

Some Characteristics of the Urbanization of Ceylon and its Relationships to Development Planning

by

B. L. PANDITHARATNA

Department of Geography, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya

ASSOCIATIONS exist between the levels of economic development of a country and the degree to which that country is urbanized. However it is less clear how the processes of urbanization are related to the processes of economic growth.'

This paper sets out to analyse the recent factors and trends of urban growth (Part I), and within this framework, to examine the impacts of the current developmental measures as a stimulus to urbanization (Part II), and to what extent developmental measures attempt to resolve the problems of urbanization (Part III).

Brian J. L. Berry.

Urbanization in this paper deals with (a) urban areas which are ordained urban status (municipal, urban council and town council) for local governmental administration, and (b) those central places which are increasingly becoming concentrated in activity and of specialization, but not conferred urban status.

Part I: Factors and trends of Urban Growth:

Ceylon experienced primary (traditional) and secondary (colonial) phases of economic development and related urbanization. Since her independence in 1948, urbanization and economic development entered a national phase.

Recent urbanization is characterized by the increasing urban population, the dominating position of Colombo, the primate city, the expansion of the secondary and tertiary occupations in urban areas and related proliferation of urban centres, functions and services, urbanized villages, (although not upgraded) and consequent morphological and functional reorganisation of towns and the resurgence of towns in the Dry Zone.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE URBANIZATION OF CEYLON

The increasing Urban Population

The increase of urban population reflected the interplay of three sets of factors: natural increase, migration increase and increase resulting from changes in the reorganisation of urban areas, or in upgrading villages to urban status.¹ Table 1 shows the increase of Ceylon's total and urban population since 1953.

Table I—Increase of Ceylon's Total and Urban Population

	1953	1963*
Total population (Ceylon)	8,098,637	10,582,064
Numerical Increase		2,483,427
Percentage Increase		31.4
Total Urban Population	1,473,985	2,016,285
Numerical Increase		542,300
Percentage Increase		36.7
Percentage of Urban to Total	18.2	19.1

(*Estimated figures as the Census 1963 is not published)

In 1963, Ceylon's urban population was about 2,016,285 or nearly 19.1 per cent of the total population, and increased at 36.7 per cent which was higher than the rate of increase of the island's total population. Colombo City's population exceeded half a million with an average density more than 32,000 per square mile.² There were 25 towns having a population more than 20,000 in each, and together constituted 74 per cent of the entire urban population, 26 per cent was contained in the other 73 towns³ (Fig 1). Table 2 gives a break down on a regional basis for 1963. The salient points are :

- (a) the dominant position of Colombo City, in terms of numbers, numerical increase, and the percentage to total urban population, (nearly a fourth of the total), although its percentage rate of increase was the lowest.
- (b) The increasing importance of the towns of the Colombo Region shown by the largest numerical increase (175,343) and the largest percentage increase (70.7).
- (c) The predominating position of South West Region (inclusive of the City, Colombo Region and other towns) accounting to about two-thirds of the entire urban population and maintaining a relatively high percentage increase.

¹ The Minister of Local Government has discretionary powers under Town Council Ordinance No. 3 of 1946 to declare any area a town for which a town council may be constituted.

² For a detailed discussion of Urban densities and spatial relationships see— Panditharatna, B.L. — 'Trends of Urbanization in Ceylon 1901–1953', *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1964, pp. 203 – 217.

³ Out of this 73 towns, 21 had populations more than 10,000 in each, 20 more than 5,000 in each and 32 below 5,000.

- (d) The resurgence of urban growth in the Dry Zone shown in high percentage increases, though the urban totals and numerical increases were comparable to the Highlands.
- (e) Relative stability of rural areas in the Jaffna Peninsula which provided some explanation for the relatively low percentage urban increase.

Natural increase was the chief reason.⁴ The death rates declined from 21.5 per thousand in 1946 to 8.5 per thousand in 1963. The birth rates however remained high, over 3.2 per cent thousand and recorded a natural increase of 23.5. Since 1953, Ceylon's population increased at the high annual rate of 2.4 per cent but its economic growth rate was even below 4 per cent, one of the lowest in Asia. Despite measures to popularise family planning,⁵ urban population increase resulted in over crowded housing, proliferation of slums, mounting unemployment and inflation.

