

THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The last time country wide polls were held was in 1982, first for a Presidential Election, then for a Referendum. In previous issues of the *Economic Review*, we had commented on these and also on the earlier 1977 elections.

This current issue will consider the Presidential Election of December 1988 and a forthcoming issue will deal with the General Elections of February 1989. We hope in the latter issue to provide a socio-economic analysis of the results and hopefully a guide to shifts of opinion and social bases of the parties that the election results indicate.

The build up to the 1988 Presidential Elections took place in the most unusual of circumstances. It was characterised by a high degree of tension and crisis before the election, accompanied by widespread fears that the election would not be held at all. Although with the elections, some of the tension has relaxed, questions on the nature of the election continue to be raised.

The build up of the election has to be

traced back to some months and even some years, before the event. The year and a half prior to the elections was characterised by a crisis in the State, spreading to all parts of the country. The earlier ethnic crisis, led to the government's writ not holding ground in the North and the East. With the signing of the Indo Lanka Accord of 1987 the challenge to the government's hold on the country extended to the Southern province. The Indo Lanka Accord split the opinion of the country, with even significant sections of the Government apparently unhappy about it. The UNP Presidential contender himself was ambivalent and critical of the Indo Lanka Accord.

Opposition to the accord soon took a violent form, and a partial paralysis of the government was brought about by armed groups in the South. The Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya (DJV) designated those who supported the Accord as "traitors" and "unpatriotic" and directed a campaign of violence against them. This violence was initially targetted to the upper segments of the Government,

including an assassination attempt on the then President. Eventually with the increased build up of the security apparatus, violence was increasingly deflected to the lower rungs of the ruling party, as well as to other political groups that supported the Accord. Supporters of the ruling party and of opposition parties that supported the Accord were made "inoperative" by being gunned down, whilst concurrently the State built up a parallel high security apparatus which pervaded the country. Elections to the Provincial Councils, a necessary outcome of the Accord, was also vehemently opposed and held under conditions of partial seige. The voter turn out was low, specially in the areas where the JVP was strong.

The build up to the elections also paralleled a crisis in the Universities and general educational system. The crisis initially emanating from a cry to abolish the private North Colombo Medical College soon embraced national issues such as demands for the abrogation of the Indo Lanka Accord and the abolition of Provincial Councils. On a scale with major student upheavals anywhere in the world, the unrest rapidly spread throughout the country to engulf very many high schools. To quell the disturbances strong arm tactics were used sometimes leading to the killing of students which sparked off further protests. This led eventually to the closure of all schools several weeks prior to the elections.

Immediately prior to the elections, the country was also engulfed in a series of work stoppages. The work stoppages were not begun by the usual trade unions of the affected establishments, but by elements believed to be allied to the JVP, with a cry of "Motherland before Work." Although initially the strikes were successful with large segments of the working forces keeping away from work, the strike later fizzled out over the weeks. To keep the strikes going, threats were later to be used by the strike organisers, while counter threats were used by the authorities to force employees to return to work. The strikes affected large sections of the economy and initially very many parts of the economy ground to a halt. A

most dramatic illustration was the sudden evacuation of all tourists from the country.

The period before the elections was also characterised by large scale demonstrations in various parts of the country. These demonstrations were also a mixture of both free and of induced participation. The Islandwide demonstrations were against the Indo Lanka Accord and against the merger of the North and East. Some of the demonstrations drew large crowds and some of them appeared to have been attended with genuine free participation. However, in some of the demonstrations there seemed to have been a request that some members of every family had to participate. Although this type of induced participation had parallels to say state sector employees under different regimes being induced to participate in large scale state functions a strong element of external direction seems to have existed. It was with this background of a country virtually becoming ungovernable and drawing to an economic and administrative halt that the elections were called.

If the Opposition had doubts about holding an election, the ungovernability factor seemed to have forced the issue. Another significant feature of the run up to the elections, was the calls by large segments of the population for certain pre-conditions for a free and fair election. To avoid the possible misuse of State power to influence elections many organisations called for certain pre conditions. These included the dissolution of Parliament before the elections, the holding of Parliamentary and Presidential Elections together, and the lifting of the Emergency. These calls came from almost all the religious dignitaries of the country and many professional trade union organisations. There were also highly publicised discussions with the then President on granting some, if not all of these demands.

The administrative system prior to the election had also broken down due to the strikes, with threats from the striking elements, as well as counter threats by the armed forces. Spokesmen for the Administrative Officers Union drew the attention of the authorities to the degree of insecurity of its members.

Some key administrative cadres resigned in the Provinces or abstained from work. Armed forces were brought in as a substitute to bring the situation under control.

The security forces were also armed immediately prior to the election with a new Indemnity Bill which gave them virtual blanket protection in their operations. Although some Human Rights organisations and other concerned groups had opposed the passing of this Bill, its passage increased dramatically the power of the security forces over ordinary citizens. With the crippling of the administration and other vital systems, the security forces began to take over some functions of administration. Government official media, other newspapers as well as other unpublished accounts conveyed a picture of rising violence and of extra-judiciary killings prior to the elections.

The election campaign was also highlighted by at least two political parties, the JVP in the South and the LTTE in the North, calling for a boycott. One of the opposition candidates, the SLFP, in calling for certain preliminary conditions, such as dissolution of Parliament, the lifting of state of emergency etc. before elections, also at one time threatened "drastic action."

The period before this election was perhaps the most violent one in Sri Lankan electoral history. No firm figures are available and even if official figures exist, their veracity is subject to doubt because of the circumstances under which state security forces were themselves deployed. Killings and threats by various parties occurred throughout the country. Some of the most spectacular ones were the attacks on the meetings of the USA candidate, as well as of the final rally of the SLFP candidate. In the meantime, attacks on Provincial level UNP activists continued. On the otherhand there were reports of killings of suspected JVPers or their sympathisers by various uniformed and non uniformed groups, including a group designated as PRRA (People's Revolutionary Red Army).

Because of boycott calls, accompanied by threats, the election campaign itself was unusual. In certain areas, because of the boycott calls only very few persons

attended public meetings, a strong contrast to earlier election campaigns. The overall campaign for all three contenders was marred by threats and violence.

Because of this curtailment of direct personal campaigning, mass media was extensively resorted to by political parties. The ruling party perhaps had an edge on the radio and television because their activities could be indirectly highlighted through the normal day to day coverage of news and events. For the election campaign proper the candidates were allowed a specific time slot over radio and television. As for the other media, use of the government owned newspapers by the ruling party was limited because of a successful boycott call, combined with threats, of the Lake House newspapers.

A significant feature of propaganda was the use of posters on a wide scale although in certain areas posters were hardly seen. It was also alleged that certain posters were put up under the cover of curfews that were prevailing at the time. Parallel to these large scale printed posters were handwritten posters and hand bills, largely put up by the JVP expressing their point of view on the elections. However, it has been alleged that many other groups put up their own material making them appear to be that of the JVP.

Also, there have been allegations that some of the not to vote posters were put up by other interested groups, pretending to be the JVP, presumably to discourage voter turnout from areas where their opponents were strong.

The election day itself saw considerable evidence of violence by various groups not only from those opposed to the elections. It is possible that at some future date, we may have a clearer picture of how widespread the violence was during the elections and who perpetrated it.

Consequent to the boycott calls there was a marked drop in electoral participation. Although in certain districts like Nuwara Eliya, Ratnapura, Gampaha, Digamadulla and Puttalam, there was over a 60% turnout, in the five districts of Hambantota, Matara, Jaffna, Moneragala and Wannai, there was less than a

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION- 1988 - ALL ISLAND DISTRICT RESULTS

Dist. Electoral No. District	Registered Voters	S.L.M.P.	S.L.F.P.	U.N.P.	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Total Polled
1 Colombo	1088780	34020 4.63%	339958 46.23%	361337 49.14%	735315	11295 1.51%	746610 68.57%
2 Gampaha	969735	22467 3.09%	355553 48.83%	350092 48.08%	728112	10054 1.36%	738166 76.12%
3 Kalutara	570118	13375 3.69%	179761 49.57%	169510 46.74%	362646	6537 1.77%	369183 64.76%
4 Mahanuwari	628240	6266 1.47%	186187 43.65%	234124 54.88%	426577	6167 1.43%	432744 68.88%
5 Matale	214938	1135 1.77%	25825 40.37%	37007 57.85%	63967	1110 1.71%	65077 30.28%
6 Nuwara Eliya	229769	3371 1.87%	64907 35.98%	112135 62.15%	180413	3320 1.81%	183733 79.96%
7 Galle	571303	6417 2.29%	148615 53.09%	124912 44.62%	279944	4461 1.57%	284405 49.78%
8 Matara	451934	2922 2.76%	57424 54.30%	45399 42.93%	105745	2003 1.86%	107748 23.84%
9 Hambantota	295180	2478 2.98%	39343 47.39%	41198 49.62%	83019	3855 4.44%	86874 29.43%
10 Jaffna	591782	42198 35.15%	44197 36.82%	33650 28.03%	120045	8517 6.62%	128562 21.72%
11 Vanni	142723	3500 18.45%	4889 25.77%	10580 55.78%	18969	708 3.60%	19677 13.79%
12 Batticaloa	215585	38243 31.63%	21018 17.38%	61657 50.99%	120918	5163 4.09%	126081 58.48%
13 Digamadulla	265768	10352 5.45%	83137 43.78%	96420 50.77%	189909	3802 1.96%	193711 72.89%
14 Trincomalee	152289	14103 17.49%	29679 36.81%	36841 45.70%	80623	1326 1.62%	81949 53.81%
15 Kurunegala	784989	7717 1.99%	182223 46.89%	198662 51.12%	388602	4281 1.09%	392883 50.05%
16 Puttalam	319003	4093 1.83%	94823 42.28%	125339 55.89%	224255	2965 1.30%	227220 71.23%
17 Anuradhapura	334074	2529 1.91%	73154 55.15%	56951 42.94%	132634	2207 1.64%	134841 40.36%
18 Polonnaruwa	163741	957 2.01%	20173 42.45%	26392 55.54%	47522	1157 2.38%	48679 29.73%
19 Badulla	329462	3440 2.56%	50223 37.36%	80779 60.08%	134442	3276 2.38%	137718 41.80%
20 Moneragala	161927	697 2.61%	9123 34.18%	16872 63.21%	26692	851 3.09%	27543 17.01%
21 Ratnapura	457224	8516 2.44%	159879 45.81%	180622 51.75%	349017	4113 1.16%	353130 77.23%
22 Kegalle	437178	6923 2.34%	119769 40.54%	168720 57.11%	295412	4277 1.43%	299689 68.55%
TOTAL	9375742	235719	2289860	2569199	5094778	91445	5186223
% of total polled		4.63%	44.95%	50.43%	98.24%	1.76%	55.32%
% of total reg. voters		2.5	24.4	27.4	54.3		

30% turnout. Even these percentage turnouts could be contested if the complaint that there was large scale stuffing of ballot boxes is given credence. If in fact large scale stuffing of ballot boxes took place to the extent that it has been claimed, then the actual figures of participation would need to be reduced. There is also evidence that armed forces impatient at the boycott call urged voters to participate, sometimes, it is alleged, by transporting voters. Such "urgings" and transport would of course not have been uniform and could have led to distortions of the electoral process.

Yet in the absence of scientific sample surveys at the areas of low poll, it would be difficult to establish the extent of the actual degree of polling. Yet, in the areas where there was a high poll, one can with a degree of confidence state that, if there was stuffing of ballot boxes, it would have been less. A high turnout implies that the population was keen on voting and at time of polling that polling agents could perhaps have challenged any wrong doing. Yet even in these areas there are allegations of wrong doing.

The low poll areas were also the areas where the number of electoral officials, as well as the number of polling booths and the number of polling agents of different parties had been low. In such instances the possibilities for unjust polling would naturally be higher. In certain areas polling started very late again distorting the polling process. In one district namely Moneragala, booths in certain areas did not function. The Election Commissioner declared null and void the polling in 49 polling stations in this district. To add to the uncertainty, officials were threatened and intimidated and in certain areas election officials were also killed.

The civil administration was heavily disrupted in certain areas, which was not conducive to the conduct of a normal poll. There were many instances of obstruction to public officers from carrying out their duties so that in certain areas there was inadequate staff at polling stations. There were even physical obstructions on both officials and voters and access roads to some polling

stations were blocked. This obstruction continued in other forms as well; for instance, the official polling cards did not reach many voters by post and this gave rise to much confusion.

The obstructions to polling staff also resulted in polling stations being opened not at 7 a.m. but much later. The hos-

tile environment also resulted in a few polling stations closing early, which could have prevented some voters from casting their ballots. There were reports that a few polling stations were attacked while polling was on; and that polling stations were shifted from their original locations without prior notice to voters.

The Results

The registered electors at the 1988 Presidential Election was the highest number on record to date, as seen in the table on the right. The 55.3 percent votes polled, on the other hand, reached the lowest on record; the previous lowest being 55.8 percent in 1947. The percentage of votes rejected was the second highest in 10 general elections, the only occasion on which it was higher than the 1.76 percent of 1988 was when it registered 2.1 percent in 1947. The table at right also shows that over half (4.85 mn) of the registered electors are below 34 years of age, according to official population estimates for 1987. Over half a million of these were new voters in the 18-19 years age group. It is not certain what proportion of these age groups voted and who did not vote, but there is no doubt that the youth vote could be a deciding factor in a national electoral contest.

The Vote

In the following discussions, we present the election results, as well as a statistical analysis of the results. The statistical analysis like in our earlier analyses of previous General Elections, have taken the UNP vote as a core vote, because the UNP has been the largest single party in Sri Lanka. The statistics give a percentage of the UNP vote as it has fluctuated in different elections over the years and in the different districts. We also present statistics of the electoral units in descending order of total votes

ELECTION PROFILE 1977 - 1988

	General Elections 1977 (July)	Presidential Elections 1982 (Oct)	Referendum 1982 (Dec)	Presidential Elections 1988 (Dec)
No. of Registered Electors	6,667,589	8,145,015	8,145,015	9,374,880
No. of Votes Polled	5,780,283	6,602,617	5,768,662	5,186,223
Percentage Votes Polled	86.7	81.1	70.8	55.3
No. of Votes Rejected	30,636	80,470	21,456	91,445
Percentage Votes Rejected	0.53	1.22	0.37	1.76
No. of Valid Votes	5,749,647	6,522,147	5,747,206	5,094,778

The figures in the above Table show the increase in size of the total number of votes over the years. Two other significant indicators are the drop in the votes polled and increase in the votes rejected in the 1988 Election. The Table at right gives an Indication of the age composition of voters.

Estimated Mid Year Population By Age Group - 1987		
Years	Number	
0 - 14	5,770,000	Non Voters
15 - 17	1,217,000	
18 - 19	555,000	
20 - 34	4,303,000	Voters
35 and over	4,517,000	

polled. We have also drawn some tentative conclusions from these trends.

In presenting these statistics, we have to make a strong appeal for caution. First on the raw voting figures themselves since this was a very unusual election characterised by an atmosphere of violence and a sense of uncertainty in the voters. There have also been strong allegations of lapses in the electoral process. Therefore the recorded figures that appear, specially in areas of low turnout, may not accurately reflect the views of the people concerned nor the actual voting patterns.

This Special Report initially surveys the general setting in which the election

was held and thereafter comments on some of the broad features of the outcome. Firstly, we deal with the main highlights, on pages 6 and 7, covering the turnout and results of the two main contenders (both high and low points) in 20 different electorates, which gives a general indication of how the country voted. Next, very broad area-wise groupings are looked at, on page 8, and for this purpose the provincial groupings are analysed. This is followed by a more detailed district-wise analysis (pages 10-18) where graphs for each of the districts trace the voting pattern for the main party, the UNP, over 9 General Elections since 1947. The pattern of shifts and swings in particular areas come out clearly in these charts; while the brief comment, accompanying the charts, focuses mainly on the position in 1988.

