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SEX-DIFFERENCES IN PATTERNS OF INTERNAL
MIGRATION IN SRI LANKA

by

Robert N. Kearney and Barbara D. Miller
Syracuse University

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Abstract: This paper describes male and female migration patterns in Sri Lanka, identifying commonalities and differences. Census data on sex ratios in the population of each district are the main data employed. The paper begins with a discussion of the data and their strengths and limitations. Next a picture of inter-district migration is presented, followed by an examination of sex ratios by age group. Five districts are then examined in greater detail, using available direct census information on numbers of male and female migrants. In conclusion, social correlates of the internal migration patterns are noted and suggestions are made about the directions for future research on the subject.

About the Authors: Robert N. Kearney is a professor of political science in the Maxwell School, Syracuse University. He has written extensively on politics and society in Sri Lanka, including Communalism and Language in the Politics of Ceylon (1967), Trade Unions and Politics in Ceylon (1971), and The Politics of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) (1973).

Barbara D. Miller, an anthropologist, is senior research associate in the Metropolitan Studies Program, the Maxwell School, Syracuse University. Her major publications include The Endangered Sex (1981) and articles in Contributions to Indian Sociology and Economic Development and Cultural Change.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN SRI LANKA¹

Introduction

Studies of internal migration seldom address questions of female migration or sex differentials in migration.² More is known about female migration in India than in other countries of the South Asia region (Libbee 1980; Menefee Singh 1980; Ferree and Gogler 1984). Thadani and Todaro state that in India "female migration is characterized as being almost exclusively family or marriage migration" (1979: 9-10) and they imply that this pattern also holds for Pakistan and Bangladesh, and presumably for Sri Lanka. There are, however, important regional differences in female migration within India; this is not surprising given the striking regional differences that exist in women's work, female autonomy, and kinship patterns (Miller 1981; Dyson and Moore 1983). Menefee Singh has described the South Indian pattern of women's rural-urban migration as characterized by a higher proportion of single women in the migration stream than in North India, higher rates of economic activity (presumably at both points of destination and origin), and a propensity for "outside" activities (manufacturing, construction, and petty trade), rather than "inside" activities (household service) (1980: 16). The higher participation of females in migration in South India is a result both of the availability of work for women in destination areas and of more permissive social norms regarding the propriety of women's work in the South.

To our knowledge, no previous study of internal migration in Sri Lanka has treated migrants separately by gender.³ This paper describes male and female migration patterns in Sri Lanka and the commonalities and differences in male and female migration. The paper begins with a brief discussion of the data employed. Next we present a general picture (male and female combined) of inter-district migration, followed by an examination of sex ratios in specific age groups. We then examine direct data on migrants for five districts, available only in the individual district reports. We next note some apparent social correlates of migration and conclude with suggested avenues for future research.

The Data

Dependable data on migration--disaggregated by sex, age, and rural/urban sectors--are rarely available for developing countries. Sri Lanka, despite the relatively good quality of its census data,⁴ does not possess the kinds of direct migration data that the ideal analysis demands. Census data provide rich information on internal migration such as length of stay and districts of origin and destination; these data, however, do not treat males and females separately. Some direct data on male/female migration are provided in the district reports for each district, but they do not separate urban from rural populations. The sex ratio data do separate urban from rural populations. Sex ratios are, however, only indirect measures of migration and do not provide insight into numbers of migrants or rates of migration.⁵ Thus, extrapolating migration from sex ratios can be quite

misleading. High sex ratios (males preponderant) can mean two things--that males have migrated into an area or that females have migrated out; low sex ratios (female preponderant) can likewise mean two things--that females have migrated in or that males have migrated out. Also, as is discussed below, most districts are characterized by active streams of both in- and out-migrants; a sex ratio can give a general idea of "net" migration by sex, but does not reveal the more complex dynamics.

Using sex ratio data in the study of migration is not to be undertaken lightly. Others have devised a method for estimating rates of rural migration using sex ratios in coordination with microlevel village data on migration patterns (Connell et al. 1976). Lack of a sufficient number of such complementary microlevel studies for Sri Lanka, however, forces us to look mainly at the broad-brush picture that the census data provides. Most of our analysis is performed with 1971 district-level data (see Figure 1a for location of the districts), with some reference to 1981 data (Figure 1b).

Patterns of Inter-District Migration

It is necessary to make some general observations regarding inter-district migration patterns before turning to differentials in district sex ratios. In 1971, 15 percent of all persons born in Sri Lanka, nearly 2 million of more than 12.5 million persons, were residing in districts other than their districts of birth (Sri Lanka, Dept. of Census 1978: 50-51). This statistic, however, understates the dimensions of internal migration since it does not take into account intervening migrations to other districts or migration from and subsequent return to the district of birth. An indication of the general patterns of migration may be obtained from Table 1, which demonstrates that there has been a great deal of inter-district movement of population. More than 20 percent of the population of eight districts was born outside the district of 1971 residence. Districts that have experienced large net gains of population through migration, such as Colombo and Anuradhapura, have also contributed significant numbers of out-migrants to other districts. Kurunegala, Ratnapura, and Matale display relatively low levels of net gain through migration, but have had large flows of both in- and out-migration. Even the districts with the largest net population losses through migration--Galle, Kandy, and Matara--have had sizable influxes of migrants as well.

Colombo, the metropolitan hub of the island with 51.8 percent of the nation's total urban population in 1971 (*Ibid.*: 41) was the major recipient of inter-district migrants. The other districts with large net gains from migration--Anuradhapura, Trincomalee, Polonnaruwa, Amparai, and Monaragala--form a broad arc from the north-central Dry Zone to the southeastern quarter of the island, all areas of low population density. Of these five districts, only Amparai had a 1971 population density exceeding 200 persons per square mile; the national average was 508.⁶ In the sparsely populated and arid district of Vavuniya in the northeast, more than one-third of all 1971 inhabitants had been born outside the district, a proportion exceeded only by Polonnaruwa.

The major losses of population through migration appeared in Matara, Galle, Kegalle, and Kalutara districts of the southwestern Wet Zone, in Kandy in the central highlands, and in Jaffna at the island's northern tip. Aside from Jaffna, with a population density of 728, the other five districts of heavy out-migration all had 1971 population densities of more than 1,000 persons per square mile and ranked, after Colombo, second through sixth in magnitude of district population density.

Hence, we can conclude that the major flow of inter-district migration has been from the densely populated districts, mostly in the southwestern Wet Zone, to the sparsely populated districts of the Dry Zone. There is a weak negative correlation between population density and lifetime migration rate ($r = -.399$).⁷ An important reservation is that urbanized Colombo district has continued to attract large numbers of in-migrants, although it has also contributed large numbers to the stream of out-migrants from the southwest headed north and east.

High positive lifetime migration rates of 19 percent or more were recorded for six districts, all in the north-central, northeastern, and southeastern Dry Zone (Figure 2a). Matara and Galle in the densely populated south-coastal Wet Zone had the highest negative migration rates, followed by Kandy in the central highlands and Jaffna and Mannar at the far north of the island.

Data on the districts of origin of the three largest streams of in-migration to each district and on the destinations of out-migrants from each district indicate a great deal of movement to adjacent districts and, often, exchanges of persons between neighboring districts (Sri Lanka, Dept. of Census 1978: 50-54). The largest proportion of in-migrants to Kandy, for example, originated in Nuwara Eliya, while the largest proportion of in-migrants to Nuwara Eliya originated in Kandy. The attraction of Colombo is evident from the fact that it was among the three leading destinations for out-migrants from 18 districts. The generally northward flow of migrants was reversed in the far north, where Jaffna district sent migrants south to nearby Vavuniya and Trincomalee and to distant Colombo.

To understand sex differences in migration patterns, we would ideally possess data like those analyzed above that are disaggregated for males and females. Such data are not available for Sri Lanka and we are forced, therefore, to rely heavily on an indirect measure of sex differences in patterns of migration: sex ratios.

Sri Lankan Sex Ratios in Perspective

It has been suggested that in India an imaginary line from the west between Ahmedabad and Bombay stretching eastward toward Calcutta, constitutes a great divide between the male-preponderant sex ratios and masculine culture of Northwest India, extending into the Middle East, and the more egalitarian or feminine sex ratios and female-supportive cultures of South India and Southeast Asia (Sopher 1980; Miller 1981; Dyson and Moore

1983). Sri Lanka, situated at a pivotal location between South and Southeast Asia, should exhibit socio-demographic patterns more like South India and Burma than North India and Pakistan--if the general supposition of a cultural sweep from masculine to egalitarian-feminine holds true.

Total Sex Ratios. In contrast to India, where the government has expressed concern over the ever-increasing masculine bias of the nation's total (all ages combined, urban and rural populations combined) sex ratio, in Sri Lanka the national sex ratio has been declining throughout the past century (Table 2). In 1871, the national sex ratio of Sri Lanka was 114.3, but in 1981 it was 103.1. Compared to other national sex ratios of countries in Northwest Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, that of Sri Lanka appears quite balanced.⁸

A view of 1981 total sex ratios by district in Sri Lanka, however, reveals a great range of variation (Table 3). The sex ratios extend from a low of 93.8 in Matara district to a high of 130.1 in Polonnaruwa district. Of the twenty-four districts in 1981, ten had sex ratios above 105.0--taking this number as the upper limit of what one could consider a rough balance. There is a regional pattern with the high sex ratios (male-preponderant) being found in the northern and eastern part of the island, and also in Colombo in the southwest; low sex ratios (female-preponderant) appear in the south-central region. It is generally thought that distortions in the overall sex ratio by district are the result of male-preferential inter-district migration which displaces males from the densely populated Wet Zone to the relatively sparsely populated Dry Zone; these migrating males are then thought to be later joined by their wives. The male pioneer model seems supported by the data in Table 4, which is, unfortunately, based on data aggregated at the national level. Nonetheless, a trend toward a lower sex ratio with longer duration of residence in the district is evident, confirming the supposition that many male pioneers are in time joined by their spouses.⁹

Rural-Urban Migration. Rural to urban migration also exists, especially to the Colombo conurbation, Jaffna, and Kandy, but it is far less preponderant numerically than rural-to-rural migration, especially for lifetime migrants (Johnson and Le Scrivenor 1981). Sri Lanka stands out among Asian countries as being characterized by relatively low rates of urbanization (Gaminiratne 1976). Migration to the major cities appears to be led by males, many of whom are later joined by females, as suggested in Table 5. Except for Moratuwa and Galle, both situated in districts experiencing large net population losses through internal migration, the migrants of all durations in each city have higher sex ratios than the city's non-migrants (persons born and residing in 1971 in the municipal council area). Although there are some irregularities, the tendency in each case is for the sex ratio of the migrants to decline, with the sex ratio at the longest duration considerably lower than that of the shortest duration.

