Lifetime Migrants and Natives in the Rural Dry Zone and Urban Colombo*

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Abstract

This paper compares the two dominant streams of lifetime migrants in the rural dry zone and urban Colombo along with their native counterparts using the 1971 sample census data of Sri Lanka.

Comparison of the two migrant streams reveal that Colombo attracted more males while the dry zone received relatively more females although both streams displayed a predominance of masculinity, more so in Colombo. Dependency was higher in the dry zone as was the level of selectivity of single males. Female migrants are more married than males in both streams. Sri Lanka Tamils are the only ethnic group selected positively to both destinations while the Kandyan Sinhalese are over-represented in the dry zone; Buddhists are attracted more to the latter while the Christians are selected to Colombo. Migrants to Colombo, as might be expected, are better educated when controlled for age but the more interesting observation is that the females are better educated than males in the 15-19 age group at both destinations, a drastic reversal of what prevailed 30 years ago. Male migrants are more employed and less unemployed in the dry zone but a greater proportion of the older males have to keep-on working while a larger proportion of them in Colombo enjoy formalized social security benefits; females are relatively less employed and a higher proportion in the dry zone are engaged in home duties.

When natives and migrants of each destination are contrasted, children are greatly under-represented among the migrants resulting in lower dependency ratios in both Colombo and the dry zone. Among both the males and females the migrants are consistently better educated than the natives in each destination when age is held constant. Male migrants were less employed in Colombo than the natives while the reverse is true of the dry zone. Within each age group, greater proportions of female natives are engaged in home duties than migrants at both destinations. The native females marry earlier and exhibit higher fertility at both destinations.

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Introduction

The focus of this paper is to establish the basic differentials and similarities between two streams of lifetime migrants in Sri Lanka and their non-migrant (native) counterparts using the 1971 sample census tapes as its data base. The country offers a somewhat unique opportunity of observing two dominant streams of migrants, one to urban Colombo and the other to the rural dry zone consisting of eight districts which have been the selected locations for the government's investment in peasant agriculture.

Although district of birth and district of enumeration data were collected at the national censuses since the turn of the century, district-wise streams and volumes of migrants have only been available since 1946. However, until recently only a passing mention has been made of these two dominant streams in Sri Lanka (see, for instance, E.S.C.A.P., 1975; Abeysekera, 1979; 1981) as is revealed by a recent bibliography on the demographic literature on Sri Lanka (Siddhisena, 1981). This is partially a function of not going beyond a district-wise classification of migrant streams and exercising the researcher's judgement in a regional classification reflecting the historical conditions and the socio-economic development policies of the country. Partially responsible is also the non-availability of census data on magnetic tape until 1971. While it is readily granted that the interested researchers as well as many an enlightened layman were aware of migration to both urban Colombo and the rural dry zone, this paper attempts to go a step beyond merely documenting the prevalence of these two streams which has been done elsewhere (Abeysekera, 1981). It seeks to contrast them with respect to selected attributes of migrants as well as of natives in order to furnish the prelude towards understanding the determinants and consequences of migrating to these two destinations (i.e., urban Colombo and the rural dry zone).

Reaching beyond the mere fact of the prevalence of the two dominant streams of migrants in one country as providing legitimacy for the present analysis, this paper intends to demonstrate the rationale is grounded on more firmer theoretical footing as well as closely allied with the development options and strategies to be pursued in the developing nations. To this purpose will be devoted the next section of this paper. It is followed by a discussion on the data and methodology. The differentials among the two migrants streams and the natives are

pursued thereafter under the sub-headings of age and sex, marital status, ethnicity and religious affiliation, educational attainment, type of activity and fertility. The paper will conclude with a profile of lifetime migrants and natives in urban Colombo and the rural dry zone.

Background — Policy Related and Theoretical

Sri Lanka is no exception to the general pattern of rural to urban migration found in most developing countries. From the first time since place of birth and place of residence data were published there has been an unmistakable stream of lifetime migrants arriving in Colombo District.

There is, however, another rarer and therefore especially interesting aspect to population movement in Sri Lanka. Successive governments of independent Sri Lanka (and indeed legislatures before independence), having been sufficiently alerted as a consequence of severe disruptions during the two World Wars to the need to produce food domestically, consistently gave top priority to public investment in peasant agriculture. Stemming the growth of an agricultural proletariat was yet another important political consideration in the enterprise. As a result, massive irrigation schemes that had fallen into disrepair over the centuries were resuscitated and new land brought under cultivation (mainly rice). Thus, between 1952/53 and 1970/71, over 300,000 hectares of new land were brought under the plough and almost two thirds of this are concentrated in the districts of the dry zone. The newly developed land was to be colonized by the landless peasantry of the wet zone of the country which contained approximately 23 percent of land area and nearly 70 percent of the population. As a consequence, the sparsely populated dry zone districts had unprecedented rates of net in-migration far in excess of Colombo District which has been the only district in the wet zone to have positive net migration during the three intercensal periods between 1946-71 (E.S.C.A.P., 1975: 30-32). This constitutes the second dominant stream of migrants.

Apart from the inherent interest generated by the observation of a dominant rural to rural migration stream in the context of a less developed country, the study of this movement has a more pragmatic value within the international context when placed upon the canvas of urbanization. The level of urbanization in Sri Lanka has been low, a pattern which is somewhat

characteristic of the South Asian region in general; 11.6 percent in 1901, 15.4 percent in 1946 and 22.4 percent in 1971. The more interesting observation is the decline in the growth rate of the City of Colombo as well as of metropolitan Colombo over the last three intercensal periods. During 1946-53 the City of Colombo grew at 2.4 percent per annum but this dropped to 1.1 percent by 1963-71; a similar drop was observed in metropolitan Colombo (defined as the Colombo D.R.O.'s/A.G.A.'s Division) from 3.2 to 2.1 percent during the same periods (Department of Town and Country Planning, n.d.). Such observations in the context of burgeoning primacy and increasing metropolitanization in the majority of developing countries prods one to look to rural-rural migration, the government's continued investment in peasant agriculture and direct and indirect income transfer programmes from the urban to rural areas as having possible causal connection with the 'deviant' pattern of urbanization in Sri Lanka.