Internal migration to urban areas, particularly Colombo City continued during the inter censal period 1946 – 1953. In the 1953 – 63 period, Colombo continued to attract more of the working class and rural rustic who were destined to dwell in sub-standard houses or slums or improvised shacks wherever space was available.⁶ Migrations of the middle class to Colombo was limited, because neither could it afford the high land prices for housing nor the high rentals. There was thus a significant migration trend towards the towns of the Colombo Region, conspicuous by the residential in-filling process.

The trends of attraction to places computed up to 1953 as shown by 'Index of attraction' seemed to be highest at Colombo.⁷ This has been a persistent trend whereas for Anuradhapura and Kandy a relatively recent one.

⁴ This was reflected in improvements in environmental sanitation, control of endemic diseases and the impact of the administration of preventive and curative aspects of medicine.

⁵ Family planning clinics operate in urban areas and there are several voluntary organisations to popularise it.

⁶ In a recent slum survey, following types were identified: (a) partitioning of old dilapidated large houses into multi-family apartments, (b) several tenements facing one garden, (c) improvised shacks and hovels along water courses, open spaces and crown lands (d) temporary structures (cadjans) in the floodable areas.

⁷ *Index of Attraction to places (up to 1953)*

To :	Index of Attraction
Colombo	19.90
Anuradhapura	18.7
Kandy	10.99
Jaffna	4.13
Galle	2.95

From – Abeyratna and Jayawardena, 'Internal Migration in Ceylon', *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 8, 1995, pp. 68 – 90.

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In case of Colombo City and district, there also seemed to be a direct relationship between migration and distance : closer the distance to Colombo, larger the migration numbers,⁸ (except from Jaffna and Batticaloa district).

Tied up with development measures of the Dry Zone and the administrative, technical, educational and commercial innovations centred on the towns, migration streams (not so large in numbers) were diffused in the rural areas, but sizeable concentrations were in (a) Anuradhapura, the re-developed (Sacred City and New Town) ancient capital and regional centre of the northern plain and Trincomalee, formerly a naval base, now, developing its commercial functions, (b) the government sponsored industrial sites, and (c) the fast developing agricultural townlets⁹ of the Galoya Valley, Uda Walawe and the Vanni. Recent migrations are a significant factor of the urbanization of the Dry Zone central places.

Extension of town's areal limits due to reorganisation into wards particularly in the 10 municipalities or upgrading of villages to urban status contributed to the increase of urban population. For instance, the number of towns increased from 81 in 1953 to 98 in 1963, and the numbers will continue to increase every year.