Finally, we give a more detailed computer tabulation/analysis of each of the 160 electorates. This data covers the voter turnout, the minority vote and percentage vote of the two main parties the UNP and SLFP (pages 18-21). We conclude with an indication of the likely result of the forthcoming general election based on the votes by district for each of the three parties at the 1988 Presidential Elections. This extrapolation of the 1988 data is only intended as an indicator, and should be viewed in the context of the low turnout and the basic differences in the type of contest between the 1988 Presidential and 1989 General Elections.

VOTER TURNOUT BY DISTRICT IN 1988

Above Average	% Poll	Below Average	% Poll
1. Nuwara Eliya	79.96	1. Vanni	13.79
2. Ratnapura	77.23	2. Moneragala	17.01
3. Campola	76.12	3. Jaffna	21.72
4. Digamadulla	72.89	4. Matara	23.84
5. Puttalam	71.23	5. Hambantota	29.43
6. Kandy	68.88	6. Polonnaruwa	29.73
7. Colombo	68.57	7. Matale	30.28
8. Kegalle	68.55	8. Anuradhapura	40.36
9. Kalutara	64.76	9. Badulla	41.80
10. Batticaloa	58.58	10. Galle	49.78
		11. Kurunegala	50.05
		12. Trincomalee	53.81
Total Registered Votes (TRV)		- 9,375,742	
Total Polled		- 5,186,223	
% Polled of TRV or Average Poll for all Island		- 55.32%	

HIGHEST AND LOWEST 20 – TURNOUT, UNP, SLFP

As observed in the Table on 'Voter Turnout by District', on page 5, a larger number of districts had a voter turnout below the national average of 55.32 per cent.

There were 10 districts above the average and 12 below; while there were 92 electoral divisions that had a turnout above the average and 68 were below the average. Generally, the more urbanised areas had a higher turnout than in the rural areas, with polling divisions in the Gampaha and Colombo districts having a high average voter turnout. The highest average turnout, however, was in the 4 polling divisions of the Nuwara Eliya district where polling varied from 75.9 percent to 84.6 percent. Ratnapura was the other district which had a high average turnout, where in 7 of its 8 polling divisions the average was about 80 percent. On the other hand the lowest turnout was from divisions in the Vanni, Moneragala and Matara districts where conditions were far from conducive for polling.

Table 1 shows the 20 electoral divisions in which voter turnout was highest in the 1988 elections. Of these 8 divisions had a turnout over 80 percent and 12 divisions had over 75 percent. Among the first 11 were 6 electoral divisions from the Ratnapura district, headed by Nivitigala (84.9 percent). The other district which had 2 electoral divisions among the first 4 was Nuwara Eliya. Three districts, namely Gampaha, Kandy and Nuwara Eliya had 4 electoral divisions each among the first 20. It is significant that only 6 of the polling divisions among the 20 had SLFP majorities.

Table 2 shows that among the 20 polling divisions with the lowest turnout were 5 divisions from Jaffna and all 3 of the Vanni; while Matara had 5 and Moneragala 2. Among the divisions where polling was lowest were 2 in the Matara district, namely, Hakmana (4.5 percent) and Kamburupitiya (6.5 percent). Only 2 other divisions had a poll of below 10 percent, namely Moneragala (9.2 percent) and Minneriya (9.4 percent). It is significant that 11 of the 20 had UNP majorities.

Table 3 shows that among the 20 polling divisions where the UNP received its highest majorities 4 from Badulla were

TABLE 1.

ELECTORATES WHERE VOTER TURNOUT WAS HIGHEST
(20 highest polled electorates in descending order)

DIST RICT	ELECTORATE	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%	1982 TVP%	1982 UNP%	1982 SLFP%	1977 TVP%	1977 UNP%
RT	Nivitigala	84.9	50.6	46.5	89.2	49.8	46.9	88.9	49.9
NE	Ilanguranketha	84.4	60.3	37.2	87.2	59.5	35.7	89.0	59.4
RJ	Pelmadulla	82.5	50.8	46.3	88.2	50.5	44.3	89.0	53.2
NE	Kotmale	81.8	55.6	42.3	85.9	58.6	37.7	88.3	28.1
RT	Balangoda	80.7	51.5	45.8	88.2	50.2	45.2	89.9	52.2
KD	Gampola	80.7	55.5	42.4	84.9	61.4	35.7	88.4	58.0
GM	Dompe	80.2	44.7	52.7	85.5	46.9	48.6	88.8	51.2
KD	Hewaheta	80.1	57.3	40.8	86.4	60.3	36.5	89.5	61.1
RT	Ratnapura	79.6	46.7	49.6	83.8	47.7	48.9	86.7	52.5
RT	Rakwana	79.5	57.3	40.3	87.5	55.6	39.9	89.8	57.0
RT	Kalawana	79.0	49.6	45.0	86.7	48.4	47.9	90.3	49.7
GM	Minuwangoda	78.7	47.9	48.5	83.8	50.9	44.4	90.2	54.8
GM	Divulapitiya	78.2	48.3	48.4	84.1	50.2	45.3	89.8	52.4
NE	N'Eliya-Maskeliya	77.8	66.7	28.1	83.2	68.7	25.8	253.9	40.3
KD	Nawalapitiya	76.6	58.5	38.9	84.0	61.7	33.9	85.8	61.7
KD	Patha Dumbara	76.2	56.3	40.6	84.1	62.9	33.4	86.8	65.9
KL	Bandaragama	76.2	46.5	47.9	84.9	48.3	46.2	88.9	55.0
PT	Wennappuwa	76.1	56.5	40.2	84.3	60.1	36.1	89.4	62.5
GM	Attanagalle	76.0	36.9	59.4	84.6	39.7	55.5	88.2	38.1
NE	Walapane	75.9	53.9	43.3	88.8	55.6	39.2	90.2	55.7

TABLE 2.

ELECTORATES WHERE VOTER TURNOUT WAS LOWEST
(20 lowest polled electorates in descending order)

DIST RICT	ELECTORATE	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%	1982 TVP%	1982 UNP%	1982 SLFP%	1977 TVP%	1977 UNP%
JF	Chavakachcheri	21.4	20.8	33.5	48.1	16.9	28.6	85.9	0.0
GL	Karadeniya	21.4	41.1	55.6	80.9	51.0	38.1	86.8	58.7
JF	Kilinochchi	20.2	35.0	37.5	48.0	18.9	21.9	79.9	7.0
HB	Mulkirigala	19.1	46.7	45.1	79.1	41.7	43.1	88.8	54.8
JF	Udupiddy	16.3	19.6	40.1	40.5	12.8	45.8	80.4	0.0
JF	Kankesanthurai	16.2	24.2	31.9	41.2	17.7	44.8	83.6	0.0
MT	Devinuwara	15.6	51.9	45.1	81.2	49.1	38.6	85.3	55.9
WN	Mannar	15.1	63.2	20.1	68.3	60.8	28.7	92.7	43.9
WN	Mullaitivu	14.9	50.1	26.5	49.9	21.4	31.8	79.7	0.0
GL	Ambalangoda	14.3	46.2	48.4	82.9	47.6	43.4	87.8	51.7
MT	Akuressa	14.1	56.6	37.1	84.8	48.7	40.2	88.9	57.0
MN	Wellawaya	12.7	69.5	25.8	77.1	44.7	41.8	80.5	51.8
WN	Vavuniya	11.8	46.8	28.5	61.5	43.7	35.0	82.6	40.2
BD	Uva-Paranagama	11.4	74.1	21.8	87.1	59.9	31.5	89.9	62.5
JF	Nallur	10.9	29.6	49.7	40.3	24.3	21.8	83.4	0.0
MT	Dambulla	10.6	55.5	41.4	86.6	52.2	41.5	90.8	59.3
PL	Minneriya	9.4	51.5	44.9	85.1	51.7	37.4	86.7	58.0
MT	Kamburupitiya	7.5	26.5	68.1	80.2	44.6	46.5	86.0	52.3
MN	Moneragala	6.5	50.9	40.5	85.5	47.2	45.0	85.7	50.1
MT	Hakmana	4.5	45.6	51.3	85.0	45.5	47.3	87.1	53.2

within the first 9; while there were 3 from Kegalle. The voter turnout in a majority of these electorates was over 55 percent. There were also some low turnout divisions, among them Uva-Paranagama (11.4 percent), Wellawaya (12.7 percent), Mannar (15.1 percent), Medirigiriya (22 percent), Welimada (27.6 percent) and Rattota (33.5 percent).

Table 4 shows that of the 20 polling divisions where the UNP received its lowest percentage of votes 11 of the 20 were from Jaffna district, 3 from the Ratnapura district and 3 from the Matara district. It is noteworthy that among the 11 electorates where the UNP received its lowest percentage of votes were 10 from Jaffna. Also of significance in this table is the fact that voter turnout in most of these polling divisions has been well below the average 55.3 percent. In only 6 of the 20 divisions has voter turnout been over 40 percent, and in 13 it was below 33 percent. As the next table shows it was in some of these electoral divisions that the SLFP recorded its highest majorities.

Table 5 shows that of the 20 electoral divisions where the SLFP received its highest majorities, the largest number was in the Galle district which has 5 of these divisions, followed by Colombo which has 4 divisions; while Anuradhapura, Gampaha and Matara had 3 divisions each. The voter turnout in several of these divisions, particularly in the Gampaha and Colombo districts, was well above the average turnout. On the other hand the turnout among the divisions of the districts of Anuradhapura, Matara and Galle was below the average.

Table 6 shows that of the 20 polling divisions where the SLFP received its lowest percentage of votes, the largest number was from the Badulla district where voter turnout on the whole had been only 41.8 percent in 1988 compared with 86.9 percent in 1982. The 3 other districts where the SLFP received its lowest majorities were Colombo, Batticaloa and Vanni and each had 3 of the lowest polling divisions for SLFP. Both Jaffna and Trincomalee districts had 2 of the divisions each polling lowest for the SLFP.

TABLE 3. ELECTORATES WHERE UNP RECEIVED ITS HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF VOTES

(20 highest majorities in descending order)

DISTRICT	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%
BD Uva-P'gama	11.4	74.1	21.8
MN Wellawaya	12.7	69.5	25.8
NE N'Elia-Maskeliya	77.8	66.7	28.1
BD Mahiyangana	54.8	66.4	30.0
BD Welimada	27.6	64.9	31.0
CL Colombo-Central	67.9	64.6	28.7
PT Puttalam	67.3	63.4	32.8
WN Mannar	15.1	63.2	20.1
BD Passara	35.6	62.8	31.2
CL Colombo North	66.6	62.1	29.8
MT Matale	41.6	61.7	33.9
PL Medirigiriya	22.0	61.6	32.7
CL Colombo West	64.1	61.5	31.3
DM Kalmunai	69.9	60.9	31.5
GM Negombo	70.2	60.5	34.6
NE Hanguranketha	84.4	60.3	37.2
MT Rattota	33.5	60.2	36.3
KG Mawanela	67.9	59.8	37.6
KD Udunuwara	55.5	59.5	37.4
KG Deraniyagala	67.9	59.4	37.1
KG Aranayake	67.3	59.1	38.1

TABLE 4. ELECTORATES WHERE UNP RECEIVED ITS LOWEST PERCENTAGE OF VOTES

(20 lowest polled electorates in descending order)

DISTRICT	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%
AN Medawachehiya	45.5	38.5	57.7
MT Weligama	38.6	38.0	58.0
CL Maharagama	66.0	37.6	56.9
MT Matara	48.0	37.5	57.3
GL Habaraduwa	50.4	37.2	59.3
GM Attanagalle	76.0	36.9	59.4
AN Kalawewa	37.2	36.4	59.6
JF Kayts	26.3	35.6	25.1
TR Trincomalee	40.7	35.5	25.3
AN Horawapotana	26.1	35.2	61.6
JF Kilinochchi	20.2	35.0	37.5
JF Jaffna	22.6	31.3	31.9
JF Manipay	23.1	29.7	25.9
JF Nallur	10.9	29.6	49.7
MT Kamburupitiya	7.5	26.5	68.1
JF Point Pedro	25.8	25.6	38.4
JF Kankasanthurai	16.2	24.2	31.9
JF Vaddukkoddai	31.5	23.4	35.2
JF Chavakachcheri	21.4	20.8	33.5
JF Udupiddy	16.3	19.6	40.1
JF Kopay	23.7	18.6	43.6

TABLE 5. ELECTORATES WHERE SLFP RECEIVED ITS HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF VOTES

(20 highest majorities descending order)

DISTRICT	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%
MT Kamburupitiya	7.5	26.5	68.1
AN Horawapotana	26.1	35.2	61.6
AN Kalawewa	37.2	36.4	59.6
GM Attanagalle	76.0	36.9	59.4
GL Habaraduwa	50.4	37.2	59.3
MT Weligama	38.6	38.0	58.0
AN Medawachchiya	45.5	38.5	57.7
MT Matara	48.0	37.5	57.3
CL Maharagama	66.0	37.6	56.9
GL Akmeemana	70.6	41.4	56.1
GL Ben/Elpitiya	33.0	40.6	55.8
GL Karandeniya	21.4	41.1	55.6
CL Kesbewa	71.5	40.0	55.1
GL Baddegama	75.2	41.4	55.0
GM Gampaha	73.6	41.3	54.6
AN Kekirawa	32.2	43.0	54.5
CL Homagama	58.4	41.0	54.3
CL Kaduwela	64.3	40.6	54.3
GM Dompe	80.2	44.7	52.7
KU Polgahawela	59.8	45.3	51.7

TABLE 6. ELECTORATES WHERE SLFP RECEIVED ITS LOWEST PERCENTAGE OF VOTES

(20 lowest polled electorates in descending order)

DISTRICT	1988 TVP%	1988 UNP%	1988 SLFP%
CL Colombo West	64.1	61.5	31.3
BD Passara	35.6	62.8	31.2
BD Welimada	27.6	64.9	31.0
BD Mahiyangana	54.8	66.4	30.0
CL Colombo North	66.6	62.1	29.8
CL Colombo Central	67.9	64.6	28.7
WN Vavuniya	11.8	46.8	28.5
NE N'Elia-Maskeliya	77.8	66.7	28.1
GM Wattala	72.8	56.0	28.0
WN Mullaitivu	14.9	50.1	26.5
JF Manipay	23.1	29.7	25.9
MN Wellawaya	12.7	69.5	25.8
TR Trincomalee	40.7	35.5	25.3
JF Kayts	26.3	35.6	25.1
BT Kalkudah	57.0	45.1	24.7
BD Uva-Paranagama	11.4	74.1	21.8
WN Mannar	15.1	63.2	20.1
BT Batticaloa	55.4	54.3	15.5
BT Paddiruppu	64.9	44.3	11.0
TR Seruwila	55.0	48.5	3.0

PROVINCIAL TRENDS IN 1988

The table at right shows that in the 1988 Presidential Elections the UNP has obtained an overall majority of votes in 6 of the 9 provinces; while the SLFP has obtained an overall majority of votes in the Northern, Southern and North Central provinces.

In the Southern Province the SLFP received 52.4 percent of the total votes polled and the UNP 45.1 percent. Mainly responsible for this position was the large majorities this party received in the Matara and Galle districts.

In the Northern Province the SLMP also took an almost equal share of the votes; however, the SLFP obtained the largest number of votes in the North (35.3 percent), followed by SLMP (32.9 percent) and UNP (31.8 percent). Although the UNP received 55.8 percent of the votes in the Vanni district its performance in Jaffna district brought down its overall percentage of votes.

In the North Central Province the SLFP obtained 51.8 percent of the votes polled, as against 46.3 percent for the UNP. Its large majority in the Anuradhapura district contributed to this situation.

For the UNP the largest province-wise majority it obtained was in the Uva Province, gaining 60.6 percent of the total votes as against 36.8 percent for the SLFP, a difference of nearly 24 percent. In both the Badulla and Moneragala districts in this province there was a wide gap in the results of the two parties. Noteworthy, however, is the low voter turnout for the entire province which averaged about 20 percent only.