Somewhat contrary to what many researchers have highlighted (see, for example, Jones and Selvaratnam, 1970; Gunetilleke, 1973; Puvanarajan, 1976; Dias, 1977) in stating that the medium sized towns (population size between 20,000-50,000) have exhibited the most rapid growth, the writer has documented that while the lion's share of the national urban component was held within these medium sized towns it was the small towns (population size less than 10,000) that consistently depicted the highest rates of growth during the majority of the intercensal periods within this century (Abeysekera, 1980). This points to an emergent pattern of decentralized urbanization complemented by mitigated primacy and metropolitanization.

The link between urbanization and internal migration is not too difficult to establish in most of the developing world. As disconcerting as the massive increase in population in the less developed countries during the mid-twentieth century has been the precipitous growth of urban population in these countries. In comparison to the more developed countries, the population in the cities of the less developed countries has grown two and one half times as fast during 1920 to 1970 (Berry, 1973: 74). During the decade of the 1960s, the average annual rate of growth of the cities with over 20,000 people was 4.6 percent in the developing countries while their rural areas grew only by 1.8 percent (United Nations, 1970: 65-66). Although the growth of urban population is a joint function of natural increase and net migration, it has been estimated that nearly three quarters of the urban growth could result from rural to urban migration (World Bank, 1972).

This over-concern with urbanization is well reflected in the literature on internal migration where studies are mostly interested in urban-ward migration to the detriment of rural-ward streams of migration. This situation has been complemented by the existence of only a few scattered cases of intentional stimulation of rural-ward migrations. Some of these are reported from Indonesia (M. I. T., 1955; Hameed. 1975; Jones, 1975), Malaysia (Dobby, 1952; Pryor, 1972), Philippines (Krinks, 1970; Simkins and Wernsted, 1971) India (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 1968) and Brazil (Van Es et al., 1968; Wilkening, 1968). Sri Lanka is, perhaps, one of the very few cases where during the last three to four decades migrants were attracted to two major destinations characterized by very different vocational pursuits and life styles from one another; one to the rural hinterland and the other to the primate city and its suburbia.

As in most of the countries of the developing world Colombo is undoubtedly the primate city as well as being the capital. Some idea of its level of primacy can be had by noting that the city of Colombo as of 1971 was over three and one half times larger than the population carried within the next largest urban area in the country (viz., Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia which is in reality a logical continuation of the metropolitan sprawl of Colombo towards the south) and more than five times as large as Jaffna, the third ranking urban concentration in the country (Abeysekera, 1980; Table 13). However, as Samarasinghe (1973) has observed, the socio economic activities in Colombo have peaked around 1953 and have since begun to decline. Similarly, the writer has also documented that the small towns with populations less than 10,000 have grown at a much faster pace than the large or the medium sized towns in Sri Lanka (Abeysekera, 1980). Both these observations have to be viewed within the context of the public investment in peasant agriculture in the dry zone, which, according to Samarasinghe (1977; 4) has grown to be almost a " 'counter-magnet' to the polarised development of Colombo".

Thus, placed within the international canvas of increasing urbanization (indeed 'over-urbanization' as referred to by many a researcher —see, for instance, Davis and Golden 1954; Sovani, 1964; Kamerschen, 1969; Hill, 1974) in the developing countries, Sri Lanka's case of a declining growth rate within the city of Colombo and to a lesser extent in its suburbia coupled with the emergence of a network of smaller towns exhibiting higher rates of growth existing concomitantly with a dominant stream of

rural-ward migration stimulated by the pursuit of the single most pervasive public policy of investment in peasant agriculture more than hints of an academic and pragmatic demand for further investigation of the determinants and consequences of such phenomena. This paper, however, will not attempt to be as ambitious but merely satisfy itself with laying part of the ground work for such an endeavour. It will simply seek to establish contrasting characteristics of migrants to urban Colombo and the rural dry zone (hereinafter abbreviated as UC and RDZ, respectively) and their native counterparts along selected attributes. The selection of these characteristics is dictated primarily by the pragmatics of data availability within the scope of a national census. The natives of both these locations are also brought into the picture so as to provide a broader perspective on the operant processes of migrant selection and change. Implicitly, though, the paper will not ignore the theoretical possibility that Sri Lanka's model of development may be yet another blue print for other developing countries to (modify and) follow given a hitherto undermined configuration of historical, cultural and politico-socioeconomic antecedents.

Data and Methodology

The interested reader is referred to Nadarajah (1976: 174-181) for a description of the sampling design of the 1971 Census of Sri Lanka.

It was in this 10 percent sample that the four items of information pertaining to migration and the questions on fertility were included. The information on migration included district of birth, district of usual residence, duration of stay at usual residence and district of previous residence for those who had not been living at their usual residence since birth. Using these four items of information the sample was divided into lifetime categories of non-migrants (natives), primary migrants, repeat migrants and return migrants by using a selection process shown in Appendix 1.

In addition to these migrant types, five more categories were evolved in the process of isolating these migrant types. They were the foreign-born, "illogical" cases, within-district migrants, "uncertain" migrants and the cases for whom data were missing so

that they were not classifiable into any of the above categories. For definitions of these categories the reader is referred to Abeysekera (1981: 22-23).

Table 1 presents the number and percentage distribution of the 1,237,087 cases contained in the 10 percent sample of the 1971 national census. Generalizations the 10 percent sample of the 1971 to arrive at because of a considerable number of 'missing' and "illogical' cases. One in every 11 cases (9.05 percent) of the sample is unidentifiable. Although it is possible to allocate these 'missing' cases randomly on a pro rata basis, this was not resorted to since the intent was more to ascertain whether or not there were any substantial differences between the definitely identifiable migrant types rather than to make a case for generalization. Thus, in interpreting these results one should avoid attaching too much weight in view of data deficiencies.

TABLE I

Number and percentage of migrant categories estimated from 10 percent sample census tape, Sri Lanka, 1971

Migrant category	Number	Percent
Repeat migrants	13,382	1.1
Return migrants	10,210	0.8
Primary migrants	125,320	10.1
Within-district migrants	121,494	9.8
"Uncertain" migrants	52,885	4.3
Cases with missing data	96,551	7.8
Foreign-born	15,667	1.3
"Illogical" cases	15,440	1.3
Non-migrants (natives)	786,138	63.6
Total 10 percent sample	1,237,087	100.0

In this paper, background characteristics will be examined among the migrants and natives of both urban Colombo (UC) and the rural dry zone (RDZ), controlling for sex. The migrants

are composed of all primary, repeat and 'uncertain' migrants; return migrants were not included since they are very much akin to natives in a district of birth by district of usual residence classification. Furthermore, they also consisted of a very minute proportion of the sample, i.e., less than one percent. The natives were first stratified by their district of usual residence and by rural/urban sector, i.e., into 44 strata and 15 percent from each stratum was selected randomly into a reduced sample. This was done in order to keep the data processing costs within limits. The results presented of the natives in this paper are based on this 15 per cent sub-sample of the 10 percent national sample while all primary, repeat and 'uncertain' migrants of the ten percent national sample are included in the analysis.