Urban ratio to total population : Regional Distribution

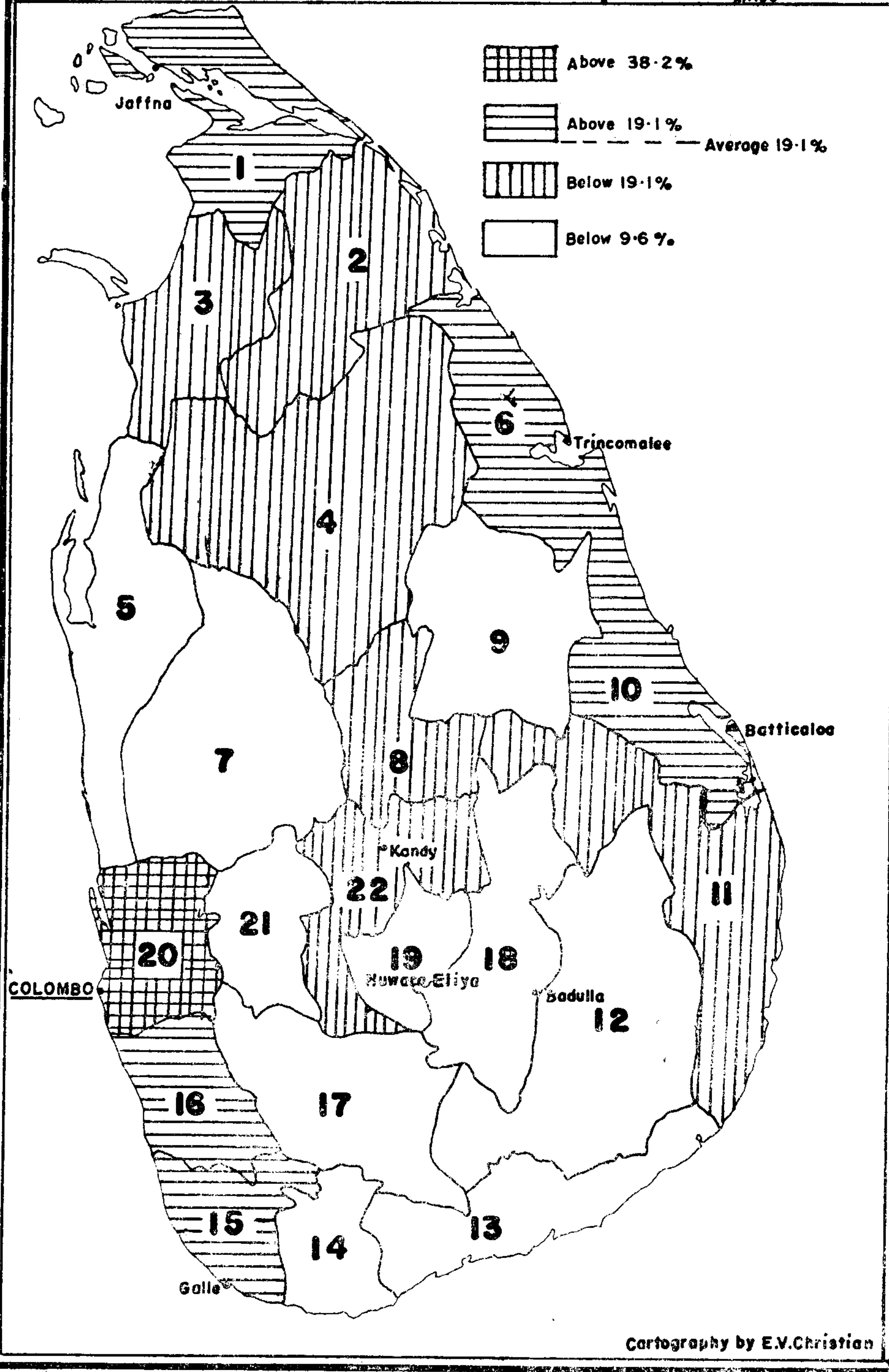
The average urban ratio for Ceylon was 19.1. The district urban ratio presented in Table 3 may be represented in Table 4 divided into categories above or below average urban ratio.

Colombo district has the highest urban ratio, more than twice the island's average. Its urban population exceeded one million. Kalutara and Galle districts recorded ratios above the average with urban populations over 100,000 in each respectively. Only Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa in the Dry Zone have an urban ratio above the average. Except Jaffna, the urban populations were below 50,000. All the other districts of the Dry Zone and Central Highlands recorded ratios below average. Urbanization is underdeveloped in nearly two thirds of the area of Ceylon (Fig. 2).

⁸ Distance to Migration (Colombo City) 1946/53		
Distance from Colombo (in miles)	From	Percentage
28	Kalutara	40.30
72	Galle	28.94
101	Matara	23.14
130	Hambantota	14.14
200	Jaffna	46.27 inverse
170	Batticaloa	41.59 trend

⁹ Some of these are not conferred urban status. But they are increasingly concentrating in activities.

CEYLON - Urban ratio to Total Population



Cartography by E.V.Christian

Growth Rates (Selected Towns)

A reactivation of urban growth as indicated by growth rates of selected towns; Table 5 pointed to the highest rates (above 48 per cent) in (a) Anuradhapura, (b) Badulla and Kegalla. And high rates (above 36 per cent) recorded in the dormitory towns of the Colombo district.

Proliferation of Urban Functions, Institutions, and Services

Consequent upon urban population increase, upgrading of urban centres and creating new ones, urban functions, institutions and services have proliferated by a process of trial and error. Urban utilities, however, have not improved as desired and certain areas in the towns even now are worse than over crowded villages.¹⁰

Quantitative data about threshold requirements of central functions of Ceylon's central places are not available except for Southern Ceylon.¹¹ Within the framework of Ceylon's commercialized economy¹² a distinct ordering of economic activities about urban centres as cores of integrated regions have emerged, and this urban system exemplified an hierarchical pattern.¹³ Three levels of spatial interaction were evident. For example, the junction centre occupied the lowest level. It catered to the simple needs of a limited and unsophisticated group. Apart from its core area the outer areas were loosely built up. The district and provincial centre occupied an intermediary position with its complement of government institutions, centralized market and retail shops. It served a wider field than the junction centre and maintained functional linkages both with junction centres and rural service centres. The apex of the hierarchy was Colombo, the primate city and chief port. Its primacy in respect of political, social, economic, commercial, educational, cultural, judicial and recreational functions were dominant and unmatched. Its functional magnetism radiated throughout the island.