In the Central Province there was a 16 percent difference in the votes received by the two parties, with the UNP obtaining 57.1 percent of the votes and SLFP 41.3 percent. In all 3 districts of this province too there was a clear majority for the UNP.

The Eastern Province was the other area where the UNP received a big majority (almost 16 percent) with 49.8 percent for the UNP and 34.4 percent for the SLFP. In this province too the UNP led the SLFP in all 3 districts.

PROVINCIAL-WISE RESULTS OF 1988-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

PROVINCE	UNP	UNP%	SLFP	SLFP%	SLFP	SLFP%	VOTES
WESTERN PROVINCE							
Colombo	361,337	48.1	338,958	46.2	34,020	4.6	735,315
Gampaha	250,082	48.1	355,553	48.8	22,487	3.1	728,112
Kalutara	188,510	48.7	178,761	45.8	13,375	3.7	382,646
TOTAL	800,929	48.2	673,272	47.9	69,882	3.8	1,528,073
CENTRAL PROVINCE							
Kandy	234,124	54.9	188,187	43.8	8,268	1.5	426,577
Matara	37,007	57.8	25,825	40.4	1,135	1.8	63,967
N'eliya	112,135	62.2	84,807	38.0	3,371	1.8	180,413
TOTAL	383,266	57.1	278,819	41.3	10,772	1.8	670,957
SOUTHERN PROVINCE							
Galle	124,812	44.8	148,615	53.1	8,417	2.3	278,844
Matara	45,389	42.9	57,424	54.3	2,822	2.8	105,745
Hambantota	41,188	49.8	38,343	47.4	2,478	3.0	83,019
TOTAL	211,389	45.1	244,382	52.4	11,717	2.5	469,708
NORTHERN PROVINCE							
Jaffna	33,850	28.0	44,197	38.8	42,188	35.2	120,235
Vanni	10,580	55.8	4,889	25.8	3,500	18.5	18,969
TOTAL	44,430	31.8	49,086	35.3	45,688	32.8	139,214
EASTERN PROVINCE							
Batticaloa	61,857	51.0	21,018	17.4	38,243	31.8	120,918
Digamadulla	68,420	50.8	83,137	63.8	10,352	5.5	188,909
Trincomalee	88,841	45.7	28,878	28.8	14,103	17.5	80,823
TOTAL	199,118	49.8	133,033	34.2	62,698	16.0	381,450
NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE							
Kurunegala	188,682	51.1	182,223	48.9	7,717	2.0	368,622
Puttalam	125,338	55.8	84,823	42.3	4,883	1.8	224,255
TOTAL	314,020	52.8	277,046	45.2	11,600	1.8	612,857
NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE							
Anuradhapura	88,881	42.9	73,154	55.2	2,529	1.8	132,634
Palawana	28,332	55.5	20,173	42.4	857	2.0	47,522
TOTAL	117,213	48.3	93,327	51.8	3,386	1.8	180,158
UVA PROVINCE							
Badulla	80,778	60.1	50,223	37.4	3,440	2.8	134,441
Moneragala	18,872	63.2	9,123	34.2	887	2.8	28,882
TOTAL	99,650	60.6	59,346	38.8	4,327	2.8	163,323
SABARAGAMUWA PROVINCE							
Ratnapura	180,822	51.8	159,878	45.8	8,518	2.4	349,218
Kurunegala	168,720	57.1	119,789	40.5	8,923	2.3	297,432
TOTAL	349,542	54.2	279,667	43.4	15,441	2.4	644,450
GRAND TOTAL	2,589,188	50.4	2,289,880	44.8	235,718	4.8	5,094,776

The UNP majority in the Sabaragamuwa Province too was substantial (almost 11 percent) with the UNP gaining 52.2 percent of the vote and SLFP 43.4 percent. In both districts of this province the UNP had a clear majority. The other provinces where the UNP

gained a majority were the Western Province and the North Western Province.

In 4 of the 9 provinces average provincial voter turnout was significantly low, led by the Northern (17.75 %); and followed by Uva (29.40 %); Southern (34.31 %); and NCP (35.4 %).

PATTERN OF VOTING IN DISTRICTS

The graphs reproduced on these pages illustrate the percentage of votes polled for the UNP in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections held since 1947. The other main contender has been the SLFP and at the early stages the left parties. In considering the percentage of votes received by the UNP at each election, it could be implied that the balance was generally the anti-UNP vote. Graphs have been prepared for 21 of the 22 electoral districts, the exception being Jaffna where the votes of the major national parties have often not been significant. The overall trend, for the entire country, may be observed in the graph on page 3; although when considering trends in each of the districts there does not appear to be any uniform pattern. In the recently concluded Presidential poll, for instance, there are broad areas of swings and shifts but these trends have not been consistent with the voting patterns of some of these districts on earlier occasions. At the 1988 election there is an apparent "swing" against the UNP in the districts south of Colombo, upto Matara; while in the upcountry belt the UNP "sweep" is seen clearly in the districts through Moneragala, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Matale and Kegalle. Looking at the trends in the recently concluded Presidential Poll it could be observed that there is a significant drop in the UNP vote from 1982 in the 10 districts of Anuradhapura, Colombo, Digamadulla, Galle, Matara, Gampaha, Kandy, Kaltura, Kurunegala and Puttalam; while

there is a smaller drop in the UNP votes in the 4 districts of Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Polonnaruwa and Trincomalee. The comments that follow will highlight the main trends in each of the electoral districts over nine of the past elections.

Colombo District

Colombo district has always been the district with the highest voting strength in Sri Lanka. According to the revised Parliamentary electoral registers of 1987, which was used for the 1988 Presidential election, the voting strength of Colombo district was 1,088,640.

Observing the pattern of votes polled for the UNP since 1947, we see a general upward movement with a slight drop in 1956, a bigger drop in 1970 and a more significant drop in 1988. In the Presidential election of 1982 the trend remained unchanged, but in the recent Presidential election the percentage votes polled for the UNP came down from its peak of 57.1% in both 1977 and 1982 to 48.4%, recording a 8.7% decrease. There are also indications that the percentage of votes in favour of the UNP recorded a drop from 1982 in every one of the 15 electorate divisions during the 1988 elections. (See table above.) The 3 biggest percentage falls were recorded in Colombo West (15.2), Kotte (13.6) and Maharagama (11.3). Overall the UNP received less than 50 percent (49.14%) of the 735,315 valid votes polled in the district.

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP (according to magnitude of '88 change)

Colombo District

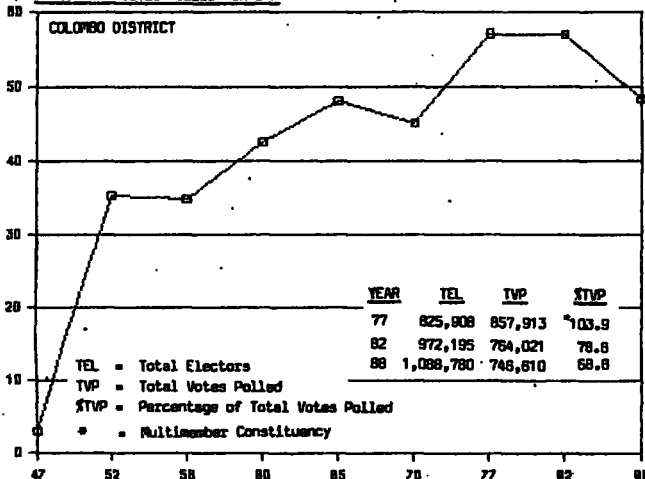
Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	% Turnout in 1988
Colombo West	61.5	76.7	-15.2	64.1
Kotte	42.6	56.2	-13.6	65.7
Maharagama	37.6	48.9	-11.3	66.0
Dehiwala	49.3	60.1	-10.8	70.1
Borella	51.8	62.4	-10.6	66.2
Homagama	41.0	51.2	-10.2	58.4
Colombo East	50.1	59.8	-9.7	64.3
Ratmalana	47.1	55.3	-8.2	70.7
Colombo Central	64.6	72.2	-7.6	67.9
Kaduwela	40.6	48.2	-7.6	64.3
Colombo North	62.1	68.1	-6.0	66.6
Moratuwa	48.0	54.0	-6.0	67.8
Kesbewa	40.0	45.7	-5.7	71.5
Kolonnawa	45.8	50.8	-5.0	69.0
Avissoella	48.8	50.4	-1.6	72.3
District (%total turnout)	49.14	57.71	-8.57	68.57

The recorded total votes polled in the Colombo district in the Presidential election 1988 was only 68.57 of a total electorate of 1,088,780 votes. The absolute number of votes received by the UNP in 1988 was 361,337 which is 49.1 percent of the total votes polled or 33.2 percent of the total registered voters. The votes obtained by the next major party, the SLFP, was 46.2 percent of the total votes polled or 31.2 percent of the total registered voters.

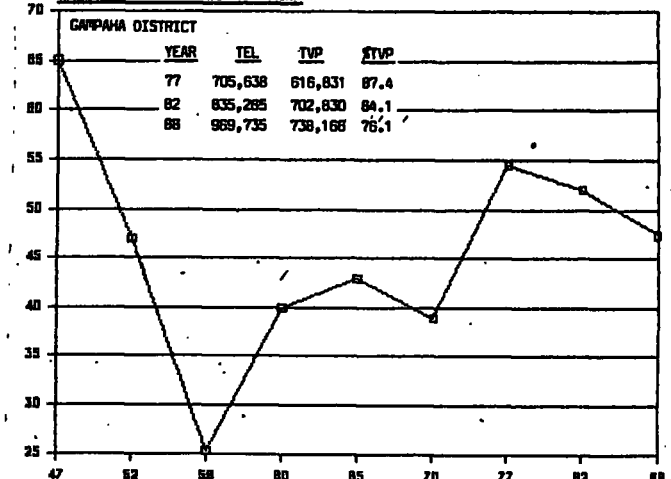
Gampaha District

Gampaha district, situated immediately North of the Colombo district, had 969,634 registered voters in 1988. The majority ethnic group here is Sinhalese (92 percent) while the religious groups

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

Gampaha District

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 change	% turnout in 1988
Kelaniya	44.9	52.8	- 7.9	72.3
Biyagaraha	48.1	55.2	- 7.1	75.2
Ja-Ela	51.6	57.7	- 6.1	71.2
Wattala	56.0	62.1	- 6.1	72.8
Negombo	60.5	66.5	- 6.0	70.2
Gampaha	41.3	47.0	- 5.7	73.6
Mirigama	47.5	51.8	- 4.3	71.5
Mahara	43.8	47.7	- 3.9	74.3
Minuwangoda	47.9	50.9	- 3.0	78.7
Attanagalla	44.7	46.9	- 2.2	80.2
Dompe	36.9	39.7	- 2.8	76.0
Divulapitiya	48.3	50.2	- 1.9	78.2
Katana	50.5	52.2	- 1.7	74.6
District (% total turnout)	48.08	53.90	- 5.82	76.12

are mainly Buddhist (71 percent) and Christian (23 percent). With the exception of 1956, when the UNP vote came down to 25 percent, the overall vote for the UNP in this district has not been unfavourable. As seen in the graph, the percentage voting for the UNP in this district reached a high point of 55 percent in 1977, after which there has been a gradual decline. In the elections of 1960, 1965 and 1970 the UNP's average votes was around 40 percent. From 55 percent in 1977 it has come down to 48 percent in 1988, a 7 percent drop.

The total votes polled in the Gampaha district in the last Presidential election was 738,166 or 76.1 percent of the total registered votes compared with 84.1 percent in the 1982 election. The UNP obtained 350,092 votes which is

36.1 percent of the total registered votes and 48.1 percent of the votes polled; while the SLFP received 36.7 percent of total registered votes and 48.8 percent of total votes polled.

The SLFP obtained a majority of total votes polled and also majorities in 8 of the 13 polling divisions. Another significant indicator of the UNP's declining vote in this district was that it received a lower percentage of votes polled in everyone of the 13 Polling Divisions in the recent Presidential elections, compared to that of 1982. Another notable feature was the consistently high level of polling throughout the district which averaged 76.1 percent. The lowest turnout was in Negombo (70.2 percent) while the highest was Dompe (80.2 percent).

Kalutara District

The Kalutara district, located immediately South of the Colombo district, had 570,118 registered voters in 1988. As the graph shows the votes for the UNP have been below 40 percent in 5 of the 9 elections. It recorded its lowest point of 25 percent in 1956; while in 1977 it peaked to 53 percent; increasing by 20.7 percent over its 1970 position. Since then there has been a steady decrease, coming down to 50.1 percent in 1982 and 46.7 percent in 1988.

The percentage of votes polled in 1988 was 64.8 percent of the total registered votes as compared with 85.6 percent in 1982. The SLFP received a larger num-

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

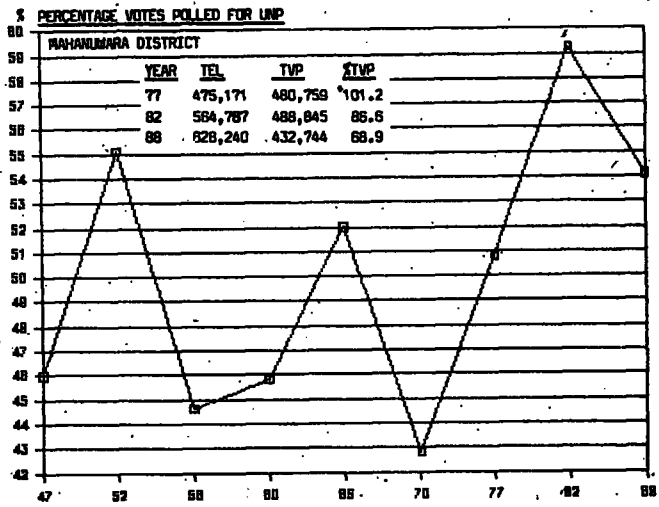
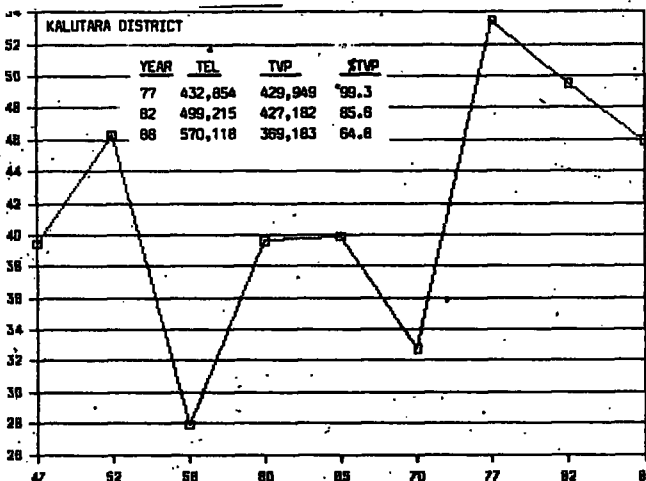
Kalutara District

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	% turnout in 1988
Panadura	41.0	48.3	- 7.3	70.7
Beruwala	46.5	52.4	- 5.9	60.1
Horana	47.8	51.1	- 3.3	72.0
Matugama	45.5	47.8	- 2.3	51.5
Kalutara	46.5	48.5	- 2.0	58.1
Agalawatta	47.6	49.4	- 1.8	44.8
Bandaragama	46.5	48.3	- 1.8	76.2
Bulathsinhala	48.2	49.1	- 0.9	66.9
District (% total turnout)	46.74	50.15	- 3.41	64.76

ber of votes at the 1988 elections with the UNP receiving 169,100 or 46.7 percent and the SLFP 179,761 or 49.6 percent of the total votes polled. Of the total registered votes the UNP received 29.7 percent and the SLFP 31.7 percent. The UNP obtained majorities in only 2 of the 8 Polling Divisions in the district. The UNP also registered a decline from 1982 in everyone of the 8 Polling Divisions in the district, the highest being a drop of 7.3 percent in Panadura.

Mahanuwara District

Mahanuwara has a voting strength of 628,373 according to the Electoral registers of 1987. Within the electoral district of Mahanuwara is Kandy which is considered the major city in Sri Lanka's Central Province. The voters of this district consist of around 30,000 Estate Tamil ethnic voters.



PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

MAHANUWARA DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	% Turnout in 1988
Teldeniya	49.8	48.6	+ 1.2	72.0
Mahanuwara	58.9	68.0	- 9.1	66.2
Harispattuwa	53.0	61.0	- 8.0	61.6
Senkadagala	51.4	58.2	- 6.8	69.3
Patha-Dambara	56.3	62.9	- 6.6	76.2
Campola	55.5	61.4	- 5.9	80.7
Uda Dambara	47.7	53.5	- 5.8	67.5
Yatinuwara	46.6	52.2	- 5.6	59.5
Kandakale	54.0	58.2	- 4.2	57.7
Udunuwara	59.5	63.6	- 4.1	55.5
Calagandam	53.4	57.2	- 3.8	71.1
Nawalpitiya	58.5	61.7	- 3.2	76.6
Hewabeta	57.3	60.3	- 3.0	80.1
District				
(% Total Turnout)	54.88	59.8	- 4.92	68.88

The percentage of votes polled for the UNP in this district has been between 42 percent and 59 percent in 9 elections held upto 1988. The highest percentage of 59.2 percent for the UNP in the district was recorded in the 1982 Presidential election. In the recent Presidential election there was a shift downwards to 54.1 percent. This district is generally regarded a stronghold of the UNP having obtained over 50 percent of the votes in 5 of the 9 elections, and over 42 percent in all elections.

The total votes polled in 1988 for all the parties in this district was 432,744; or 68.9 percent of the total registered voters totalling 628,373. The absolute votes received by the UNP and SLFP in this district was 234,124 (46.7 %) and 186,187 (43.7 %) respectively;

which was only 37.3 percent and 29.6 percent of the total number of registered voters. Here too, of the 13 electoral divisions as many as 12 recorded a drop from the 1982 percentage votes for the UNP. The only exception was Teldeniya with a 1.2 percent increase in 1988. (See table at left.) The percentage decline in the 12 divisions was comparatively smaller than Colombo district, the highest drop being 9.1 percent in Mahanuwaru, followed by 8 percent in Harispattuwa. Overall the UNP obtained a clear majority of 54.88 percent of the 426,577 total valid votes polled in this district.

Matale District

The number of registered voters in Matale district is 214,938, which may be considered a small number compared to the other districts. The percentage of total votes polled for the UNP in this district has recorded a continuous increase upto 1960, then declined upto 1970, and climbed steeply in 1977. A peak percentage vote of 62.8 percent for the UNP, in Matale, was recorded in 1977. There was a slight decline over each of the two Presidential elections held in 1982 and 1988, with a vote of 57.6 percent in 1982 and 56.9 percent in 1988 for the UNP. The position continues to be favourable for the UNP with an over 50 percent vote over the last three elections. The percentage of total votes polled for all parties at the 1988 Presidential election was only 65,077 or 30.38 percent of the total registered voters which is considered a

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

MATALE DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	% Turnout in 1988
Dambulla	55.5	52.2	+ 3.3	10.6
Laggala	49.3	55.7	- 6.4	44.7
Rattota	60.2	61.5	- 1.3	33.5
Matale	61.7	62.2	- 0.5	41.6
District				
(% Total Turnout)	57.85	58.11	- 0.26	30.28

very low poll. Of the total polled the UNP received 37,007 (57.85 %) and the SLFP 25,825 (40.37 %) which amounted to only 17.2 percent and 12.0 percent respectively, of the total registered votes. The comparative position in the 4 electoral divisions of this district over the 1982 and 1988 election is seen in the table above.

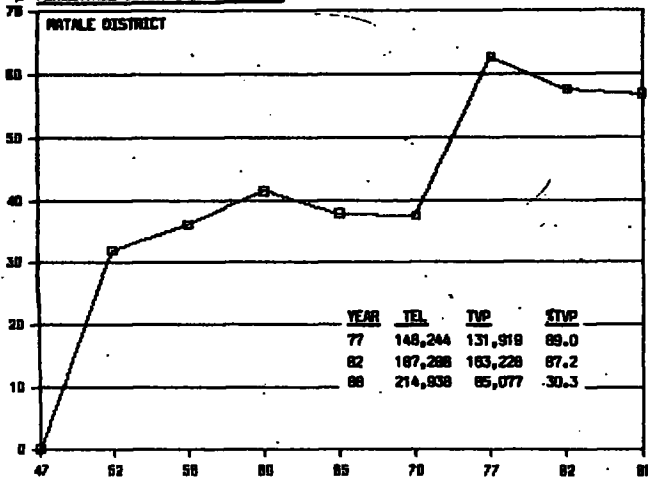
Nuwara Eliya District

This district is largely covered by the upcountry tea estates and the Tamils of Indian origin who work on the estates are a very important factor here in elections. Over 55,000 out of 229,510 voters in this district are Estate Tamils.

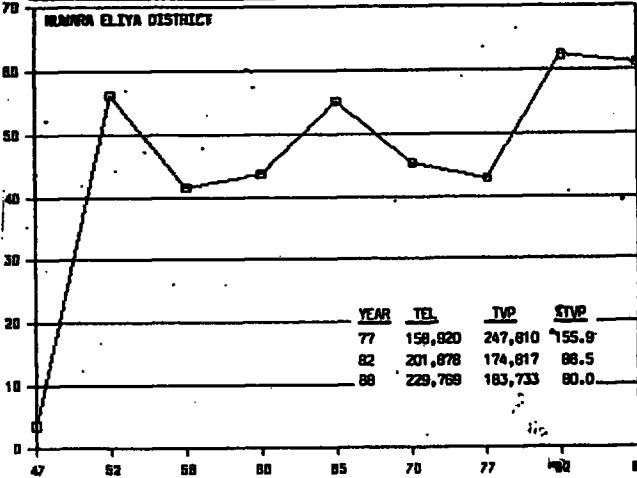
In the elections before 1977 these estate workers voted for their own party which had its origins in their Trade Union, the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC). After 1977 as the CWC member elected to Parliament was absorbed into the UNP government the Estate Tamil votes at the Presidential polls turned towards the UNP.

Upto 1977 the percentage of votes polled by the UNP in Nuwara Eliya dis-

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

NUWARA ELIYA DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	% Turnout in 1988
Hanguranketha	60.3	59.5	+ 0.8	75.9
Kotmale	55.6	58.6	- 3.0	81.8
N'Ellya-Masakeliya	66.7	68.7	- 2.0	77.8
Walapane	53.9	55.6	- 1.7	75.9
District				
(% Total Turnout)	62.15	63.10	- 0.95	79.96

trict ranged between 40 percent and 55 percent. But in both Presidential elections in 1982 and 1988 the UNP vote moved upto 62.4 percent and 61.0 percent respectively, with the support of the CWC; though in 1988 in 3 of the 4 electoral divisions the percentage of votes received by the UNP dropped in 1988 from the 1982 position. Voting in this district at both Presidential polls was high and Nuwara Eliya turned out to be the district with the highest percentage (almost 80 percent) of votes polled at the Presidential election of 1988; though the voter turnout in 1982 was 86.6 percent. The percentage votes received at this election by the SLFP in this district was only 35.3 percent compared with 61 percent for the UNP. The percentage of votes received by UNP and SLFP of the total registered votes was 48.8 percent and 28.2 percent, respectively.

Galle District

Galle is the major city in the Southern Province and is also the largest electoral

district in the Southern part of Sri Lanka. It had a 571,303 strong electorate according to the electoral register of 1987. It may be observed that generally Galle has not been a favourable electoral district for the UNP. The percentage votes polled for the UNP in all elections after 1947 upto 1977 has been below 39.4 percent. In 1977 the UNP obtained 54.1 percent of the total votes polled, though its vote came down once again to 49.6 percent and 43.9 percent, respectively, in the Presidential elections of 1982 and 1988. The drop between 1977 and 1988 is the second largest for any district.

Another significant feature of voting patterns in the Galle district has been the comparatively low poll (around 50 percent) during the two Presidential elections. The total votes received at the last Presidential election by the UNP was 124,912 and by the SLFP 148,615, which was 44.6 percent and 53.1 percent of the total vote polled. The votes polled for these two parties was only 21.9 percent and 26.0 percent respectively, of the total registered votes. At the recent Presidential poll the UNP received more votes than the SLFP in only 2 of the electoral districts, namely, Galle and Balapitiya; while the percentage of votes received by the UNP dropped from 1982 to 1988 in 8 of the 10 electoral districts, the only two electoral districts where there was an increase in the UNP vote being Hiniduma and Balapitiya.

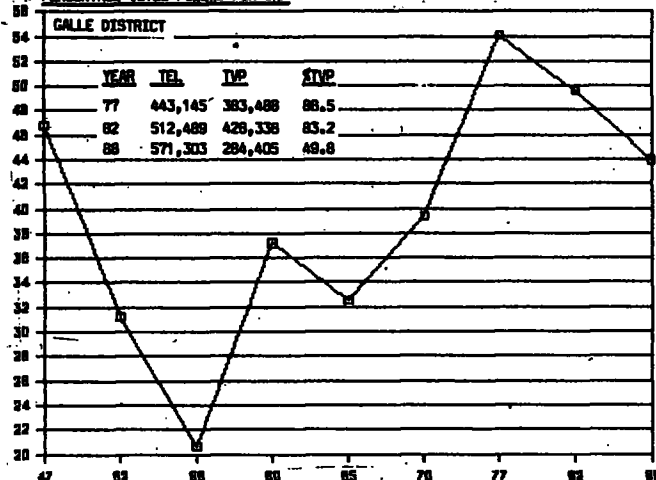
Matara District

The total number of registered voters in Matara district in 1988 was 451,926; but only 107,748 or 22.8 percent voted, recording one of the lowest polls for a district in the recent Presidential election, since this district was under heavy pressure from subversive activities and threats for a boycott of the polls. Matara is another district where the UNP has not enjoyed much popularity. Except for 1977 when the percentage votes polled for the UNP in this district reached 55 percent, in all other elections it has been below 50 percent, and less than 44 percent in 6 of the 9 elections. However, in the two elections after 1977 the percentage of UNP vote has been fast decreasing, recording an over 13 percent decline, which is the largest drop for a district. The percentage votes received by the UNP in 1988 was only 42.9 percent as against 54.3 percent by the SLFP. The total votes received by the UNP and SLFP in the 1988 Presidential election was 453,999 and 57,424 or 10 percent and 12.7 percent respectively, of the total registered voters.

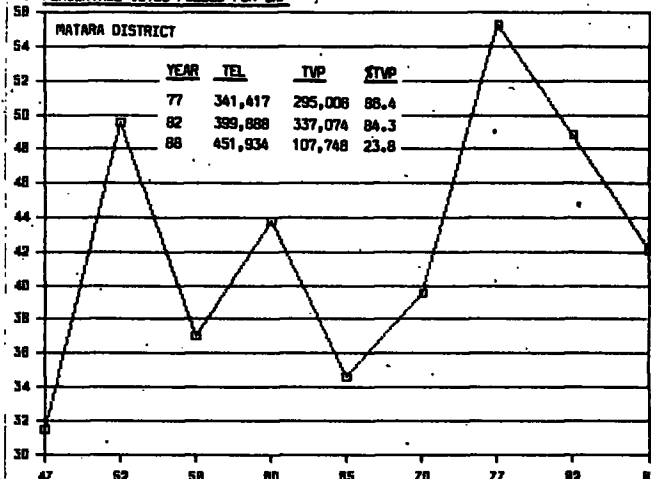
Hambantota District

The Hambantota district, as in the case of a adjoining Matara district, was also affected by the threat of subversive activity in the 1988 elections. The result was that of a total of 295,180 registered voters the recorded number of votes polled was only 86,874 or 29.43 per-

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



cent, as compared to a 82.3 percent voter turnout in the 1982 Presidential Poll. The UNP has not shown an overall popularity in this district, although in 1977 its vote exceeded 55 percent. In 1965 when the UNP came into power the votes polled by the UNP was only 35.5 percent. At the Presidential elections of 1982 the UNP vote dropped almost 10 percent from 55.6 percent in 1977 to 45.9 percent in 1982.

Since the turnout in 1988 was less than 30 percent it is difficult to interpret trends in voting patterns. However, the results show that the UNP received 41,198 votes or 49.6 percent of the total polled and 14.0 percent of the total registered votes; while the SLFP obtained 39,343 votes or 47.7 percent of total polled and 13.3 percent of the total registered votes. According to the results the UNP had won all 4 seats in this district and also gained in all polling divisions over its 1982 position. The SLFP received almost 3 percent of the votes polled in this district.

Vanni District

Vanni electoral district is composed of the 3 administrative districts of Mannar, Vavuniya and Mullaitivu. This district had a total of 142,723 registered voters, which is the smallest of the 22 districts. The majority of voters in this district are Tamils, with a small minority of Sinhalese (16 percent in Vavuniya and a much smaller minority of Sinhalese in Mannar and Mullaitivu). The average vote for the UNP in the Vanni has there-

fore been below 25 percent upto 1970, thereafter moving up to 30 percent in 1977, 45 percent in 1982 and 55 percent in 1988. However, the results of the 1988 elections are distorted by the fact that the turnout here was only 13.79 percent of the total registered voters, which is the lowest recorded for the 22 districts. The turnout in 1982 was 61.5 percent. Of the total votes polled in 1988 the UNP received 55.8 percent, SLFP 25.8 percent and SLMP 18.5 percent. The Vavuniya polling division had the lowest turnout of only 11.8 percent while Mannar had a turnout of 15.5 percent. There was no postal voting in this electoral district.

Batticaloa District

In the Batticaloa district the Tamil population is around 72 percent and Muslim population 24 percent, while Sinhalese accounted for only 3 percent. The total number of registered voters in the Batticaloa district in 1988 was 215,585. This district, like the Vanni, has also been the scene of regular terrorist violence, but turnout at recent elections has been exceptionally high. The percentage of total votes polled in this district in 1988 was 58.48 percent, compared with 71.3 percent in 1982.

In 5 of the 9 elections, as indicated on the graph, the UNP has received less than 25 percent of the vote; but in 1982 the percentage of votes for the UNP moved upto 40 percent and in 1988 to 51 percent. The percentage of total registered votes received by the UNP in 1988 in this district was 28.6 percent.

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

BATTICALOA DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	% Change	Turnout in 1988
Kalrodah	45.1	51.8	- 3.2	57.0
Batticaloa	54.3	43.4	+ 10.9	53.4
Padduruppa	44.3	20.7	+ 23.6	64.9
District				
% total turnout	50.99	40.02	+ 10.97	58.5

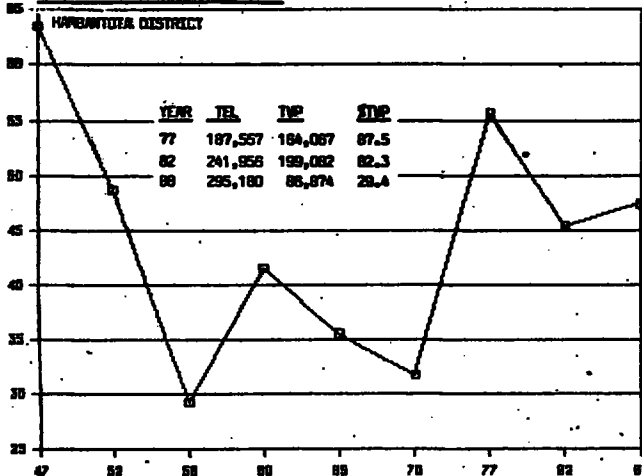
Digamadulla District

Digamadulla, situated in the Eastern Province, covers the administrative district of Amparai which has a population of around 42 percent Muslims, 37 percent Sinhalese and 21 percent Tamils. The total number of registered voters in this district, in 1988, was 265,768. Between 1956 and 1965 the UNP has received less than 20 percent of the votes in this district. Between 1970 and 1982 the percentage vote for the UNP kept rising and peaked at 55.7 percent in 1982, though in 1988 this vote came down to around 50 percent of the total votes polled. This district was also one of the 5 that recorded a turnout of over 70%, with a 72.89 percent poll of total registered votes compared with 79.8 percent in 1982. Of the total votes polled the UNP received 49.8 percent and SLFP 42.9 percent, while of the total registered votes in the district the UNP received 36.3 percent and the SLFP 31.3 percent. Of the 4 electoral divisions the UNP won 3, with the exception of Pottuvil which was won by the SLFP.