Ethnic Communities. Sex ratios for the island's major ethnic communities, together with the communities' proportions of the total

population in 1946 and 1971, appear in Table 6. The sex ratios display little variation except for the "others" category, which, especially in 1946, included traders and merchants not permanently resident in Sri Lanka.¹⁰ The somewhat higher sex ratio of the Indian Tamils in 1946 may reflect male migration from South India for employment during the Second World War. The near-uniformity of sex ratios among ethnic communities in Sri Lanka stands in marked contrast to the situation in North India, where large caste groupings in the same region display different sex ratios.¹¹ Sri Lankan ethnic group sex ratios may reflect an underlying socio-cultural commonality despite conspicuous differences of language and religion.

The overall similarity of the ethnic communities' sex ratios suggests that regional variations in sex ratios are not explicable in terms of the majority community of the area. Table 7 presents sex ratios and proportions of the population of the major communities by district in 1971. There are districts with Sinhalese majority that have both very high and very low sex ratios and likewise for districts with Sri Lanka Tamil majorities. In districts in which the Sinhalese constitute a majority of the population, the sex ratio for the Sinhalese ranges from almost 125 in Polannaruwa to about 97 in Matara. In Sri Lanka Tamil-majority districts, the sex ratios for Tamils are 122 in Vavuniya and 97.5 in Jaffna. In districts with high total sex ratios, all communities exhibit relatively high sex ratios with the exception of the Sri Lanka Moors (Muslims) in Mannar district. It appears that all major communities within a given district experience similar sex ratio imbalance.

High sex ratios characterize ethnic communities in districts in which that community is a small minority. In Galle and Matara districts, with total sex ratios of under 98 in 1971, the sex ratios for the small numbers of Sri Lanka Tamils were close to 150, and in Hambantota district, with a sex ratio of under 106, the ratio for the small Sri Lanka Tamil minority was nearly 245. Similarly, in Jaffna district the sex ratio in 1971 was slightly below 100, but the small Sinhalese minority in the district had a sex ratio of more than 240. It might be that males migrating for work to districts in which their ethnic community is a small minority more frequently leave their families behind than those migrating to districts in which their community constitutes the majority. Eruptions of communal violence, such as occurred in 1977 and 1983, in which victims were generally the exposed and vulnerable members of a small community residing among members of a majority community, may add a new and formidable constraint to family migration into districts in which their ethnic group is a minority.

Sex Ratios By Age Groups

Juveniles. Before looking in detail at what district sex ratios reveal about Sri Lankan internal migration, we examine sex ratios for the juvenile population so that the potential effects of unbalanced sex ratios at ages before migration in young adulthood can be considered.

The first possibility that arises is that sex ratios in certain districts may be unbalanced from the time of birth--that simply more males

than females are born in some districts and more females than males in others. We know that sex ratios at birth in other populations hover around 105.0. (Miller 1981; Preston 1976; Visaria 1967; Waldron 1983). A detailed study of a large sample of hospital-born babies in India shows that Indian sex ratios at birth also fall within the expected range of 100.0 to 105.0 (Ramachandran and Deshpande 1964). Official statistics on sex ratios at birth in Sri Lanka from 1960 through 1976 indicate a range from a low of 103.1 to a high of 104.6 (Table 8). Thus, in Sri Lanka, like India, the national sex ratio at birth is within "normal" range.¹² Although we do not have district-level data on sex ratio at birth, it is not likely that an unbalanced sex ratio at birth could explain the district variance seen in Table 3.

The second possibility meriting investigation is that the unbalanced overall sex ratios in some districts may be partially the result of sex differentials in childhood and maternal mortality, as is the case in other regions of South Asia (Visaria 1961; Kelly 1975; Miller 1981; Dyson and Moore 1983; D'Souza and Chen 1980). Good data on mortality are difficult to find for any developing nation, but a rough indicator of possible sex differentials in childhood mortality is provided by juvenile sex ratios (for children under ten years of age). A full series of sex ratio data for Sri Lanka by ten-year age categories is available from the 1971 census of population (Table 9).

The juvenile sex ratio (urban and rural combined) for all of Sri Lanka in 1971 was 103.0 which is within the normal range. The district variation in the total juvenile sex ratio, furthermore, is slight: from a low of 100.6 in Vavuniya to a high of 104.8 in Trincomalee. Rural and urban juvenile sex ratios are also normal. Sri Lanka's juvenile sex ratios are similar to those found in districts of neighboring South India, especially in the state of Kerala. They correspond to what census data on mortality in the juvenile years indicate: in 1970-1972, the age-specific death rate in the 1-4 age group was 5.39 for boys and 6.37 for girls, and in the 5-9 age group 1.68 for boys and 1.81 for girls (Nadarajah 1983; Langford n.d.). These small differences do not provide an explanation for the highly unbalanced sex ratios found in older age-groups.

It is important to note that census data on sex differences in mortality at later ages show only slight differences between the sexes, and in all categories male mortality rates are higher. In fact, since 1967, females in Sri Lanka have had a longer life expectancy than males (Table 10). We may, thus, largely discount mortality as a factor altering sex ratios in Sri Lanka and view migration as the key influence.¹³

10-19 Year-Olds. The amount of individual migration below the age of ten years in Sri Lanka is probably quite small, but between the ages of ten and nineteen, inter-district migration becomes important. The balanced sex ratios of the under-ten category change for the ten to nineteen group with the range extending from a low (total population) of 98.6 in Nuwara Eliya to a high of 115.3 in Polonnaruwa (Figure 2b). Rural sex ratios of youths

range from a low of 98.3 in Nuwara Eliya to a high of 115.1 in Vavuniya, while urban sex ratios are lowest at 98.8 in Amparai and highest at 167.3 in Polonnaruwa.

Very high sex ratios for the young adult population are found in districts in the northeast: Vavuniya, Anuradhapura, Trincomalee, and Polonnaruwa, and in Colombo. The major reason for the male preponderance in Colombo is urban migration. The other male-preponderant districts have unbalanced sex ratios largely because of an influx of young males to certain rural areas. The urban sex ratios of these northeastern districts are very high, but the urban population is small and does not significantly affect the overall district sex ratios.

In contrast, districts whose rural sex ratios were more feminine in the 10-to-19 age group are found in the center and west of the island. (Note the similarity between the patterns described here and those in Figure 2a and 2b.) This change could be either because of an exit of males or because of an influx of females from the rural areas. In most cases of inter-district movement in this age category, the migrants are probably young males leaving the rural areas, although we cannot completely discount the possibility of female migration. The five most urbanized districts--Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy, Kalutara, and Galle--all have fewer males per female in this age category than in the younger group. The difference is often slight, however, particularly when compared to the rise in rural masculinity among the same age group in Polonnaruwa. Thus, sex ratio data confirm the generally-known pattern of rural-to-rural, inter-district migration of males in Sri Lanka which is focused particularly on Polonnaruwa and generally on the northeast area where settlement and development schemes have been promoted by the government (Univ. of Colombo 1980; Johnson and Le Scrivenor 1981; Farmer 1957, 1977).

Most urban sex ratios in the 10-19 year age category fall between 98.8 (Amparai) and 116.2 (Kandy); Polonnaruwa stands alone with a sex ratio of 167.3. An extremely high proportion of males in urban areas, as is characteristic of certain African cities where males may outnumber females two to one (Boserup 1970; Josef Gugler, personal communication), is not generally found in Sri Lanka although in the upper age groups the proportion of males in the population rises to a perplexing degree. Polonnaruwa's urban population is, again, the extreme case, but its urban population is very small.

20-29 Year-Olds. The patterns of education, marriage, and economic activity in Sri Lanka suggest that the bulk of internal migration for males occurs when they are in their twenties. In the central and western districts again, the 20-29 age-group has fewer rural males per female than the next lower age group. The difference is most notable in Galle and Jaffna. In contrast, there are several districts with a higher rural sex ratio in this age-group than in the lower group; highest sex ratios are found in Polonnaruwa, Trincomalee, and Vavuniya. This extreme masculinization corresponds with the expectations of the male pioneer

model. Since the mean age at marriage for females in Sri Lanka in 1971 was 23.5 years (Dept. of Census 1974: 41),¹⁴ we would not expect associational migration of females to occur until they had reached their late twenties and early thirties.

In this age-group, urban sex ratios are generally male-preponderant with only Galle and Matara on the southern coast having more urban females than males. The highest urban sex ratios are in northeastern towns.

Older Adults. We would expect sex ratios in the northeast to be fairly balanced in the 30-39 age-group, with husbands and wives united in the migration destination. In fact, the great majority of districts (excepting only Hambantota and Jaffna) have still more males per female in this age category than in the previous one. The difference is slight in the majority of cases, but in a few it is quite large. The highest rural sex ratios in the older group are found in Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, and Polonnaruwa. Colombo, Kandy, and Matale have fairly balanced sex ratios. Those with the lowest sex ratios are Galle, Matara, and Jaffna.

Urban sex ratios in this age group are at variance with those of the previous age group. In some districts, such as Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura and Jaffna, sex ratios are lower than in the previous group, which could indicate wives joining husbands for residence in the cities, or a return migration of males from the cities to the rural areas. These processes are similar to what could be hypothesized for larger cities (Table 5). Conversely, in other districts (Monaragala, Mannar, and Nuwara Eliya) the urban sex ratio is more masculine in this age-group than in the previous group. The tendency is for these latter districts to exhibit even higher sex ratios in older age categories, a phenomenon difficult to explain on the basis of common sense or the census data.

In Colombo, Kalutara, Galle, Matara, and Jaffna, sex ratios for adults aged 40 years and older are fairly balanced; all other districts have extremely high sex ratios in both rural and urban areas. Urban sex ratios go as high as 228.6 in Polonnaruwa, but, since numbers in the older categories are very small, we cannot put much weight on the extreme nature of the sex ratios for the older population. We will merely note that they are all male-preponderant.

Summary. Districts with relatively balanced rural sex ratios are generally the most urbanized districts. Their sex ratio patterns are influenced by both rural-to-urban migration and inter-district, rural-to-rural migration. These districts experience a deficit in rural males in the ages from 10 to 30 and as far as the fifties in Galle. This pattern contrasts with that of the six districts most affected by government colonization schemes where there is never a preponderance of females and rarely a balanced sex ratio.

