.07	3.71
Low Country Sinhalese	4.00	4.57
Ceylon Tamils	3.56	3.52
Indian Tamils	1.68	1.89
Moors	2.80	3.23
Malays	<u>4.62</u>	<u>5.66</u>
V =	.576	.583

Educational Attainment

	No Schooling			Primary			Secondary			Passed GCE/SSC			Higher Education		
	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973
Kandyan Sinhalese	46.5	38.4	33.6	43.0	41.7	38.2	8.7	16.9	23.0	1.1	2.3	4.7	0.7	0.7	0.5
Low Country Sinhalese	34.3	30.0	25.9	50.8	39.3	35.8	12.8	24.5	29.9	1.2	4.3	7.4	0.8	1.3	1.0
Ceylon Tamils	38.3	36.0	33.5	50.8	38.9	41.3	8.3	18.4	20.8	0.8	4.2	3.8	1.8	2.2	0.6
Indian Tamils	60.5	60.7	51.5	35.9	31.8	42.1	3.6	6.6	5.6	-	0.6	0.8	-	0.1	-
Moors and Malays	49.8	42.2	36.9	43.1	39.1	39.6	5.5	15.3	19.6	0.3	2.8	3.5	1.3	0.4	0.4
V =	.224	.281	.259	.140	.098	.064	.450	.395	.448	.760	.537	.588	.735	.885	.722

Source: Central Bank of Ceylon, 1974:32

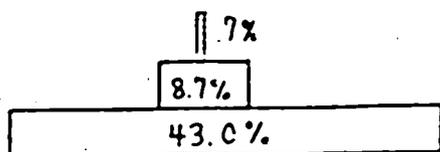
SRI LANKA

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
BY ETHNIC GROUP
1953-73

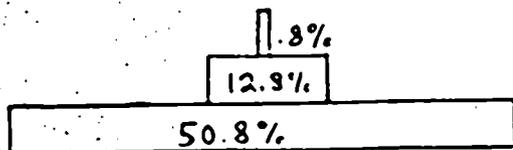
CHART 6

1953

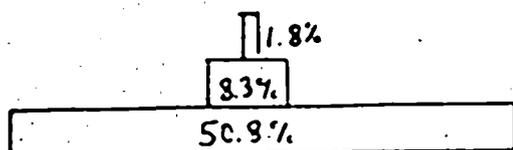
higher
secondary
primary



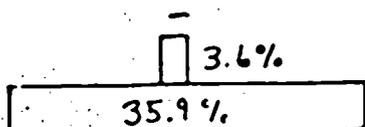
KANDYAN SINHALESE



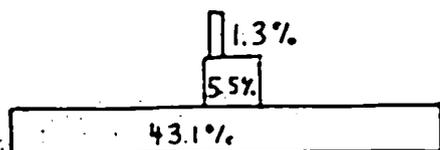
Low COUNTRY SINHALESE



CEYLON TAMILS

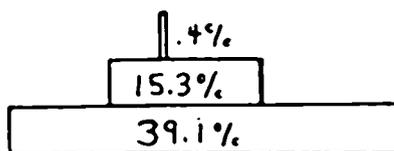
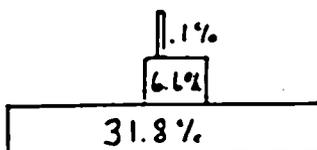
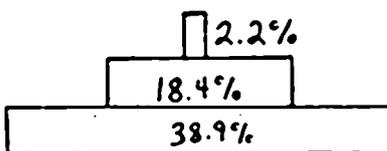
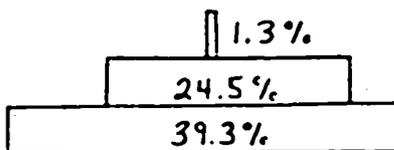
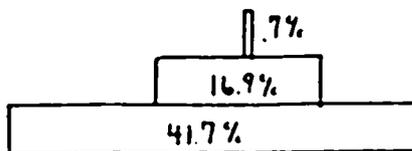


INDIAN TAMILS



MOORS and MALAYS

1963



1973

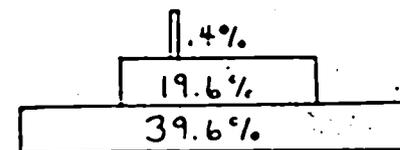
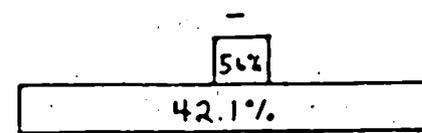
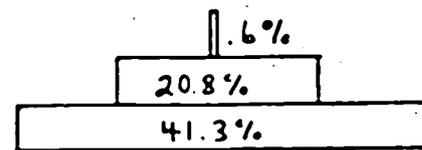
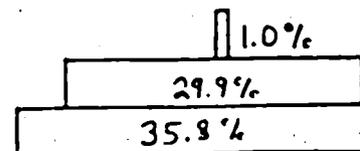
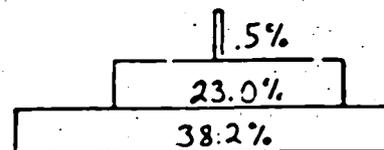


Table 4 shows the percentage of each group which attended higher education. Except for the Moors and Malays, all four groups moderately increased their university attainment level from 1953-63. For the period 1963-73, however, the trends are in the opposite direction, with all groups experiencing a decline in higher educational training. The most clear example of this decline is the Ceylon Tamils, whose training in universities dropped from 2.2 percent to 0.6 percent in just ten years. The other percentage trends were not nearly so drastic.

An entirely different story is found when enrollments and admissions to universities are examined (see Table 5). Here the Sinhalese, taken as one group, are steadily increasing their dominance at the university level. In the beginning, however, they were underrepresented. In 1946 they comprised 69.4 percent of the population, but only 61.7 percent of the University of Ceylon enrollment. While their proportion in the population remained much the same, they increased their proportion in admissions to all universities in Sri Lanka to 81.9 percent in 1973. The Ceylon Tamils experienced a reverse trend, i.e., moved from overrepresentation to underrepresentation. Their percentage of the enrollment dropped from 29.4 percent in 1946 to 14.1 percent in 1974, while their proportion in the population fluctuated from 22.9 percent to 19.8 percent over the same period of time. The Moors and Malays, on the other hand, have always been underrepresented in the university system.

Table 6 shows university enrollments from a different perspective. Here, the enrollment of each ethnic group as a percentage of the ethnic group's 20-24 year-old sector for 1946 through 1963 is shown. The results

Table 5

University Enrollment by Ethnic Group: 1942-1974

University of Ceylon Enrollment

	Sinhalese	Tamils	Moors/Malays
1942	57.4	32.0	2.7
1946	61.7	29.4	2.8
1949	60.4	32.1	2.2
1951	60.9	33.0	2.1
1953	60.2	33.7	1.7
1955	59.8	34.5	2.2
1957	60.0	34.7	2.0
1959	62.4	33.5	2.1
1961	71.4	25.5	1.8
1963	75.2	22.2	1.5
1965	78.1	19.1	2.0

Admissions to all Universities in Sri Lanka

	Sinhalese	Tamils	Moors/Malays
1969/70	80.6	15.7	3.4
1970/71	81.1	15.2	3.1
1971/72	83.2	14.1	2.2
1973	83.2	14.1	2.1
1974	81.9	14.2	3.6

Sources: Jnyasuriya, 1965:147; De Silva, 1974:172-3.

Table 6

University of Ceylon Enrollment as a Percentage
of the 20-24 Year Old Population: 1946-63

	1946	1953	1963
Sinhalese	.2	.3	.7
Tamils	.3	.5	.6
Noors/Malays	.1	.1	.2

Sources: Jaysuriyn, 1965:147; Department of Census and Statistics, 1952:59-80, 1959:644 and 1967:23.

substantiate the trends indicated in Table 5. The Sinhalese made the most significant advances in higher education, primarily between 1953-63.

The question of the comparability of enrollment to admission figures must be raised. The only year for which a direct ethnic comparison can be made is 1950 (Strauss, 1951:133). Furthermore, the Sinhalese and the Tamils are the only groups which can be compared. Nonetheless, it can be seen that admission figures may exaggerate the proportion of Sinhalese. For example, 59.8 percent of the University of Ceylon student body were Sinhalese, 66.6 percent of the admissions were Sinhalese; and while 32.9 percent of the student body were Tamil, 24.5 percent of admissions were Tamil.

In 1974, a branch of the University of Sri Lanka was established in the northern portion of the country, a Ceylon Tamil area (Pakeman, 1975:640). This makes it particularly important to obtain university figures after 1974.

Another distribution to consider is enrollment by faculties. Jayasuriya (1965:91) gives such figures for 1964 only. They show that the only area where the Sinhalese were overrepresented was in arts, oriental studies and law. They were underrepresented in science, engineering, medicine, and agricultural and veterinary sciences. The Ceylon Tamils exhibited exactly the reverse pattern. The Moors and Malays maintained a proportional representation in all faculties.

Occupation

Unfortunately, there are no published figures on the ethnic occupational structure. What will be given here are unemployment rates by ethnic groups.

The Unemployment rates in Table 7 cover a period from 1953 through 1973. The rate of unemployment is shown together with the percentage of unemployment in each ethnic group's population. The coefficient of variation produces contrary results for the groupings. While it shows increasingly unequal dispersion when unemployment is considered as a percentage of the work force, the coefficient also shows decreasing skewness when considered as a percentage of the ethnic population.

Looking at the ethnic proportions within the work force from 1953-63, there was a decline in unemployment for all groups except the Ceylon Tamils and Moors and Malays. While the countrywide unemployment rate decreased by 2.8 percentage points, the Ceylon Tamil unemployment increased by 3.2. In 1973 the countrywide unemployment rate shot up to 24 percent. Here there were unequal distribution patterns. The Malays rate of unemployment went up more than four times that of the rest. Although less drastic, the rate for the Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese increased more than for the Tamils. The entire period between 1963 and 1973 indicates an alarming trend of rapid unemployment for all groups.

The increase in the Malay unemployment rate is so drastic that its validity must be questioned. It may also be asked how valid the survey results are. A survey by the Central Bank of Ceylon in 1973 yielded the 24.0 percent rate of unemployment upon which we have based the above discussion. However, a separate survey shows a 13.7 percent rate of unemployment for the same year (Wijewardana, 1975:32).

Table 7

Unemployment by Ethnic Group: 1953-73

	As a % of Population			As a % of Work Force		
	In the Ethnic Group			In the Ethnic Group		
	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973
Kandyan Sinhalese	5.3	3.6	7.0	15.6	12.7	23.0
Low Country Sinhalese	6.9	5.4	10.6	18.9	17.5	30.0
Ceylon Tamils	3.2	3.5	5.3	8.4	11.6	17.7
Indian Tamils	12.8	3.7	6.3	17.8	6.7	12.3
Moors	5.5	4.0	5.4	15.9	14.9	21.3
Malays	-	0.7	11.2		2.8	43.5
V =	.762	.534	.571	.252	.490	.444

Source: Central Bank of Ceylon, 1974:38; 1954:11.

Income

A number of studies have concluded that income distribution in Sri Lanka is becoming more equal. Jayavardina (1974:274), for example, shows that the Gini coefficient dropped from .46 in 1953 to .35 in 1973. However, when income distribution between the ethnic groups is compared, the trend is the reverse. The coefficient of variation for median incomes shows a rising inequality (see Table 8). The coefficient for median incomes was .216 in 1953 and .302 in 1973. Over this period, the rankings of the ethnic groups remained fairly stable, except that the Low Country Sinhalese rose from third to second place, pushing the Ceylon Tamils down in 1963. For mean incomes, this switch between the Low Country Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamils did not become evident until 1973.

The rates of change in the median incomes vary from group to group and from one time period to the next. During the first period, 1953-63, the rates of increase were more or less evenly distributed, although the Muslims and the Low Country Sinhalese had a slightly higher rate of improvement. However, in 1963-73, the rate of increase of the two Sinhalese groups was substantially greater than the other groups. The net effect is that the Sinhalese are fast catching up with the economically advanced position of the Moors and Malays. It is also true that the Tamils' economic position is slipping, especially the Indian Tamils whose income status is worsening.

Table 8 shows the intra-ethnic income distribution and its rates of change in the twenty-year period. The ratio of median to mean income is used as a substitute for the Gini coefficient since sufficient data for computing the coefficient were not available for the three time periods.

Table 8

Ethnic Group Income

Inter-ethnic Income of Income Receivers (Rs per 2 months)

	<u>Median</u>			<u>Mean</u>		
	1953	1963	1973	1953	1963	1973
Low Country Sinhalese	147	199	425	232	292	521
Kandyan Sinhalese	132	146	376	181	218	422
Ceylon Tamils	166	198	385	249	327	470
Indian Tamils	96	119	180	122	148	225
Moors and Malays	175	259	470	411	414	670
V =	.216	.296	.302	.452	.364	.412

Intra-ethnic Income Distribution:Ratio of Median to Mean Income of Income Receivers*

	1953	1963	1973	Percentage Change: 1953-1973
Low Country Sinhalese	63.4	68.2	81.7	29.0
Kandyan Sinhalese	74.0	67.0	89.1	20.4
Ceylon Tamils	66.7	60.6	81.9	22.9
Indian Tamils	78.7	79.7	80.0	1.7
Moors and Malays	42.6	62.6	70.2	64.7
V =	.139	.111	.084	

* This ratio is used as a proxy for skewness measurement.

Sources: Central Bank of Ceylon, 1964(n):88; 1974:83-4; Abeysekera, 1976:214.

The median/mean ratio should be interpreted the reverse of the Gini, i.e., the higher the numerical number in the ratio, the less inequality is shown. Here, a trend of increasing equality within each group is indicated. The overall dispersion ratio decreased from .139 in 1953 to .084 in 1973. Yet, the rate at which each group is progressing towards intra-group equality differs. The Moors and Malays have shown the most change, with the Low Country Sinhalese second and the Indian Tamils last.

Unfortunately, the sanguine picture of increasing equality within the ethnic groups is not replicated when measures other than the coefficient of variation are used. Quartile deviations for 1963 and 1973 produced different results, especially for 1973 (Central Bank of Ceylon, 1964(a):87; 1974:83). These deviations show a closer correlation between the increase in income and the increase in within-group inequality. When the quartile deviation average between 1963 and 1973 is compared, increasing inequality is demonstrated. Therefore, the results of the ratio and the conclusions of increasing within-group equity drawn from the ratio results are suspect.