Expansion of Tertiary and Secondary Occupations

Table 3 presents the occupational structure of urban areas (with a population over 10,000). All the towns in the respective districts have more than 50 per cent gainfully employed in the tertiary occupations except in Amparai, Trincomalee and Jaffna districts. In Colombo district, it exceeded 60 per cent, and Kurunegala and Kegalla more than 70% (although the totals were relatively small).

¹⁰ These areas exemplify features as described by Gerald Breeze as subsistence urbanization, Gerald Breeze, *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries*, p. 5. (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N. J.)

¹¹ Dr. Kusuma Gunawardena has presented an excellent thesis on this aspect. 'Service Centres in Southern Ceylon', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1964.

¹² Basically it is an export-import economy, exporting mainly tea, rubber and coconuts and importing rice, other food stuffs, machinery and manufactured goods.

¹³ Panditharatna, B. L. - 'A Geographical Description and Analysis of Ceylonese Towns', *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 1961, pp. 71-95.

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Secondary occupations in most towns were between 20–30 per cent. Colombo, Galle, Kalutara and Jaffna had more than 30 per cent, and emphasized the advantages of position, centralized functions, availability of facilities and market. Rice milling, repairs to agricultural machinery and consumer oriented industries accounted to Anuradhapura's 34.4 per cent, and of Trincomalee connected with the port and construction trades.

Primary occupations also played their role in Ceylon towns. Even in Colombo district 2.6 per cent was employed. Agricultural land-use with high percentages in primary occupations were conspicuous in Amparai, Nuwara Eliya and Puttalam. Land-use varied from horticulture as in Colombo, Nuwara Eliya and Jaffna to garden and tree crops and rice cultivation (as in most towns), to tracts of forests (as in Dry Zone towns) and protected forests (Kandy).

Changes on Urban Structure and Morphology

The activated factors impacted on urban morphology, structure and pattern. Colombo's morphology changed quite considerably and exemplified: (a) a proliferation of multi-storeyed structures in the core, (b) transformation of unbuilt open spaces into multi-storeyed apartments and residences, (c) utilization of the marginal swampy lands to urban uses by reclamation and drainage and (d) an intensified urban sprawl towards the suburbs.

In the dormitory and satellite towns around Colombo City, and the urban centres of South West residential land-use predominated, characterized by numerous land sales, widespread construction of residences and the proliferation of socio-civic and commercial institutions.

The provincial and district towns too were subject to residential in-filling especially in their outer zones. Kandy's residential spread extended over the lower slopes of the ridges. Anuradhapura's face changed as a planned city. The small junction centres continued to expand along the arteries and spread secondary prongs.

Urbanization has thus island wide impacts and a functionally and spatially integrated urban pattern evolved focussed on Colombo linked with the provincial and district administrative centres, the route junctions, the collecting and distributing centres of the plantation areas and the developing central places in the Dry Zone.

Part II: The Impacts of Development Planning Measures on Urbanization and Economic Growth

It is evident that the past developmental measures impacted either directly or indirectly on urbanization. It is necessary to seek the relationships between the current developmental proposals and urban growth.

The developmental proposals for 1966/71 embrace the major sectors of the economy,¹⁴ and the estimates are shown in Table 6.

¹⁴ *The Development Programme 1966–67*, Government Press, Colombo 1966, p. 20

Table 6 : Estimates of Investments for 1966/71 and 1966/67

	1966/71 <i>Rs. (Million)</i>		1966/67 <i>Rs. (Million)</i>
Agriculture	1,439 219
Industries	843 (Exc. Fisheries)	Manufacturing	142
		Fisheries	43
Economic Overheads	1,561 199
Social Services	1,171		121
	<u>5,016</u>		
		Other overheads ..	<u>36</u>
			<u>760</u>

(From The Development Programme 1966-67)

Though there appears a non-urban emphasis, there is no doubt that the development measures are bound to impact upon directly and indirectly upon the system of urban areas. It is however, clear that industries and other development measures included in economic and social overheads are of direct significance.