Migrants in the Population

The 1971 Population Census provides direct data on persons resident in a district but not born in that district, but these data are not disaggregated by urban and rural sectors. These data were available to us for only a few districts. While not strictly comparable to the above data on sex ratios because of the combination of urban and rural populations and the different age categories provided, these data do supply important complementary information. The five districts of Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Anuradhapura, and Polonnaruwa, represent a fairly good sample for the entire nation since the first three are more urbanized, the latter two are colonization districts, and Galle provides a case of a district which experiences heavy out-migration.

Table 11 presents the number of males and females, in various age categories, who were not born in the district where they resided. On the basis of general knowledge of Sri Lankan migration patterns and sex ratio data, one would expect to see preponderantly male in-migration in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa (Figure 3). In these districts male in-migrants do consistently outnumber female in-migrants in all age categories except in the very oldest group in Polonnaruwa. The disparity is marked in all adult categories, requiring a rethinking of the male pioneer model which assumes the eventual union of husband and wife. Does this mean that male in-migrants marry local women? Or do the male in-migrants leave their wives behind throughout the course of the marriage and return home occasionally for visits as is common in many parts of the world? Both possibilities are quite likely and there is some documentation in the ethnographic literature on Sri Lanka for the former (Selvaourai 1976).

Colombo has a different pattern. Male in-migrants are more numerous in the adult years, with a preponderance of females in the oldest age-group. Kandy and Galle exhibit similar sex ratio patterns (Figure 3) except in the oldest age-groups, and data on numbers and sex ratios of migrants for Kandy and Galle (Table 11) are also roughly similar. In both districts, female in-migrants outnumber male in-migrants to a significant degree in most of the adult age groups. At this point, we are not able to state why females predominate in the migration streams to these districts. One hypothesis is that employment in the coir industry draws women.¹⁵

On the basis of the data on numbers of migrants by sex for these five districts, it is possible to distinguish three major patterns of internal migration in Sri Lanka. The first pattern, manifest in Colombo district, is fairly balanced by sex, though males lead in the early years. The second pattern is heavily male-preponderant and involves males migrating into the less densely populated districts of the Dry Zone. The third pattern is female-preponderant migration and is focused on districts in the southeastern Wet Zone. Only the first pattern conforms to general expectations: male migrants, accompanied or, more commonly, joined later by wives, resulting in a fairly balanced sex ratio. The second pattern only partly conforms to the male pioneer model: numerous males do indeed migrate

to the Dry Zone, but a balanced number of males and females is never attained. The third pattern demonstrates the existence of apparently autonomous female migration, a stream not as numerically significant as the second pattern, but nonetheless important.

These data on actual numbers of male and female migrants help to understand the sex ratio data examined in earlier sections of the paper. We have learned that, in Sri Lanka at least, a rising sex ratio does indicate an influx of males and a declining sex ratio also indicates an influx of females. The correlation between a district's total sex ratio and lifetime migration rate is positive and highly significant ($r = .846$) and net migration is also positive and significant ($r = .505$).

Some Sociocultural Correlates

In order to begin to understand the wider context in which Sri Lankan internal migration takes place, we have analyzed district-level census data on key variables in relation to three measures of migration: the lifetime migration rate; net migration; and sex ratio (Table 12). The sociocultural variables discussed in this section are factors that could affect the pattern of internal migration; they include labor participation rates for males and females, literacy rates for males and females, and the age at marriage for females. (Data on age at marriage for males by district were not available.) We also examine male and female suicide rates in relation to the migration measures.

Labor Participation Rates. Labor participation rates for males and females by district are a proxy variable for understanding possible economic motivation for internal migration.¹⁶ If districts characterized by heavy in-migration have different rates of labor participation for males or females than out-migration districts, we may assume that the availability of work may be an influencing factor.

As Table 12 demonstrates, female labor participation is not correlated with lifetime migration rate or net migration, although it is moderately and negatively correlated with sex ratio ($r = .40$). On the other hand, the male labor participation rate is strongly and positively correlated with all three measures. The pattern emerges of correspondence between a higher level of migration, a high sex ratio in the population, and a higher rate of labor participation for males. A lower level of internal migration accompanies lower sex ratios and a higher labor participation rate for females.

Female labor participation rates exhibit a wide range of variation, extending from a low of 5.3 percent in Mannar district to a high of 53.1 percent in Nuwara Eliya (Table 13). High female labor participation rates in Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, and Kandy are largely attributable to the employment of women on tea estates. In Kandy district, for example, 68.7 percent of all employed women in 1971 were classified as tea pluckers and laborers (Sri Lanka Dept. of Census 1974b: 36-47).¹⁷ The lowest female

labor participation rates are found in the districts of Mannar, Batticaloa, Jaffna, and Trincomalee, where the Sri Lanka Tamil ethnic community predominates with its presumably strong cultural restrictions against women's employment.¹⁸ In fact, the presence of Sri Lanka Tamils in the population is strongly and negatively correlated with female labor participation rate ($r = -.69$). Mannar, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee districts also contain relatively large numbers of Sri Lanka Moors (see Table 7).

Male labor participation rates range from a low of 64.2 percent in Matara district to a high of 76.0 percent in Mannar district, thus displaying a much narrower differential than female labor participation rates. In terms of agricultural work, it is apparent that Dry Zone agriculture does not offer as many opportunities for women's involvement as does the intensive cultivation of irrigated rice in the Wet Zone. Additionally, in the Wet Zone work opportunities exist for women in the rubber and coconut areas. Likewise, there seems less availability of employment for women in small factories and in other non-agricultural occupations in the Dry Zone than in the Wet Zone.¹⁹ One might hypothesize that women would have higher participation rates where in-migration has had a longer history and irrigated agriculture and non-agricultural opportunities have developed than they would have in more recently settled districts. But the data do not support such a supposition: Ampari district (older settlements) shows lower female labor participation than Polonnaruwa district (more recent settlements). Interestingly, quite high female labor participation is found in Anuradhapura. Clearly, no simple explanation is revealed in the data.

Literacy. Classic internal migration theory states that literacy has a positive effect on internal migration rates. In Sri Lanka, both the male and female populations are highly literate compared with those of other developing countries. Male literacy ranges from a low of 66.4 percent in Batticaloa district to a high of 91.9 percent in Colombo (Table 13). Female literacy ranges from a low of 46.7 percent in Batticaloa to a high of 84.4 percent in Colombo. Literacy rates for males and females are strongly and positively correlated ($r = .91$). Female literacy is not significantly correlated with any of the migration measures, while male literacy correlates moderately and negatively only with sex ratio ($r = -.36$), thus implying that in districts of heavy in-migration, males are less literate than elsewhere. We are not able to say whether this finding stems from lower literacy rates of migrants or of non-migrants in those districts.

Thus, Sri Lanka stands apart from other Asian countries where literacy appears in close relationship with the level of internal migration for females (Sopher 1983). It must be remembered, however, that Sri Lanka stands out also as having one of the most literate populations of all the developing countries of Asia.

Age at Marriage. The age at marriage for females is often an important variable affecting female migration patterns, particularly when migration is

heavily influenced by associational movement of females. In Sri Lanka, the mean age at marriage for females ranges from a low of 19.7 years in Trincomalee district to a high of 25.8 years in Galle (Table 13). There is a clear regional pattern of lower age at marriage in the northeast and later age at marriage in the southwest.²⁰

Age at marriage for females appears to be a key variable in the population dynamics of Sri Lanka. It is strongly and negatively correlated with lifetime migration rate ($r = -.68$) and shows a modest and negative relationship with net migration ($r = -.46$), and is strongly and negatively correlated with sex ratio ($r = -.82$). Additionally, age at marriage of females is strongly and positively correlated with female labor participation ($r = .59$), and moderately strongly with female literacy ($r = .47$).

Thus, areas of male out-migration and female in-migration, such as Galle and Kalutara in the southwest, are characterized by late age at marriage for females and high female labor participation rates. Areas of preponderantly male in-migration exhibit early marriage age for females and low labor participation of females.

All of these factors connect tellingly with some apparent sociocultural sequelae of heavy male in-migration in the settlement areas of the northeast. These consequences are largely the result of the separation of nuclear and sub-nuclear units from the extended family context and, more generally, displacement of persons from villages where ties between nuclear units are strong and extensive to villages composed of unrelated nuclear or sub-nuclear units.

Suicide: A Response?

In Sri Lanka, many spouses live in separation from one another. Although distances between most areas of the island can be traversed in a day's journey by bus, which facilitates occasional visiting, the fact remains that for many couples family ties are stretched over space. Examination of the spouse separation rate for a small number of districts shows that only in Galle and Kalutara (districts of female in-migration) are there urban areas with large numbers of married women living apart from their husbands, while rural areas of many districts are characterized by wives living apart from their husbands (Table 14). In the settlement districts, as expected, numerous husbands are living without wives in both the urban and rural areas, although the rate of spouse separation is much higher in the towns in those districts.

Male pioneers to the settlement districts no doubt suffer much loneliness and isolation as a result of separation from their wives and from the fraternal solidarity of their natal villages.²¹ Female members of migrating families likewise suffer the loss of supportive extended-family members and village friends, who provide companionship and help with child care and other work (Lund 1981: 104). One response to such isolation may be found in the high suicide rates for both males and females. In the two

decades from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, the suicide rate in Sri Lanka increased three-fold, climbing from 6.9 per 100,000 population in 1955 to 22.1 in 1974. Table 15 presents suicide rates by district and sex for the rather arbitrarily chosen but reasonably typical year 1973.²² Immediately evident are the marked variations in male and female suicide rates between districts, with male suicide rates ranging from 16.1 per 100,000 population in Matara to 73.7 in Vavuniya. Female suicide rates varied over an even greater range, from 3.3 in Matara to 52.6 in Vavuniya.

It is evident from Table 15 that districts with higher male suicide rates also tended toward higher female rates, and those with low rates for one sex generally displayed low rates for the other. The correlation between male rates and female rates is very strong and positive ($r = .75$), suggesting the possibility that the same explanatory factors apply to both. Female suicide rates show an additional correlation, very strong and negative, with age at marriage of females; fewer female suicides occur in districts where females marry later. Male suicide rates are moderately and positively correlated with sex ratios ($r = .45$); the correlation for female suicide rates and sex ratios is stronger ($r = .63$). Male suicide rates are also moderately and positively correlated with lifetime migration rates ($r = .41$), and with the presence of Sri Lanka Tamils in the population ($r = .42$).