Conclusions

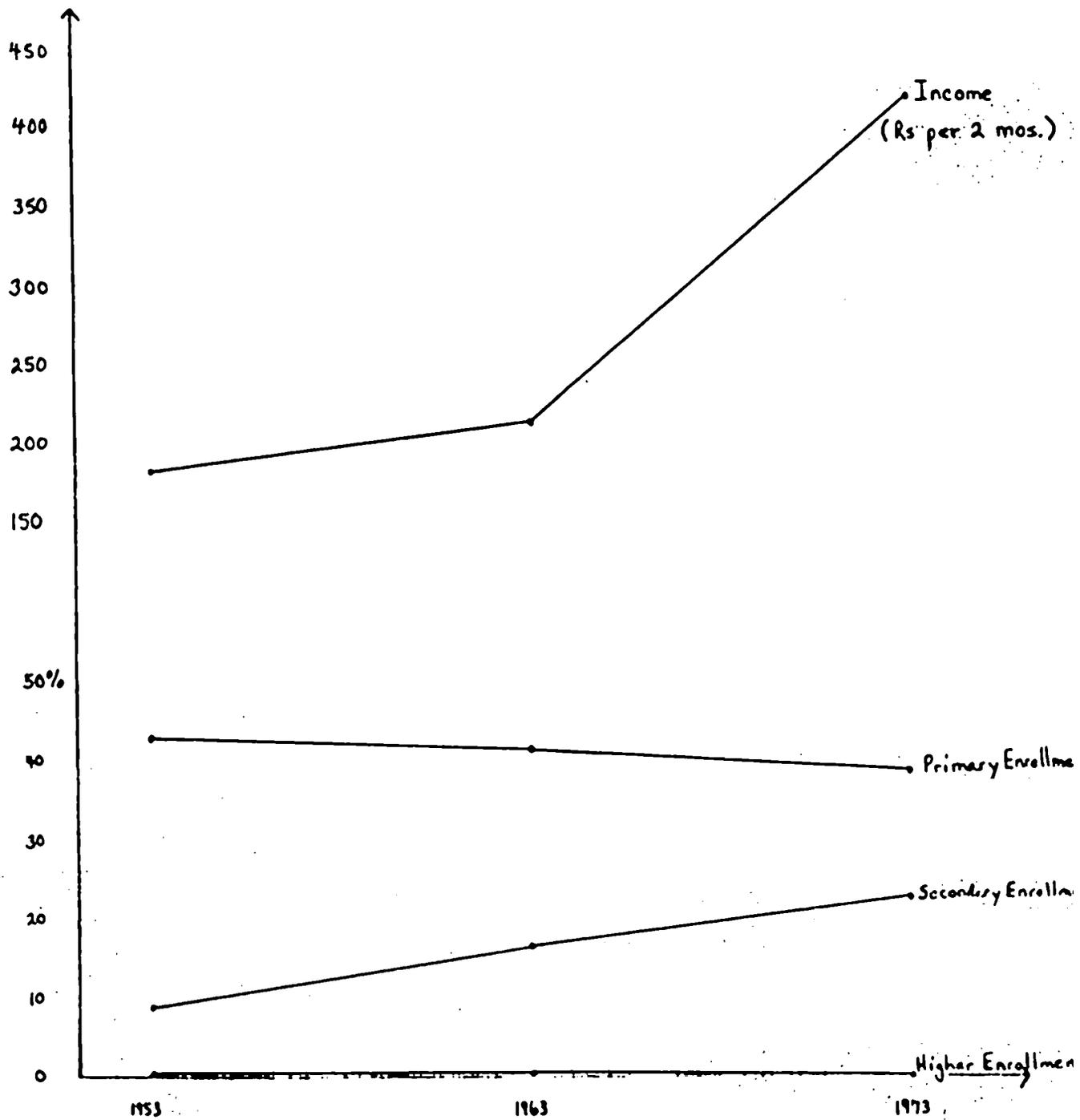
The data for Sri Lanka shows that both Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese have advanced in educational and economic areas, especially in the last ten years. The Ceylon Tamils, who had been ahead, ceded their position in economics and education, and advanced only in the health area, i.e., lower infant mortality rates. Both Tamil groups appeared to be protected from the full effect of the high unemployment rates. However, the Indian Tamils lost ground in every other area. The Moors and Malays made some progress in the educational and economic areas, except that the Malays appeared to be particularly hard-hit by unemployment. (See Charts 7-11 for the educational and economic progress of the different ethnic groups.)

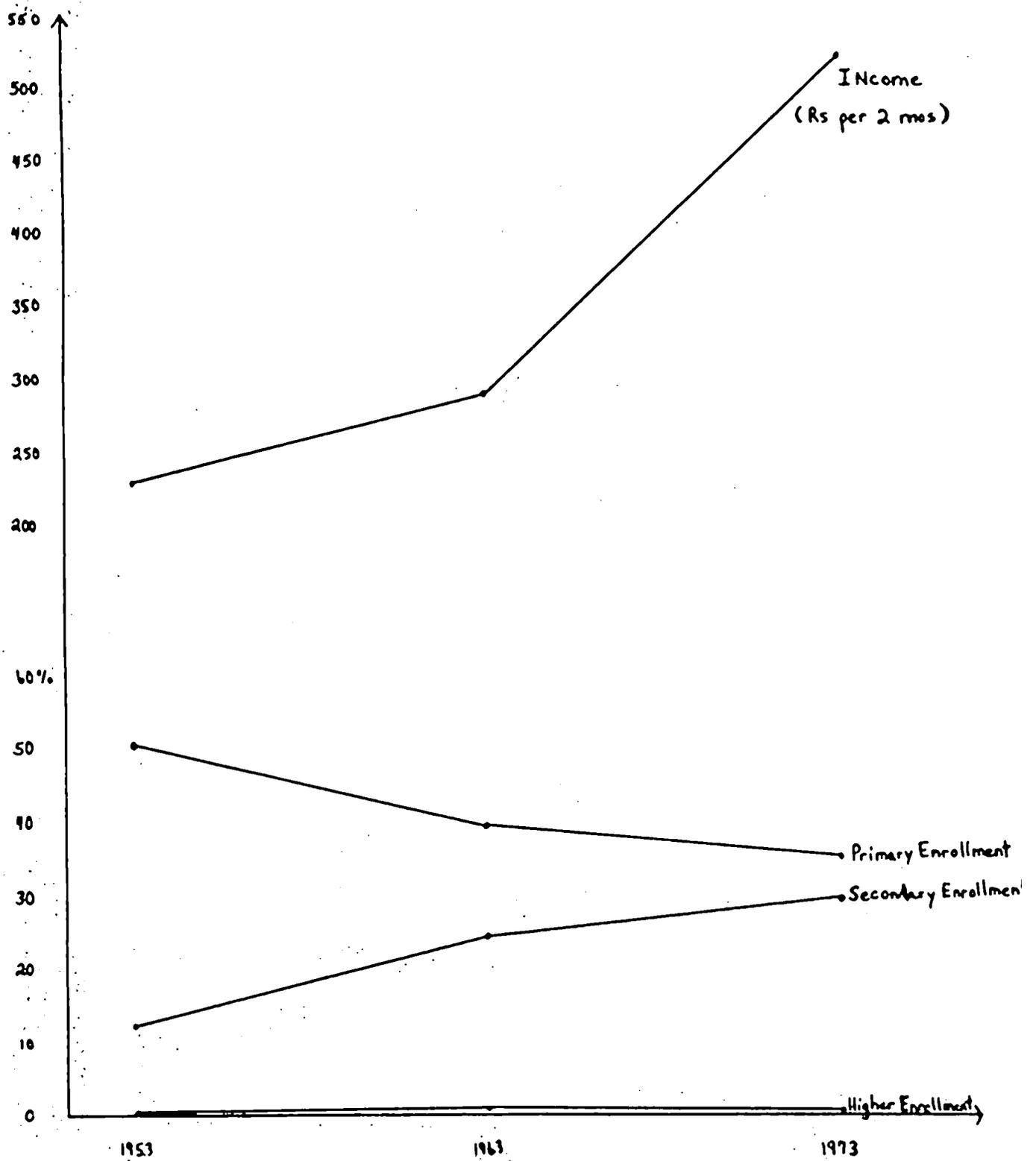
In short, the trends do point to a certain level of socioeconomic redistribution: the within-group differences are becoming more equal while the intergroup gap is growing. (Chart 18 shows the extent of ethnic convergence in Sri Lanka.) This increase in the between-group differentials is largely a function of the advancing position of the Sinhalese and the stagnant situation of the Tamils.