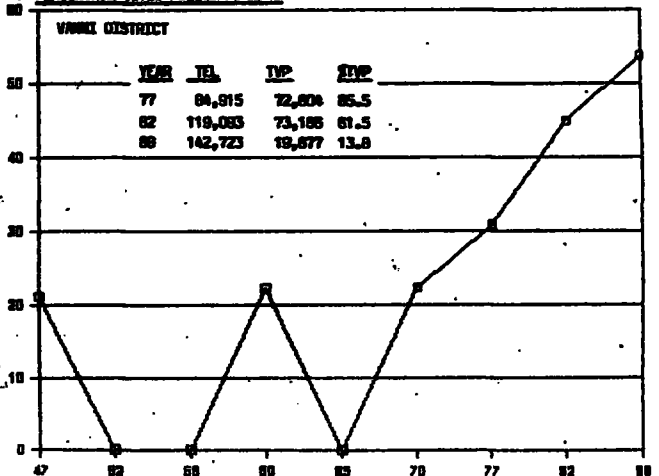
Trincomalee District

This is the third of the districts in the Eastern province. The population of this

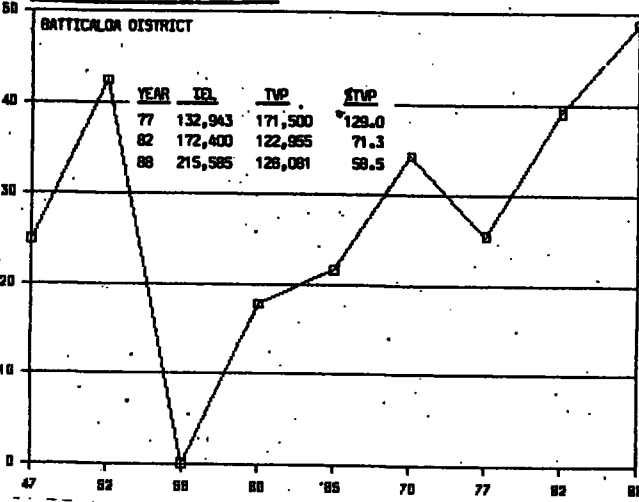
1 PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



2 PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP

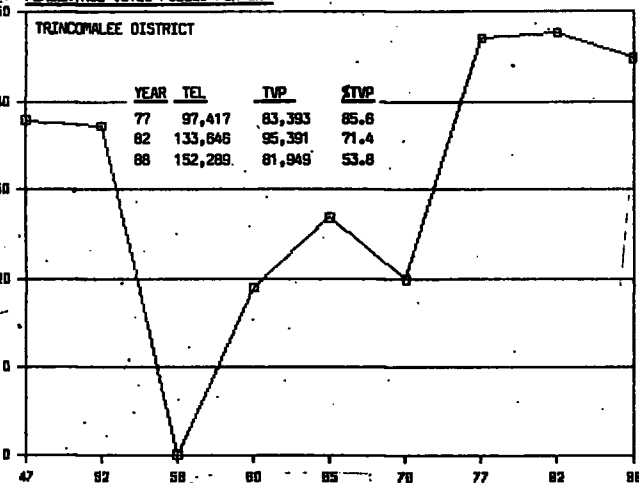


% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



district in 1981 was 36.4 percent Tamil, 33.6 percent Sinhalese and 29 percent Muslim. The total number of registered voters in the district in 1988 was 152,289. According to the graph the UNP vote in this district has been below 30 percent between 1966 and 1970. In 1977 the UNP vote shot up by 27 percent, reaching 47 percent of the total votes polled in that general election. In the election of 1982 the UNP moved up further to receive 48.6 percent of total votes polled, while in 1988 its vote was 45.7 percent of the total votes polled. The turnout in this district was 81,949 or 53.81 percent of total registered voters compared with 71.4 percent in 1982. The total percentage of votes received by the UNP was 24.4 percent and SLFP 19.5 percent. The UNP received a majority in two of the three polling divisions, with the SLFP gaining Seruwila.

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP

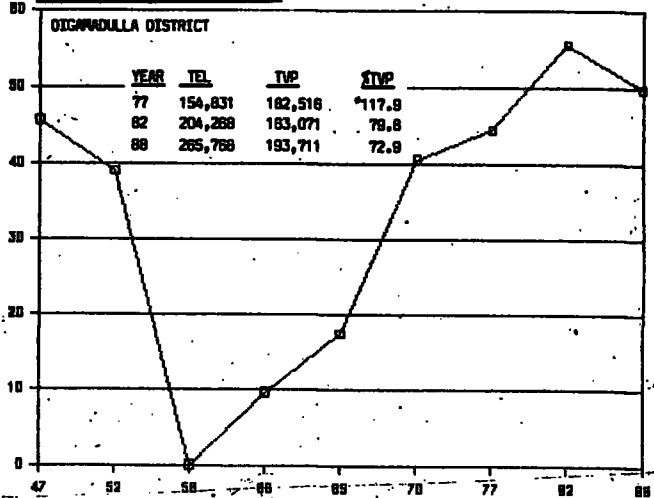


Kurunegala District

Kurunegala is regarded as one of the largest districts in the country. Its 784,989 voters is the third largest number of registered voters among the 22 districts, coming only after Colombo and Gampaha. As seen in the graph the UNP has been able to obtain over 40 percent of the votes in this district in 8 of the 9 elections, the exception being 1956. The UNP voting in this district reached a peak of 56.8 percent in 1977. The position in 1982 was similar to that of 1977 though in 1988 there was a decline to 50.1 percent, while the SLFP received 46.4 percent at this election. Of the total registered votes the UNP received 25.5 percent and the SLFP 23.2 percent.

The total turnout at this election was 392,882 or 50.5 percent of the total

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



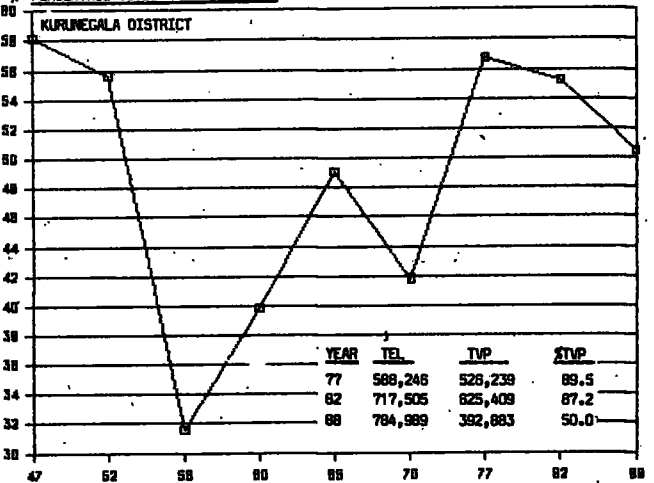
registered votes compared with a 87.2 percent turnout in 1982. Of the 14 polling divisions in the district the UNP received a majority in 8; while the SLFP obtained a majority in 6, with some of these being extremely close.

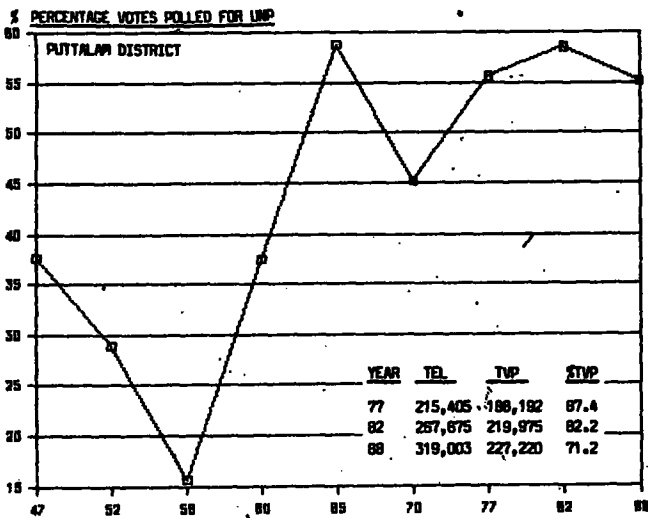
Puttalam District

Puttalam is one district where there has been a large concentration of minorities both ethnic and religious. Nearly 38 percent of the population were Christian, 10 percent Muslim and 7 percent Hindu, though by ethnicity 83 percent were Sinhalese, 10 percent Muslims and 7 percent Tamils. The total number of registered voters in the Puttalam district in 1987 was 319,003.

Voting patterns show that the UNP has enjoyed considerable popularity in the district, with the exception of 1956 when the UNP vote reached its lowest

% PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP





point of 15%. From 1960 the percentage of UNP votes moved up to a peak of 59% and since 1977 has remained over 55%. The percentage of votes received by the UNP in the Presidential Elections of 1988 in this district was 55.2 percent and for the SLFP 41.7 percent; with the UNP receiving a clear majority in all 5 electoral divisions in the district. Puttalam was one of the five districts recording the highest voter turnout with a total poll of 227,220 or 71.23 percent of registered votes, compared with 82.2 percent in 1982.

Anuradhapura District

The total number of registered voters in the Anuradhapura district was 334,074. In five of the nine elections, indicated in the graph, the UNP has failed to receive a majority. The votes polled in the 1988 Presidential Elections

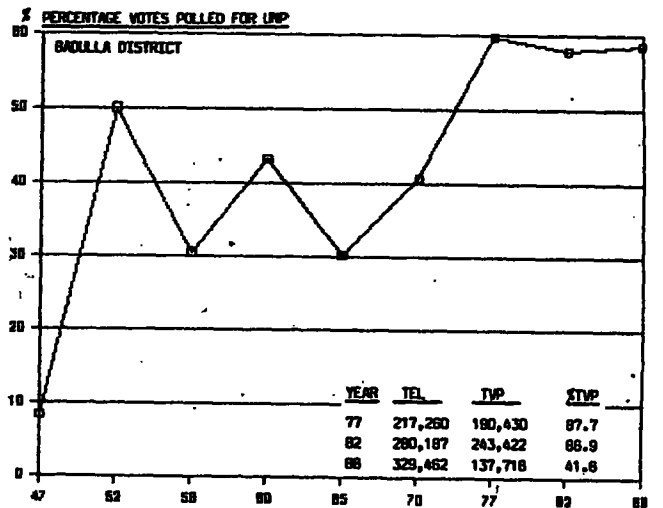
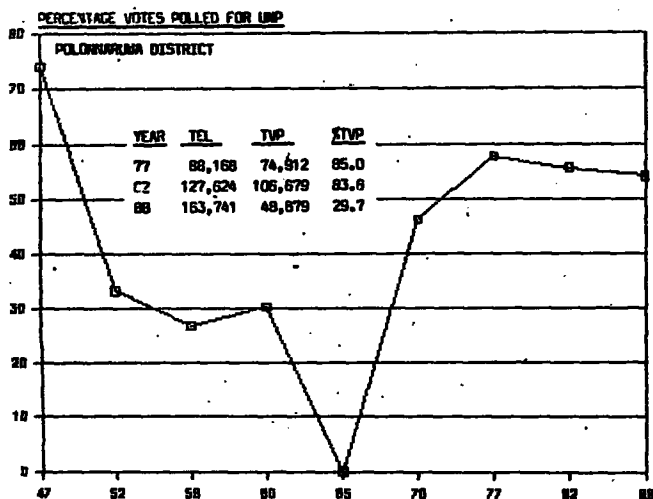
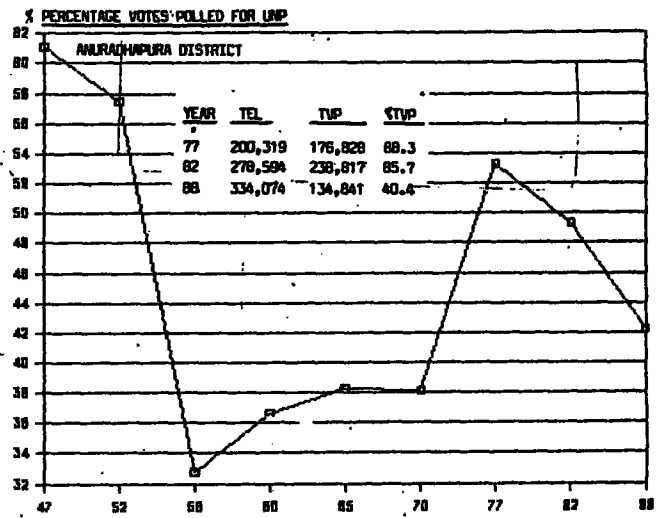
amounted to 134,841 or 40.4 percent of the total number of registered voters, compared with 85.7 percent in 1982. The UNP has continued to lose popularity in this district after 1977 with a 7.1 percent drop from its 1982 position. In 1982 there had been a 4 percent drop from that of 1977. In the 1988 Presidential Elections the UNP received 42.2 percent of the votes as against 51.1 percent for the SLFP. The absolute number of votes received by the UNP and SLFP at the 1988 Elections was 56,951 and 73,154 respectively, which was only 17 percent and 22 percent of total registered votes. This is one district where the SLFP received a clear majority and won 6 of the 7 electoral districts; the exception being Mihintale.

Polonnaruwa District

The total number of registered voters

in the Polonnaruwa district was 163,741 in 1988. As in the Anuradhapura district as much as 90 percent of the population is Sinhalese and Buddhist, and the main occupation of the people is agriculture. The graph shows that the district voting pattern has not been favourable for UNP between 1952 and 1965, when the votes polled for the UNP did not exceed 35 percent. This situation has changed after 1977 when the highest percentage of votes, 57.8 percent, was recorded for the UNP; though in 1982 and 1988 there was a slight decline from this position.

But the total votes polled in 1988 Presidential election was not significant in Polonnaruwa district. The recorded votes polled was only 48,679 or 29.7 percent of total votes, compared with 83.6 percent in 1982. Of these the UNP received 55.5% of the total votes polled



or 16.6 percent of the total registered votes; while the SLFP received 42.4 percent of the total votes polled or 12.3 percent of the registered votes. The UNP had clear majorities in all three electoral divisions.

Badulla District

Badulla district is identified with the plantations though estate workers are both Indian Tamils and Sinhalese. The total Tamil population in the district is nearly 26 percent of which about 20 percent are Indian Tamils. The total number of registered voters in the district was 329,462. A total of 137,718 or 41.8 percent of the registered votes were recorded in the Presidential Elections of 1988; with the UNP receiving about 59 percent of these votes and the SLFP about 37 percent of the votes polled; and 24.5 percent and 15.2 percent of the total registered votes in the district. (In 1982 the voter turnout was 86.9 percent). In 1988 the UNP received a clear majority in all nine of the electorates in this district. (Apart from the two Northern districts this was the only other district where no postal votes were recorded.)

As seen in the graph the UNP vote moved up from 30 percent in 1965 to 40 percent in 1970 and peaked at 59.9 percent in 1977. Thereafter it had remained at about this level.

Moneragala District

Moneragala is the other district in the Uva province. But here the Sinhalese population is over 90 percent. The total number of registered voters in the district in 1988 was 161,927.

The pattern of votes polled in the Moneragala district shows that the UNP has maintained a fair percentage share in the voting since 1952. The lowest percentage votes polled for the UNP was 35.7 percent in 1956. During the period 1960 to 1988 the percentage votes polled had recorded an upward trend, reaching a peak of 61.3 percent in 1988.