High suicide rates for both males and females are found in Vavuniya, Jaffna, Puttalam, Polonnaruwa, and Matale districts--all in the northern half of the island. Districts with the lowest suicide rates for both sexes include Kegalle, Colombo, Galle, Kalutara, Matara, Amparai, and Trincomalee--all, except the latter two, clustered in the southwestern Wet Zone.

The effects of migration (as measured in the lifetime migration rate and the sex ratio) and the presence of Sri Lanka Tamils in the population appear to be key explanatory variables. Both are correlated strongly with male and female suicide rates. The relationship between the Tamil society of the North and high suicide rates is a longstanding one. Social structural rigidities of caste and kinship have been cited as contributing to the suicide rate among the Sri Lanka Tamil population (Straus and Straus 1953: 466-467; Wood 1961: 62). Amparai district, with low rates of suicide for both sexes, seems to contradict the suggestion of a causal relationship between the disruption of family ties involved in migration and the incidence of suicide. The anomaly might be examined in terms of migration into Amparai district occurring in an earlier period, still appearing in the lifetime migration rate but allowing the reconstruction of family and community ties before the year of the suicide data. Our data, unfortunately, do not allow us to confirm or refute this hypothesis.

In any case, the rise in suicide rates seems likely to be a product of a number of complex factors. Colombo, within the medium range of lifetime migration rates and highly urbanized, confounds conventional wisdom by registering low rates of suicide for both males and females. Furthermore,

the incidence of suicide rose markedly after the 1950s in every district. For example, Matara district, which in 1955 registered the lowest total (male and female) suicide rate of any district (2.7 per 100,000), in 1974 posted a rate of 14.8. Over the same period, the suicide rate in Jaffna rose from 13.1 to 43.5. The universality of the increase suggests the existence of factors of more sweeping impact, such as a general disruption of customary values, practices, and relationships brought on by rapid modernization and social change, in addition to the disruptions of migration. A detailed examination of the suicide data must, however, await a subsequent paper.

Conclusion

Our examination of the census data on sociocultural factors is an attempt to provide answers to questions about the major causes and consequences of sex-differential internal migration in Sri Lanka. Both intensive ethnographic studies in selected locales and migration histories of males and females are needed to provide knowledge on the dynamics of the process. An ideal sample of research sites might include Colombo, another major city such as Jaffna, a town in one of the settlement districts, and several villages both in male-dominant districts such as Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura and in female-dominant districts such as Galle and Kalutara. The rural hinterland of Colombo district would also be an important study site to expose what may be complex processes creating balanced rural sex ratios.

Future research on sex differences in Sri Lankan internal migration will do more than expose the details of migration on the island. It will contribute to a broader understanding of social demographic processes and their variation throughout South Asia and Southeast Asia. Sri Lanka stands in a most interesting and integral position in relation to the male-dominated cultures and populations to its north and the more female-supportive cultures and populations to its east.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 35th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies held in San Francisco, California, March 25-27, 1983. This paper is a revised version of one that was published under the same title in Peasant Studies, Summer 1983, pp. 223-250 and it is printed here with their permission. We are grateful for substantial comments from David Sopher, Hanna Papanek and Josef Gugler, and the WID working paper editorial advisors. In Sri Lanka the Director of the Department of Census and Statistics and his staff were very helpful in providing access to published and unpublished data. Institutional support from Syracuse University took several forms. The secretarial contribution over many months from Esther Gray of the Metropolitan Studies Program was of critical help. Richard Joseph, Research Assistant in the Metropolitan Studies Program, provided assistance with statistical analysis. The preparation of maps and figures was done by the Syracuse University Cartographic Laboratory under the direction of D. Michael Kirchoff. Financial assistance for the artwork was given by the Foreign and Comparative Studies Program.
2. Some examples are Todaro 1976; articles in Alan Brown and Egon Neuberger 1977; and Huq 1979.
3. See, for example, Abhayaratne and Jayewardene 1965 and Wong 1981.
4. Census and other demographic data on Sri Lanka have long been regarded as quite reliable and considerably better than similar data for other developing countries of Asia. See, for example, Straus 1953; and Langford 1981. The nineteenth-century introduction of meticulous British practices of record-keeping, a manageably small population, well-developed networks of transportation and communications, and high and rising literacy rates and educational levels may all be presumed to have contributed to the quality of the data. Census enumerations have been conducted in Sri Lanka since 1871, were interrupted during the Great Depression and the Second World War, but were resumed with censuses in 1946, 1953, 1963, 1971, and 1981. The present paper relies primarily on 1971 data because the figures available for 1981 are preliminary and incomplete.
5. The term "sex ratio" refers to the number of males per one hundred females, following the standard practice throughout most of the world excepting Great Britain and some countries in South Asia.
6. These and subsequent population density figures are from Sri Lanka, Department of Census 1978: 33.
7. Lifetime migration rate refers to net migration gain or loss as a proportion of the Sri-Lankan born district population.

8. An early article on the subject of comparative sex ratios (El-Badry 1969) noted the following national sex ratios: Pakistan, 112.7 (1961 Census); India, 106.6 (1961 Census); and Indonesia, 97.3 (1961 Census). Worldwide, nations with sex ratios above 105.0 are quite rare; they include India, Pakistan and some countries in the Near East. Recent research comparing Pakistan and Bangladesh (Miller 1983) reveals that high sex ratios in Pakistan contrast with relatively low sex ratios in Bangladesh.
9. At the longest duration, the sex ratio dips below 100.0, which could result from several factors including greater longevity of females and out-migration of male offspring of long-staying families to other locales. It is impossible to do more than speculate on causality at this point.
10. Among those classified here as "others" in 1946 were Indian Moors, mostly traders, who had a sex ratio of 640.6. Burghers and Eurasians, Malays, and Veddahs all exhibited nearly balanced (near 100) sex ratios. In 1971, a much smaller Indian Moor community, perhaps more permanently established in Sri Lanka, had a sex ratio of 137.0. In that year, the sex ratio of the Burgher community was 98.0 and that of the Malays was 106.7.
11. Within districts, even villages, of India, different "caste" groups exhibit contrasting sex ratios with major differences between "upper castes" and "lower castes" (Miller 1981).
12. Sex ratios above 105.0 for large juvenile populations require explanation since 105.0 is roughly the upper limit of what could be expected under "natural" conditions, that is, without cultural interference. We use the term "normal" in this paper to refer to sex ratios within a "naturally" expectable range.
13. Additionally, we ignore possible age misreporting and treat the census age data as essentially accurate. Although there may be a tendency for people to round their ages to the nearest zero, we feel that this kind of error in the Sri Lankan census is quite minor and would have only a negligible influence on our analysis. For details, see Sri Lanka, Department of Census 1978: 67-69.
14. The census provides "singulate mean age at marriage" which is calculated from census data on proportions of the population by age who were never married at the time of the census.
15. For an excellent case study of women in the coir (coconut fiber rope and matting) industry, see Risseuw 1980.

16. Miller (1981) has used a similar rate in an analysis of labor participation in rural India with the knowledge that, while such data do not accurately measure "work," they do provide insights into regional patterns of relative activity of males and females in the formal labor force.
17. Additional details on estate-employed women are provided in Wolf 1980 and Langford 1982.
18. In contrast, Tamil regions in India exhibit high rates of female labor participation (Miller 1981). Information on caste differentials in women's labor participation is provided in an excellent study of Tamil women in a village on the Jaffna peninsula by Skjonsberg 1983.
19. An interesting study by Lund (1981) comparing women's work options in Kalutara district in the southwest to those in the Mahaweli region of Anuradhapura district documents this contrast.
20. This pattern is closely related to lower fertility in southwestern districts (Langford 1981).
21. Psychological distress caused by loosening of the extended family bond has also been noted for India (Kakar 1981: 120-121).
22. Suicide rates presented in this section and in Table 15 were derived from unpublished data obtained from the Registrar-General's Department in Colombo. We are indebted to the personnel of the statistician's office for facilitating acquisition of these data.

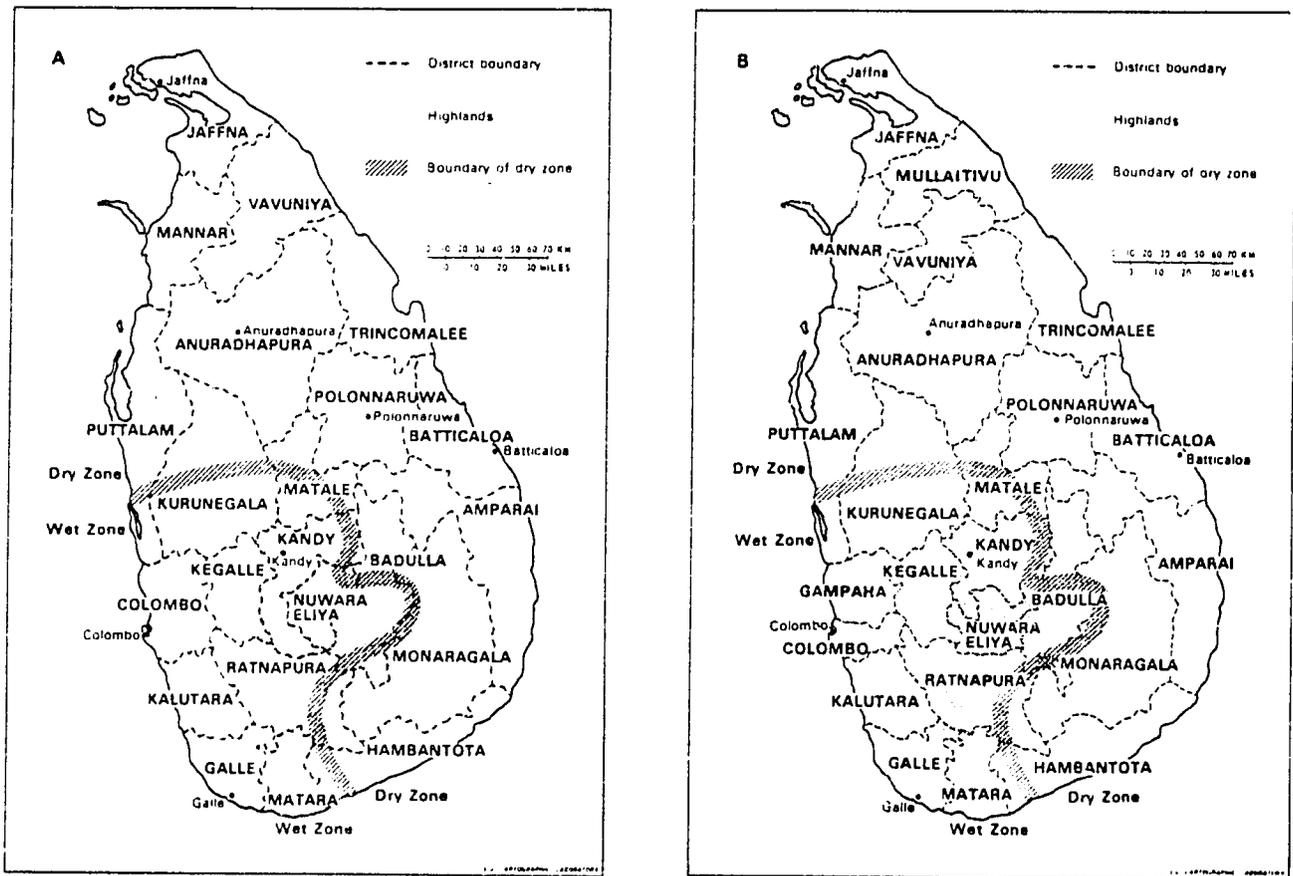


Figure 1. Sri Lanka, administrative districts (A) at the time of the 1971 Census, and (B) at the time of the 1981 Census.