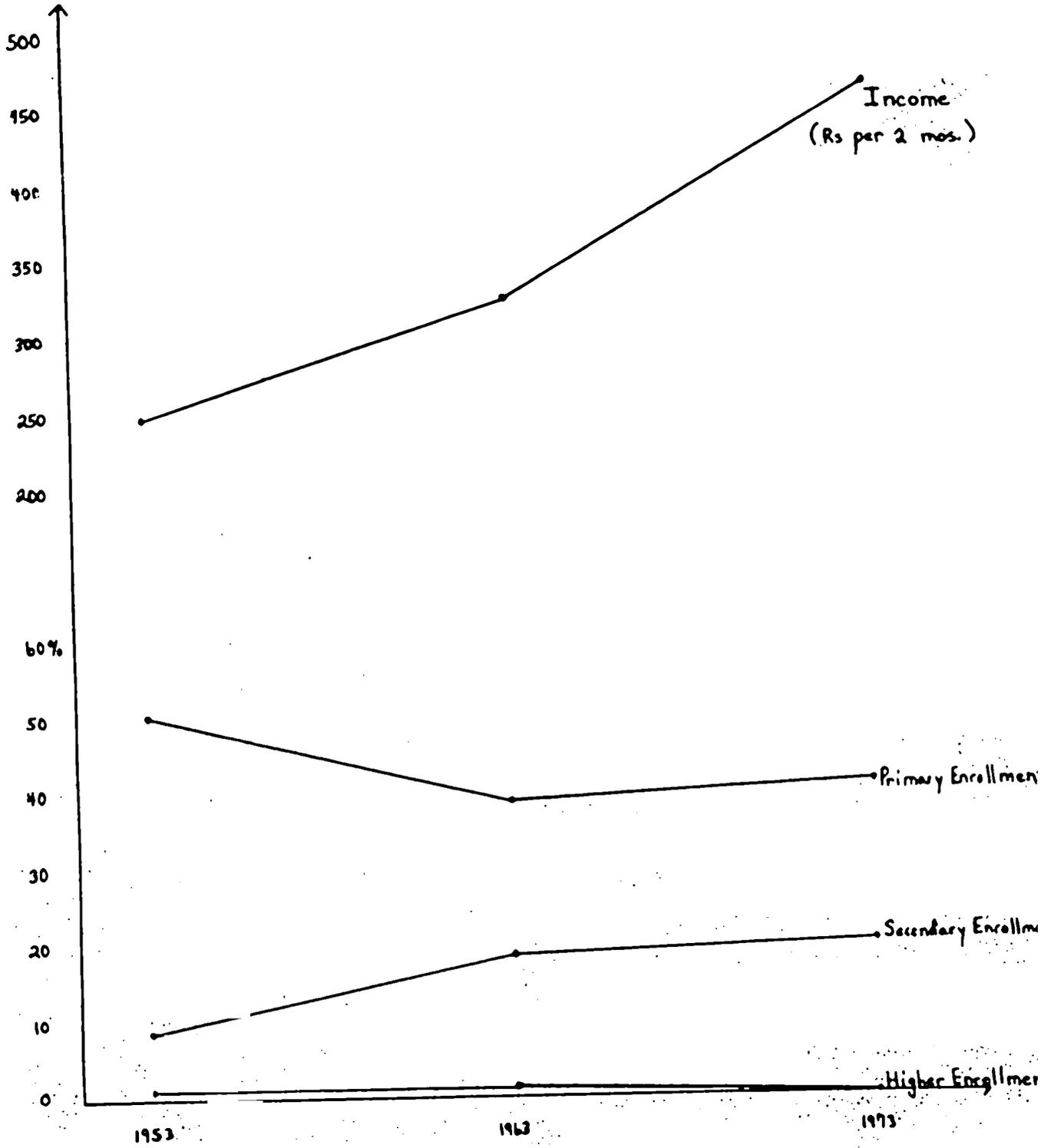
SRI LANKA

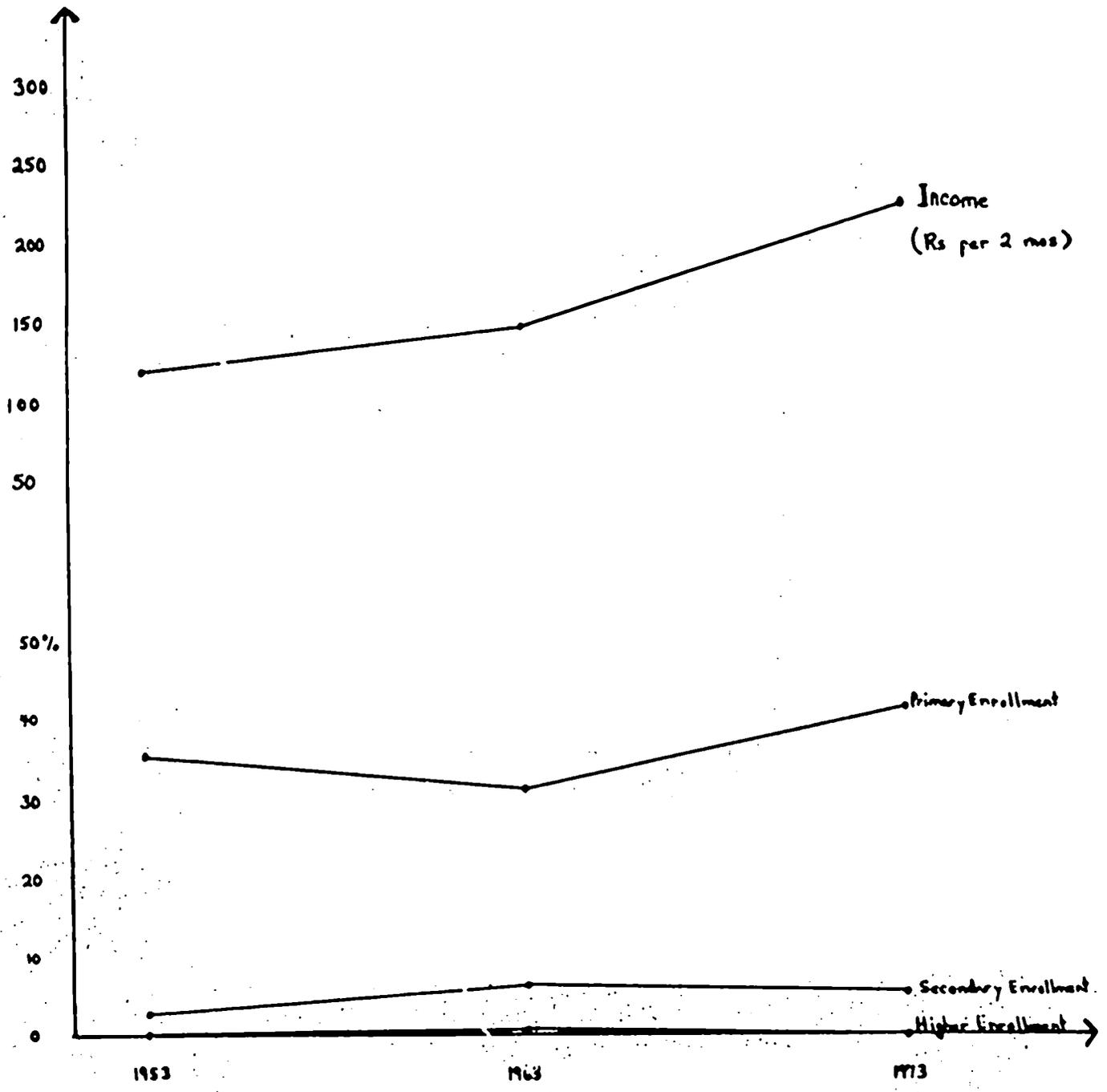
KANDYAN SINHALESE
INCOME and EDUCATION

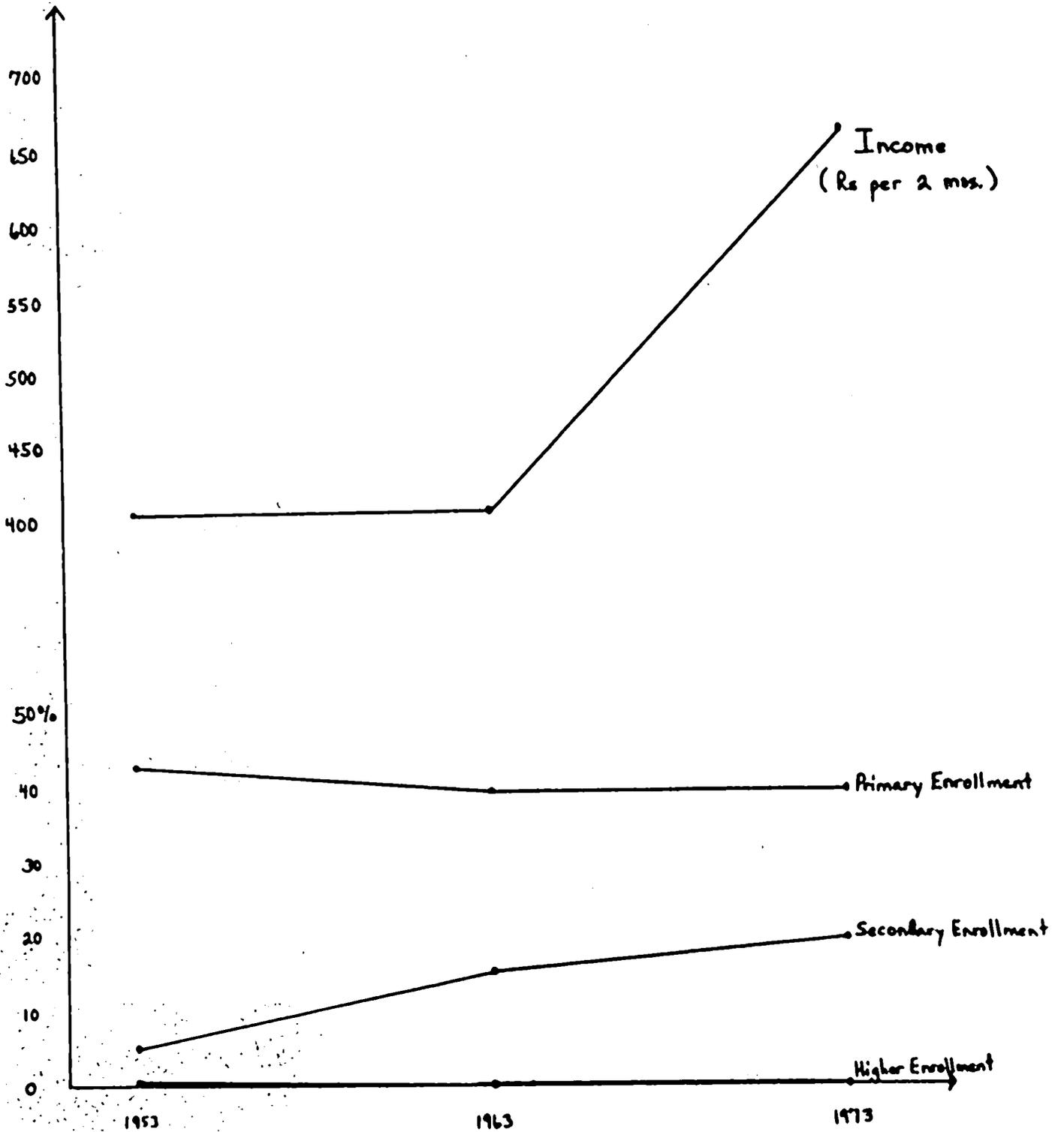
CHART 7



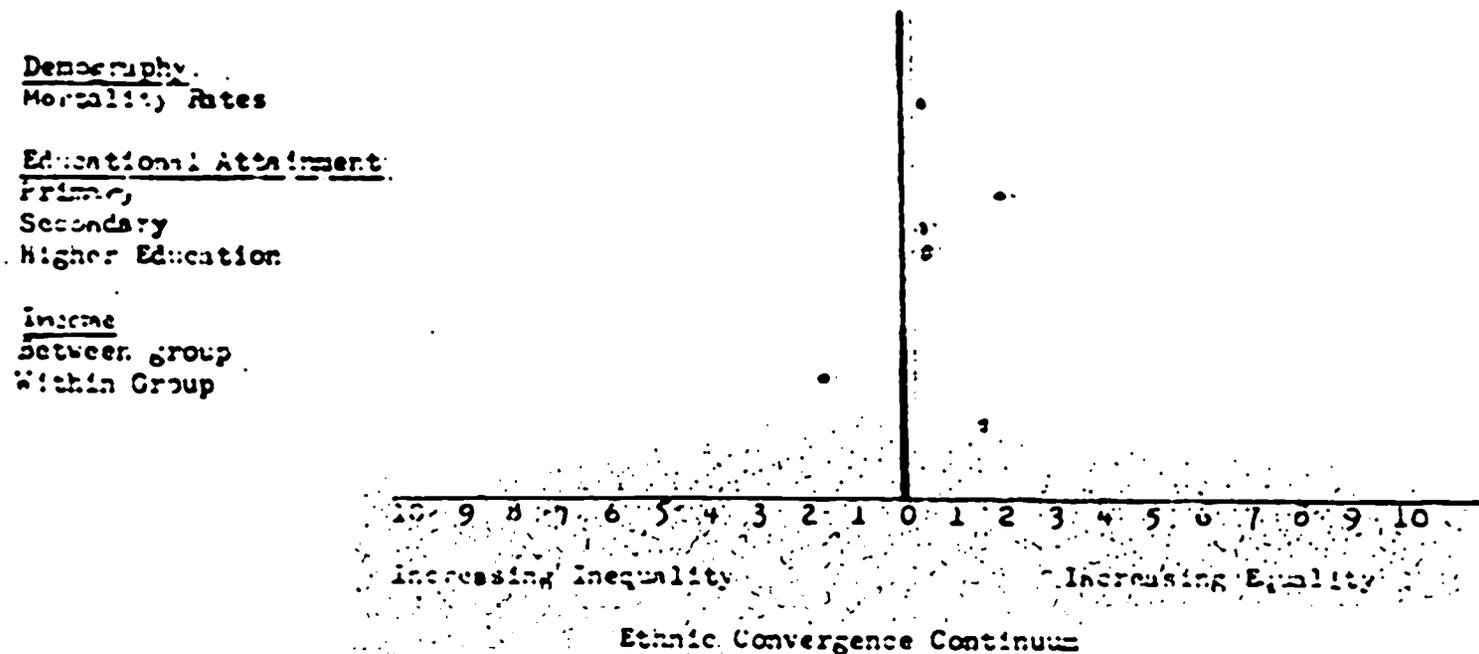








The Extent of Ethnic Convergence:
Sri Lanka



Mean Convergent Coefficients

Infant Mortality rates	0.27
Primary education attained	2.27
Secondary Education attained	0.02
Higher education attained	0.09
Income between groups	-1.99
Income within groups	1.08

ISRAEL.

Demography

A number of observers have claimed that the Oriental population of Israel is rapidly outpacing the number of Western Jews in Israel, yet the Western culture remains dominant. Oriental Jews are those who originate from Asia or Africa, and most are Sephardi. The Western Jews are those who originate from Europe or America; most are Ashkenazi. Unfortunately, officially published data for Jews in Israel is given by continent of birth rather than by ethnic group. Three groups are listed: Asia-Africa, Europe-America, and Israel. The continent of birth of fathers of Israeli-born is not always shown. Therefore, ethnic proportions for this group cannot always be given. However, ethnic divisions correspond closely to the continent of birth for the other two groups. In this text, when breakdowns within the Israeli-born have not been given, Oriental will refer only to the Asia-African foreign-born, and Ashkenazim will refer only to the European-American foreign-born.

1971 figures for the birthplace of the fathers of Israeli-born are available. From those, it can be computed that 52.1 percent of all Jews living in Israel were Oriental, and 43.9 percent were Ashkenazi (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973b:23-4).

The proportions given for the Jewish population in Table 1 do not reflect the origin of the father. From this data, it can be seen that the proportion of the Israeli-born Jewish population grew between 1948-72. The proportion of European-American-born Jews dropped to a level similar to that of Jews born in Asia and Africa. The change in proportions is due not only to differentials in birth and death rates, but also to the fact that the periods of large-scale immigration differed. The Ashkenazi came first, the Orientals last.

Table 1

Population and Urban Concentration of Ethnic Groups

Jewish Population (%) in Israel: 1948-1972

Continent of Birth	1948	1951	1954	1960	1964	1972
Asia-Africa	8.0	24.6	23.9	24.5	25.5	21.1
Europe-America	45.0	41.8	37.0	31.1	28.3	23.2
Israel	29.1	22.7	27.9	33.3	34.9	40.8

Ethnic Urban Concentration (%): 1953-1971

Continent of Birth	1953*	1971
Asia-Africa	59.2	90.9
Europe-America	79.0	94.1
Israel	79.5	95.9
Father born in Asia-Africa		94.4
Father born in Europe-America		97.2
Father born in Israel		97.9

* Urban definition changed in 1957.

Sources: Population: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1974:22.
Urban: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1955:16, and 1973:23-4.

The urban concentration for each group is also shown in Table 1. The concentration for all groups has risen. By 1971, more than 90 percent of the entire Jewish population lived in urban areas. Nonetheless, slight differences between ethnic groups persist.

This table does not give data on the different types of urban settlements. This could be an important pattern to analyze, since it is claimed that the type of urban settlement strongly affects the social and economic conditions of the inhabitants. In 1961, Seymour Spilerman (1976:789) pointed out that more than 66.0 percent of the foreign-born living in development towns were from the Oriental areas. Those born in Europe and America were the majority of the foreign-born in the main cities, the suburbs and the veteran settlements.

During the period covered by Table 1, the definition of "urban" changed in Israel (Davis, 1969:302). The first time the new definition was used was in 1957. Thus, the figures for 1953 are not necessarily comparable to the remaining ones.

Table 2 shows the life expectancy differentials over an eighteen-year period. In view of the fact that battlefield deaths have been subtracted from the computations, the advances in life expectancy have been surprisingly low for all groups. From the data shown, it would seem that the Western group has made the greatest advance. Nonetheless, the spread between the two ethnic groups has been reduced from .042 to .035.

Education

In their study of ethnic inequalities in Israel, Smooha and Peres (1975:7) argue that the ethnic educational gap has been reduced in the last decade, but the price has been a reduction in the quality of education. Only the issue of educational equality will be examined in this text. Looking at the within group distribution of educational attainment between 1961 and 1971 in Table 3 and Cha

Table 2

Life Expectancy* 1950-1967

Continent of Birth	1950/51	1954/55	1958/59	1962/63	1966/67
<u>Asia-Africa</u>					
male	47.1	48.7	49.0	49.1	48.2
female	49.1	49.7	49.6	49.3	49.8
<u>Europe-America</u>					
male	47.4	47.6	48.6	48.9	48.7
female	49.5	49.7	50.5	50.5	51.3
<u>Israel</u>					
male		52.3	48.9	49.5	49.7
female		53.5	51.6	52.2	52.9
V =	.775	.042	.023	.027	.035

*Life Expectancy at age 25.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973(b):124.

Table 3
Percentage Distribution of Years of Schooling
of Persons Aged 14 and over: 1961 & 1971

Years of Schooling	1961			1971		
	Asia-Africa Origin	Europe-America Origin	V	Asia-Africa Origin	Europe-America Origin	V
0	31.5	3.2	1.153	23.5	2.4	1.152
1-4	10.1	7.6	.200	8.6	8.3	.025
5-8	36.2	37.9	.032	36.4	32.4	.087
9-12	19.2	38.5	.473	26.5	38.5	.261
13+	3.0	12.8	.877	5.0	18.4	.73
Median	<u>5.4</u>	<u>8.6</u>	<u>.302</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>.25</u>
V =	.789	.878		.726	.792	

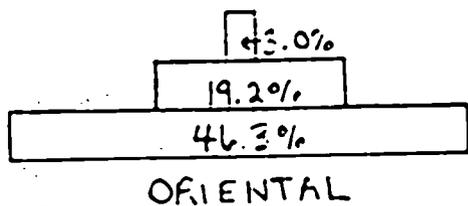
Source: Smouha and Peres, 1975:69.

ISRAEL
 DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS
 OF SCHOOLING OF PERSONS
 AGED 14 and OVER
 1961 and 1971

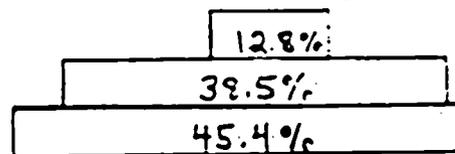
CHART 13

1961

higher (12+)
 secondary (9-12)
 primary (1-8)

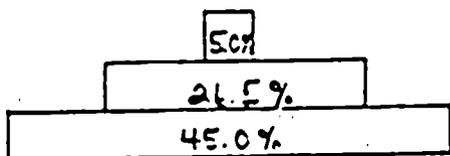


ORIENTAL

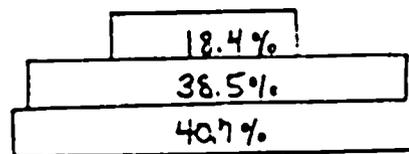


ASHKENAZIM

1971



ORIENTAL



ASHKENAZIM

It can be seen that the gap has been reduced. The educational median shows that though the Orientals are still behind, their rate of advance has been greater than that of the Western group. The Oriental achievement advances have occurred with students who had 9 years or more of formal education. The differences between the two groups with 8 years and less did not change between 1961-71. This means that for the Orientals, progress is only being made at the higher levels of education.