Urban Colombo as defined within the confines of this paper refer to the 26 locations defined as urban as of 1971 (Department of Census and Statistics, 1972). The rural dry zone consists of all rural areas as defined by the Department of Census and Statistics within the districts of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, Batticaloa, Amparai and Hambantota.

MIGRANT-NATIVE DIFFERENTIALS IN URBAN COLOMBO AND THE RURAL DRY ZONE

Age and Sex

Table 2 provides the age distribution of lifetime migrants and natives by sex in UC and RDZ. Among the total pool of migrant males who reached the four destination areas of UC, RDZ, 'other urban areas' and 'other rural areas' (the latter two consists of the spatially residual destinations within the country apart from the two dominant destinations of UC and RDZ), 4.6 per cent have missing data; 4.9 per cent of non-responses are recorded for females. The percentage distributions on table 2 are based on all cases with an acceptable response only.

TABLE 2

Percentage distribution of age among migrants and natives and 'standardized' selectivity by destination and sex, Sri Lanka, 1971.

Age	Urban Colombo						Rural Dry Zone					
	Migrants		Natives		'Standardized' Selectivity		Migrants		Natives		'Standardized' Selectivity	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4	2.0	2.7	15.9	16.9	-84.6	-79.7	3.3	4.6	20.9	21.0	-74.6	-65.4
5-9	3.0	4.7	14.9	14.9	-76.9	-64.9	4.9	6.9	19.9	19.8	-62.3	-48.5
10-14	6.0	7.9	14.6	14.6	-52.4	-38.3	6.9	8.1	15.6	15.9	-45.2	-36.7
15-19	10.3	9.5	11.2	11.4	1.6	-12.8	9.2	9.9	10.7	11.1	-12.4	- 9.2
20-24	16.8	12.6	9.9	10.0	71.4	23.5	13.8	13.9	6.9	7.4	40.8	36.3
25.29	14.2	11.8	7.4	6.8	94.5	53.2	12.3	13.0	4.1	4.6	68.5	68.8
30-34	10.6	9.5	4.7	4.5	82.8	66.7	9.8	9.4	3.7	4.1	69.0	64.9
35-39	8.7	9.7	3.8	4.1	55.4	67.2	9.2	9.3	4.1	3.5	64.3	60.3
40-44	7.6	7.4	3.8	3.8	58.3	68.2	7.5	6.5	3.2	3.1	56.3	47.7
45-49	6.2	6.2	2.9	3.1	40.9	51.2	6.9	6.3	3.4	2.9	56.8	53.7
50 54	4.7	4.9	2.7	3.1	34.3	58.1	4.8	3.6	2.2	2.0	37.1	16.1
55-59	3.4	3.9	2.9	2.1	17.2	50.0	4.1	3.4	1.4	1.2	41.4	30.8
60 +	6.5	9.2	5.2	4.8	12.1	55.9	7.3	5.1	3.8	3.4	25.9	-13.6
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	——	——	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	——	——
Dependency ratio	21	32	102	105	——	——	29	33	151	150	——	——

'Standardization' was achieved by subtracting the national age-sex specific proportion of population from the age-sex specific migrant population at each destination and dividing the difference by the proportion of the national population, expressed as a percentage. National age-sex proportions are given in ESCAP (1976: tables 66 & 67).

The familiar patterns of negative 'selectivity' of children and the high 'selectivity' of young adults among the migrants that have become a near-universalistic pattern is predominantly displayed in this table. The strength of 'selectivity' of the young adults (20-34 years) is lesser among the male migrants to the RDZ than to UC and conversely, the pattern is reversed among female migrants who are more strongly selected to the RDZ. The latter suggests that the migration to the RDZ was probably more of a familial one, as might be expected, in accordance with government policy considerations in the resettlement of the colonization schemes (Sri Lanka, 1958).

'Selectivity' here is used in the broadest possible sense since technically one cannot investigate it with lifetime data. Selectivity inevitably entails the qualification of 'the situation at the time of migration' that is not necessarily found among lifetime migrants. Thus, 'selectivity' in this paper is used in a special context; insofar as lifetime migration data encompass the characteristics at the time of migration and the capacity to retain the migrants within a spatial unit, to that extent both UC and RDZ could have manifested identical patterns in sex-specific age selectivity when 'standardized' upon the national sex-specific age distributions. Thus, the differentials observed in the strength of 'selectivity' in Table 2 are submitted as the prelude to the existence of differential selectivity at the time of migration and/or in the retention processes of migrants at the two destinations.

The higher levels of 'selectivity' of older female migrants in UC when compared to each of the other migrant groups (male or female) in both streams is partially the manifestation of longer life expectancy of women in relatively more developed areas of the country. Apart from this demographic consideration there may be yet another social utility factor operating for the disproportionate presence of older migrant women in UC. In the most urban area of the country where the chances of both spouses being employed outside the home is greatest, the necessity of an adult to look after the children would be fulfilled by a 'resident grand-mother'. This would, perhaps, be the most convenient 'arrangement' where all three generations would benefit from it in terms of security (young and old age), subscribing to social norms (by keeping the family together and looking after one's parents when they are old), and economic efficiency (rather than hiring outside domestic help to take care of the children).

The dependency ratios calculated by assuming that the 15-59 age group are economically active reveals that in both UC and RDZ the migrants have less dependency than the natives who have a ratio of more than 1:1 dependents to the economically active. Among the migrant stream, the UC stream has lower dependency, males more so than females.