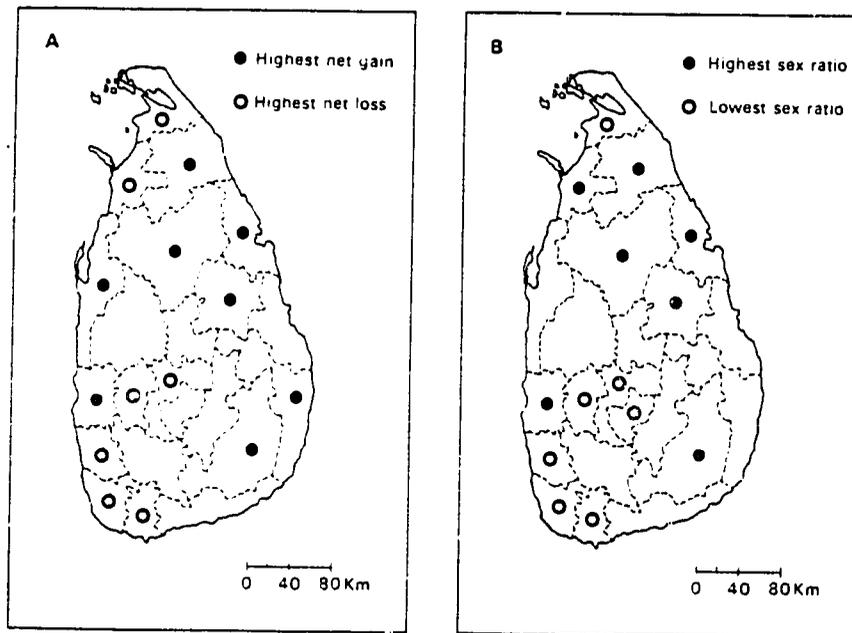


Figure 2. Districts with (A) highest net gain and highest net loss through internal migration, and (B) highest sex ratio and lowest sex ratio in the population, 1971. Sex ratio is calculated as males per females; thus a high sex ratio is male-preponderant.

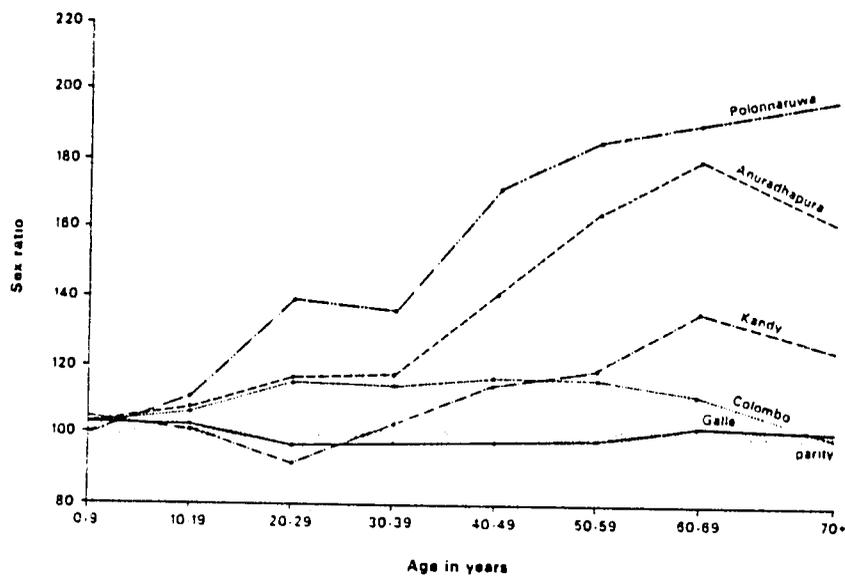


Figure 3. Sex ratios by ten-year age-groups, selected districts, 1971.

TABLE 1. INTER-DISTRICT MIGRATION MEASURES DERIVED FROM DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE IN 1971 AND DISTRICT OF BIRTH

| District ^a | In-Migrants ^b | | Out-Migrants ^c | | Net Gain or Loss ^d | Lifetime Migration Rate ^g |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Number ^d | Percent ^e | Number ^d | Percent ^f | | |
| Polonnaruwa | 78.0 | 47.7 | 8.8 | 8.8 | 69.7 | 42.54 |
| Vavuniya | 33.0 | 35.5 | 4.9 | 7.5 | 28.1 | 29.41 |
| Trincomalee | 56.0 | 29.4 | 13.9 | 9.2 | 42.3 | 22.05 |
| Monaragala | 51.7 | 27.1 | 10.8 | 7.2 | 40.9 | 21.35 |
| Anuradhapura | 103.3 | 26.6 | 24.3 | 7.9 | 79.0 | 20.30 |
| Amparai | 57.7 | 21.3 | 5.9 | 2.7 | 51.8 | 19.01 |
| Puttalam | 74.1 | 19.6 | 47.7 | 13.5 | 26.4 | 6.96 |
| Colombo | 440.0 | 16.6 | 279.4 | 11.2 | 160.6 | 6.02 |
| Hambantota | 52.6 | 15.4 | 38.9 | 11.9 | 13.7 | 4.02 |
| Kurunegala | 141.5 | 13.8 | 118.2 | 11.8 | 23.2 | 2.26 |
| Ratnapura | 91.8 | 14.1 | 83.8 | 13.1 | 8.0 | 1.10 |
| Matale | 66.9 | 21.4 | 65.9 | 21.1 | 1.0 | 0.30 |
| Batticaloa | 15.5 | 6.0 | 23.4 | 8.8 | - 7.9 | - 3.07 |
| Badulla | 59.9 | 10.1 | 89.8 | 14.4 | - 30.0 | - 4.86 |
| Nuwara Eeliya | 74.0 | 17.1 | 105.3 | 22.7 | - 31.3 | - 6.92 |
| Kegalle | 93.0 | 14.5 | 140.1 | 20.2 | - 46.9 | - 7.19 |
| Kalutara | 99.0 | 13.6 | 137.5 | 18.2 | - 38.6 | - 7.34 |
| Jaffna | 25.7 | 3.7 | 88.4 | 11.6 | - 62.7 | - 8.90 |
| Mannar | 15.5 | 21.0 | 22.7 | 27.9 | - 7.2 | - 9.21 |
| Kandy | 148.3 | 12.8 | 264.0 | 20.7 | -115.7 | - 9.74 |
| Galle | 67.6 | 9.2 | 162.6 | 19.5 | - 95.0 | -12.88 |
| Matara | 56.6 | 9.7 | 176.2 | 25.0 | -119.7 | -20.34 |

^aOrdered highest positive to highest negative lifetime migration rate.

^bResident in the district in 1971 but born in another district.

^cBorn in the district but resident in another district in 1971.

^dIn thousands.

^eIn-migrants as a percentage of all Sri Lanka-born persons who were living in the district in 1971.

^fOut-migrants as a percentage of all persons born in the district irrespective of district of residence in 1971.

^gNet gain or loss divided by the number of persons born in Sri Lanka living in the district at the time of the census.

SOURCE: Sri Lanka Dept. of Census 1978: 52

TABLE 2. NATIONAL SEX RATIO AT CENSUSES OF SRI LANKA,
1871-1981

| <u>Census Year</u> | <u>Sex Ratio</u> |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1871 | 114.3 |
| 1881 | 113.9 |
| 1891 | 112.7 |
| 1901 | 113.5 |
| 1911 | 112.6 |
| 1921 | 112.5 |
| 1946 | 113.0 |
| 1953 | 111.5 |
| 1963 | 108.2 |
| 1971 | 106.1 |
| 1981 | 103.1 |

SOURCE: For 1871-1971, Sri Lanka Department of Census 1978: 73.
For 1981, derived from Sri Lanka Department of Census, 1981.