Table 4 shows secondary and university enrollments. At the secondary level, the trend of increasing equality shown in educational attainment is supported by increasing equality in educational enrollment. The coefficient of variation decreases in magnitude, and a look at the actual percentages also shows a reduction in the gap, from .536 to .375. However, it should be noted that the rate of advance for the Oriental group was higher between 1963/64 through 1966/67, than it was for 1966/67 through 1969/70.

At the university level, the enrollment figures support the educational attainment results. The coefficient of variation shows a reduction in inequality, particularly between 1964/65 through 1969/70; after that, the decrease is small. Nonetheless, the period between 1964 and 1973 shows that the Ashkenazi Jews had anywhere from between five to seven times the access to higher education compared to the Orientals, a significant difference. Interestingly enough, the amount of change for the Orientals is approximately the same, whether born in Asia or Africa or in Israel of Oriental parentage. On the other hand, the foreign-born, regardless of ethnic origin, showed proportionately higher increases than the Israeli-born.

Occupation

Contradictory findings appear when occupational mobility has been analyzed by scholars. For example, Lissak (1969), in his study on social mobility, points

Table 4

Percentage of Students Attending Secondary and University Education

Secondary Education: 1963-70*

	1963/64	1966/67	1969/70
Asian/African Origin	27.3	37.9	44.5
European/American Origin	60.6	68.6	76.6
v =	.536	.408	.375

Higher Education: 1964-73**

	1964/65	1966/67	1969/70	1971/72	1972/73
Father Asian/African Born	1.6	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.8
Father Europe/American Born	10.7	12.5	12.6	13.4	13.8
Asian/African Born	0.8	1.1	1.6	1.9	2.0
European/American Born	5.4	7.6	9.8	9.7	9.3
Father Israel Born	5.2	6.1	7.5	8.6	8.7
v =	.828	.785	.692	.681	.671

* Percentage of their peers, i.e., percentage of those of same age and origin. The Israel born pupils are classified according to the continent of birth of their fathers.

** Percentages are based on the 20-29 year old ethnic population.

Sources: Report of the Committee on Income Distribution and Social Inequality, 1971:28-29; Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1973:646; Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1976:616.

out that Oriental Jews have been able to penetrate the higher occupational categories. At the same time, a trend of downward mobility for the younger Oriental generation has been shown. What impact these trends have had on overall redistribution is a question to which we must now turn. The summary measures for intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic distributions have been shown on Table 5. The results of the Delta Indexes for the intra-ethnic distribution show that the most significant occupational redistribution took place within the Oriental group. Nearly 34 points of redistribution occurred between 1954 and 1974. The other two groups show considerably less cumulative mobility over the same period. The inter-ethnic comparisons show a decline in the delta magnitude between 1954 and 1974 for all but the Israeli-born/Western groups. This decline can be interpreted as showing a movement towards greater equality (or similarity) in the ethnic occupational structure. When Oriental and Israeli-born Jews are compared, we find that there has been a decline of 11 points. A comparison between the distribution of Orientals and Western Jews shows only a decline of two points over the twenty-year period. Occupational differences between Western and Israeli-born Jews have been increased by just over one point. In other words, these figures show that the progress of the Oriental in the last twenty years has been one of catching up with the Israeli-born. The Orientals have made only slight progress in closing the gap between themselves and the Western Jews.

The lower portion of Table 5 shows occupational categories by ethnic group for 1954 and 1974. We find that at all occupational levels, the Oriental Jews have made greater progress in catching up with the Sabras than with the Ashkenazim. However, the gap between Oriental and Western Jews has diminished at all levels, except for the service and skilled occupations.

Table 5

Within-Group Comparisons: 1954-1974

Delta Indexes for Jewish Employed Persons

	1954-74
Askenazim	23.1
Oriental	33.9
Israeli Born	18.5

Delta Indexes for Between Group Comparisons at Each Period: 1954 & 1974

Index Between:	1954	1974
Israeli Born and Oriental	37.3	26.6
Israeli Born and Ashkenazim	11.8	13.4
Oriental and Ashkenazim	29.2	27.3

Table 5 continued on the next page.

Table 5 (continued)

Occupational Structure: Jewish Employed Persons

	<u>1954</u>				<u>1974</u>			
	Total	Israel	Oriental	Ashkenazim	Total	Israel	Oriental	Ashkenazim
Total (in thousands)	474.4	56.6	119.5	292.3	989.1	46.4	398.6	544.1
Scientists, Professionals, Technicians, etc.	10.4	14.6	3.4	12.4	19.6	22.4	9.6	26.8
Administrators, Managers, Officials, Clerical, etc.	16.3	23.1	7.3	18.7	21.8	30.1	17.3	24.4
Merchants and Salespeople	10.4	6.0	9.1	11.7	8.0	8.4	6.7	9.0
Service Workers	8.5	6.2	12.0	7.5	11.9	9.2	17.3	8.2
Farmers and Agricultural Workers	13.5	11.3	22.6	10.2	5.5	5.0	5.8	5.3
Skilled Workers in Industry, Construction, Crafts & Transport	28.2	33.4	23.1	29.3	27.9	22.7	35.5	22.8
Unskilled Workers	12.7	5.4	22.5	10.2	5.3	2.2	7.8	3.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Etzioni, 1977:149. (for all of Table 5)

When a more limited time period is examined (1961-70), and when the Jewish male population is broken down by immigration period, a different picture begins to emerge. Table 6 shows the between and within group deltas for Jewish males from 1961-70 by period of immigration. The within group delta scores show a much higher rate of occupational redistribution for those who immigrated during 1948-60, than those who immigrated before 1948 for both European and Afro-Asian Jews (their delta scores are relatively similar). The between group scores reveal that the differences are highest for those who have immigrated since 1961, and lowest for the before 1948 immigrants. The figures also reveal that the gap between Oriental and Ashkenazim males for all periods of immigration have increased substantially, while the gap between Oriental and Israeli born Jews has declined. Once again this supports the contention that the occupational gains the Oriental Jews have made are in catching up with the Sabras, not with the Ashkenazi Jews.

Unemployment rates by ethnic group between 1968 and 1972 are displayed in Table 7. The overall figures indicate that unemployment differs significantly between ethnic groups, but that the gap between Oriental and Western groups has narrowed. The reduction of the Oriental unemployment rate was so great that it went below that of the Israeli-born in 1968, and the rate remained lower through 1972.

This raises the question of whether there were ethnic inequalities within the Israeli-born group. Figures from the 1971 census would indicate that there were (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973c:12). While the unemployment rate for all Israeli-born was 6.1 in 1971, the unemployment rate of those with fathers born in Europe or America was 4.0; for those with fathers born in Israel, 3.6; but for those with fathers born in Asia and Africa, the rate of unemployment was 10.9 percent of that group's labor force.

Table 6

Delta Indexes for within Group Comparisons by Immigrant Period: 1961-70

Jewish Employed Males

Immigration Period: 1961-70

Oriental:

up to 1947	14.5
between 1948-60	20.8

Ashkenazim

up to 1947	13.9
between 1948-60	23.6

Israel Born 9.1

Delta Indexes for between group Comparisons by Immigration Period: 1961, 1970

	<u>Immigration Periods: Up to 1947</u>		<u>Between 1948-60</u>		<u>Since 1961</u>
	1961	1970	1961	1970	1970
Oriental & Ashkenazim	37.4	52.4	27.7	36.3	41.4
Oriental & Israel Born	29.2	28.9	46.6	39.7	58.0
Ashkenazim & Israel Born	25.2	34.4	29.9	14.9	26.9

Sources: Labor Force Surveys, 1972:162.

Income

The literature shows considerable disagreement on the direction of the ethnic income gap. For example, Remba (1973) claims that the income differential between Oriental and Western groups widened substantially between 1950 and 1965, stabilized between 1965 and 1970, and narrowed in the first few years of the 1970s.

Table 8 shows the inter-ethnic distributional change from 1965 through 1974. Examination of the coefficient of variation reveals a trend toward greater equality, and that that trend picked up momentum in the 1970-74 period. Specifically, the gap between Oriental and Western incomes decreased. In 1965, the Orientals earned 72 percent of the Western income; by 1970, 73 percent; and by 1973, 79 percent.

However, Smolin and Peres (1975:68) have pointed out that ethnic gaps in earnings are less when family income is measured (as is the case for the inter-ethnic figures in Table 8) than when individual income is measured. The reason for this is that the size of the Oriental family is larger than that of the Western group.

Income data on within group patterns was split into two periods-- 1963-69 and 1971-74--because of the different criteria used to collect the data: the urban population is used in the former period and paid employees used in the latter. However, since both surveys used family incomes as the unit of analysis, some useful comparisons can be made. From 1963-69, the income patterns of both Israeli born and Oriental Jews became significantly less unequal, but for the Ashkenazim, the income dispersion remained relatively stable. Within the second period, the Oriental and Israeli born Jew income distribution pattern became more unequal, but then Gini ratios for 1974

Table 7.

Unemployment Rates by Ethnic Group: 1965-72

	1965	1968	1970	1971	1972
Oriental	6.6	8.3	5.0	3.9	3.5
Ashkenazim	1.8	3.0	1.7	1.5	1.1
Israeli Born	<u>5.3</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>5.0</u>
v=	.519	.329	.394	.384	.372

* Percentages are based on the employed ethnic population

Sources: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973(c):84; 1974:115.

Table 8

Between Group Income Differences: Coefficient of Variance,
1965-74

Average Gross Annual Money Income per Urban Employee's Family				
	1965	1968	1970	1974
Ashkenazim	8600	10900	13200	26200
Oriental	6200	7700	9700	20600
Israeli Born	9400	11400	13600	27800
V=	.206	.201	.176	.152

Within Group Income Differences: Gini Coefficient,
1963/4-1974

	Urban Jewish Families			Employee Families		
	1963/4	1968/9	1971	1972	1973	1974
Ashkenazim	.204	.212	.273	.266	.261	.229
Oriental	.281	.231	.293	.328	.330	.304
Israeli Born	.267	.152	.143	.161	.176	.143

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Israel, 1975:T.263; Income of Employee Families, 1976:T.38; Employee Families Income, 1972:T.41; Report of the Committee on Income Distribution and Social Inequality, 1971:25

show a sharp incline toward greater equality. Ashkenazim income, on the other hand, shows a gradual decline in skewness of income distribution. In fact, all three groups show a substantial shift toward income equality during the period 1973-74.

In a separate analysis of the Israeli data, we found that the income distribution becomes more equal the longer the length of stay in Israel. We also found that the income distribution of those with 5-12 years of education was more equal than that of those who had either little schooling or those with university training.

Conclusions

In short, there are some encouraging signs in Israel which point to a trend toward a more egalitarian multi-ethnic society. Chart 14 shows the extent of ethnic convergence. The socioeconomic progress of the Oriental Jews has been substantial, especially with length of stay. Although the Israeli government only gives out data by continent of birth, these trends do reflect the extent of ethnic redistribution. The rate of change does differ, however, depending on the variable. Educational and occupational mobility has been relatively steady over the years, but income differentials have only made progress since 1970. See Charts 15-17. The Oriental Jews have made great progress in catching up with the occupational status of the Israeli born Jews: however, they have not made gains on the Ashkenazi Jews.

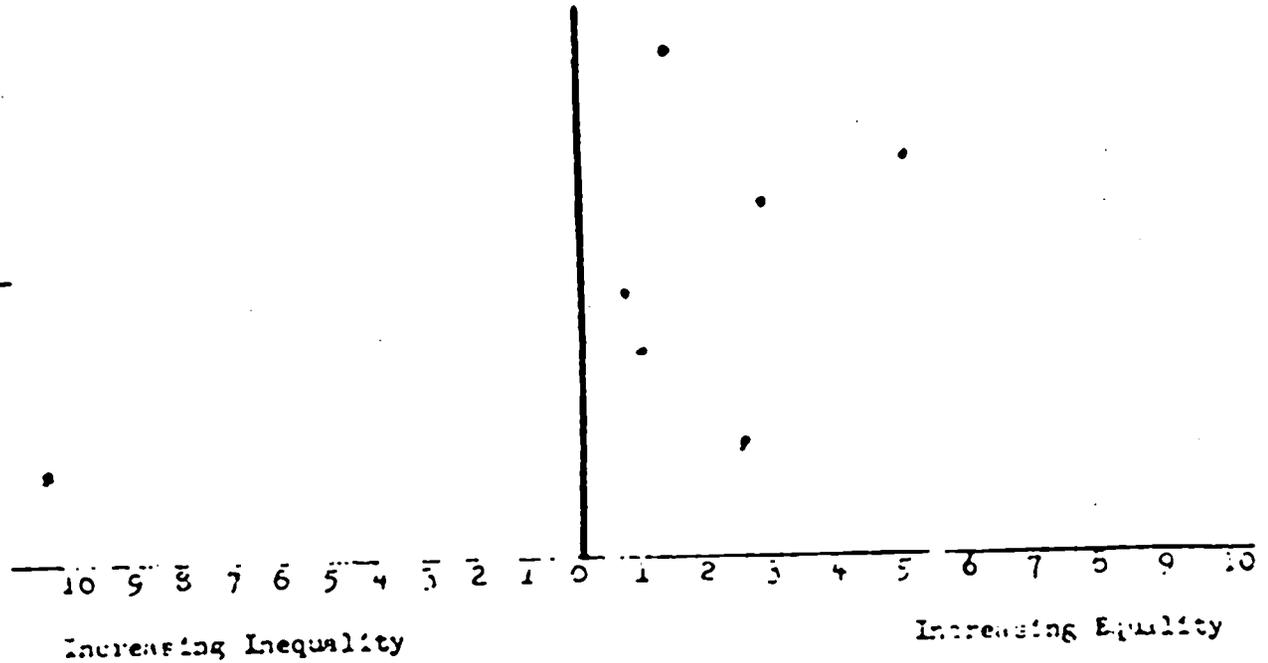
The Extent of Ethnic Convergence:
Israel