Agricultural Development as a Stimulus to Urban Growth

Agricultural development involves two areas: the plantation areas of export crops (tea, rubber and coconuts) mostly in the Wet Zone and the domestic food crops in the rural areas in the Dry Zone and in Wet Zone lowlands. It is planned to intensify production. Rehabilitation of marginal low yielding acreages, modernization of machinery, higher wages for labour, better housing, improved amenities, and transport facilities are indicators of measures towards higher regional productivity, higher per capita income, higher standards of living, greater mobility, all bound to contribute to the prosperity of central places. Agricultural modernization in the plantation areas will lead to urban functional vitality, urban upgrading, and stimulated interaction between them.

Agricultural development of the subsistence sector particularly in the Dry Zone involves a complex process tied up with irrigation, land development, colonization and multipurpose projects, all directed towards transforming a low productivity subsistence agriculture into a modern high productivity system. All these programmes are administered through the Dry Zone towns, which play an active and generative role in the economic development process. As centres of innovation and diffusion of knowledge¹⁵ to the developing regions, they lend a new dimension to the urbanization of the Dry Zone. As centres of administration policy implementation and of repairs to agricultural machinery, refitting and of spare parts, their central functions are conspicuous. They

¹⁵ Robert Redfield and Suiger Milton, B., 'The Cultural Role of Cities', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1954 pp. 53-73.

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are likely to be the loci of fertilizer stores, storage and distribution of weed-icides and pesticides. As centres of transport and communications they disseminate ideas to the countryside. They offer a competitive market for the produce of the region and retail services to the rural services centres. Further as centres of education, health, cultural and recreational diversions (especially the cinema) and ancient temples and shrines, their impact on their regions is tremendous indeed. Agricultural growth administered through the regional centres activates the growth of the centres themselves.

Integrated multipurpose projects such as Mahaweli Diversion, Uda Walawe, Gal Oya Valley will eventually establish a settlement complex based on dynamic agriculture linked to a fast developing industrial structure with planned central places system oriented to an educated community with drive and determination towards the achievement of greater productivity, and higher standards of living.

There is however a direct bearing on the concentration of activity and specialization in the case of agro-industrial centres such as Kantalai, Gal Oya and Tamankaduwa. Fertilizers vital to new agriculture will necessarily be stored at the cores of regions.

Industrialization and Urbanization

Unlike western countries, industrialization of Ceylon is related to the country's balance of payments position because of the importation of machinery, equipment and raw materials, and on the local market, hence on local incomes invariably from agricultural sources. Agricultural sector performance is vital to the performance of the industrial sector, and so will it be to urbanization.

Colombo City because of its advantageous factors of location¹⁶ attracted many industries which have fostered its growth. However, owing to high land values within Colombo City and the Government's decentralization policy, towns around Colombo (Ratmalana, Katubedde, Moratuwa) have been the new loci of industries which have generated growth tendencies. Further, urbanization is evident around the government sponsored industrial estate, (Ekalā), the other large scale industrial sites¹⁷, and in the other regional towns.

Availability of cheap hydrel power will be another favourable factor to industrial and urban growth¹⁸. Thus developmental proposals for power

¹⁶ Panditharatna, B. L. - 'The Trend of Industrialization in Colombo City', *Pakistan Geographical Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1965, pp. 143

¹⁷ Such as at Oruwela (Iron and Steel Industry), Yakkala (Hardware Corporation), Negombo and Piliyandala (Ceramics) and Veyangoda (Textiles).

¹⁸ See Appendix I (Expenditure on projects related to Industrialization and Urbanization).

development and generation (economic overheads) will be beneficial indeed. With rural electrification, rural townships will develop as centres of textile and cottage industries.

Development of Katunayaka as the International Airport of Ceylon, construction of air strips in some major towns, and the fishery harbour projects will stimulate the growth processes of these centres respectively¹⁹. The promotion of tourism by the construction of luxury hotels in urban centres will not merely create large employment opportunities but also encourage inter-related urban trades.

Transportation as a Stimulus to Urbanization

Towns as route centres are also centres of bus and railway transport. The present bus and railway services oriented to urban centres serve their commuting regions mobilizing an increasing working and educated class who now tends to visit the towns more often than before.

Bicycle transport like in Holland has intensified short distance movements among the working class and youth, and this movement towards the towns no doubt yields benefits to towns.