TABLE 3. SEX RATIOS BY DISTRICT, 1946-1981

| District ^a | 1946 | 1953 | 1963 | 1971 | 1981 ^b | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| | | | | | Total | Urban | Rural |
| Matara | 99.9 | 101.7 | 98.5 | 97.5 | 93.8 | 95.3 | 93.6 |
| Galle | 97.6 | 96.6 | 97.0 | 97.7 | 93.9 | 98.3 | 92.8 |
| Kegalle | 112.9 | 109.5 | 106.3 | 103.8 | 97.8 | 107.5 | 97.1 |
| Jaffna | 99.8 | 100.4 | 101.1 | 99.5 | 98.1 | 100.6 | 96.9 |
| Kalutara | 105.7 | 105.0 | 102.7 | 101.5 | 98.2 | 100.5 | 97.5 |
| Kandy | 112.7 | 108.7 | 106.8 | 103.9 | 98.5 | 112.0 | 96.6 |
| Nuwara Eliya | 110.2 | 109.8 | 106.4 | 104.1 | 100.3 | 123.9 | 98.6 |
| Gampaha | --- | --- | --- | --- | 101.2 | 104.5 | 100.0 |
| Kurunegala | 115.6 | 114.7 | 107.8 | 105.3 | 101.5 | 121.4 | 100.8 |
| Badulla | 111.5 | 112.1 | 107.0 | 104.5 | 102.0 | 111.5 | 101.2 |
| Puttalam | 118.5 | 116.1 | 108.1 | 106.0 | 102.0 | 105.1 | 101.6 |
| Matale | 114.7 | 115.4 | 108.0 | 106.3 | 102.4 | 108.9 | 101.7 |
| Bataloa | 101.4 | 114.3 | 107.5 | 107.3 | 102.4 | 97.2 | 104.0 |
| Hambantota | 114.4 | 109.2 | 106.1 | 105.8 | 104.0 | 114.8 | 102.9 |
| Ratnapura | 118.1 | 114.8 | 110.6 | 108.9 | 106.5 | 113.6 | 106.0 |
| Amparai | --- | --- | 119.0 | 110.0 | 109.3 | 108.0 | 109.5 |
| Colombo | 121.7 | 117.9 | 113.0 | 110.1 | 110.6 | 113.6 | 102.2 |
| Anuradhapura | 144.0 | 135.4 | 119.3 | 115.3 | 113.4 | 127.0 | 112.4 |
| Vavuniya | 136.4 | 136.4 | 133.4 | 124.2 | 113.6 | 124.5 | 111.1 |
| Mannar | 147.3 | 145.1 | 121.1 | 116.4 | 114.1 | 112.0 | 114.4 |
| Trincomalee | 200.3 | 144.4 | 129.5 | 119.1 | 115.3 | 114.4 | 115.8 |
| Monaragala | --- | --- | 116.0 | 115.1 | 117.4 | 141.1 | 116.9 |
| Mullaitivu | --- | --- | --- | --- | 122.8 | 119.8 | 123.1 |
| Polonnaruwa | --- | --- | 136.7 | 124.9 | 129.8 | 142.4 | 128.8 |
| Sri Lanka | 113.0 | 111.5 | 108.2 | 105.8 | 103.1 | 109.1 | 101.6 |

^aOrdered lowest to highest sex ratio in 1981.

^bAt the time of the 1981 Census, two new districts, Gampaha and Mullaitivu, had been created. Additionally, other district boundaries were redrawn. Affected districts include: Colombo, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Mannar, Vavuniya, and Anuradhapura. Thus, figures for earlier years for these districts are not strictly comparable to the 1981 figures.

SOURCE: For 1946-1971, Department of Census and Statistics, Census of Population, 1971, Volume II, Part I (Colombo: Department of Government Printing, 1975), p 4, hereafter cited as Census, 1971. For 1981, derived from Census, 1981.

TABLE 4. SEX RATIOS FOR INTER-DISTRICT MIGRANTS BY DURATION OF STAY IN DISTRICT OF 1971 RESIDENCE

| <u>All Durations</u> | <u>Less Than 1 Year</u> | <u>1-4 Years</u> | <u>5-9 Years</u> | <u>10 Years and Longer</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 111.0 | 135.2 | 122.2 | 108.9 | 98.2 |

SOURCE: Derived from Sri Lanka Department of Census 1975: 56.

TABLE 5. SEX RATIOS OF MIGRANTS BY DURATION OF STAY AND OF NON-MIGRANTS, CITIES OVER 50,000 POPULATION, 1971

| <u>City</u> | <u>All Durations</u> | <u>Less Than 1 Year</u> | <u>1-4 Years</u> | <u>5-9 Years</u> | <u>10 Years and Longer</u> | <u>All Non-Migrants</u> |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Colombo | 149.1 | 174.1 | 158.9 | 162.1 | 132.1 | 105.7 |
| Dehiwala-Mt. Lavinia | 112.0 | 113.5 | 115.6 | 108.2 | 101.7 | 108.8 |
| Kotte | 116.1 | 124.5 | 118.5 | 104.6 | 113.4 | 98.5 |
| Moratuwa | 95.6 | 115.8 | 95.6 | 100.1 | 78.0 | 97.4 |
| Negombo | 125.6 | 156.8 | 109.5 | 117.3 | 116.2 | 99.0 |
| Kandy | 115.8 | 146.3 | 126.7 | 105.7 | 100.2 | 105.6 |
| Galle | 94.6 | 116.7 | 104.6 | 81.8 | 83.9 | 102.5 |
| Jaffna | 124.6 | 151.8 | 145.0 | 121.7 | 109.3 | 100.7 |

SOURCE: Sri Lanka Department of Census 1975: 63.

TABLE 6. SEX RATIOS AND PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL POPULATION OF MAJOR ETHNIC COMMUNITIES, 1946 AND 1971

| <u>Ethnic Community</u> | <u>1946</u> | | <u>1971</u> | |
|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| | <u>Percent</u> | <u>Sex Ratio</u> | <u>Percent</u> | <u>Sex Ratio</u> |
| Sinhalese | 69.4 | 109.9 | 72.0 | 105.5 |
| Sri Lanka Tamils | 11.0 | 109.1 | 11.2 | 108.0 |
| Indian Tamils | 11.7 | 122.8 | 9.3 | 106.9 |
| Sri Lanka Moors | 5.6 | 112.7 | 6.5 | 106.4 |
| Others | 2.2 | 214.0 | 1.0 | 111.2 |

SOURCES: Sri Lanka, Department of Census 1951: V. 1, pt. 2: 105; 1975: V. 2, pt. 1: 25; Department of Census and Statistics, Census of Population, 1971, Vol. 2, part 1 (Colombo: Department of Government Printing, 1975), p. 25.

TABLE 7. SEX RATIOS AND PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION OF MAJOR ETHNIC COMMUNITIES, BY DISTRICT, 1971

| District ^a | Sinhalese | | Sri Lanka Tamils | | Indian Tamils | | Sri Lanka Moors | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| | Percent of Population | Sex Ratio |
| Polonnaruwa | 89.8 | 124.9 | 3.0 | 133.1 | 0.2 | 204.5 | 6.9 | 119.6 |
| Vavuniya | 16.8 | 130.9 | 61.3 | 122.0 | 14.5 | 131.9 | 6.6 | 113.8 |
| Trincomalee | 29.1 | 132.8 | 35.2 | 114.3 | 2.7 | 146.0 | 31.7 | 110.6 |
| Mannar | 4.1 | 261.6 | 51.4 | 113.3 | 16.7 | 125.3 | 25.3 | 102.8 |
| Anuradhapura | 90.4 | 114.6 | 2.0 | 152.8 | 0.5 | 133.0 | 6.6 | 113.6 |
| Monaragala | 90.1 | 115.0 | 1.6 | 156.2 | 6.0 | 106.4 | 2.1 | 116.7 |
| Colombo | 83.1 | 107.4 | 6.3 | 135.3 | 2.2 | 151.1 | 5.5 | 112.7 |
| Amparai | 30.2 | 130.9 | 22.2 | 105.7 | 0.6 | 156.7 | 46.4 | 102.6 |
| Ratnapura | 88.8 | 109.0 | 1.4 | 132.5 | 17.1 | 105.4 | 1.2 | 123.4 |
| Batticaloa | 4.5 | 164.7 | 69.1 | 105.3 | 1.7 | 153.9 | 23.7 | 101.6 |
| Matale | 74.6 | 106.7 | 3.5 | 113.8 | 14.9 | 101.5 | 6.4 | 109.2 |
| Puttalam | 81.2 | 130.9 | 6.8 | 108.0 | 1.6 | 169.6 | 9.8 | 105.0 |
| Hambantota | 97.1 | 105.2 | 0.5 | 244.7 | 0.1 | 152.5 | 1.3 | 108.6 |
| Kurunegala | 92.8 | 104.6 | 0.9 | 142.7 | 1.3 | 115.5 | 4.5 | 110.0 |
| Badulla | 58.7 | 104.9 | 3.2 | 280.1 | 34.0 | 102.0 | 3.2 | 109.4 |
| Nuwara Eliya | 41.4 | 106.0 | 4.1 | 112.4 | 52.3 | 101.8 | 1.6 | 107.6 |
| Kandy | 62.3 | 103.6 | 4.3 | 118.0 | 24.1 | 103.0 | 8.2 | 101.3 |
| Kegalle | 84.0 | 103.3 | 1.7 | 123.4 | 9.4 | 105.0 | 4.4 | 103.5 |
| Kalutara | 86.6 | 101.0 | 1.0 | 135.8 | 5.3 | 106.1 | 6.9 | 100.0 |
| Jaffna | 1.0 | 243.5 | 94.9 | 97.5 | 2.6 | 135.5 | 1.4 | 122.9 |
| Galle | 94.3 | 97.2 | 0.5 | 145.4 | 2.1 | 108.9 | 3.0 | 100.0 |
| Matara | 93.9 | 97.1 | 0.3 | 152.9 | 3.2 | 105.8 | 2.5 | 96.0 |

^aOrdered highest to lowest district sex ratio.

SOURCE: Sri Lanka Department of Census 1974: Table 9.

TABLE 8. SEX RATIO AT BIRTH, 1960-1976 (Live Births)

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Sex Ratio</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|
| 1960 | 103.3 |
| 1961 | 103.5 |
| 1962 | 103.9 |
| 1963 | 104.0 |
| 1964 | 103.3 |
| 1965 | 103.3 |
| 1966 | 103.9 |
| 1967 | 103.1 |
| 1968 | 103.7 |
| 1969 | 103.3 |
| 1970 | 104.0 |
| 1971 | 104.4 |
| 1972 | 104.3 |
| 1973 | 104.6 |
| 1974 | 103.6 |
| 1975 | 103.0 |
| 1976 | 104.0 |

SOURCE: Sri Lanka Department of Census 1977: 61.