Demography
Life Expectancy

Education: Years of
Schooling
Secondary
Higher Education

Occupational Composition
Between Group
Within Group

Income Distribution
Between Group
Within Group

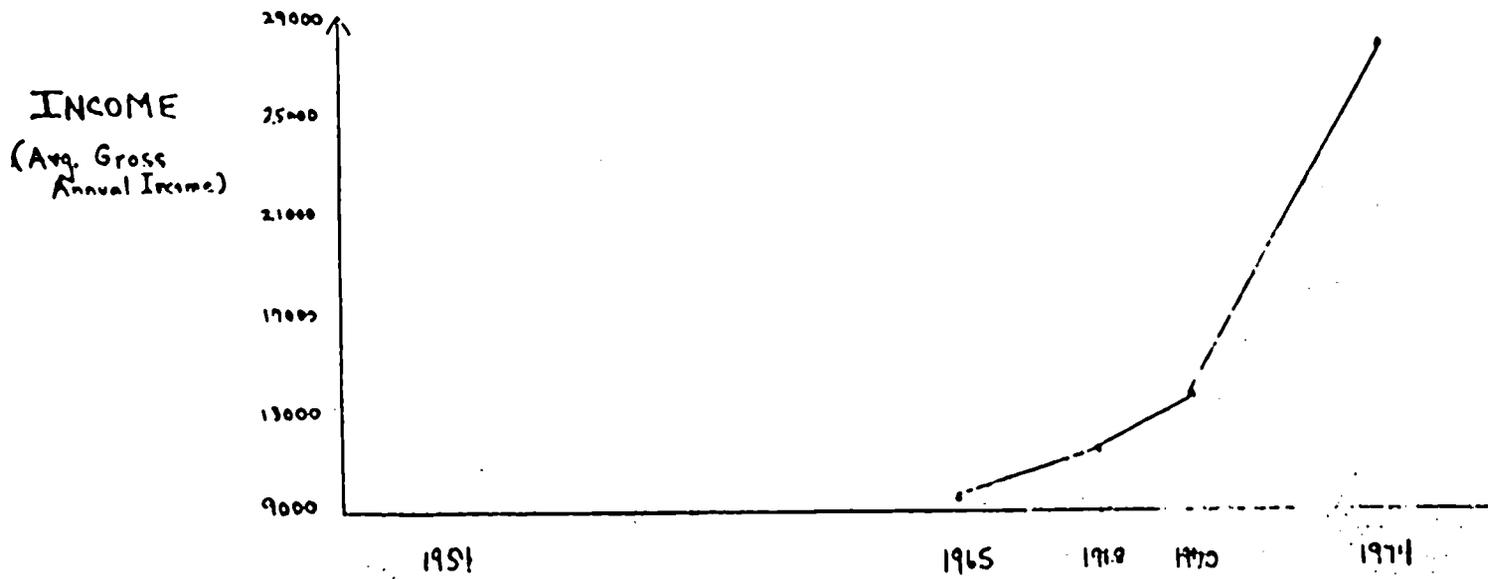
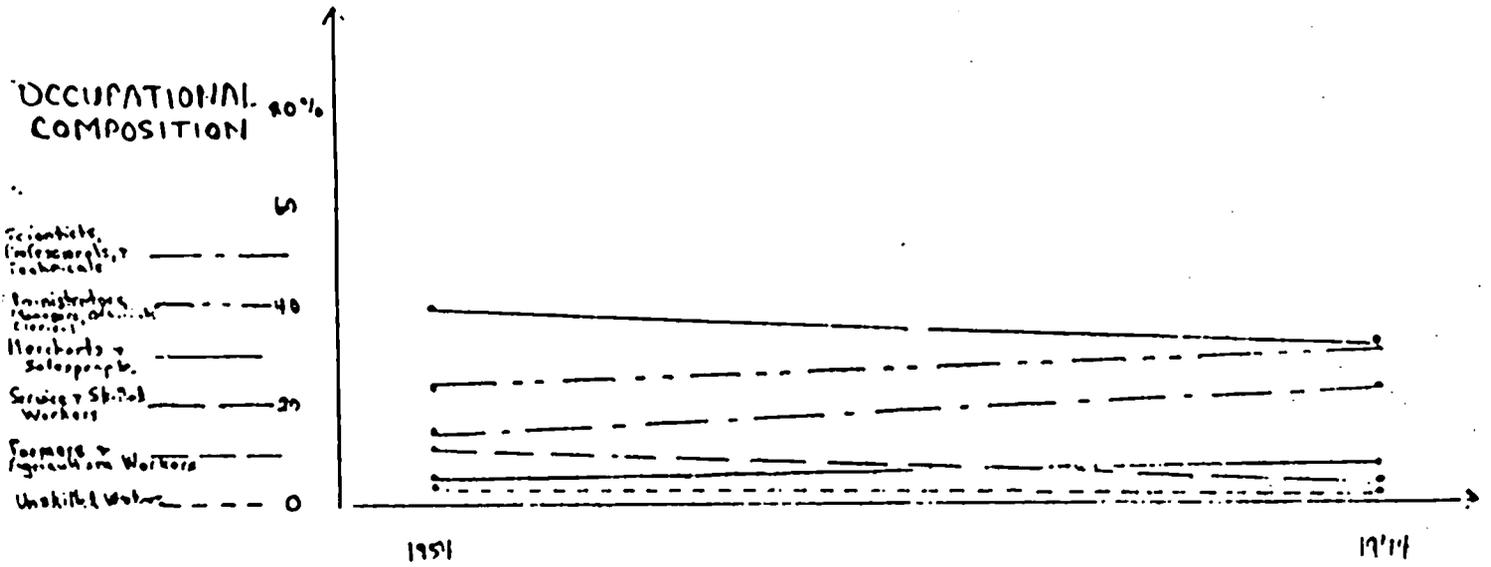


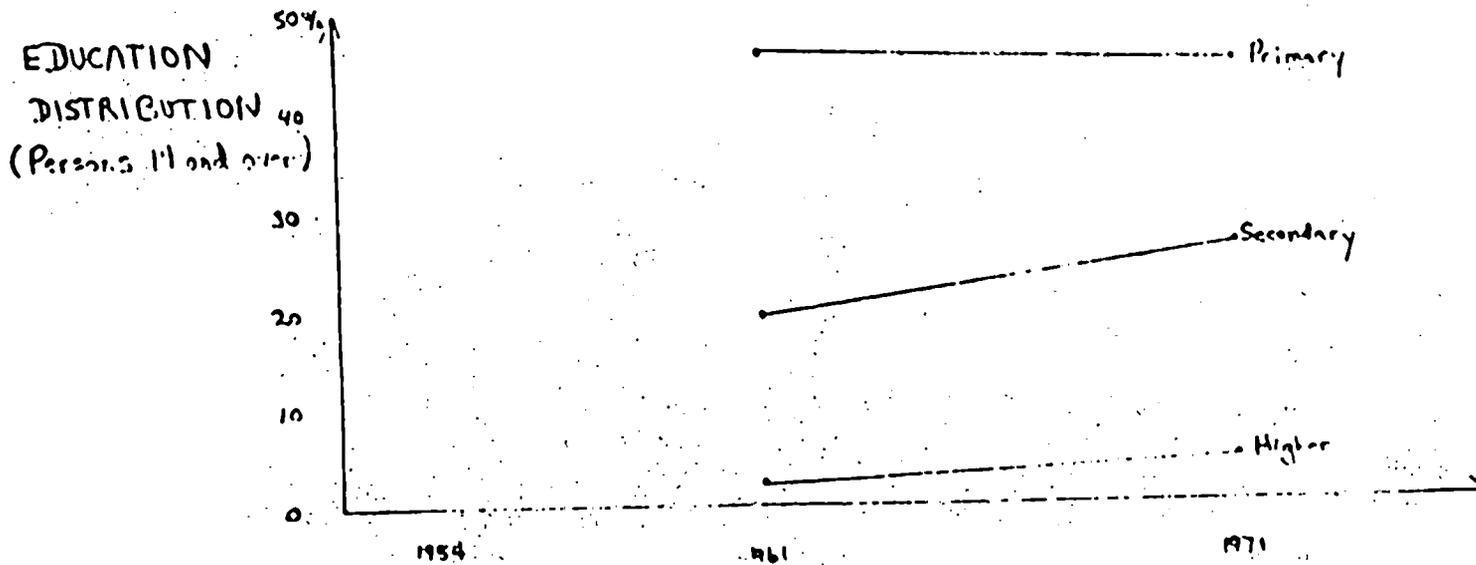
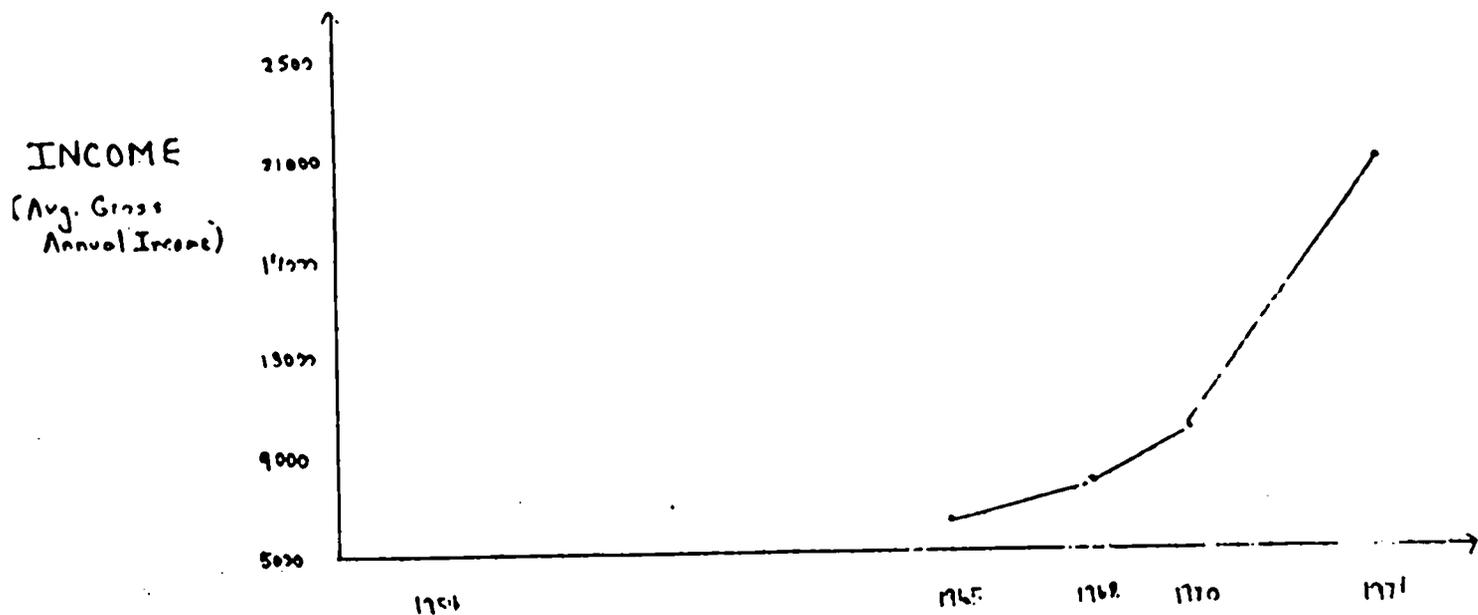
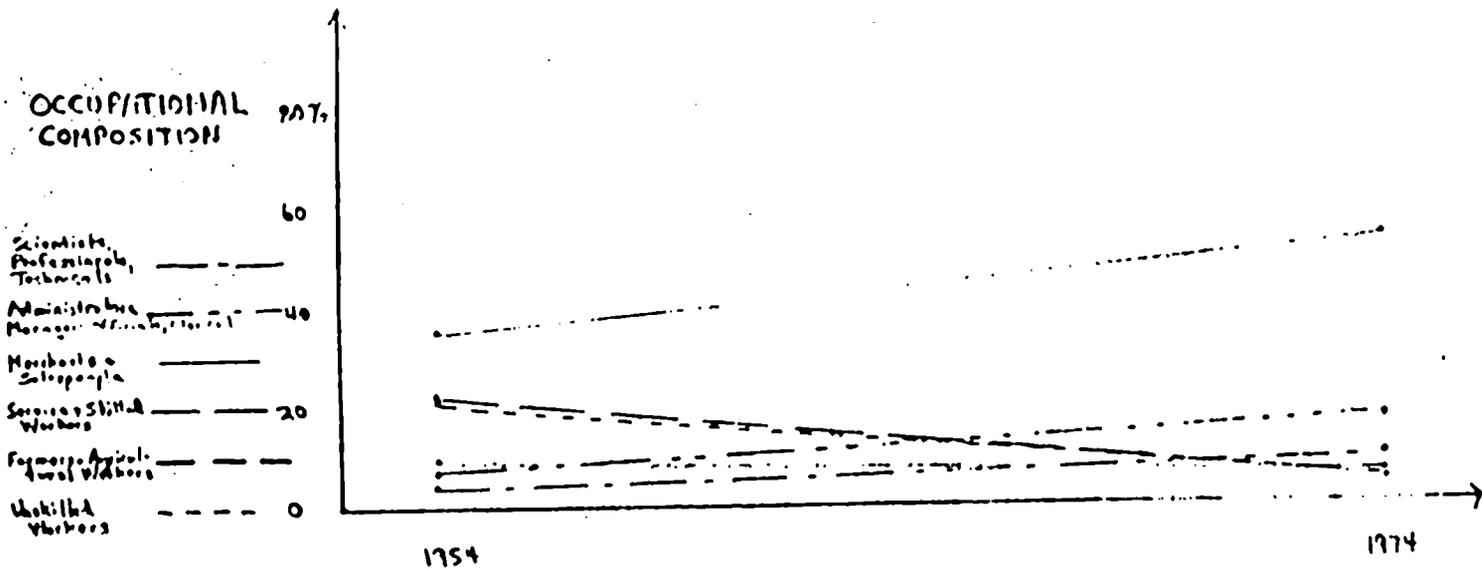
Ethnic Convergence Continuum