Marital Status

The distributions of marital status among lifetime migrants and natives in UC and RDZ by sex are presented in Table 3. There is hardly any difference between the natives of each sex residing in UC and RDZ with respect to their proportions single and married. Within each destination, females, as expected are less single than males. This is due to the average seniority of males by approximately five years at the time of matrimony. There is hardly any difference among each of the destination-specific sex categories in terms of the legally separated and the divorced. A notable difference does appear among the widowed male migrants and natives in both areas but an appreciable difference does exist in the case of widowed females in UC. As was suggested earlier, the utility value associated with the 'resident grand-mother' in the migrant's home in UC would plausibly explain this differential along with the increased life expectancy of women in the more developed areas of the nation. While only 3.7 percent of natives are widowed, 6.6 percent migrant women are widowed. In the RDZ there appears to be reverse pattern operant with respect to the widowed women. It is possible that even though rural areas are steeped in tradition and taking care of one's parents during their old age is an operant norm with active sanctions attached, the act of migration and the ensuing physical distance in residential location between the two generations inhibit the operationalizing of the norm. Furthermore, with limited employment opportunities for the wife outside home, the presence of the 'resident grand-mother' may not be as beneficial to the young migrant family who would be burdened with an extra mouth to feed and extra medical expenses possibly without adequate reciprocation.

TABLE 3

Percentage distribution of marital status among migrants and natives by destination and sex, Sri Lanka, 1971

Marital Status	Sex	Urban Colombo		Rural Dry Zone	
		Migrants	Natives	Migrants	Natives
Single	M	56.0	73.9	47.1	73.4
		(44.1)	(39.9)	(30.1)	(19.1)
	F	40.4	67.7	32.7	67.4
		(29.8)	(39.7)	(16.2)	(24.7)
Married	M	42.8	25.1	51.4	25.3
	F	52.4	28.2	62.9	27.6
(Registered marriages)*	M	40.3	23.4	41.3	16.8
	F	48.2	26.4	50.3	18.4
(Customary marriages)*	M	2.5	1.7	10.1	8.6
	F	4.2	1.7	12.6	9.2
Widowed	M	1.0	0.9	1.3	1.0
	F	6.6	3.7	4.1	4.7
Legally separated	M	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
	F	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Divorced	M	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
	F	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1

* The sum of the registered and customary marriages is equal to the total married population.

Note: Percentages within parantheses refer to the single proportions when all males under 20 and all females under 15 years were removed from the distributions.

Within each destination-specific sex group, negative 'selectivity' of single persons among migrants is consistently depicted. The differential is largest among the females in the RDZ where 67.4 percent of natives are single and only 32.7 percent among migrants. The differential age structure among the migrant and natives is the most influential factor in enhancing the differential in marital status with the children, who are obviously not married, being under-represented among migrants. In view of this 'disturbance' some simple adjustments were carried out on the data. When all females under 15 and all males under 20 were removed from the single category the formidable differences that existed before were reduced and the direction of selectivity among the males was reversed. In UC the male migrants are

moderately 'selected' from among the unmarried (44.1 percent versus 39.9 percent) while in the case of the RDZ, the 'selectivity' of the single male is much greater. The pattern is the opposite in the case of females where the comparative proportions single in both destinations are lesser among the migrants than among natives; this denotes that the female migrants are selected disproportionately from among the married populations.

Another interesting, socially relevant phenomenon surfaces in the dichotomous breakdown of the currently married population (see Table 3). In the case of all four sex-specific migrant types resident in the RDZ there is an appreciable proportion of customarily married in comparison to those resident in UC. While both male and female natives of the RDZ who were customarily married consists of about one third of the total married population, the migrants in the RDZ show a lesser proportion of approximately one fifth of the total married. If one is to infer that the practise of customary marriage is linked with a lower level of education, residence in remoter locations and a lower level of association with 'modernity', then, the migrants in the RDZ are relatively better educated and more 'modern' than their native counterparts.

Since the colonization programme was geared to resettle families on crown land and the achievement of this goal should have been manifested in the 'selectivity' of married males and females than unmarried ones in the RDZ, the programme appears not to have achieved at least one of its goals in the establishment of colonies. However, the fact that there is a 'selectivity' of married females point to the possibility that single males may have been attracted disproportionately to RDZ outside of the government colonization programme, possibly as illicit encroachers or as migrant wage labourers.

Furthermore, a better test of the efficacy of the programme in relocating its 'preferred' colonists in terms of marital status should be pursued among land allottees and not among the entire migrant population; also, the issue should be probed with respect to marital status of colonists at the time of migration. With precipitously increasing rates of natural increase and postponement of marriage, the children of the colonists would be represented within the census sample so as to raise the proportions of unmarried persons in the sample who would be classified as migrants. These would be child migrants from the colonization programme's point of view, not a target group that could be used to evaluate the efficacy of the programme in terms of its capacity to attract married couples who were 'preferred' as colonists.

Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation

The national ethnic and religious distributions of 1971 are provided in Table 4 along with the distributions of the two migrant streams. To provide comparability, the migrant distributions have been 'standardized' by subtracting the national proportion from the proportion in each stream and the difference expressed as a percentage of the national proportion. This measure provides the strength of selectivity of ethnic and religious groups in each destination. Since ethnicity does not generally change over time, the levels of selectivity shown in Table 4 should not change even if data at the time of migration are pursued, unless, of course, the strength of selectivity has been changing over time.

TABLE 4

Percentage distribution of ethnicity and religious affiliation of migrants, 'standardized' selectivity by destination and national distribution, Sri Lanka 1971.

Ethnicity	Urban Colombo		Sri Lanka**	Rural Dry Zone	
	Migrants	'Standardized'* Selectivity		Migrants	'Standardized' Selectivity
Low country Sinhalese	56.8	32.7	42.8	30.8	-28.0
Kandyan Sinhalese	13.4	-54.1	29.2	48.4	65.8
Sri Lanka Tamils	17.6	57.1	11.2	12.5	11.6
Indian Tamils	3.9	-58.1	9.3	4.6	-50.5
Sri Lanka Moors	5.4	-16.9	6.5	3.2	-50.8
Indian Moors	0.1	-50.0	0.2	0.1	-50.0
Burghers/ Eurasians	1.4	250.0	0.4	0.2	-50.0
Malays	1.2	300.0	0.3	0.1	-66.7
'Others'	0.3	200.0	0.1	0.0	——
All ethnic groups	100.0	——	100.0	10.0	——
Religion					
Buddhist	64.1	- 4.8	67.3	76.9	14.3
Hindu	15.6	-11.4	17.6	15.1	-14.2
Muslim	6.7	-15.2	7.9	3.4	-57.0
Roman Catholic	10.1			4.1	
Other Christian	3.3	88.7	7.1	0.4	-36.6
'Others'	0.2	-50.0	0.1	0.0	——
All religions	100.0	——	100.0	100.0	——

* 'Standardization' effected in the same manner as in Table 2.