TABLE 9. SEX RATIOS BY DISTRICT AND TEN-YEAR AGE GROUPS, 1971

| District | | 0-9 | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70 & Older |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| Colombo: | Total | 103.1 | 107.0 | 115.5 | 114.6 | 116.7 | 116.2 | 112.4 | 101.5 |
| | Urban | 102.8 | 110.1 | 131.5 | 128.0 | 128.8 | 124.4 | 109.7 | 94.7 |
| | Rural | 103.4 | 103.3 | 96.1 | 98.8 | 103.6 | 107.8 | 115.1 | 105.4 |
| Kalutara: | Total | 103.1 | 101.7 | 94.9 | 96.4 | 104.3 | 108.8 | 110.9 | 107.0 |
| | Urban | 103.3 | 102.8 | 100.3 | 101.4 | 108.2 | 105.7 | 102.9 | 90.9 |
| | Rural | 103.1 | 101.4 | 93.5 | 95.0 | 103.2 | 109.7 | 113.2 | 112.1 |
| Galle: | Total | 103.4 | 102.2 | 88.3 | 89.0 | 95.7 | 98.2 | 103.2 | 103.3 |
| | Urban | 104.2 | 106.3 | 97.7 | 93.4 | 96.9 | 99.3 | 100.2 | 90.7 |
| | Rural | 101.1 | 101.1 | 85.8 | 88.0 | 95.4 | 97.8 | 104.0 | 106.7 |
| Matara: | Total | 103.3 | 100.4 | 85.2 | 90.2 | 97.4 | 98.0 | 109.1 | 104.2 |
| | Urban | 101.4 | 100.4 | 97.8 | 94.6 | 101.6 | 94.9 | 98.6 | 96.7 |
| | Rural | 103.5 | 100.5 | 83.6 | 89.6 | 96.9 | 98.5 | 110.7 | 105.4 |
| Hambantota: | Total | 103.0 | 104.5 | 103.3 | 99.5 | 113.9 | 127.1 | 124.8 | 105.7 |
| | Urban | 103.6 | 111.9 | 124.5 | 111.1 | 127.2 | 132.2 | 110.3 | 92.7 |
| | Rural | 103.0 | 103.8 | 100.8 | 98.2 | 112.5 | 126.5 | 126.6 | 107.3 |
| Ratnapura: | Total | 102.4 | 103.8 | 101.2 | 108.8 | 124.5 | 134.8 | 153.1 | 145.1 |
| | Urban | 100.9 | 109.0 | 112.0 | 121.1 | 130.6 | 135.6 | 142.9 | 135.6 |
| | Rural | 102.6 | 103.4 | 99.4 | 107.8 | 124.0 | 134.7 | 154.1 | 145.9 |
| Kegalla: | Total | 103.3 | 101.3 | 91.0 | 98.9 | 113.0 | 124.9 | 139.1 | 127.9 |
| | Urban | 98.5 | 106.0 | 106.6 | 113.6 | 132.2 | 125.8 | 137.8 | 123.5 |
| | Rural | 103.7 | 101.0 | 89.9 | 97.8 | 111.6 | 124.8 | 139.2 | 128.2 |

Districts are ordered, beginning with Colombo, then moving from the southwest to the north and northeast of the island.

Cont./

TABLE 9. (Continued)

| District | | 0-9 | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70 & Older |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| Kandy: | Total | 103.7 | 101.3 | 93.3 | 101.4 | 113.3 | 119.3 | 135.1 | 125.6 |
| | Urban | 105.5 | 116.2 | 125.3 | 120.2 | 131.8 | 131.6 | 133.9 | 116.8 |
| | Rural | 103.5 | 99.2 | 89.1 | 98.8 | 110.8 | 117.7 | 135.2 | 125.2 |
| Nuwara Eliya: | Total | 102.5 | 98.6 | 93.2 | 105.7 | 118.0 | 121.0 | 149.0 | 139.2 |
| | Urban | 101.5 | 103.0 | 122.3 | 131.9 | 157.0 | 154.0 | 170.9 | 141.3 |
| | Rural | 102.5 | 98.3 | 91.4 | 103.8 | 115.6 | 119.4 | 147.9 | 139.0 |
| Matale: | Total | 102.6 | 100.6 | 97.6 | 102.9 | 121.9 | 136.4 | 145.6 | 139.2 |
| | Urban | 103.2 | 103.5 | 107.9 | 109.7 | 132.2 | 139.8 | 145.2 | 187.8 |
| | Rural | 102.5 | 100.2 | 96.2 | 102.0 | 120.5 | 136.0 | 145.7 | 140.6 |
| Monaragala: | Total | 103.3 | 105.7 | 111.7 | 123.9 | 156.7 | 172.3 | 173.1 | 161.6 |
| | Urban | 104.1 | 112.1 | 138.4 | 162.4 | 175.3 | 223.8 | 187.5 | 137.8 |
| | Rural | 103.3 | 105.5 | 110.9 | 122.8 | 156.2 | 170.9 | 172.6 | 162.4 |
| Badulla: | Total | 102.5 | 100.6 | 93.1 | 105.6 | 121.7 | 123.1 | 140.1 | 129.4 |
| | Urban | 101.2 | 107.0 | 117.9 | 122.4 | 137.2 | 141.0 | 138.2 | 121.3 |
| | Rural | 102.6 | 100.0 | 90.0 | 104.0 | 120.2 | 121.4 | 140.3 | 130.2 |
| Kurunegala: | Total | 102.8 | 102.7 | 96.2 | 97.7 | 113.7 | 128.2 | 149.0 | 129.3 |
| | Urban | 103.5 | 112.9 | 137.7 | 124.2 | 146.5 | 150.5 | 160.8 | 134.1 |
| | Rural | 102.8 | 102.3 | 94.4 | 96.5 | 112.3 | 127.3 | 148.6 | 129.2 |
| Puttalam: | Total | 102.0 | 102.5 | 100.9 | 110.4 | 113.4 | 127.5 | 130.2 | 120.3 |
| | Urban | 98.8 | 104.2 | 106.7 | 115.9 | 122.8 | 126.3 | 116.8 | 116.4 |
| | Rural | 102.5 | 102.2 | 100.0 | 103.2 | 112.0 | 127.7 | 132.5 | 120.9 |
| Anuradhapura: | Total | 102.9 | 107.2 | 115.9 | 117.7 | 142.3 | 166.7 | 180.4 | 163.7 |
| | Urban | 103.0 | 115.5 | 162.1 | 146.7 | 158.0 | 167.4 | 169.0 | 131.9 |
| | Rural | 102.9 | 106.3 | 110.6 | 114.3 | 140.4 | 166.6 | 181.7 | 167.6 |
| Polannaruwa: | Total | 100.7 | 115.3 | 139.2 | 136.8 | 171.6 | 185.3 | 192.4 | 197.0 |
| | Urban | 98.1 | 167.3 | 284.9 | 203.6 | 228.6 | 487.6 | 185.7 | 205.3 |
| | Rural | 100.9 | 111.2 | 124.5 | 130.3 | 166.3 | 179.0 | 193.0 | 196.2 |

Cont./

TABLE 9. (Continued)

| District | | 0-9 | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70 & Older |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| Amparai: | Total | 102.6 | 103.9 | 109.5 | 121.5 | 131.9 | 136.9 | 122.9 | 100.6 |
| | Urban | 101.5 | 98.8 | 101.3 | 111.1 | 126.9 | 114.6 | 104.0 | 66.2 |
| | Rural | 102.7 | 104.6 | 110.6 | 123.1 | 132.6 | 140.4 | 126.1 | 107.4 |
| Batticaloa: | Total | 102.5 | 102.4 | 105.3 | 107.8 | 126.6 | 137.5 | 114.0 | 114.3 |
| | Urban | 101.9 | 105.7 | 106.1 | 107.4 | 115.0 | 124.6 | 110.1 | 98.1 |
| | Rural | 102.7 | 101.2 | 105.0 | 107.9 | 131.4 | 143.3 | 115.7 | 121.8 |
| Trincomalee: | Total | 104.8 | 108.2 | 120.7 | 137.5 | 150.9 | 170.6 | 157.5 | 148.6 |
| | Urban | 106.7 | 108.5 | 120.7 | 139.5 | 160.4 | 173.3 | 122.3 | 113.3 |
| | Rural | 103.7 | 108.0 | 120.7 | 136.2 | 145.1 | 168.8 | 185.2 | 184.1 |
| Mannar: | Total | 102.6 | 101.0 | 118.0 | 131.7 | 145.8 | 176.8 | 159.2 | 143.9 |
| | Urban | 104.1 | 110.1 | 113.7 | 134.4 | 132.0 | 133.5 | 168.2 | 128.4 |
| | Rural | 102.4 | 99.6 | 119.0 | 131.2 | 148.3 | 185.5 | 157.5 | 146.6 |
| Vavuniya: | Total | 100.6 | 115.0 | 133.2 | 137.7 | 158.8 | 201.2 | 188.8 | 159.5 |
| | Urban | 99.4 | 114.6 | 143.7 | 153.1 | 172.8 | 183.5 | 182.0 | 151.7 |
| | Rural | 100.8 | 115.1 | 129.9 | 133.2 | 154.9 | 207.0 | 190.9 | 161.6 |
| Jaffna: | Total | 103.4 | 102.4 | 91.5 | 88.3 | 93.7 | 104.9 | 110.5 | 123.2 |
| | Urban | 104.0 | 106.1 | 101.4 | 94.4 | 96.3 | 107.2 | 108.1 | 115.1 |
| | Rural | 103.1 | 100.5 | 86.6 | 85.4 | 92.4 | 103.7 | 111.6 | 127.1 |
| Sri Lanka: | Total | 103.0 | 103.4 | 101.1 | 104.8 | 114.6 | 120.4 | 125.5 | 116.4 |
| | Urban | 102.9 | 108.9 | 122.4 | 119.8 | 123.9 | 122.5 | 113.0 | 101.1 |
| | Rural | 103.0 | 102.0 | 94.9 | 100.5 | 111.9 | 119.7 | 129.3 | 120.9 |

SOURCE: District data from which the sex ratios were derived were published as Parts 1-22 of Census, 1971, Vol. I (mimeo). The Sri Lanka figures were derived from Census, 1971, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 13-15.

TABLE 10. SELECTED VITAL STATISTICS

A. Deaths Per 1,000 Population, All Ages, By Sex
1941-1975

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Females</u> | <u>Males</u> | <u>Year</u> | <u>Females</u> | <u>Males</u> |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1941 | 19.4 | 18.3 | 1958 | 9.8 | 9.5 |
| 1942 | 18.8 | 18.5 | 1959 | 9.2 | 9.1 |
| 1943 | 21.6 | 21.3 | 1960 | 8.6 | 8.6 |
| 1944 | 21.7 | 21.0 | 1961 | 8.0 | 8.0 |
| 1945 | 22.7 | 21.4 | 1962 | 8.5 | 8.5 |
| 1946 | 21.1 | 19.6 | 1963 | 8.5 | 8.6 |
| 1947 | 14.9 | 13.8 | 1964 | 8.1 | 8.1 |
| 1948 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 1965 | 7.8 | 8.6 |
| 1949 | 13.0 | 12.2 | 1966 | 7.9 | 8.6 |
| 1950 | 13.0 | 12.2 | 1967 | 7.0 | 8.0 |
| 1951 | 13.6 | 12.4 | 1968 | 7.3 | 8.5 |
| 1952 | 12.5 | 11.5 | 1969 | 7.6 | 8.7 |
| 1953 | 11.3 | 10.6 | 1970 | 6.9 | 8.1 |
| 1954 | 10.7 | 10.1 | 1971 | 6.9 | 8.4 |
| 1955 | 11.3 | 10.7 | 1972 | 7.2 | 8.8 |
| 1956 | 10.1 | 9.6 | 1973 | 6.9 | 8.5 |
| 1957 | 10.4 | 9.9 | 1974 | 7.7 | 10.2 |
| | | | 1975 | 7.4 | 9.6 |

B. Life Expectancy at Birth

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Females</u> | <u>Males</u> |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1920-22 | 30.7 | 32.7 |
| 1946 | 41.6 | 43.9 |
| 1956 | 58.7 | 59.9 |
| 1967 | 66.9 | 61.4 |
| 1971 | 66.8 | 64.0 |

SOURCE: Statistical Abstract, 1960 through 1977.