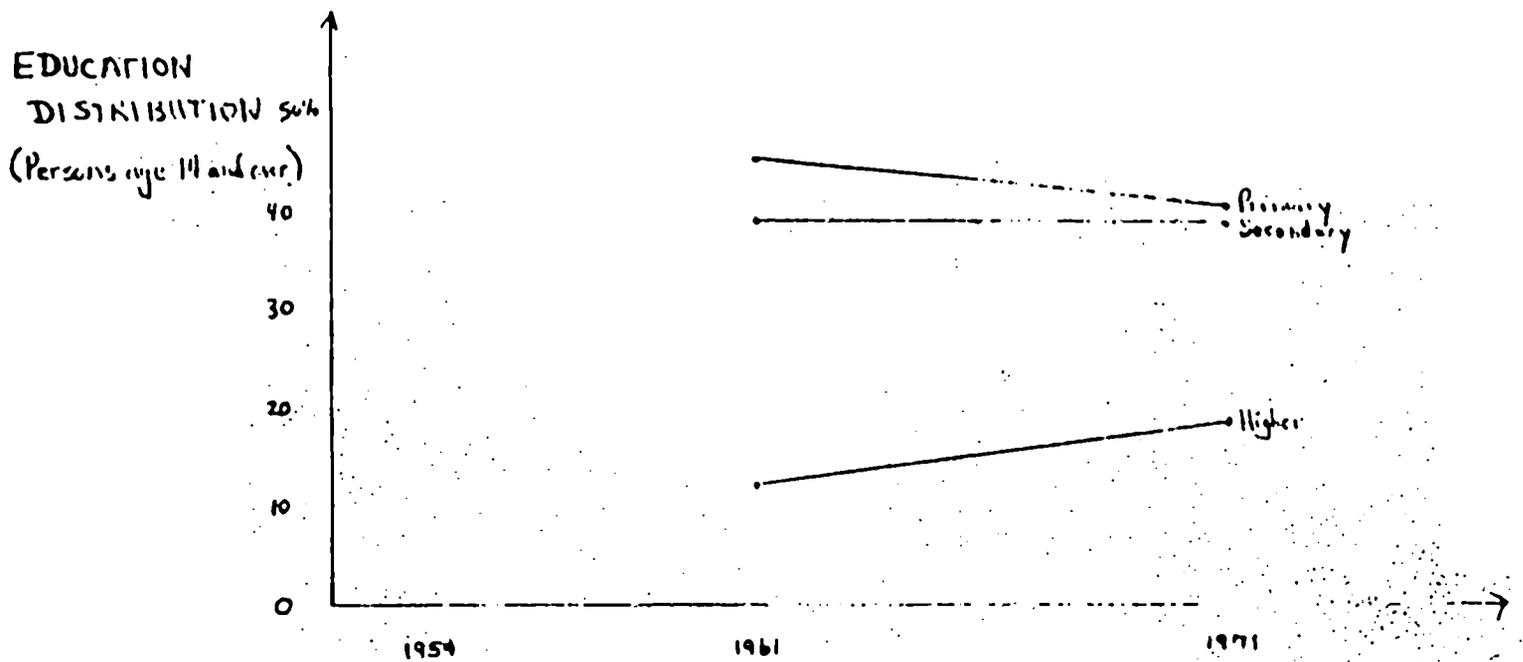
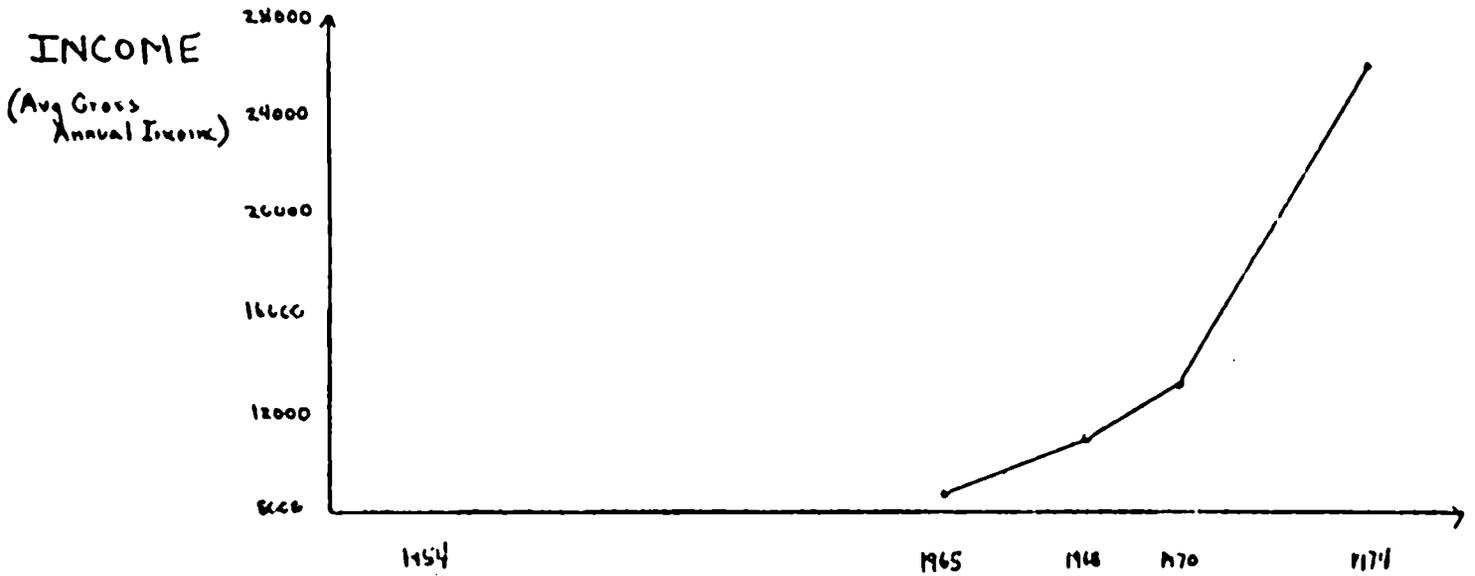
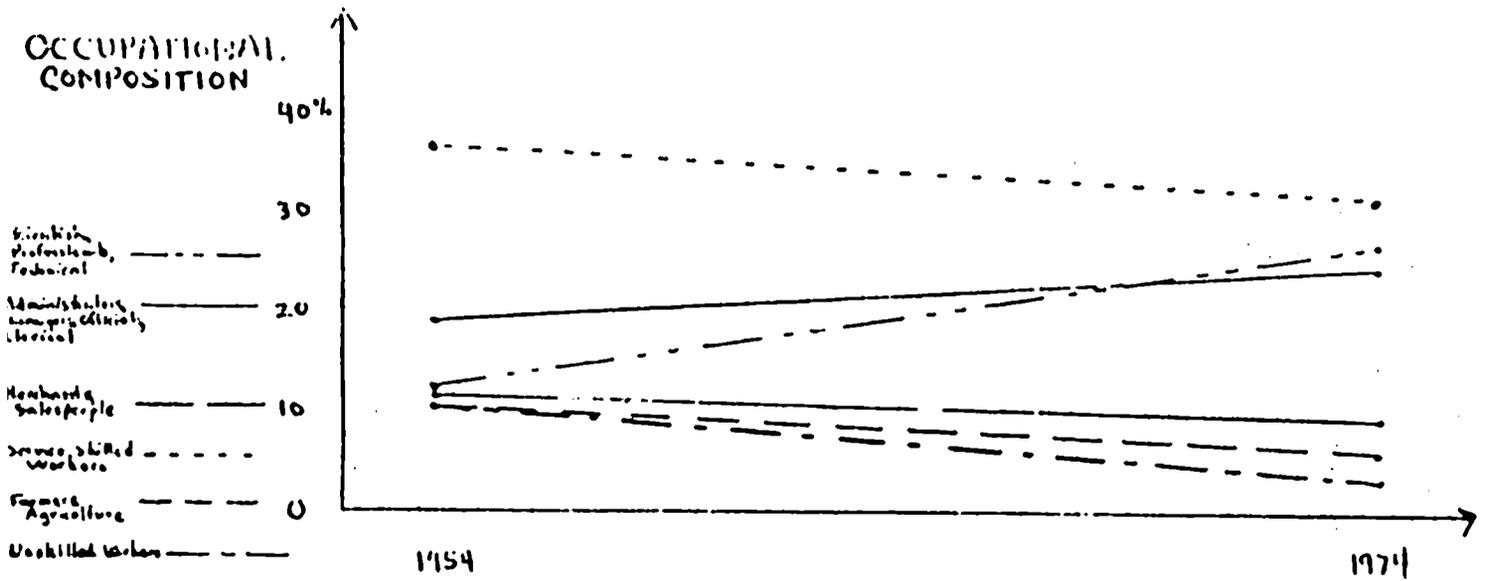
Mean Convergence Coefficients:

Life Expectancy	1.39
Secondary years of schooling	5.0
Higher educ. years of schooling	2.37
Occupation between groups	0.7
Occupation within groups	1.0

Income Between groups	2.9
Income within groups	-10.9







TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Demography

In Trinidad and Tobago there is a prevailing belief that demographic classification by race only helps to accentuate racial divisions. Before 1946, separate data was collected only for the East Indians; all other ethnic groups were lumped together as the general population. The censuses of 1946, 1960 and 1970 collected data by race, but very little of it has been published. The figures presented here are not only from official publications, but also from data published by individual researchers who have had access to unpublished census and survey material.

The ethnic proportions of the population of Trinidad and Tobago are presented at the top of Table 1. The East Indian population has been increasing steadily. By 1970 they comprised 40 percent of the total, only slightly less than the Black percentage of 43. Questions of the reliability of census figures have been raised. Jack Harewood (1975:98) reports that one survey found fewer Indians than recorded in the 1970 census, and a second survey found more.

Urbanization rates by ethnic group are also shown in Table 1. There is insufficient information to assess the comparability of the two sets of figures. Nonetheless, they do indicate that the differential between the two groups is significant. There is no evidence of large-scale movement of East Indians to the urban area, where there exists a generally higher level of employment (Harewood, 1971:271).

Table 1

Ethnic Population of Trinidad and Tobago: 1946-70

	1946	1960	1970
Black	46.9	43.3	42.8
East Indian	35.1	36.5	40.1

Ethnic Urban Concentration (in percentages): 1960-64

	1960	1964
Black	43.6	49.0
East Indian	19.9	17.0

Sources: Malik, 1971: 12; Harewood, 1975: 104

Education and Occupation

Malcolm Cross (1973) claimed that there is a greater degree of educational opportunity in Trinidad and Tobago than there is in most other Caribbean societies. This cannot be verified since educational enrollment figures by ethnic groups are not reported. Furthermore, the educational questions asked in the censuses have been different each time. What has been published is presented in Table 2. The 1946 figures give literacy differentials, and the 1960 figures give the educational attainment of the working population. The illiteracy rates of 1946 and the "no education" percentages of 1960 are not necessarily synonymous. To the extent that they are, however, improvement for both ethnic groups is shown between 1946 and 1960. The East Indians and Blacks show a considerable reduction in illiteracy rates. The 1960 educational attainment figures and Chart 18 indicate that the greatest disparity exists between the number of Blacks and East Indians enrolled in primary schools. The disparity between Indian and Black at the secondary level is less. By the University stage, the East Indian has a slight edge.

Differences in educational attainment are broken down by occupational categories in Table 3. The delta indexes indicate that the greatest disparity exists between the two ethnic groups in the "other category." This group covers both skilled and unskilled industrial workers as well as agricultural workers. The coverage is so broad that any conclusions based on this category are bound to be meaningless. The professional and technical workers are the next occupational group to exhibit high ethnic disparity. Here, the East Indians are seen to have a higher educational attainment, but a smaller portion of their group reaches the status level this category

Table 2

Literacy Rates in Trinidad: 1946

	Literacy Rate 10 Years & Over	Illiteracy Rate 10 Years & Over
Black	90.1	9.4
East Indian	49.2	50.5

Educational Attainment of the Working Population of Trinidad: 1960

	No Education	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Black	2.5	87.2	9.8	0.3	100.0
East Indian	26.1	66.4	6.8	0.4	

Sources: Harewood, 1971:288; Central Statistical Office, 1954:12

TRINIDAD

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
of WORKING POPULATION
1960

CHART 18

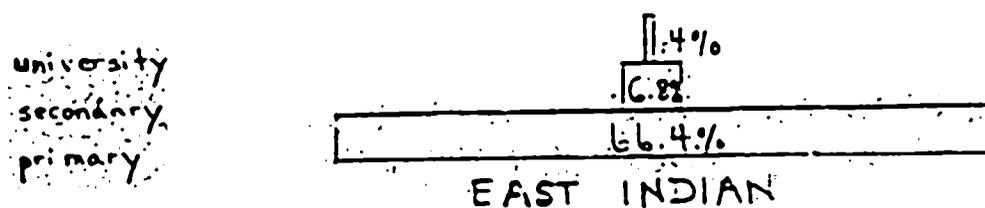
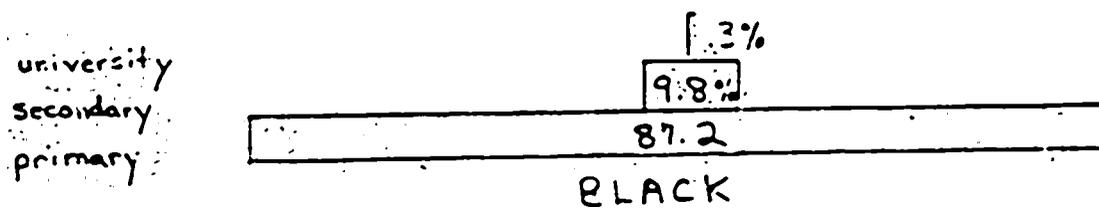


Table 3

Educational Attainment of Occupational Groups

Inter-ethnic Education Differences

Delta Indexes: 1960

Professional Workers	8.3
Administrators	3.5
Clerical Workers	3.8
Commercial Workers	6.4
Others	18.0

Paid Employees by Ethnic Group, Occupation and

Educational Attainment: 1960

Occupation	No Education	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Professional Technical Workers					
Black	0.4	2.8	33.9	72.6	7.0
East Indian	0.4	4.3	37.1	78.2	6.7
Administrators, Executives & Managerial Workers					
Black	-	0.2	1.1	13.0	0.4
East Indian	-	0.5	3.0	10.4	0.6
Clerical Workers					
Black	0.6	3.1	32.2	8.6	7.2
East Indian	0.2	5.6	33.1	8.3	7.0
Commercial, Financial & Insurance Workers					
Black	0.6	2.4	5.7	-	3.4
East Indian	0.6	5.0	8.4	0.9	4.6
Other Occupations					
Black	98.4	91.4	77.1	5.8	82.0
East Indian	98.8	84.6	18.4	2.2	81.1
All Occupations for each Ethnic Group	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Harwood, 1971:289.

provides. In the commercial level, the educational disparity is also high. Again, the East Indians possess a higher educational level than do their Black counterparts. But unlike the professional group, a higher portion of East Indians fall in the commercial sectors. In the administrative and clerical areas, the dissimilarities are less severe.

A 1967/8 survey, conducted by the Central Statistical Office and published in an analysis by J. K. Harewood (1971), examined the amount of specialized training each group received. Table 4 shows the results of this examination. Regardless of occupation, East Indians receive considerably less training than Blacks. With less training, future mobility for Indians is likely to be much slower than for Blacks.

The 1960 distribution of occupation by ethnic group does not show any great occupational disparity. However, given the results of the educational attainment and specialized training figures, the possibility of increasing ethnic differentials exists.

Income

R. H. Henry (1975) found that the distribution of household income became slightly more unequal between 1957 and 1972. He reported that the gini coefficient rose from .40 to .46. Whether this increased inequality affected the different ethnic groups to the same extent is difficult to ascertain. All we are able to examine are the inter-ethnic incomes for 1960 and the intra-ethnic gini coefficients for 1971/2.