** From ESCAP (1976:100 & 105)

Malays and the Burghers/Eurasians (minority ethnic groups) are by far the most strongly selected to UC. Among the five major ethnic groups, the Sri Lanka Tamils are most selected to the urban areas of Colombo District. The above average level of English education of this community as well as the high urban-ward migration from Jaffna District was referred to elsewhere (Abeysekera, 1981). The only other positively selected major ethnic group to UC are the low country Sinhalese. The Indian Tamils are the most negatively selected in UC followed closely by the Kandyan Sinhalese.

In the RDZ, only the Kandyan Sinhalese and the Sri Lanka Tamils are selected positively. The higher selectivity of the former highlights the plight of the Kandyan peasantry who lost their traditional highlands to the plantations as a consequence of the enactment of the Crown Lands Encroachment Ordinance of 1840 (see, Sri Lanka, 1951; Farmer, 1957). The Sri Lanka Tamils are the only ethnic group who exhibit positive selectivity in both streams. There appears to have been two strata of Sri Lanka Tamils who were stimulated to leave their traditional homeland; the better educated in search of white collar jobs in the tertiary sector of UC and the landless peasantry who migrated to the surrounding districts of Jaffna. These two streams are well demarcated during the 1953-63 intercensal period (E.S.C.A,P., 1976:53) and also in the lifetime data of 1971 (Abeysekera, 1981: Table 12).

During the inter-censal period 24.8 per cent of all migrants from Jaffna reached Colombo District while 64.9 percent went to the surrounding dry zone districts of Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. There was hardly any migration to other districts from Jaffna which reveals the ethnic segregation pattern of residence in terms of districts and the limited choice that is held out to the Sri Lanka Tamils in terms of geographic mobility. The lifetime data as of 1971 reveals a better record for Colombo in terms of attraction and retention of emigrants from Jaffna vis-a-vis the four dry zone districts over what prevailed during the intercensal period of 1953-63. Colombo District had attracted and retained 37.5 percent of all migrants from Jaffna while the four dry zone districts together had 42.1 percent. Jaffna's outmigration occurred amidst the establishment of several major colonization schemes which provided 6,430 alottees with agricultural land at an average of 4.5 acres per allottee as at the end of 1968-69 (Sri Lanka, 1975: Table G). The other dry zone districts of Vavuniya, Mannar, Batticaloa (excluding the Gal Oya Left Bank colonization scheme in Amparai District) and Trincomalee had 2532, 540, 3414 and 5904 allottees provided with land, respectively at very comparable ratios of land unit per allottee.

All these allotments were not necessarily alienated to Sri Lanka Tamils but the major proportion of it was; the proportion of Sri Lanka Tamil allottees in Trincomalee District would have been among the lowest since the Kantalai Colonization scheme (2,500 allottees) was mainly habited by the Sinhalese.

Religious affiliation as revealed in Table 4 is another dimension along which migrants are absorbed into the two destinations selectively. It is the Christians who are most attracted to UC. Although the Roman Catholic Church's influence over power position in the country has been reduced in the aftermath of political independence, the church was one of the most influential institutions that could provide extra-agricultural employment that was primarily concentrated within UC to its adherents.

Buddhists are the only religious denomination who are positively selected to the RDZ. This is due mostly to the preponderence of Kandyan Sinhalese in the stream, who, in comparison to the low country Sinhalese were much less proselytized into the religion of the western powers because they were the least exposed to the cultural after-effects of conquest. The low country Sinhalese had begun to adapt by the seventeenth century in terms of dress, vocation, name and religion; religious identity with the ruling elite was a strong variable which brought opportunities of self-advancement within reach of the indigenous in a positively selective manner.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

The advances made in the realm of educational attainment in Sri Lanka are one of the important indicators of socio-economic development of the country. The main responsibility for the massive increase in education is due primarily to the activities of the Special Committee on Education of 1943 which recommended that "education should be free at all levels, that instruction should be through the medium of mother tongue and that education if it were at all to ensure equality of opportunity should be based on ability with greater participation by the state" E.S.C.A.P., 1976:209-210). Even before the 1943 recommendations, the British carried out educational reforms in Sri Lanka as early as 1833 (see, for instance, Sri Lanka, 1969: chapters 33 & 34). when they began ensuring the continuous production of a breed of book-keepers that could effectively deal with the production and exports related economy at the clerical level. As of now the education system of the country is almost totally subsidized by the government to the tune of about five percent of the country's GNP, among one of the highest in Asia.

Table 5 reveals the educational attainment of both male and female lifetime migrants and natives in UC and RDZ. Since the education variable could change due to the relative emphasis placed on policy implementation spatially and with the passage of time, educational attainment is monitored by controlling for age among those 15 years and over. The summary statistic that is found in the table reveals how many persons had less than 10 years of education. Thus, the lesser the magnitude of this ratio, the higher is the level of education of the group concerned.

TABLE 5

Educational attainment* among migrants and natives by destination and sex, Sri Lanka, 1971.

Age group	Sex	Urban Colombo		Rural Dry Zone	
		Migrants	Natives	Migrants	Natives
15-19	M	4.2	4.4	9.0	11.7
	F	2.7	3.5	6.0	11.2
20-24	M	1.3	2.6	3.6	4.2
	F	1.1	1.8	3.5	6.5
25-34	M	1.3	2.5	3.8	6.7
	F	1.3	2.1	4.9	9.3
35-44	M	1.8	4.4	9.3	16.9
	F	2.3	4.3	10.9	141.9
45 and over	M	2.7	7.1	18.6	26.0
	F	4.5	9.3	46.6	(infin.)

* The number of persons with less than 10 years of education per person with an education of 10 years or more. (The lesser the magnitude of this ratio, the higher is the level of education of the group concerned).

A fair proportion of the cases are missing from the sample due to non-response. Males in general have a better response rate than the females. The non-response rate rises generally with age and is lower in UC than in the RDZ. In the majority of destination-specific age-sex groups the migrants have a lower rate of

non response than the natives. Although the Department of Census and Statistics (1974:table 3.21) assumed that all non-response cases did not possess any formal schooling, this assumption was not made in computing Table 5. The non-responding proportions were subtracted out of the total number of cases before the statistics were computed. As a result, the proportions without any schooling would be depressed systematically in comparison to the Census Department's estimates.