In analysing the total votes polled in the 1988 Presidential election the question arises whether we can generalise the percentage votes received by the UNP of the percentage votes polled since the voting was very low. The percentage of votes of the total registered polled in Moneragala was only 17 percent, which was the second lowest recorded in the country. (Voter turnout in 1982 was 83.3 percent). The voting was only 10.4 percent for the UNP and 5.6 percent for the SLFP of the total registered votes; or 63 percent and 34 percent, respectively of the votes polled. It was also on record that some of the polling centres could not open in this district due to the disturbed civil conditions.

Ratnapura District

Ratnapura is identified as different

from the other districts because of its gem deposits and involvement of many of the people in this area in activities connected with the gem industry. This district has also recorded the lowest unemployment figures for a district. Nearly 11 percent of the population are Indian Tamil and 2 percent Muslim. The total number of registered voters in 1988 was 457,224.

The graph shows that the UNP has received less than 43 percent of the vote in the years between 1956 and 1970, reaching a low of 32 percent in 1956. In 1977 this situation changed, the UNP obtaining 53 percent of the votes; and it has continued to virtually maintain this position in the two Presidential Elections in 1982 and 1988. The total votes polled in this district in 1988 elections was 353,130 or 77.2 percent of the votes, which placed it among the five highest in the districts. The percentage votes polled for the UNP and SLFP was 51.1 percent and 45.3 percent, respectively; while in terms of total registered electors they received 39.5 percent and 35 percent. The UNP received a majority of the votes in 7 of the 8 electoral divisions, the exception being the

Moneragala District

Electoral Division	% Polled for UNP		'88 Change	% Turnout		1988 % of Vote		Majority
	1988	1982		1988	1982	UNP	SLFP	
Bibile	58.7	54.8	+ 3.9	35.9	85.6	58.7	35.6	U
Moneragala	50.9	47.2	+ 3.7	6.5	85.8	50.9	40.5	U
Wellawaya	69.5	44.7	+ 24.8	12.7	77.1	69.5	25.8	U
TOTAL	62.7	50.9	+ 11.8	17.0	83.3	62.7	33.2	

Jaffna District

The Jaffna district has not been included in this district-wise analysis and graphs, since the UNP vote is treated as the core vote in the entire analysis but in this particular case the UNP vote ceased to be of significance after 1956. Voter preferences in the district have strongly reflected the ethnic composition of the population and in recent years the percentage of votes polled for the UNP have been 1977 - 2.6 percent, 1982-19.6 percent and 1988 - 26.2 percent.

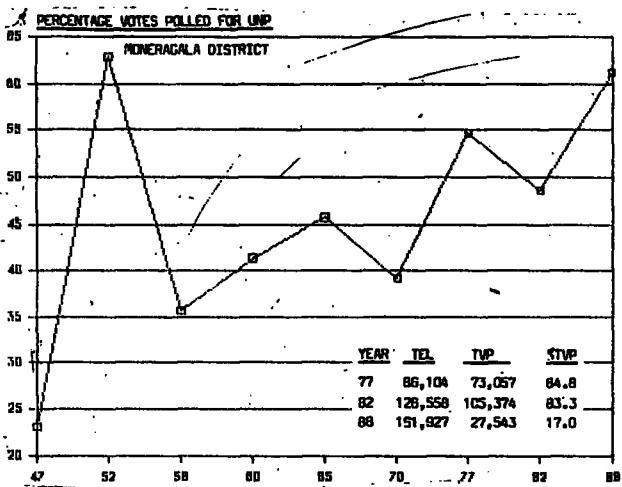
There are several features peculiar to this district which has the fifth largest electorate among the districts. According to the census of 1981 the ethnic composition in this district was Tamils

97.7 percent, Moors 1.7 percent and Sinhalese 0.6 percent; though the number of Sinhalese would have decreased considerably since then.

This is one district where in the 1988 election conditions prevented normal voting and voter turnout was therefore only 21.7 percent of the 591,782 registered voters in the district. Of its 11 electoral divisions 8 had a voter turnout less than 25 percent.

The UNP gained a majority only in one (Kayts) of the 11 polling divisions, while the SLFP had a majority in 6 and the SLMP had majorities in 4.

Also notable was that there were no postal votes from Jaffna; and the number of rejected votes reached a record 6.6 percent, the highest for any district.



Central electorate of Ratnapura, where the more urbanised voter of the district is.

Kegalle District

Kegalle is another district where the economy is organised mainly around food crops and plantation agriculture. The total number of voters registered in this district in 1988 was 431,171. The graph for the Kegalle district shows that the percentage of votes polled for the UNP was less than 46 percent upto 1977. In the 1977 election the UNP gained over 55 percent of the total vote polled and slightly more in the next two elections. It may be observed that the voting pattern of this district has changed after 1977 as most electorates in this district had been dominated by

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

KEGALLE DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	%Turnout in 1988	1988 %Vote Majority	
					UNP	SLFP
Dedigama	56.7	55.0	+ 1.7	60.0	56.7	40.7
Galigamuwa	52.2	51.7	+ 0.5	66.4	52.2	44.2
Kegalle	48.1	54.3	- 6.2	65.5	48.1	48.2
Rambukkana	54.4	55.2	- 0.8	67.2	54.4	42.4
Mawanella	59.8	59.6	- 0.2	67.9	59.8	37.6
Aranayake	59.1	58.8	+ 0.3	67.3	59.1	38.1
Yatiantota	58.7	58.7	-	75.7	58.7	36.5
Ruwanwella	57.9	56.4	+ 1.5	73.4	57.9	36.1
Deraniyagala	59.4	56.3	+ 3.1	67.9	59.4	37.1
District (% Total Turnout)	57.11	57.01	+ .10	68.6	56.3	40.4

PERCENTAGE POLLED FOR UNP
(according to magnitude of '88 change)

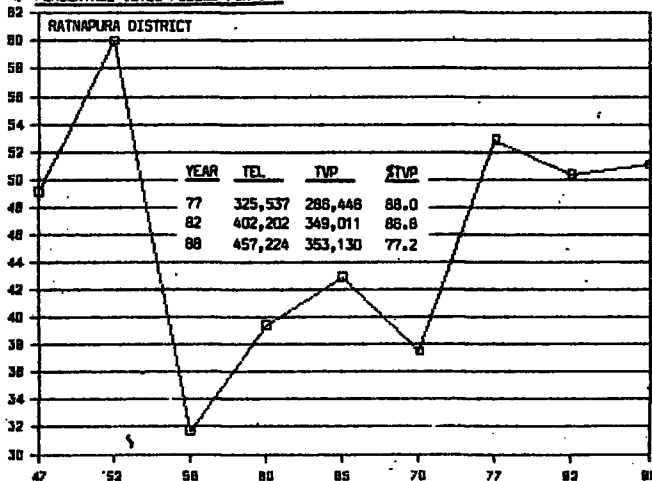
RATNAPURA DISTRICT

Electoral Division	1988	1982	'88 Change	%Turnout in 1988	1988 % Vote Majority	
					UNP	SLFP
Eheliyagoda	53.4	48.9	+ 4.5	74.3	53.4	41.0
Ratnapura	46.7	47.7	- 1.0	79.6	46.7	49.6
Pelmadulla	50.8	59.5	+ 0.3	82.5	50.8	46.3
Balangoda	51.5	50.2	+ 1.3	80.7	51.5	45.8
Rakwana	57.3	55.6	+ 1.7	79.5	57.3	40.3
Nivitigala	50.6	49.8	+ 0.8	84.9	50.6	46.5
Kalawana	49.6	48.4	+ 1.2	79.0	49.6	45.0
Kolonna	49.5	51.0	- 1.5	58.4	49.5	47.1
District (% Total Turnout)	51.75	50.97	+ .76	77.2	51.1	45.3

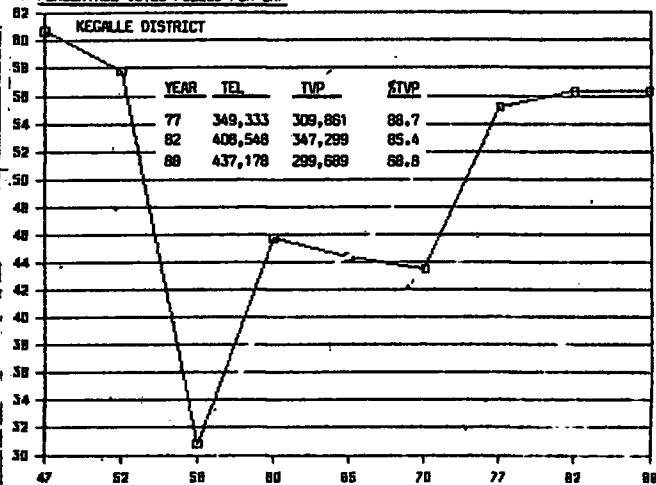
the SLFP for nearly 24 years since 1956.

In 1988 the total poll in the Kegalle district has been recorded at 299,689 or 68.6 percent of the total registered votes in the district. In this election the votes polled for UNP was 56.3 percent of the total votes polled and 40 percent for the SLFP; while of the total registered votes the UNP received 38.6 percent and the SLFP received 27.4 percent. Here too the UNP received a majority of votes in 8 of the 9 electoral divisions, the exception being the central electorate of Kegalle, where the more urbanised voter of the district is.

PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



PERCENTAGE VOTES POLLED FOR UNP



Some Features of Voter Turnout by Electorates

The tables in the following 3 pages give break-down of the main features of each of the 160 electorates with the emphasis on the minority (ethnic and religious) vote. The first two pages of tables focus on the electoral divisions in which the UNP received a majority of votes over the SLFP. There were exactly 100 such electorates. The third page shows, in tabulated form, the other 60 electorates where the SLFP received a majority of the votes over the UNP.

Columns 2 and 3 of these tables give the number of registered voters and the number of votes polled for each electorate; while Column 4 gives the percentage of votes polled at the election in 1988. Columns 5, 6 and 7 give a break-down by ethnic groupings of Muslim, Ceylon Tamil and Estate Tamil votes in each electorate; while Column 9 gives the total of these ethnic groups per electorate. Column 10 gives what percentage this total number are of the total votes polled for the UNP in each electorate. This data would to an extent indicate in which electorates the minority vote was strong, and how much this strength would have contributed to UNP majorities in an electorate.

There were also indications that the Christian vote was stronger in areas of UNP majorities and in order to test the validity of this contention we list the percentage strength of the Christian vote in each electorate. Here too in app-

lying this vote (in Column 9) to the party positions in Columns 11, 12 and 13 we could assess to what extent this vote contributed to UNP majorities.

Minority Vote

The UNP has been generally perceived as a conservative party. Traditionally major Christian communities, especially that of the Catholics, had also been identified as being conservative. Therefore it would be natural to expect a co-relation between areas of UNP victories and a high degree of Christian, specially Catholic, concentration.

If this vote tended to be conservative, then the vote of the urban workers would normally tend to be in the opposite direction. However, the major part of the organised labour in Sri Lanka is in the estate region. The major political party there is the Tamil Workers Congress and the major trade union movement is affiliated to this Congress. The Tamil Workers Congress had been a partner in the UNP government from 1977. At the presidential elections this party supported the UNP.

It is therefore natural also to expect, where Tamil estate votes were strong, that the UNP strength would be higher. In making such an analysis one has to bear in mind that the population percentage figures according to ethnicity in

the estate areas do not accurately represent the proportion of voters, because all estate workers do not have the right to vote. However, in the tables a rough co-relation of the strength of the estate vote is given by the population figure.

Another table shows in descending order of magnitude the percentage of votes obtained by the UNP for the different polling divisions (that is corresponding to electorates) across the country. The leading electoral divisions in this table can be compared with the percentage of Christian votes and Tamil estate votes shown in the previous table. The table indicates a very high co-relation between the two, indicating that the highest polling UNP regions were the ones with a high Indian Tamil vote and Christian, specially the Catholic vote. This has occurred in classical Tamil areas and strong Catholic areas such as Wennappuwa, Negombo etc. Again, it may be observed that the Muslim voters appear to have helped the UNP to win two of the three electoral divisions in the Batticaloa district.

The above position could be illustrated with a few examples from the electorates; by considering the 100 electorates where the UNP had a majority, particularly those electorates where voter turnout was above the national average poll. We observe towards the top of the table that in electorates like Batticaloa, Samanthurai, Colombo Central and Mannar where the Muslim vote was high the UNP received a high majority. Again in electorates such as Hanguranketha, Nuwara Eliya, Passara and Nawalapitiya the Estate Tamil vote was high and in these electorates too the UNP received large majorities. In electorates such as Paddiruppu, Kalkudah, Kalmunai and Colombo West the Ceylon Tamils vote was high and here too the UNP received large majorities. Also, in strong Christian areas such as Negombo, Wennappuwa, Wattala and Colombo North the UNP's majority was high. On the other hand, this same data in the table covering the 60 electorates where the SLFP got its majority shows that generally the minority vote was negligible, with a few exceptions in the North and East where voter turnout was low and the actual picture could have been distorted as a result.

THE SPOILT/REJECTED VOTE IN 3 RECENT ELECTIONS

DIST.-ELECTORATE NO. DISTRICT	1989 (DEC)		1982 (OCT)		1977 (JULY)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Colombo	11,295	1.51	7,998	1.0	6,568	1.0
2. Gampaha	10,054	1.38	5,992	0.9	1,667	0.3
3. Kalutara	8,537	1.77	5,290	1.2	2,498	0.6
4. Mahanuwara	6,167	1.43	4,548	0.9	2,609	0.5
5. Matale	1,110	1.71	1,414	0.9	639	0.5
6. Nuwara Eliya	3,320	1.61	2,048	1.2	3,158	1.3
7. Galle	4,461	1.57	5,198	1.2	1,058	0.3
8. Ratara	2,003	1.68	3,091	0.9	845	0.3
9. Hambantota	3,855	4.44	1,804	0.9	525	0.3
10. Jaffna	8,517	6.62	10,610	4.6	1,393	0.4
11. Vavuni	708	3.60	2,447	3.3	240	0.3
12. Batticaloa	5,163	4.09	2,879	2.3	2,078	1.2
13. Digamachulla	3,802	1.96	2,101	1.3	1,258	0.7
14. Trincomalee	1,328	1.62	1,795	1.9	346	0.4
15. Kurunegala	4,261	1.09	5,431	0.9	1,748	0.3
16. Puttalam	2,985	1.30	1,995	0.9	498	0.3
17. Anuradhapura	2,207	1.64	2,294	1.0	656	0.4
18. Polonnaruwa	1,157	2.38	1,084	1.0	214	0.3
19. Badulla	3,276	2.38	2,982	1.2	1,100	0.6
20. Moneragala	851	3.09	1,553	1.5	321	0.4
21. Ratnapura	4,113	1.16	3,407	1.0	789	0.3
22. Kegalle	4,277	1.43	4,537	1.3	837	0.3
TOTAL	91,445	1.76	80,970	1.2	32,526	0.5