Table 5 shows the inter-ethnic group income by sex and occupation. The disparities in income between the ethnic groups vary. Overall, the Indian male earned 74 percent of the median income of the Black male, whereas the

Table 4
Specialized Training: 1967/8

	Black		Indian	
	M	F	M	F
Professional, Technical & Administrative	15.6	10.0	12.9	12.5
Clerical	-	12.0	3.2	-
Other	15.6	16.0	6.5	-
No Training	68.8	62.0	77.4	87.5

* Proportion of each ethnic group receiving specialized training.

Source: Harewood, 1971:293.

Table 5

Inter-Ethnic Group Income: 1960

	Black Median Income	East Indian Median Income
Male- All Paid Employees	104.0	77.0
Professional & Technical	175.4	162.2
Administrative & Executive	250.0	237.5
Clerical	152.1	142.5
Commercial	95.4	82.9
Other	96.9	70.3
Female- All Paid Employees	38.4	42.0
Professional & Technical	144.4	116.7
Administrative, Executive	-	-
Clerical	121.3	99.1
Commercial	63.5	67.3
Other	31.5	36.0

* Median Monthly incomes of paid employees.

** Numbers too small to justify computation of median incomes.

Source: Harwood, 1971:290.

Indian female earned 109 percent of the income of the Black female. Nonetheless, the median income of the Indian male was considerably higher than either female's income. Within each occupational category, only the East Indian in the female "commercial" sector and the female "other" occupational category earned more than did the Black. Otherwise, the Black was always ahead of the East Indian. The disparity between males was not as great in the professional, administrative and clerical categories as it was for the "other" category. As was stated earlier, the "other" category is so broad that its descriptive power is poor. Still, the data indicates that the income disparity was fairly substantial in 1960. What change and the direction of change that may have taken place after 1960 is impossible to ascertain.

Table 6 shows the distributions within ethnic groups, but not over time. The 1971/2 survey indicated that the intra-ethnic disparity was small. However, Henry (1975:10) warns that the inequality within the East Indian group may be understated. The survey used geographical divisions, rather than ethnic, as the base of the sample frame. Henry's warning appears to be well-founded when the distribution of poverty is examined (see Table 6).

A larger proportion of the Indian group is below the poverty line. However, many East Indians are farmers, and "the more frequent presence of home produced foods might have had a mitigating effect among this group" (Henry, 1975:21).

Conclusions

Since most of the data presented on Trinidad and Tobago are not over time, no trend analysis is possible. However, the figures suggest that

Table 6

Intra-Ethnic Group Income: 1971/2

	Gini Coefficient 1971/2
Black	0.49
East Indian	0.48

Ethnic Poverty: 1971/2

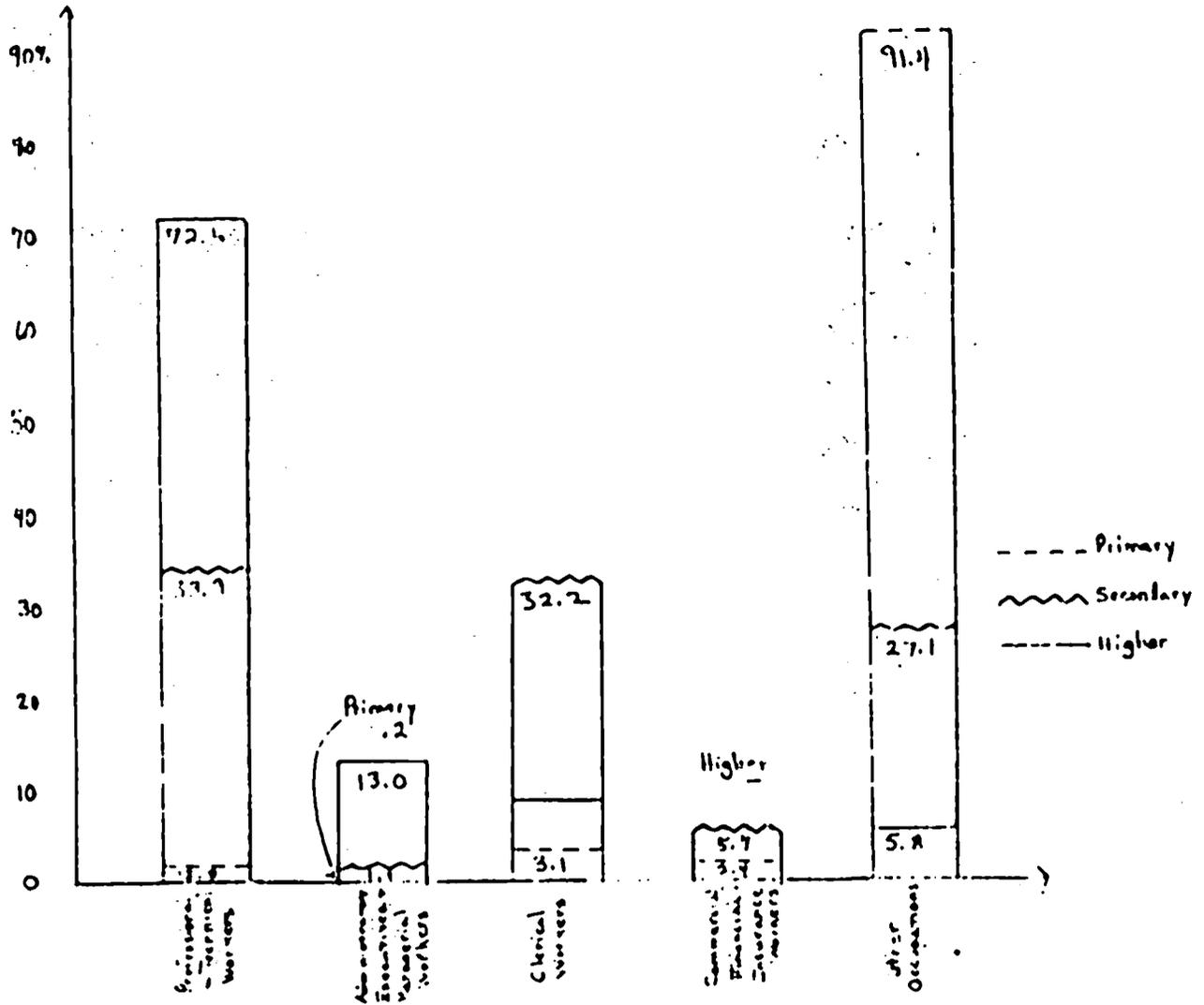
% of Households below poverty line

Black	32.1
East Indian	43.6

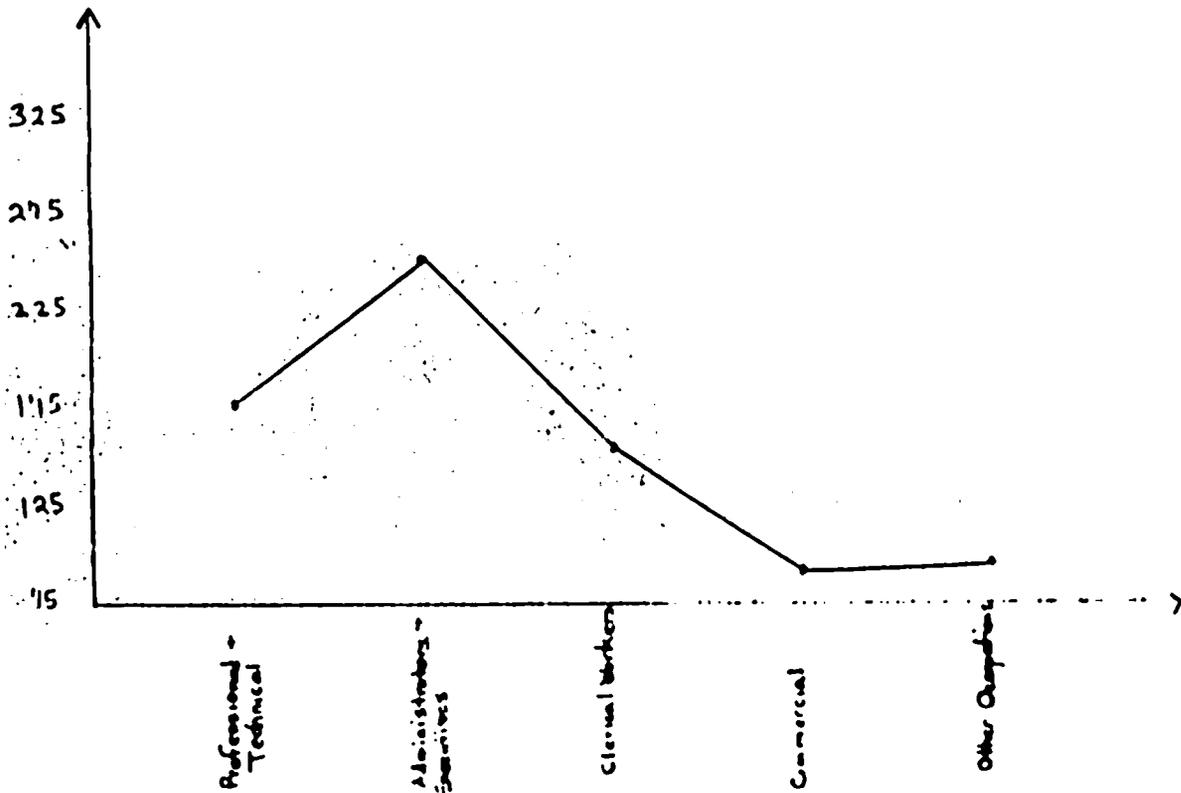
Source: Henry, 1975:25.

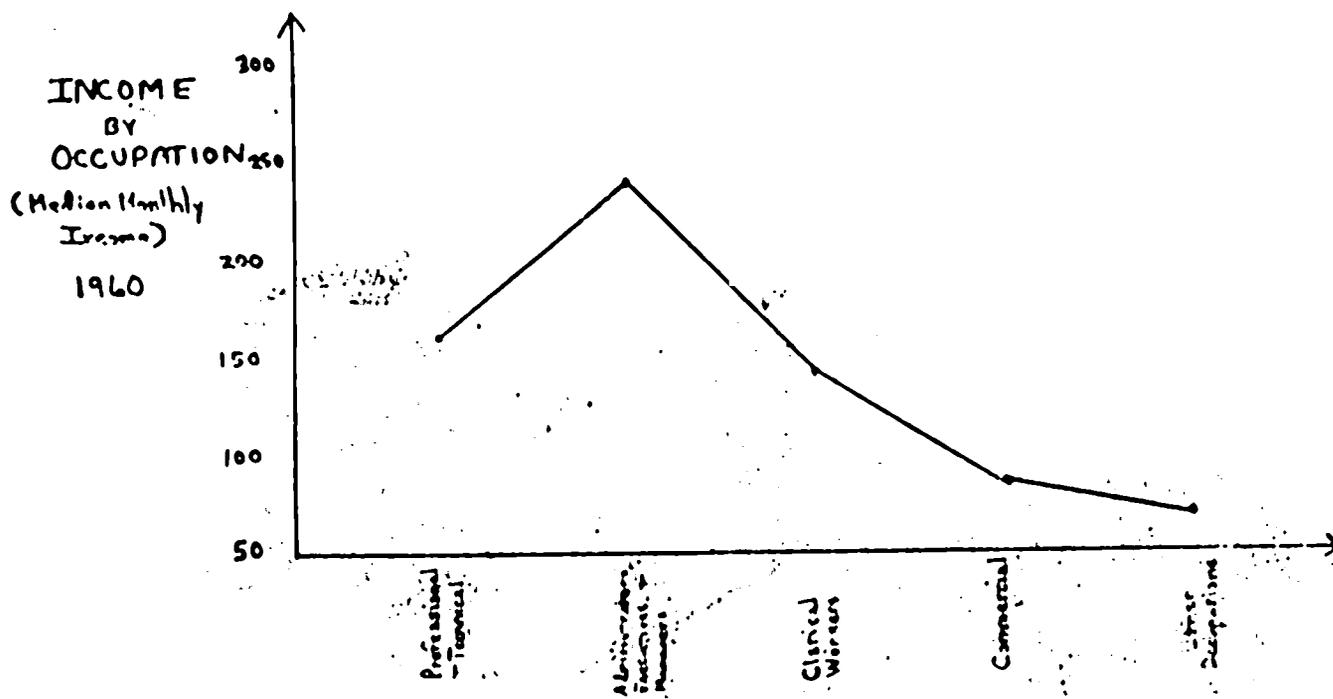
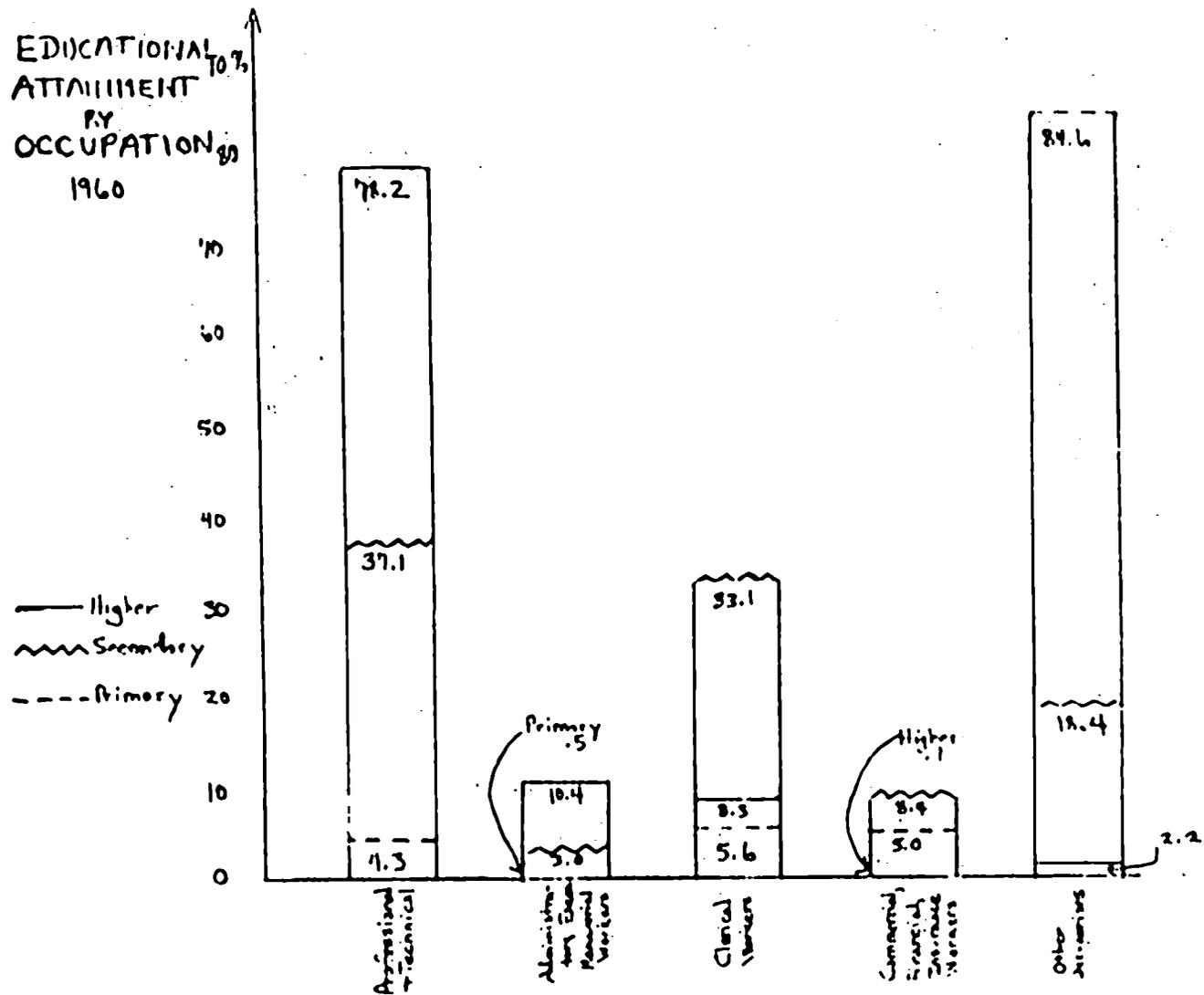
ethnic differentials do exist. In almost all areas, including primary education, specialized training, and median incomes, the East Indian is in a less favorable position. See Charts 19 and 20. There are, however, some disturbing trends within the Indian group. The trends suggest that there is a growing gap between the rich and the poor within the Indian community. A proportion of Indians are moving to the urban areas and entering the upper echelons of the occupational structure. At the same time, a majority remain concentrated in rural sectors and are predominantly poor. There is no evidence that similar patterns are occurring in the Black community.