Among age-sex specific migrant streams, the migrants in the RDZ are consistently less educated. The differential is lowest in the 15-19 age group and with increasing age there is a rise in the education differential. Since formal education is generally completed by the mid-twenties of one's life, this increasing differential suggests that with the inauguration of the free education system, the relative gain in the level of education was greater for the migrant in the RDZ than in UC with the passage of time, as might be expected. That this was a national trend is documented by the natives of the two destinations exhibiting the same relationship as did the migrants. However, the differential is lowest among the 20-24 age group for males and among the 16-19 in the case of the females. This may suggest that the convergence on the part of the males at both destinations has been reached while it is still taking place among the females. It is difficult, however, to make this observation with any degree of certainty because the educational attainment process has not ceased when one has reached the 15-19 age group. The differential school attendance pattern among the sexes may be accountig for the educational differential observed above.

Perhaps the most interesting and important achievement in the expansion of educational opportunities in Sri Lanka is the massive advances that have been made by the females over that of the males. Among the oldest age group (who in all probability completed their education before the inception of free education) the education difference between the sexes is greatest. In this age group the smallest differential is observed among the natives of UC (i.e., 7.1 males versus 9.3 females) which suggest that continued residence or nativity in UC was more contributary

than being a migrant in the 1940s for a woman's educational attainment. With each successive younger age group the sex differential is gradually diminished. Native females are better educated than native males in UC among the 25-34 age group while among the migrants in UC, the females are on a par with the males. This signifies that even during the mid-1950s to the 1960s or so, nativity in UC was still more beneficial for the females' educational achievement than being a migrant in UC.

Among the 20-24 age group, both migrant and native women in UC are better educated than their male counterparts. Perhaps this is consequent of a more competitive selective process being operant in UC in comparison to the RDZ. In the meantime the sex differential in educational achievement in the RDZ has been erased in the 20-24 age group among migrants and the females are slightly better educated than the males. However, the male natives are better educated still than the female natives signifying that in the RDZ, nativity was a liability for the females vis-a-vis educational advancement which was the reverse situation that prevailed in UC. Among the 15-19 age group, however, irrespective of migration status, every female group is better educated than their male counterparts at both destinations. Thus, within the limitations of arbitraryness of the cut-off-points (10 years of formal education), during the span of 30 years or so the females who started with an enormous handicap in educational achievement have managed to out-strip the educational superiority of the males in both the most developed areas of the country (i.e.,, UC) and the least developed areas (viz., the RDZ). Speculation and further study on why the females managed to gain the advantage from the males in a veritable 'equal opportunity' situation (i.e., availability of free education) is best left to be pursued in another paper.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY

Percentage distributions of age-specific type of activity among migrants and natives of UC and the RDZ are presented in Table 6 by sex. The most interesting types of activities are the employed, unemployed, students, children not at school and not at work and those engaged in home duties.

TABLE 6

Percentage distribution of type of activity among migrants and natives by destination, sex and age, Sri Lanka, 1971

Type of Activity	Sex	Urban Colombo Migrants	Urban Colombo Natives	Rural Dry Zone Migrants	Rural Dry Zone Natives
		10—14 years			
Employed	M	22.5	1.1	11.6	9.4
	F	19.5	0.5	1.9	2.4
Unemployed	M	4.2	3.9	2.1	1.7
	F	2.0	2.5	1.0	1.1
Student	M	59.7	87.7	56.2	62.2
	F	63.1	82.1	59.6	52.9
Income Recepient	M	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pensioner	F	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Engaged in	M	2.6	1.1	4.9	2.4
home duties	F	5.9	5.6	14.8	22.8
Too old or	M	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
unable to work	F	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Child not attending	M	10.3	8.2	25.0	24.0
school & not at work	F	8.4	9.2	22.6	20.2
'Other'	M	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.2
	F	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
All Activities	M	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	F	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		15—29 years			
Employed	M	71.1	44.1	78.0	70.4
	F	25.2	8.2	18.0	12.4
Unemployed	M	13.1	27.5	10.4	8.1
	F	15.7	21.9	8.4	4.2
Student	M	10.7	21.6	4.9	12.1
	F	13.7	19.5	5.5	8.7
Income recipient	M	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
pensioner	F	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Engaged in	M	0.8	0.7	2.5	2.5
home duties	F	41.7	44.6	64.9	70.2
Too old or	M	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
unable to work	F	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1
Child not attending	M	1.3	5.2	3.2	6.1
School/not at work	F	2.6	5.1	2.8	4.2
'Other'	M	2.9	0.8	0.8	0.5
	F	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.1
All Activities	M	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	F	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6 (continued) 30—54 years

Type of Activity	Sex	Urban Colombo Migrants	Urban Colombo Natives	Rural Dry Zone Migrants	Rural Dry Zone Natives
Employed	M	89.6	87.1	96.5	97.3
	F	25.0	13.2	29.9	17.9
Unemployed	M	5.4	3.8	1.4	0.7
	F	9.9	11.1	1.7	1.3
Student	M	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	F	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Income recipient/ pensioner	M	0.9	1.4	0.2	0.2
	F	0.5	0.8	5.0	0.8
Engaged in home duties	M	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
	F	62.6	72.0	66.2	78.4
Too old or unable to work	M	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.8
	F	1.2	2.0	1.8	1.4
Child not attending school & not at work	M	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	F	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
'Other'	M	2.9	1.2	0.7	0.3
	F	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.3
All activities	M	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	F	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		55 years or more			
Employed	M	44.6	39.5	78.6	72.7
	F	10.9	4.3	14.4	9.7
Unemployed	M	5.3	6.5	0.7	0.0
	F	6.0	5.5	0.8	0.0
Student	M	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
	F	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Income recipient/ pensioner	M	24.9	21.8	3.3	4.0
	F	6.0	5.2	1.7	3.4
Engaged in home duties	M	2.2	2.2	1.3	1.8
	F	37.6	41.5	43.3	40.3
Too old or unable to work	M	20.5	29.2	14.5	20.4
	F	38.1	42.9	39.1	44.1
Child not attending school & not at work	M	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	F	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
'Other'	M	2.8	1.0	1.6	1.1
	F	1.1	0.6	0.7	2.5
All activities	M	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	F	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Among the native males there is consistently a higher proportion of employed in each age group at the RDZ than in UC: this pattern is also found among migrants except among the youngest age group of 10-14 where almost twice as many children are employed in UC. At the early stages of entry into labour force, i.e., in age groups 15-29, the native population show marked dissimilarities by area of residence. Those in UC are far below the proportions that are employed in the RDZ. Concomitantly, the relative proportions unemployed in these age groups are extremely high among the male natives of UC than in the RDZ. This signifies, perhaps, the high degree of structuredness of the labour market of UC and it also is, perhaps, reflective of the mentality and the capacity of the native to wait for a specific type of job rather than take up any opportunity that comes one's way. The latter becomes more apparent when unemployment among migrants are pursued in the same age group which is much less than the proportions among the natives. This is perhaps due to the migrants' inability to wait as long as the natives since they may be cusioned by a less viable supportive system.