TEL = Total Voters in Electorate TVP = Total Vote Polled M = Muslim % TEL I/T = Indian Tamil % TEL C/T = Ceylon Tamil % TEL C = Christian % TEL			MINORITY COMPOSITION OF UNP VOTE AT 1988 ELECTION (Arranged in descending order of UNP majority by electorate)									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ELECTORATE	TEL	TVP	TVP %	M	I/T	C/T	C	M+T	M+T as a % OF UNP VP	UNP %	SLFP %	% UNP MAJORITY
Uva-P'gana	38,520	4,393	11.4	2.00	22.85	2.72	1.21	27.57	326.3	74.1	21.8	52.3
Wellawaya	67,011	8,486	12.7	0.98	1.80	1.96	0.32	4.74	53.9	69.5	25.8	43.7
Mannar	47,060	7,115	15.1	29.75	20.63	49.75	40.57	100.13	1047.1	63.2	20.1	43.1
Batticaloa	99,717	55,197	55.4	34.24	4.27	56.86	11.48	95.37	317.3	54.3	15.5	38.8
N'Eliya-Maskeliya	101,765	78,923	77.6	2.42	71.20	7.00	6.78	80.62	155.8	66.7	28.1	38.6
Mahiyangana	46,724	25,606	54.8	2.18	0.40	0.44	0.20	3.02	8.3	66.4	30.0	36.4
Colo. Central	133,920	90,971	67.9	39.55	8.64	15.72	10.77	63.91	145.6	64.6	28.7	36.0
Welinada	41,846	11,535	27.6	12.05	18.96	2.22	1.28	33.23	185.6	64.9	31.0	33.9
Paddiruppu	56,447	36,608	64.9	0.74	1.77	91.66	2.65	94.17	327.6	44.3	11.0	33.3
Colombo North	54,149	36,039	66.6	12.59	8.29	23.78	36.41	44.66	108.0	62.1	29.8	32.3
Passara	31,509	11,229	35.6	2.62	53.38	4.31	3.91	60.31	269.3	62.8	31.2	31.7
Puttalam	57,106	38,422	67.3	39.52	2.93	19.89	33.80	62.34	146.1	63.4	32.8	30.6
Colo. West	37,220	23,865	64.1	13.99	5.93	27.56	21.51	47.48	120.5	61.5	31.3	30.2
Kalmunai	44,077	30,793	69.9	69.63	0.84	28.06	3.31	98.53	231.7	60.9	31.5	29.4
Medirigiriya	48,728	10,698	22.0	9.32	0.97	0.31	0.62	10.60	78.4	61.6	32.7	28.9
Natale	48,841	20,331	41.6	11.79	14.08	7.59	3.46	33.46	130.3	61.7	33.9	27.8
Negombo	68,250	47,924	70.2	9.50	1.95	7.56	72.57	19.01	44.7	60.5	34.6	25.9
Rattota	52,472	17,596	33.5	7.26	28.53	3.43	2.72	39.22	194.2	60.2	36.3	24.0
Mullaitivu	41,624	6,185	14.9	5.59	7.12	79.94	17.42	92.65	1244.8	50.1	26.5	23.6
Hanguranketha	44,596	37,705	84.5	0.41	25.47	1.90	1.10	27.78	54.5	60.3	37.2	23.2
Bibile	43,093	15,476	35.9	4.23	1.88	0.87	0.48	6.98	33.1	58.7	35.6	23.2
Mahanuwara	28,958	19,174	66.2	14.16	4.64	12.63	9.84	31.43	80.5	58.9	36.3	22.6
Deraniyagala	43,740	29,690	67.9	0.74	25.58	3.81	2.18	30.13	74.7	59.4	37.1	22.4
Hawanella	55,270	37,504	67.9	19.69	2.09	0.64	0.38	22.42	55.3	59.8	37.6	22.2
Yatiantota	48,662	36,835	75.7	1.79	22.70	5.02	2.32	29.51	66.4	58.7	36.5	22.2
Udunuwara	50,223	27,867	55.5	18.60	3.56	0.94	1.07	23.10	70.0	59.5	37.4	22.1
Ruwanwella	50,045	36,747	73.4	5.11	10.46	2.36	2.13	17.93	42.2	57.9	36.1	21.9
Aranayake	37,459	25,203	67.3	3.88	5.20	0.80	0.76	9.88	24.8	59.1	38.1	21.0
Badulla	31,924	8,777	27.5	7.67	23.72	8.03	3.73	39.42	253.3	56.6	36.0	20.6
Kalkudah	59,421	33,878	57.0	29.27	3.06	64.09	3.67	96.42	374.7	45.1	24.7	20.4
Nawalapitiya	54,010	41,365	76.6	7.55	38.77	6.23	4.55	52.55	117.3	58.5	38.9	19.6
Akuressa	67,076	9,440	14.1	1.38	2.33	0.35	0.31	4.06	50.9	56.6	37.1	19.5
Haliela	35,367	17,599	49.8	2.07	48.67	3.09	1.40	53.83	190.3	56.8	37.4	19.4
Hiriyala	59,781	20,997	35.1	4.11	1.33	2.39	1.28	7.83	38.5	57.9	39.0	18.9
Vavuniya	54,039	6,377	11.8	8.50	19.45	51.49	7.47	79.44	1439.6	46.8	28.5	18.2
Balapitiya	41,220	9,084	22.0	0.23	0.14	0.07	1.87	0.44	3.6	56.1	38.3	17.8
Wattala	68,477	49,873	72.8	4.31	2.33	10.18	60.73	16.82	41.2	56.0	38.8	17.2
Rakwana	58,565	46,533	79.5	1.64	18.56	1.29	2.18	21.49	47.2	57.3	40.3	17.0
Hewaheta	42,888	34,374	80.1	7.35	23.25	3.30	1.69	33.90	73.8	57.3	40.8	16.5
Wennappuwa	66,244	50,318	76.0	0.55	1.18	2.02	63.41	3.75	8.7	56.5	40.2	16.2
Dedigama	61,669	36,980	60.0	3.65	3.97	0.99	0.96	8.61	25.3	56.7	40.7	16.0
Mutur	48,570	32,631	67.2	66.11	2.16	28.19	2.35	96.46	287.7	49.9	34.0	15.9
Patha Dumbura	48,741	37,157	76.2	12.10	25.97	3.33	2.57	41.40	96.5	56.3	40.6	15.6
Saananthurai	44,790	34,084	76.1	74.81	1.68	21.71	3.39	98.20	246.2	52.4	38.1	14.3
Dambulla	72,515	7,710	10.6	6.09	3.79	1.46	3.69	11.34	192.3	55.5	41.4	14.0
Dambadeniya	63,877	38,794	60.7	2.23	0.51	0.81	0.89	3.55	10.5	55.5	42.0	13.5
Kotmale	39,194	32,044	81.8	3.67	53.56	2.32	3.75	59.55	131.0	55.6	42.3	13.3
Ganpola	55,425	44,711	80.7	11.24	33.23	5.82	2.90	50.29	112.4	55.5	42.4	13.0
Dodangaslanda	44,229	20,546	46.5	7.05	4.87	1.89	0.85	13.81	55.1	53.9	40.9	13.0
Haputale	30,645	19,242	62.8	3.06	53.33	4.05	3.55	60.44	177.7	54.2	41.6	12.6

TEL = Total Voters in Electorate
 TVP = Total Vote Polled
 M = Muslim % TEL
 I/T = Indian Tamil % TEL
 C/T = Ceylon Tamil % TEL
 C = Christian % TEL

MINORITY COMPOSITION OF UNP VOTE AT 1988 ELECTION

(Arranged in descending order of UNP majority by electorate)

1 ELECTORATE	2 TEL	3 TVP	4 TVP %	5 M	6 I/T	7 C/T	8 C	9 M+T	10 M+T as a % OF UNP VP	11 UNP %	12 SLFP %	13 % UNP MAJORITY
Eheliyagoda	61,203	45,498	74.3	2.35	7.39	2.15	1.36	11.89	30.0	53.4	41.0	12.4
Honeragala	51,823	3,373	6.5	1.91	15.33	2.45	0.86	19.69	572.9	52.8	40.5	12.3
Raabukkana	43,847	29,469	67.2	3.31	1.41	0.43	5.80	5.15	14.1	54.4	42.4	12.0
Bandarawela	42,467	26,866	63.3	3.20	36.54	4.15	3.87	43.89	131.3	52.8	41.6	11.2
Kundasale	48,841	28,189	57.7	4.37	9.25	2.99	1.88	16.61	53.3	54.0	43.0	11.0
Nikaweratiya	56,592	22,226	39.3	5.14	0.92	1.19	2.20	7.25	34.2	53.9	42.9	11.0
Malapane	44,218	33,552	75.9	0.90	38.19	3.84	1.97	42.93	104.9	53.9	43.3	10.7
Borella	47,917	31,736	66.2	10.88	4.98	12.39	12.44	28.25	82.3	51.8	41.2	10.6
Kayts	49,481	12,991	26.3	0.81	2.05	94.57	20.08	97.43	1041.7	35.6	25.1	10.5
Trincomalee	56,026	22,822	40.7	18.73	5.97	51.31	14.18	76.01	525.0	35.5	25.3	10.3
Colo.East	51,225	32,921	64.3	5.93	4.75	16.67	12.70	27.35	65.0	50.1	40.9	9.1
Galagedera	39,671	28,213	71.1	4.75	1.88	1.21	0.44	7.84	20.6	53.4	44.5	8.9
Harispattuna	94,109	57,983	61.6	19.34	5.83	0.75	0.80	25.92	79.4	53.0	44.1	8.8
Polonnaruwa	64,884	32,784	50.5	10.96	1.12	7.82	1.57	19.90	75.2	52.4	43.7	8.7
Nattandiya	57,526	42,018	73.0	4.77	1.70	1.53	46.19	8.00	20.7	52.8	44.2	8.6
Chilaw	70,574	52,896	75.0	5.01	2.30	5.32	35.00	12.63	31.9	52.8	44.4	8.4
Galiganuwa	48,269	32,042	66.4	1.40	6.20	0.57	0.94	8.17	23.6	52.2	44.2	8.0
Ja-Ela	81,566	58,196	71.3	2.00	1.19	3.35	59.78	6.54	17.8	51.6	43.6	8.0
Beliatta	62,773	13,343	21.3	0.21	0.02	0.08	0.04	0.31	2.9	50.9	43.0	7.9
Nawatagana	52,815	38,831	73.5	7.26	4.56	1.38	3.49	13.20	34.1	52.6	45.0	7.6
Devinuwara	62,490	9,771	15.6	3.09	0.08	0.19	0.05	3.36	41.4	51.9	45.1	6.9
Kurunegala	53,193	26,290	49.4	8.01	2.25	2.83	6.13	13.09	51.2	51.7	45.1	6.6
Hiyaluwa	30,460	12,471	40.9	0.99	20.34	0.66	0.54	21.99	104.7	51.3	44.7	6.6
Hinneriya	50,128	4,725	9.4	0.80	0.15	1.01	1.90	1.96	40.4	51.5	44.9	6.6
Senkadagala	47,226	32,744	69.3	8.03	8.50	8.10	8.70	24.63	69.1	51.4	44.9	6.5
Katana	76,452	56,997	74.6	1.85	0.94	8.04	46.50	10.83	28.8	50.5	44.5	5.9
Anaaduwa	67,553	41,182	61.0	4.08	0.81	4.38	15.53	9.27	29.5	51.6	45.8	5.8
Balangoda	59,661	48,163	80.7	2.43	24.51	2.58	3.80	29.52	71.0	51.5	45.8	5.7
Katugampola	61,644	29,706	48.2	3.36	1.09	0.90	6.60	5.35	21.8	51.0	46.0	5.0
Galle	56,083	38,161	68.0	22.69	1.02	1.14	2.56	24.85	72.5	50.4	45.7	4.7
Dehiwela	52,969	37,152	70.1	4.55	1.54	8.24	16.88	14.33	41.4	49.3	44.7	4.6
Kaluwana	36,544	28,859	79.0	0.44	14.45	0.84	0.60	15.73	40.2	49.6	45.0	4.6
Pelmadulla	43,820	36,140	82.5	0.62	31.13	2.50	1.90	34.25	81.7	50.8	46.3	4.6
Nivitigala	54,001	45,839	84.9	1.35	26.70	1.05	2.27	29.10	67.7	50.6	46.5	4.1
Hanipay	58,320	13,477	23.1	1.90	2.12	95.02	8.87	99.04	1441.8	29.7	25.9	3.8
Noratuwa	96,841	65,665	67.8	1.33	0.62	1.65	31.92	3.60	11.1	48.0	45.2	2.9
Teldeniya	27,665	19,915	72.0	3.85	27.03	2.55	1.76	33.43	93.3	49.8	47.3	2.5
Kolonna	73,382	42,832	58.4	0.26	6.24	0.65	0.77	7.15	24.7	49.5	47.1	2.4
Anpara	94,068	68,836	73.2	0.79	0.65	3.04	1.77	4.48	12.3	49.8	47.8	1.9
Mulkirigala	66,740	12,737	19.1	0.60	0.20	2.09	0.04	2.89	32.4	46.7	45.1	1.7
Tangalle	70,422	17,894	25.4	1.08	0.06	0.50	0.34	1.64	13.9	46.3	44.9	1.5
Awissawella	68,892	49,782	72.3	1.19	7.37	2.68	7.44	11.24	31.9	48.8	47.6	1.1
Kuliyapitiya	62,275	36,556	58.7	7.87	1.25	1.26	4.60	10.38	35.8	49.4	48.3	1.1
Tissamaharawa	95,245	42,544	44.7	7.07	0.29	1.14	0.35	8.50	48.4	47.1	46.2	0.8
Laggala	41,110	18,377	44.7	0.61	15.38	1.96	0.57	17.95	81.5	49.3	48.5	0.8
Biyagama	66,166	49,766	75.2	5.56	0.60	0.62	5.96	6.78	18.7	48.1	47.5	0.6
Bulathsinhala	58,030	38,819	66.9	1.42	13.82	2.57	1.53	17.81	55.3	48.2	47.6	0.6
Kalutara	75,912	48,696	64.1	6.99	1.37	1.13	7.23	9.49	31.9	46.3	46.1	0.3
Ratmalana	55,248	39,084	70.7	3.31	1.28	6.05	15.36	10.64	31.9	47.1	46.8	0.3
Hijintale	33,651	8,394	24.9	9.02	0.94	1.63	1.66	11.59	96.9	48.0	47.9	0.1