EDUCATIONAL
ATTAINMENT
BY
OCCUPATION
1960



INCOME
BY
OCCUPATION
(Median Monthly
Income)
1960





SUMMARY

It has often been argued, especially in the economic literature, that socio-economic inequalities in third world countries are steadily widening. This contention was the starting point of this study which examined the extent of ethnic redistribution in four developing countries. The results of the study show only limited support for the thesis that ethnic inequalities are widening. The four countries - Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Trinidad and Israel - show no similarities in distribution patterns; each country differs in the extent and direction of redistribution. Although there is no linear relationship between economic development and ethnic redistribution, we did find that as one moves up the development ladder, the movement towards greater ethnic equality increases. For example, in Israel, there are clear trends towards narrowing the ethnic gap, while in Sri Lanka the ethnic differences are widening. In between these polar extremes we have Malaysia and Trinidad which represent a mixture of both trends.

The direction of redistribution often depended on whether the focus was on the inter- or intra-ethnic level. In Sri Lanka the income distribution within each ethnic had become less skewed over a twenty-year period, although at the inter-ethnic level the opposite trend emerged. The two Sinhalese groups have advanced at a more rapid rate than the Tamils or Muslims, and consequently, the socio-economic gap between the Sinhalese and all other ethnic groups widened. In Malaysia, there has been a substantial movement toward creating a more equitable multi-ethnic society. This is mainly due to the progress of the Malays vis-a-vis the other two groups. The improved educational and occupational position of the Malays has not, however, affected their economic status. Malay

income distribution, both between and within, has steadily become more unequal where they have increasingly fallen behind the other two groups, and have also experienced the highest rate of income inequality within the group.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the socio-economic differences between Blacks and East Indians is relatively small and shows no signs of widening. However, there are signs that the distribution within the Indian group is becoming more skewed over time. A small proportion of Indians are advancing rapidly, both economically and socially, but the bulk of the Indian population remain rural and poor. The trends in Israel, on the other hand, are very encouraging. The progress of the Oriental Jews has been significant, especially since 1970, but the gains they have made are in catching up with the Israeli born Jews or Sabras. The ethnic gap between the Ashkenazi and Oriental Jew is still substantial, and there are no signs that this gap will disappear in the immediate future.

The distributional trends discussed in this paper suggest some important policy questions for multi-ethnic developing countries.

Firstly, redistributive policies must focus on both inter- and intra-ethnic levels, otherwise the gains at one level may well be at the expense of another level. Sri Lanka is a good example where the government's social welfare services have been relatively successful in redistributing the wealth between the rich and poor, but this has created a widening ethnic gap. This widening gap is obviously one of the determinants of the Tamils separatist movement.

Secondly, the time lag between creating greater educational and occupational opportunities for certain minority groups and ethnic

Income gains is a complex question which needs further examination. The greater opportunities for the Malays, both educationally and occupationally, has not, as yet, materialized into income gains. Similarly, it was until 1970 that the educational and occupational progress of the Oriental Jews made during the 1950's and 60's began to effect the ethnic income disparities. Most multi-ethnic societies rely heavily on equal opportunity policies which are often assumed to benefit minorities economically. However, the trickle effect may take considerably longer in developing countries than policy makers would lead us to believe.

And lastly, is it more difficult for governments to redistribute ethnic wealth in developing countries, given the level of economic and political dependency on the international system? The evidence in this paper suggests that it is not really a question of the level of economic development that determines the size and pattern of ethnic distribution. Rather, it is the policies themselves that determine the speed and direction of redistribution. The governmental policies in Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Israel have largely been responsible in determining the progress of the Malays, Sinhalese and Oriental Jews. Without such policies, ethnic inequalities are unlikely to change.

In conclusion therefore, I would argue that in all multi-ethnic societies where there are significant inequalities, it is essential that policies are implemented to close the ethnic gap. This may well mean quota systems which have been relatively successful in Malaysia. If the ethnic gaps are not reduced in the foreseeable future, then the inequalities will inevitably exacerbate separatist tendencies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abeysekera, Gaminl. 1975: "The Distribution of Income in Sri Lanka 1953-1973: Its Structure, Trends and Interpretation." Ph. D. dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Adelman, I and C.T. Morris. 1973: Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Amin, S. 1974: Accumulation on a World Scale. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Arlan, J.P. 1971: "Ethnic and Socio-Economic Patterns in Malaysia." International Labour Review, 104, 527-553.
- Arndt, H.W. 1975: "Development and Equality: The Indonesian Case." World Development, 3, 153-80
- Bee, Ooi Jin. 1975: "Urbanization and the Urban Population in Peninsular Malaysia, 1970." Journal of Tropical Geography, 40, 40-47.
- Central Bank of Ceylon, Department of Economic Research, Colombo.
- 1954: Report on the Sample Survey of Ceylon's Consumer Finances.
- 1964: Report on the Sample Survey of Consumer Finances 1963. Part I.
- 1974: Report on the Sample Survey of Consumer Finances. Part I.
- Chander, R. 1973: 1970 Population and Housing Census Malaysia: An Interim Report on the Post-Enumeration Survey. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Statistics.
- Chenery, H. et al. 1974: Redistribution with Growth. London: Oxford University Press.
- Choudhry, H.S. 1970: Socio-Economic Sample Survey of Households - Malaysia 1967-68: Employment and Unemployment. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Statistics. Volume 1.
- Cross, H. & A.M. Schwartzbaum 1969: "Social Mobility and Secondary School Selection in Trinidad and Tobago." Social and Economic Studies, 18, 189-207.

Davis, Kingsley. 1969: World Urbanization 1850-1970: Volume 1
Basic Data for Cities, Countries and Regions. Berkeley:
Institute of International Studies, University of
California.

De Silva, C.S. 1974: "Weightage in University Admissions:
Standardization and District Quotas in Sri Lanka 1970-1975".
Modern Ceylon Studies, 5, 151-176.

Dey, Dr. Mukul K. 1965: "A Comparative Study of the Population
Trends of the 'Faced' of Ceylon." Population Review, 9, 46-54.

Duncan, B. and O.D. Duncan. 1955: "A Methodological Analysis of
Segregation Indexes." American Sociological Review, 20, 210-17.

Etzioni-Alevy, Eva, with Rino Shapira. 1977: Political Culture
in Israel: Glorification and Integration among Israeli Jews. New
York: Praeger.

Fishlow, A. 1972: "Brazilian Size Distribution of Income." American
Economic Review, 42, 391-402.

Galtung, J. 1971: "A Structural Theory of Imperialism" Journal of
Peace Research, 8, 81-117.

Girling, R. 1973: "Dependency and Persistent Income Inequality." In
F. Bonilla and R. Girling (eds.): Structures of Dependency. Stanford:
Stanford University Press.

Grove, D.J. 1978: "A Test of the Ethnic Equalization Hypothesis: A Cross-
National Study" in D.J. Grove (ed.) The Politics, Sociology, and
Economics of Global Inequality. Boulder: Westview Press

Grove, D.J. 1977: "Patterns of Ethnic Income Redistribution : A Cross-
National Analysis" mimeo, Graduate School of International Studies,
University of Denver.

Gunatilleke, Geoffrey. 1977: "The Rural-Urban Balance and
Development: The Experience in Sri Lanka." Merrill, 2, 35-68.

Harwood, Jack

1971: "Racial Discrimination in Employment in Trinidad and
Tobago." Social and Economic Studies, 20, 267-293.

1975: The Population of Trinidad and Tobago. Paris:
Committee for International Coordination of National
Research in Demography(?) (C.I.C.N.E.D. Series)

Henry, Dr. Ralph. 1975: "A Note on Income Distribution and
Poverty." Research Papers, Number 8. Port-of-Spain:
Central Statistical Office.

Hirschman, Charles. 1975: "Ethnic and Social Stratification in Federated Malaysia." The Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series of the American Sociological Association. Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association.

Israel. 1971: Report of the Committee on Income Distribution and Social Inequality. Tel Aviv.

Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem.

1955: Statistical Abstract of Israel. No.

1972a: Employee Families Income (1971). Special Series No. 395.

1972b: Labour Force Surveys 1970. Special Series No. 376.

1973a: Statistical Abstract of Israel. No. 24.

1973b: Survey of Housing Conditions 1971. Special Series No. 405.

1973c: Labour Force Surveys 1971. Special Series No. 412.

1974a: Statistical Abstract of Israel. No. 25.

1974b: Labour Force Surveys 1972. Special Series No. 451.

1975: Statistical Abstract of Israel. No. 26.

1976a: Statistical Abstract of Israel. No. 27.

1976b: Income of Employees' Families 1972-1974. Special Series No. 510.

Jayawardiya, P.I. 1965: "Developments in University Education: The Growth of the University of Ceylon (1948-1965)." University of Ceylon Review, 27, 63-153.

Jayawardena, L. 1974: "Sri Lanka." In Chenery et al

Lean, L.L. 1974: "The Pattern of Income Distribution in West Malaysia, 1957-70." World Employment Programme Research, Working paper, 2-23 International Labor Office, Geneva

Lissak, Moche. 1969: Social Mobility in Israel Society. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press.

Malaysia. 1976: Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Press.

Malaysia, Department of Labour and Industrial Relations and Department of Statistics. 1963: Report on Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment 1962. Kuala Lumpur.

* Referred to in text as Federation of Malaysia, 1963.

Malaysia, Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur.

1971: Vital Statistics West Malaysia 1969.

1976: Vital Statistics Peninsular Malaysia 1974.

Malik, Yogendra K. 1971: East Indians in Trinidad: A Study in Minority Politics. London: Oxford University Press.

Pakeman, Sidney A. 1975: "Sri Lanka" P. 640 in Britannica Book of the Year 1975. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Palmore, James A., Ramesh Chander, and Dorothy Z. Fernandez. 1975: "The Demographic Situation in Malaysia." Pp. 57-91 in John F. Hunter and Leo Chertoff (eds.), Population and Development in Southeast Asia. Lexington: Lexington Books.

Paukert, F. 1973: "Income Distribution at Different Levels of Development: A Survey of Evidence." International Labor Review. 108,97-126.

Peritz, E., F. Dreyfus, H.S. Halevi, U.C. Schmolz. 1973: "Mortality of Adult Jews in Israel 1950-1967." Special Series No. 409. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics.

Rembo, Oded. 1973: "Income Inequality in Israel: Ethnic Aspects." Pp. 199-214 in Michael Curtin and Mordecai S. Chertoff (eds.) Israel: Social Structure and Change. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Rubinson, R. 1976: "The World Economy and the Distribution of Income within States: A Cross-national Study." American Sociological Review. 41,638-659.

Santos, T.D. 1970: "The Structure of Dependence " The American Economic Review. 42,231-236.

Sarker, M.K. 1957: The Demography of Ceylon. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press.

Sen, A. 1973: On Economic Inequality. New York: Norton & Co.

Sichu, H.S. 1976: "Chinese Dominance of West Malaysian Towns 1921-1970." Geography. 61, 17-23.

Smochs, Sammy and Yochanan Peres. 1975: "The Dynamics of Ethnic Inequality: The Case of Israel." Social Dynamics. 1, 63-79.

** Source for life expectancy 1950-1967 in Israel, Table 2, p.46.
Listed incorrectly in text as Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973b.

Snodgrass, D.E. 1975: "Trends and Patterns in Malaysian Income Distribution 1957-70." Pp. 251-266 in David Lim (ed.) Readings on Malaysian Economic Development. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Spilerman, Seymour and Jack Habib. 1976: "Development Towns in Israel: The Role of Community in Creating Ethnic Disparities in Labour Force Characteristics." American Journal of Sociology, 81, 781-812.

Sri Lanka, Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo.

1951: Census of Ceylon 1946. Volume I, Part II.

1952: Census of Ceylon 1946. Volume IV.

1957: Census of Ceylon 1953. Volume I.

1959: Census of Ceylon 1953. Volume II, Part II.

1967: Census of Population 1963. Volume I, Part I.

1972a: Census of Population 1971. Preliminary Release No. 1.

*** 1972b: Vital Statistics 1966.

1974: The Population of Sri Lanka. (C.I.C.R.E.D. Series.)

1975: Statistical Abstract of Sri Lanka 1973.

Straus, Murray A. 1951: "Family Characteristics and Occupational Choice of University Entrants as Clues to the Social Structure of Ceylon." University of Ceylon Review, 9, 125-134.

Swamy, S. 1967: "Structural Changes and the Distribution of Income by Size: The Case of India." Review of Income and Wealth, 13(June).

Taeuber, K.E. & A.F. Taeuber 1965: Negroes in Cities Chicago: Aldine.

Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, 1953: Annual Statistical Digest, No. 3.

Wells, J. 1974: "Distribution in Earnings, Growth and the Structure of Demand in Brazil during the 1960s" World Development, 2 (January).

Weisskoff, R. 1970: "Income Distribution and Economic Growth in Puerto Rico, Argentina and Mexico." Review of Income and Wealth, 16 (December).

Wijewardana, Dayanala. 1975: "Population Growth and Economic Development in Sri Lanka." Staff Studies, 5, 21-44. Colombo: Central Bank of Ceylon.

*** Listed in text as Department of Census and Statistics, 1966.