TABLE 11. DISTRICT POPULATION NOT BORN IN THE DISTRICT, BY SEX AND AGE, SELECTED DISTRICTS, 1971^a

| | <u>0-14</u> | <u>15-24</u> | <u>25-34</u> | <u>35-44</u> | <u>45-64</u> | <u>65 and Older</u> |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <u>Colombo</u> | | | | | | |
| Males | 80,341 (16.7) | 100,203 (34.0) | 91,646 (45.1) | 70,227 (46.5) | 82,083 (41.9) | 21,067 (33.3) |
| Females | 76,651 (16.6) | 85,186 (31.8) | 82,216 (45.6) | 67,174 (49.0) | 75,417 (43.3) | 24,417 (39.6) |
| Sex Ratios | 104.8 | 117.6 | 111.5 | 104.5 | 108.8 | 86.3 |
| <u>Galle</u> | | | | | | |
| Males | 15,370 (16.7) | 11,525 (16.7) | 9,810 (22.5) | 10,169 (28.0) | 13,114 (26.0) | 5,288 (23.5) |
| Females | 14,470 (10.6) | 14,030 (18.7) | 15,626 (30.5) | 14,741 (35.4) | 16,688 (32.3) | 7,119 (30.9) |
| Sex Ratios | 106.2 | 82.1 | 62.8 | 70.0 | 78.6 | 74.3 |
| <u>Kandy</u> | | | | | | |
| Males | 27,038 (11.5) | 28,348 (23.6) | 26,698 (33.9) | 25,656 (41.1) | 36,667 (46.4) | 9,996 (39.6) |
| Females | 25,816 (11.3) | 34,347 (26.8) | 38,675 (46.1) | 29,166 (50.1) | 34,333 (50.5) | 8,316 (42.9) |
| Sex Ratios | 104.7 | 82.5 | 69.0 | 88.0 | 106.8 | 120.2 |
| <u>Anuradhapura</u> | | | | | | |
| Males | 12,616 (14.0) | 14,231 (34.3) | 11,766 (52.4) | 10,421 (53.2) | 12,433 (51.5) | 3,198 (44.1) |
| Females | 11,788 (13.7) | 12,297 (30.6) | 10,357 (50.4) | 8,777 (50.2) | 7,942 (51.1) | 1,672 (38.2) |
| Sex Ratios | 107.0 | 115.7 | 113.6 | 118.7 | 157.9 | 191.3 |
| <u>Polonnaruwa</u> | | | | | | |
| Males | 6,299 (16.6) | 9,832 (55.1) | 10,103 (81.7) | 7,357 (83.2) | 7,729 (85.0) | 1,864 (83.0) |
| Females | 6,083 (16.5) | 7,423 (47.9) | 7,161 (77.7) | 5,435 (80.9) | 4,542 (82.5) | 1,083 (83.8) |
| Sex Ratios | 103.6 | 132.5 | 141.1 | 135.4 | 170.2 | 172.1 |

^aNumbers in parentheses are the percentage of total district population in that age and in the district.

SOURCE: Derived from Census, 1971, Vol. 1, Parts 1, 3, 6, 17, and 18.

TABLE 12. SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN DISTRICTWISE
MIGRATION MEASURES AND SOCIOCULTURAL VARIABLES

| Sociocultural Variables | Migration Measures | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| | Lifetime Migration Rate | Net Migration | Sex Ratio |
| Female Labor Participation Rate | -.33 | -.22 | -.40* |
| Male Labor Participation Rate | .67** | .56** | .84** |
| Female Literacy Rate | -.14 | .08 | .27 |
| Male Literacy Rate | -.20 | .02 | -.36* |
| Mean Age at Marriage of Females | -.68** | -.46** | -.82** |
| Female Suicide Rate | .34 | .16 | .63** |
| Male Suicide Rate | .41* | .15 | .45* |

*Significant at less than the .05 level.

**Significant at less than the .01 level.

Non-starred items are not significant at less than the .1 level.

SOURCE: Computed by the authors.

TABLE 13. LABOR PARTICIPATION RATE, LITERACY RATE, AND SINGULATE MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE, SRI LANKA, 1971

| District ^a | Labor Participation Rate ^b | | Literacy ^c | | Age at Marriage |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|
| | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females ^d |
| Nuwara Eliya | 53.1 | 70.8 | 48.3 | 78.9 | 23.4 |
| Badulla | 39.3 | 67.5 | 51.5 | 78.2 | 23.3 |
| Kandy | 35.0 | 67.0 | 63.9 | 84.2 | 24.0 |
| Ratnapura | 33.7 | 70.0 | 61.0 | 81.1 | 23.8 |
| Anuradhapura | 32.8 | 71.4 | 66.2 | 84.2 | 21.4 |
| Matale | 29.9 | 68.6 | 63.3 | 82.7 | 22.7 |
| Galle | 29.6 | 65.9 | 77.2 | 88.1 | 25.8 |
| Kalutara | 27.5 | 67.9 | 77.7 | 88.6 | 25.2 |
| Matara | 26.8 | 64.2 | 71.4 | 85.6 | 25.7 |
| Kegalle | 26.3 | 65.7 | 70.3 | 86.2 | 24.4 |
| Kurunegala | 24.9 | 67.9 | 74.0 | 88.0 | 22.8 |
| Colombo | 23.0 | 69.2 | 84.4 | 91.9 | 24.4 |
| Monaragala | 20.7 | 70.5 | 52.8 | 75.2 | 21.0 |
| Puttalam | 20.7 | 72.4 | 79.1 | 88.0 | 22.1 |
| Polonnaruwa | 18.1 | 74.5 | 69.6 | 84.2 | 21.0 |
| Hambantota | 17.8 | 66.9 | 63.9 | 82.7 | 23.5 |
| Vavuniya | 10.1 | 75.3 | 69.9 | 81.8 | 20.3 |
| Amparai | 8.4 | 72.4 | 50.7 | 76.4 | 20.1 |
| Trincomalee | 8.1 | 72.7 | 57.6 | 76.4 | 19.7 |
| Jaffna | 7.8 | 64.6 | 79.2 | 86.3 | 23.4 |
| Batticaloa | 6.6 | 72.3 | 46.7 | 66.4 | 20.1 |
| Mannar | 5.3 | 76.0 | 68.0 | 82.4 | 20.2 |
| Sri Lanka | 26.0 | 68.4 | 70.9 | 86.5 | 23.5 |

^aOrdered by female labor participation rate, from highest to lowest.

^bThe labor participation rate, referred to in the census report as activity rate, is the percentage of the population aged ten years and older who are in the labor force, i.e., "who contribute to the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services," including persons currently unemployed but available for employment (Sri Lanka Department of Census 1978: 123).

^cThe literacy rate is the percentage of persons ten years of age and older who "could read and write, with understanding, a short statement on everyday life in at least one language" (General Report, p. 111).

^dSee footnote 30.

SOURCE: Labor participation rates: Sri Lanka Department of Census 1978: 127-128. Literacy: *ibid*: 116. Age at marriage: Sri Lanka Department of Census 1974: 41.

TABLE 14. SPOUSE SEPARATION RATES FOR SELECTED DISTRICTS, 1971^a

| <u>District</u> | <u>Urban</u> | <u>Rural</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Colombo | 6.1 | - 8.2 |
| Galle | -8.2 | -11.3 |
| Kalutara | -4.4 | - 6.9 |
| Kandy | 8.1 | - 5.8 |
| Nuwara Eliya | 9.3 | - 2.1 |
| Matale | 2.4 | 2.1 |
| Anuradhapura | 14.6 | 4.8 |
| Polonnaruwa | 28.3 | 6.6 |

^aThe rate was calculated by taking the number of married males minus the number of married females as a percentage of the married males, following Sopher, this volume. Positive numbers indicate a preponderance of husbands living without wives, while negative numbers indicate wives living separate from husbands. "Marriage" includes both registered and customary unions.

SOURCE: Census, 1971, I, Parts 1-6, 17-18.

TABLE 15. SUICIDE RATES (PER 100,000 POPULATION)
BY SEX AND DISTRICT, 1973^a

| <u>District</u> ^b | <u>Male Suicide Rate</u> | <u>Female Suicide Rate</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Vavuniya | 73.7 | 52.6 |
| Polonnaruwa | 52.2 | 19.9 |
| Jaffna | 50.7 | 24.0 |
| Kurunegala | 48.1 | 16.4 |
| Puttalam ^c | 47.8 | 20.6 |
| Matale | 39.4 | 19.7 |
| Nuwara Eliya | 37.1 | 13.2 |
| Batticaloa | 34.2 | 14.1 |
| Anuradhapura | 33.5 | 15.6 |
| Badulla | 33.3 | 21.3 |
| Hambantota | 32.7 | 13.5 |
| Mannar | 32.5 | 40.6 |
| Kandy | 29.3 | 12.7 |
| Monaragala | 28.2 | 17.3 |
| Ratnapura | 26.7 | 16.5 |
| Galle | 24.8 | 8.1 |
| Kegalle | 22.7 | 9.9 |
| Kalutara | 22.1 | 7.0 |
| Trincomalee | 21.8 | 17.0 |
| Amparai | 20.4 | 9.0 |
| Colombo ^d | 19.6 | 8.2 |
| Matara | 16.1 | 3.3 |
| Sri Lanka | 30.1 | 13.4 |

^aThe rates per 100,000 population were calculated using estimated mid-year population figures (from Statistical Abstract, 1977) which, since the estimated district populations do not provide figures by sex, were divided into males and females on the basis of the 1971 district sex ratios.

^bOrdered highest to lowest male suicide rate.

^cIncludes the former Chillaw district retained as a separate unit in the Registrar-General's figures.

^dIncludes the former Negombo district retained as a separate unit in the Registrar-General's figures.

SOURCE: See Note 22.

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M I C H I G A N S T A T E U N I V E R S I T Y
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