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
ELECTORATE	TEL	TVP	TVP %	M	I/T	C/T	C	M+T	M+T as a % of UNP VP	UNP %	SLFP %	% SLFP MAJORITY	
Kamburupitiya	63,590	4,739	7.5	0.66	0.01	1.00	0.05	1.61	81.5	26.5	68.1	41.6	
Horawapotana	42,773	11,417	26.7	12.77	0.23	1.86	0.56	14.86	158.0	35.2	61.6	26.4	
Kopay	56,456	13,384	23.7	0.95	2.54	96.67	6.98	100.16	2268.0	18.6	43.6	25.0	
Kalawewa	65,945	24,560	37.2	6.16	0.57	1.30	1.12	8.03	59.2	36.4	59.6	23.2	
Attanagalle	79,172	60,210	76.0	7.39	0.62	0.84	1.58	8.85	31.5	36.9	59.4	22.4	
Habaraduma	61,369	30,904	50.4	0.10	0.79	0.21	0.31	1.10	5.9	37.2	59.3	22.1	
Udupiddy	52,084	8,485	16.3	0.54	2.02	93.53	3.70	96.09	3011.3	19.6	40.1	20.5	
Heligama	70,591	27,225	38.6	7.24	0.33	0.22	1.50	7.79	53.1	38.0	58.0	20.0	
Natara	64,438	30,919	48.0	4.28	0.40	0.58	0.95	5.26	29.2	37.5	57.3	19.8	
Maharagama	83,598	55,205	66.0	1.64	0.48	1.42	4.66	3.54	14.2	37.6	56.9	19.2	
Medawachchiya	47,805	21,739	45.5	3.79	1.32	1.67	1.15	6.78	38.7	38.5	57.7	19.2	
Hallur	61,936	8,768	14.2	8.50	19.45	51.49	7.47	79.44	2460.1	22.8	38.3	15.5	
Ben/Epitiya	65,597	21,626	33.0	1.11	3.10	0.45	0.69	4.66	34.8	40.6	55.8	15.4	
Kesbawa	89,277	63,840	71.5	0.48	0.31	0.90	3.18	1.69	-5.9	40.0	55.1	15.1	
Akweenana	57,724	40,774	70.6	2.04	0.92	0.33	0.68	3.29	11.3	41.4	56.1	14.7	
Karandeniya	47,887	10,253	21.4	0.44	2.68	0.26	0.59	3.38	38.4	41.1	55.7	14.6	
Kaduwa	87,693	56,386	64.3	0.87	0.92	1.35	5.70	3.14	12.0	40.6	54.3	13.7	
Baddegama	65,351	49,163	75.2	0.09	7.28	1.05	1.18	8.42	27.0	41.4	55.0	13.6	
Gampaha	85,424	62,848	73.6	0.64	0.28	0.44	12.05	1.36	4.5	41.3	54.6	13.4	
Honagama	86,987	50,789	58.4	0.45	0.30	0.79	1.67	1.54	6.4	41.0	54.3	13.3	
Point Pedro	40,175	10,223	25.4	1.26	2.41	93.47	11.43	97.14	1489.5	25.6	38.4	12.7	
Chavakachcheri	51,595	11,062	21.4	1.36	1.78	95.57	3.62	98.71	2214.3	20.8	33.5	12.7	
Vaddukkoddai	58,522	18,453	31.5	0.04	0.75	95.71	6.82	96.50	1310.6	23.4	35.2	11.8	
Kekirawa	41,013	13,206	32.2	9.28	1.71	1.92	0.65	12.91	93.2	43.0	54.5	11.5	
Panadura	78,330	55,414	70.7	10.76	1.09	0.84	5.72	12.59	43.8	41.0	51.2	10.2	
Kotte	67,194	44,167	65.7	3.16	1.72	5.11	11.58	10.01	35.7	42.6	51.2	8.5	
Donpe	72,945	58,471	80.2	1.13	0.06	0.21	3.15	1.40	3.9	44.7	52.7	8.0	
Kankesanthurai	60,386	9,772	16.2	0.76	1.04	95.98	15.70	97.78	2497.7	24.2	31.9	7.7	
Mahara	79,936	59,417	74.3	2.74	0.30	0.86	10.37	3.90	12.0	43.8	51.0	7.2	
Ratgama	60,877	26,328	43.2	0.01	0.19	0.17	0.21	0.37	2.0	43.8	50.5	6.7	
Polgahawela	51,363	30,690	59.8	4.71	1.73	1.85	1.95	8.29	30.6	45.3	51.7	6.4	
Hakmana	65,407	2,913	4.5	0.81	2.46	0.08	0.12	3.35	165.1	45.6	51.3	5.7	
Anuradha East	50,340	22,814	45.3	6.12	1.08	4.06	2.85	9.26	45.2	45.2	50.5	5.3	
Hatugama	70,457	39,377	55.9	1.82	13.73	2.12	1.70	17.67	69.5	45.5	50.6	5.1	
Yapahuwa	66,736	16,200	24.3	1.90	1.00	0.90	0.86	3.80	35.0	44.8	49.1	4.3	
Yatinuwara	52,182	31,054	59.5	6.70	4.86	1.34	1.36	12.90	46.5	46.6	50.6	3.9	
Galgana	60,948	27,733	45.5	4.00	0.92	1.14	0.95	6.06	29.1	45.7	49.4	3.7	
Deniyaya	58,342	22,038	37.8	0.19	16.99	0.99	1.86	18.06	103.7	46.1	49.7	3.6	
Pottuvil	82,833	59,370	71.7	50.57	3.19	32.55	2.66	86.31	283.0	42.6	45.9	3.3	
Beruwela	73,408	44,101	60.1	26.20	0.53	0.61	10.94	27.34	97.8	46.5	49.7	3.2	
Kelaniya	65,961	47,662	72.3	7.12	3.13	5.26	13.89	15.51	47.8	44.9	48.0	3.1	
Ratnapura	70,048	55,755	79.6	3.01	8.93	2.31	2.31	14.25	38.3	46.7	49.6	2.9	
Kilinochchi	53,604	10,831	20.2	1.87	16.09	80.11	9.91	98.07	1386.0	35.0	37.5	2.5	
Ambalangoda	49,885	7,110	14.3	0.09	0.13	0.35	0.31	0.57	8.7	46.2	48.4	2.3	
Kolonnawa	75,650	52,205	69.0	5.18	3.42	4.20	5.78	12.80	40.5	45.8	48.0	2.2	
Anuradha West	52,547	31,234	59.4	6.48	1.13	3.09	2.34	10.70	37.8	47.6	49.6	2.0	
Uda Dumbara	37,342	25,208	67.5	0.92	3.75	1.56	0.23	6.23	19.3	47.7	49.5	1.7	
Serunila	47,693	26,245	55.0	13.66	1.04	18.77	1.41	33.47	129.6	46.9	48.5	1.6	
Pandunasnuwara	48,087	24,567	51.1	5.44	0.51	0.31	3.27	6.26	25.6	47.8	49.4	1.6	
Kirigama	78,953	56,481	71.5	2.89	0.38	0.38	0.92	3.65	10.7	47.5	49.1	1.6	
Bandaragama	73,585	56,095	76.2	4.98	0.62	0.13	0.40	5.73	16.2	46.5	47.9	1.5	
Bingiriya	55,318	38,961	70.4	4.67	0.63	1.16	13.86	6.46	18.9	48.6	49.5	0.9	
Hinduma	65,310	45,915	70.3	0.13	4.12	0.63	0.93	4.88	14.5	48.0	48.7	0.7	
Jaffna	49,229	11,116	22.6	12.98	5.40	80.24	42.84	98.62	1397.1	31.3	31.9	0.6	
Ninuwangoda	78,056	61,404	78.7	2.24	0.38	0.18	6.53	2.80	7.4	47.9	48.5	0.5	
Norana	69,405	49,955	72.0	0.13	5.62	0.67	0.97	6.42	18.7	47.8	48.3	0.5	
Agalawatta	70,991	31,836	44.8	0.47	6.57	0.63	0.75	7.67	35.9	47.6	47.9	0.3	
Wariyapola	48,131	20,786	43.2	1.30	0.22	0.48	1.47	2.00	9.5	48.8	49.1	0.3	
Kegalle	48,217	31,561	65.5	1.42	4.45	1.27	3.25	7.14	22.7	48.1	48.2	0.2	
Divulapitiya	68,377	53,446	78.2	0.12	0.28	0.64	14.01	1.04	2.8	48.3	48.4	0.1	

General Election 1989 Outcome Extrapolated from the 1988

Presidential Election Results

The forthcoming General Election is expected to produce a total of 174 elected members from the 22 districts. Each of these 22 districts will also have one bonus seat, awarded to the party that receives a majority of the votes polled in that district. Members of the 174 elected seats and the 22 bonus seats will take up a total of 196 seats. (See Table 1). The balance 29 seats will be filled in on the basis of National Proportional Representation. (See Note).

Table 2 on page 23 makes a projection based on the results of the 1988 Presidential Election considering the total number of votes received by each of the three parties in the 22 districts. The results of the Presidential elections are extrapolated and the result shown of a computerised projection.

In term of this projection, including the results of the North and East, the UNP is expected to receive a total of 120 seats, the SLFP 98 seats and the SLMP 7 seats. However, if the results of the Northern and Eastern Provinces are not relied on and these areas are eliminated the number of seats including that of their bonus and National PR seats will come down by 28 and only the balance 197 in the other Provinces

FEATURES OF THE PR SYSTEM

The General Election of February 1989 will be the first occasion on which the PR system will be tried out at a Parliamentary General Election in Sri Lanka. Over the 40 years since 1947 all 8 General Elections were strictly on the election of MP's to specific constituencies. This is now changed with the PR system. (See Table 1).

The PR system was introduced with the new Constitution of Sri Lanka in 1978 and since then Local Government Elections in the early 1980's and the Provincial Elections in 1988 were held in accordance with this system. The changing of electorates to an electoral district comprising several electorates is one important feature of this system. Further, the number of members to be elected in one district has also changed under this electoral system. For example, in the 1977 election the Gampaha

could be considered. Therefore, minus the North and East, the projected results show the UNP receiving 108 seats and the SLFP 89 seats.

In extrapolating the SLMP votes of the 1988 Election for the February General Election it appears that the SLMP may not get any seats, because they have gained over the cut off point of 5 percent in only the 5 districts of the North and East. In all other districts the votes polled for the SLMP amounted to less than 5 percent of the total valid votes polled.

In interpreting these projections we should once again caution about basing estimates on figures from a low poll in several districts. It should also be noted that in the Presidential Election there were 3 candidates contesting, representing 3 political groups while at the general election there are 9 parties and also independents contesting. The validity of the projection could therefore be contested in the light of this situation. Yet, we believe that the projection can help readers to be sensitive to some of the possibilities and also illustrates the working of the PR system which is being tried out for the first time in a Parliamentary General Election.

district was represented by 13 members whereas now it will be represented by 17 members. The awarding of a bonus seat to the party that gains a majority in each district and electing of members nominated on national PR lists are new features of the PR system. The number of members to be elected to the new Parliament will also be increased from 168 to 225.

The other important feature of this PR system is that it ensures the inability of a Member of Parliament to cross over from one party to another. In the event a Member disagrees with his party, his only course of action would be to hand in his resignation from his seat. In such a situation the next person, in order of priority, who was on the list will take the place of the member who resigned. This condition ensures that the strength of the parties represented in Parliament will not be reduced.

The Commissioner of Elections issued a Gazette Order on December 19, 1988 specifying that the numbers set out in Column 11 of this table are the number of members which each electoral district, specified in Column 1, is entitled to return in accordance with Articles 97 and 98 of Sri Lanka's constitution. (These include both the elected and bonus seats, but not the 29 National PR seats.)

TABLE 1

Column 1 Name of Electoral District	Column 11 Number of Members which such Electoral District is entitled to return
1. Colombo	20
2. Gampaha	17
3. Kalutara	11
4. Mahanuwara	12
5. Matale	5
6. Nuwara Eliya	6
7. Galle	11
8. Matara	9
9. Hambantota	7
10. Jaffna	11
11. Vanni	5
12. Batticaloa	5
13. Digamadulla	6
14. Trincomalee	4
15. Kurunegala	15
16. Puttalam	7
17. Anuradhapura	8
18. Polonnaruwa	5
19. Badulla	8
20. Moneragala	5
21. Ratnapura	10
22. Kegalle	9
TOTAL	196

According to the previous system the voter had only one choice when casting his vote, which was for the representative of a party and a specific constituency. But under the PR system, he can vote for the party first and then give his preference to any three nominees of that party, from a list of members nominated by the party. In these circumstances the voter has the right to reject the member of his own constituency and still vote for that particular party and three members of that party who had earlier represented other constituencies in the district. If he has no preference for any of the candidates of that party in the district and he still wishes to vote for the party he could do so, by indicating a vote for the party and not expressing a preference for any candidates.

**PROJECTION OF POSSIBLE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS UNDER PR
BASED ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1988**

DIS	ELECT SEATS	BONUS SEATS	TVP.V.	UNP VOTES	UNP%	ELECT. UNP SEATS	BONUS SEATS UNP SLFP	SLFP VOTES	ELECT. SLFP SEATS	SLMP VOTES	ELECT. SLMP SEATS	%	RELAVANT NUMBER	RESULT NUMBER
CL	19	1	735315	361337	49.1	10	1	339958	9	34020	0	36765.8	701295	35910
GM	16	1	728112	350092	48.1	8	1	355553	8	22467	0	36405.6	705645	44103
KL	10	1	362646	169510	46.7	5	1	179761	5	13375	0	18132.3	349271	34927
KD	11	1	426577	234124	54.9	6	1	186187	5	6266	0	21328.9	420311	38210
ML	4	1	63967	37007	57.9	2	1	25825	2	1135	0	3198.4	62832	15708
NE	5	1	180413	112135	62.2	3	1	64907	2	3371	0	9020.7	177042	35408
GL	10	1	279944	124912	44.6	5	1	148615	5	6417	0	13997.2	273527	27353
MT	8	1	105745	45399	42.9	4	1	57424	4	2922	0	5287.3	102823	12853
HM	6	1	83019	41198	49.6	3	1	39343	3	2478	0	4151.0	80541	13424
JF	10	1	120045	33650	28.0	3	1	44197	4	42198	3	6002.3	120045	12005
WN	4	1	18969	10580	55.8	2	1	4889	1	3500	1	948.5	18969	4742
BT	4	1	120918	61657	51.0	2	1	21018	1	38243	1	6045.9	120918	30230
DG	5	1	189909	96420	50.8	3	1	83137	2	10352	0	9495.5	189909	37982
TR	3	1	80623	36841	45.7	1	1	29679	1	14103	1	4031.2	80623	26874
KU	14	1	388602	198662	51.1	7	1	182223	7	7717	0	19430.1	380885	27206
PT	6	1	224255	125339	55.9	3	1	94823	3	4093	0	11212.8	220162	36694
AN	7	1	132634	56951	42.9	3	1	73154	4	2529	0	6631.7	130105	18586
PL	4	1	47522	26392	55.5	2	1	20173	2	957	0	2376.1	46565	11641
BD	7	1	134442	80779	60.1	4	1	50223	3	3440	0	6722.1	131002	18715
MN	4	1	26692	16872	63.2	3	1	9123	1	697	0	1334.6	25995	6499
RT	9	1	349017	180622	51.8	5	1	159879	4	8516	0	17450.9	340501	37833
KG	8	1	295412	168720	57.1	5	1	119769	3	6923	0	14770.6	288489	36061
GTOT	174	22	196	5094778	2569199	50.4	89	16	6 2289860	79	235719	6		

	UNP	SLFP	SLMP
SEATS ELECTED	89	79	6
ADD BONUS SEATS	16	6	0
ADD NATIONAL P.R.	15	13	1
TOTAL SEATS WITH NORTH & EAST	120	98	7

NORTH & EAST

Minus Elected Seats for N & E	- 8	- 7	- 6
Minus Bonus Seats for N & E	- 3	- 1	- 1
Minus National PR Seats for N & E	- 1	- 1	- 0
TOTAL SEATS WITHOUT NORTH & EAST	108	89	0

ELECTED	21
BONUS	4
N/PR	3
TOTAL	28

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

According to the present Constitution, at any election of Members of Parliament the total number of members which an electoral district is entitled to return will be the number specified by the Commissioner of Elections.

Elected 174

Every elector at an election of Members of Parliament will in addition to his vote be entitled to indicate his preferences for not more than three candidates nominated by the same recognised political party or group.

Any such political party, or group of persons contesting as independent candidates, may for the purpose of any election of Members of Parliament for any electoral district, submit one nomination paper setting out the names of such numbers of candidates as is equivalent to the number of members to be elected for that electoral district, plus three additional names. The recognised party or group which polls the highest number of votes in any electoral district will be entitled to have declared elected the candidates nominated by it, who have secured the highest number of preferences.

Any party or group polling less than 5 per cent or one twentieth of the total votes polled

at any election in any electoral district will be disqualified from having any candidates being elected for that district.

The votes polled by the disqualified parties or groups, if any, will be deducted from the total votes polled at the election in that electoral district and the number of votes that remain will be referred to as the "relevant number" of votes.

The relevant number of votes will be divided by the number of members to be elected for that electoral district reduced by one. The fraction is referred to as the "resulting number."

The number of votes polled by each party or group that has qualified by getting more than 5 percent, beginning with the party or group which polled the highest number of votes, will then be divided by the resulting number and the returning officer will declare elected candidates from each such party or group, in accordance with the preferences secured by each of the candidates nominated by such party or group list. The candidate securing the highest number of preferences will be declared elected first, the next highest number of preferences assigned to the next candidate and so on. There should be votes remaining after such divisions. After electing members in this way there are one or more members yet to be elected, such members will be declared from the party or the group having the highest remainder of votes. Such votes should go to the next unelected person with the highest preferential votes, until the full prescribed number is completely elected.

If an equality is found to exist between the votes polled by two parties or groups, in such a case the seat shall be deemed to be given by lot.

Bonus 22

After the 174 members have been elected according to this system the 22 bonus seats will be given to each party which received the majority of votes in each of the 22 districts, on the basis of one per electoral district.

National PR 29

After these 196 members have been declared elected as Members of Parliament, the Commissioner of Elections will apportion the balance 29 National P.R. 29 seats among the recognised political parties and independent groups that contested the General Elections. These seats will be divided proportionately according to the total number of valid votes polled island-wide. These 29 members will be from the list the particular political group nominated as its National List. The Commissioner of Elections will notify the Secretary of the party or group entitled to nominate members from its list and the Secretary will submit names of persons qualified to such seats. Accordingly the election of 225 members to the Parliament will be completed.

Analysis of the election results and computer processing of data was done by W.G.S. Waidyanatha and S.S.A.L. Siriwardena of the Bank's Research Department.