In the case of the male natives and migrants in the RDZ, the reverse situation prevails. The natives are less unemployed in all age groups than migrants. It is possible that differential educational attainment is a major reason for the higher level of unemployment among the migrants. Since higher educational levels were observed among the migrants in the RDZ than among natives (see Table 5), this may be acting as a deterrant in taking up casual agricultural employment (or reporting such employment) as this would be considered somewhat demeaning to do so. Being in rural areas also adds to the capability of withstanding the pressure of being 'pushed' into seeking any employment since the economy, unlike in the city which is almost entirely money based, is still capable of sustaining an adult member of the family who is unemployed though at semi-subsistence levels.

Among the older ages, especially among those over 55 years, there is a marked decline in the proportions employed in UC among both male natives and migrants. Although there is a drop in the employed in the RDZ too, about three quarters of the male population are still at work while less than one half are at work in UC. The decline in the employed are compensated by the presence of almost one quarter of the old males in the category of pensioners and other income recipients reflecting the disproportionate prevelance of formalized social security benefits in the UC in comparison to the RDZ. The migrants within each area are more employed in the older ages than the natives depicting that either they are still achievement motivated and/or

(more likely) that they have to work longer to maintain themselves and their families.

The situation of the females is very much the same as that of the males with respect to employment, although, the magnitude is very much less. A notable deviation in the employment pattern of the female migrants is that among the young age group of 15--29 the migrants in the RDZ reveal lower levels of employment than their counterparts in UC. This is not because there is a higher level of unemployment (which is lower than that of the comparable female migrants in UC) but because the overwhelming majority of them are engaged in home duties. The differential between female migrants in UC and the RDZ in these age groups who are engaged in home duties is 23.2 percentage points. This perhaps reflects the relatively early age at marriage in the RDZ and the closer adherence to the traditional role of the woman as the homemaker. Perhaps it is also indicative of the relative scarcity of opportunities for the females to be engaged in gainful employment outside the home. A comparison of the female migrants and natives at each destination reveals that in both UC and the RDZ, native women are more engaged in home duties than the migrants within each age group. If the level of dissociation from home duties and being gainfully employed is a sign of 'progressiveness' among the females, then, in this limited sense the migrant females are more 'progressive' than the natives.

The student population among destination-specific age-sex groups show some element of variation. Among the 10-14 and 15-19 age groups (not in table) the native male population of both UC and the RDZ show a higher proportion of students than among the migrants. The same is true of the females in UC; but in the RDZ the migrants reveal a slightly greater proportion of students. Among both migrants and natives UC consistently reveals a higher preponderence of students in each age-sex category over the RDZ. Although these observations tend to suggest that in terms of current educational status the natives are more school-going than the migrants, the 20-24 age group (not in table) depicts that the migrants in UC are still engaged in studies in greater proportions than the natives. This is also true of the females in the dry zone but not so among the males.

FERTILITY

The reduction of fertility at the national level was of grave concern to the achievement of socio-economic development especially in the 1950s and 1960s when the conquest of malaria sent rates of natural increase soaring to the near-3 percent level.

The achievements that were gained through increased food production, redistribution of wealth to the rural areas and in general the welfare measures on education, public health and medical care were being negated by over-whelming population growth. The targets of self sufficiency in food production were pushed back, the redistributed resources in the rural areas became less significant at the per capita level and the state subsidies on food, education, medical services and transportation were strained beyond capacity. The net result was the general worsening of the living standard of the population at large due mainly to gains in natural increase.

The migrants in UC reveal the latest age at marriage within each educational category followed by the natives of UC, migrants of RDZ and lastly by the natives of the RDZ who marry earliest. The pattern is broken in the case of the most educated where the migrants in the RDZ have a slightly higher mean age at marriage (26.2 years) than the natives in UC (26 years). This is, however, the category which has the least number of cases and so entails a higher margin of probable error.

TABLE 7

Mean age at first marriage of female migrants and natives by destination and educational attainment and mean number of children ever born to ever-married females 15-49 years by destination and duration of marriage, Sri Lanka, 1971.

	Mean age at first marriage			
Educational Attainment	**Urban Migrant**	**Colombo Natives**	**Rural Dry Zone Migrants**	**Natives**
No schooling	19.7	18.3	19.1	16.7
1-5 years	20.8	18.9	19.8	17.0
6-9 years	21.7	19.9	20.8	18.2
G.C.E. (C.L.) & (A.L.)	24.1	22.4	23.4	21.3
Higher	26.9	26.2	26.0	24.9
Duration of marriage	**Mean number of children ever born**			
Less than 4 years	1.45	1.47	1.38	1.33
5-9 years	2.69	2.91	2.98	3.11
10-14 years	3.80	4.26	4.67	4.90
15-19 years	4.59	5.10	6.08	6.16
20-24 years	5.15	5.78	6.75	7.21
25 years or more	5.84	5.86	7.02	7.38
All durations	3.65	4.00	4.52	4.71

Within each group of natives or migrants in either UC or the RDZ there is a monotonic postponement in the age at marriage of the females with the graduation into higher levels of education. The proportionate difference is largest for the natives of the RDZ (49.1 percent in mean age at marriage) followed by the migrants of the RDZ (43.2 percent) when the best and the worst educated groups are compared. Since almost all births occur within wedlock and that the postponement of marriage is one of the powerful mechanisms to depress fertility, stimulation of the female population to higher levels or educational attainment may (in addition to fostering the skill levels of the population and thereby creating the pre-conditions for sustained economic development in terms of man/womanpower needs) in itself be an influential factor in achieving further reductions in fertility. If, for instance, the female natives of the RDZ can be induced to attain an education up to the 10th grade the average reduction in the exposure to childbearing would be in the region of four years, **ceteris paribus.**

A similar pattern of fertility implications is found in the lower panel of Table 7 where the mean number of children ever born to ever-married female natives and migrants in both UC and the RDZ are examined when controlled for duration of marriage. Except for the most recently married (less than five years)(all other duration-specific cohorts of women in UC, irrespective of migrant status, exhibit lower fertility than women in the RDZ All duration-specific migrant cohorts in both UC and the RDZ have lower mean fertility than their respective native counterparts, except in the case of the most recently married cohort in the RDZ who reveal a very slight reversal of the general pattern. Th fertility differential between migrants and natives is higher in UC than in the RDZ, about one third of a child on the average within the entire distribution in UC and one fifth of a child in the RDZ. The native fertility differential between the destinations is smaller (0.71 of a child on the average) than that among the migrants (0.87 of a child).

Of all ever-married women less than 50 years of age it was inquired whether or not they had a live birth within the last five years from the date of the census. Among those who answered in the affirmative, those women who had a live birth within the last 12 months were expressed as a proportion of those who had a birth during the course of the last five years. These proportions

which are closest to an age-specific fertility rate (but from within a population at 'risk' of actually having experienced a live birth within the last five years) are provided in Table 8 for migrant and native populations in UC and the RDZ. The equivalent of the 'general marital fertility rate' for females 15-49 years from this sample reveals that the migrants in UC had the lowest fertility during the year preceding the census followed by the natives of UC, the natives of the RDZ and lastly by the migrants of the RDZ.

TABLE 8

Age-specific 'marital fertility rates' of ever-married females 15-49 years by destination during 12 months preceding the census, Sri Lanka, 1971

Age group	Urban Colombo		Ruraln Dry Zone		Sri Lanka
	Migrants	Natives	Migrants	Natives	
15-19	.360	.321	.292	.247	.237
20-24	.288	.260	.326	.251	.272
25-29	.207	.224	.263	.245	.238
30-34	.172	.150	.227	.193	.185
35-39	.087	.087	.158	.138	.134
40-44	.035	.029	.046	.060	.050
45-49	.011	.005	.010	.016	.019
All ages	.133	.141	.199	.185	.159
Age standardized for all ages	.150	.142	.187	.165	——

Since the age distribution within the ever-married female populations of destination-specific migrant types vary somewhat the age-specific fertility rates were standardized on the age distribution of the ever- married national female population as obtained from the sample (last column in Table 8). There was one noticeable change in the fertility rate when standardization was effected; the natives of UC now depicted lower fertility (0.142 versus 0.150) than the migrants. At both destinations natives now exhibited lower fertility than the migrants during the year preceding the census. This is a definite reversal of the hitherto observed pattern of fertility performance and is possibly due to the dependence on a cross-sectional measure spanning a mere year while the other measures, though cross-sectional, spanned approximately 15-20 years in arriving at their summary estimates of fertility. It is also possible that differential weightage in peak

marital duration and age-specific fertility periods in the distribution could be acting to bring about this 'different' pattern of fertility performance.

PROFILE OF MIGRANTS AND NATIVES IN URBAN COLOMBO AND THE RURAL DRY ZONE

When 'selectivity' is taken in its broader sense of the term the males were selected more strongly to UC while females were attracted more to the RDZ, although, in general, both streams displayed a predominance of masculinity, more so in UC, Dependency ratios were higher among migrants in the RDZ than in UC but in both cases it was over- whelmingly less than that of the native populations at each of the destinations.

Female migrants are more married than the male migrants in both streams due mainly to the average seniority of the males by approximately five years at the time of matrimony. Even when age 'adjusted' for the relative under-representation of children among migrants, the single males were still moderately selected to UC and more so among the migrants in the RDZ. Although the total proportions marrying above 20 years in UC among both the natives and migrants are less than in the RDZ, on a location-specific comparison the differential between the natives and migrants is much higher in the RDZ. It is plausible to surmise that the predominantly land-bound nature of livelihood of the population in the RDZ and the declining land/man ratios together with scarcity of extra-agricultural employment and most importantly, the protected tenure under which land was allenated to the colonist, disenfranchised a greater proportion of the RDZ migrant population from entry into matrimony as it undermines the possession of a sound economic base, a pre-requisite for embarking upon stable conjugal relations. The fact that the migrants in the RDZ are better educated and perhaps harbour greater levels of aspiration whose relative realization have been thwarted makes further inroads into depressing the proportions married among male migrants in the RDZ.

Among the five major ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, the Sri Lanka Tamils are the only group that is selected positively in both migrant streams, though, as was suggested, the selection in all probability was made from two strata. The greatest contrast in selectivity pattern is observed among the Kandyan Sinhalese who are over-represented in the RDZ stream but heavily under-represented inUC, a reflection of the effects of

greater deprivation inflicted upon this group during the colonial period and their minimal recovery in terms of possessing aggregate level socioeconomic development indicators. The Buddhists are attracted mostly to the RDZ while the Christians are highly selected to UC, once again a pattern that may well be mediated through ethnicity.

Migrants in the RDZ are less educated than their counterparts in UC. It appeared that with the activation of free education, the age-specific differentials in educational attainment declined over time by migrant status as well as by sex. The most interesting observation noted was the advancement of all age-specific female groups over their male counterparts from a position of great disadvantage to that of superiority in education within a matter of approximately 30 years. Some explanation of this phenomenon is advanced in terms of the operant social norms, the constriction of the economy and the adaptation to the changing environment on the part of the young females and their parents elsewhere.

Among males the levels of employment are higher in the RDZ than in UC while the proportions unemployed are greater in the latter. While migrants in UC were less employed than natives, the reverse was true in the case of the RDZ. Greater proportions were working in the older age groups in the RDZ but UC had a much reduced quantum with a substantial proportion enjoying formalized social security benefits during old age. Females, in general, were much less employed than males; the relative numbers engaged in home duties were much greater in the RDZ than in UC, natives more so than migrants.

When controlled for educational attainment, the mean age at first marriage of the females was highest among migrants in UC followed by the natives in UC, migrants and natives of the RDZ. The same rank ordering prevails when fertility levels are examined while controlling for duration of marriage. However, when age-specific marital fertility rates are examined for the one year preceding the census of 1971, standardized on the age distribution of the national ever-married female population, the natives of each destination show lower fertility than the migrants. This may, however, be due to the short-term nature of the period considered which may carry short run anomalies vis-a-vis the long term patterns.

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