Part III: Development Measures as Solutions to the Problem of Urbanization

Urban Housing

Lack of adequate housing in urban Ceylon is one of the baffling problems. Slum areas are conspicuous almost in all cities²⁰, although in Ceylon the scale of the problem is relatively small in comparison with India. It is more acute in Colombo City than in other towns, where nearly 40 per cent of the population (about 30,000 families) live in sub-standard houses, slums and improvised shacks. Could this problem be resolved? With a total budget of Rs. 29 million for 1966/67, housing programmes had three facets: a programme of public sector house construction, a programme of financing house construction by house owners by reorganising the housing fund, and a programme for making land available in the suburbs of Colombo by land reclamation thus relieving one of the problems of acute shortage of land for housing in Colombo City. But the magnitude of the problem in Colombo City alone make anyone doubt whether housing of the urban masses will ever be resolved especially because of the increasing number of family units, the need to reduce the backlog of housing needs and the limited financial resources available. Besides, even if private sector participation in housing investment is induced, it is very unlikely that it will be made on low rental housing.

¹⁹ See Appendix I

²⁰ McGee, T. G.—*The South-east Asian City*, Frederick Praeger, New York, 1967, (especially chapter 9, pp. 155–170).

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Family Planning

If population increase is one of the root causes of urban evils what measures are undertaken to check its growth? Unlike in India, family planning is not state sponsored in Ceylon and is faced with religious, psychological and even peculiar prejudices among communities. The clinics opened in both urban and rural areas operate still on an experimental stage, and family planning although economically desirable is not socially acceptable. Consequently the results are insignificant even in the urban scene.

Migration

As the case in Indian cities²¹ so also in Ceylon, the push out of the rural areas is more vigorous than the pull into the cities. When urban unemployment is soaring high, what opportunities can the cities offer to the displaced rural rustic? Despite bleak economic prospects, the problem of in-migration to Colombo City continues aggravating the problems of housing and unemployment still further.

Problems of the Primate City and Chief Port

Since Colombo City and Port have grown as the primate city and chief port of Ceylon there had been an over concentration of functions. Developmental planning attempted to resolve this by : (a) deconcentration of port functions to subsidiary ports and further modernization of Colombo Port and (b) deconcentration of certain administrative functions, industries and institutional services from Colombo City to outside locations.

Deconcentration of Port Functions and Development of Subsidiary Ports

Heavy convergence of shipping at Colombo, and the excessive concentration of functions and Ceylon's dependence on this single major port necessitated the development of Galle, Trincomalee and Kankasanturai as subsidiary ports to Colombo²². The development of these subsidiary ports and the diversion of traffic to these will speed up their commercialization, industrialization and related urbanization. Colombo's islandwide hinterland is likely to be divided up between these ports establishing a multi-port oriented regional emphasis.

Increasing mechanisation, more warehousing and improved organisation will increase the port's efficiency leading to city growth.

²¹ *India's Urban Future*, - Edited by Roy Turner, Berkeley Press, University of California, 1962.

²² *Nedeco Report*, Colombo, 1965.

Decentralization of Functions and Services

Decentralization of functions and services was necessary to avoid over concentration in the core area (Fort). Some of the Government offices were relocated at the periphery²³. Industries were preferred to be located in the towns around Colombo. Universities, Junior Technical Colleges, Junior Universities were founded outside Colombo. Base hospitals were developed in district centres to detract the total concentration of patients at Colombo hospitals. Food warehousing and storage also were moved out from Colombo. These decentralization measures have brought about a redirection of certain Colombo's concentrating forces to the towns around it.

Development Measures Through Town and Country Planning

Measures to solve certain physical problems have been enforced through the Department of Town and Country Planning. Town planning legislation is operative to check the haphazard growth of towns. Zonation schemes have been applied to cities and towns to ensure their orderly and harmonious growth. (For instance, Colombo Regional Plan, and new town plans for Anuradhapura, Horana, Giritale and Polonnaruwa). Planned towns present a contrast to the existing ones in which non-conforming uses are inter mixed. Certain problems of the new towns have arisen, because utilities, facilities and public transportation have not developed in an integrated manner.

Inadequacy of urban utilities and facilities is another grave problem. Pipe borne water services is available in most of the major towns but most have no sewerage schemes²⁴. Telephones are a luxury even in Colombo. Some facilities for social, cultural and recreational uses are badly neglected. The quality of the urban environment especially in residential districts thus varies widely from one town to another, and in most of them, the tourist potential is limited.

Conclusion

Although the development plan has an agricultural emphasis, it is seen that certain programmes, (especially under industry, social and economic overheads) will bear their effects upon urban areas. Colombo City, because of its focal position, continued growth momentum is abound to experience a greater snowballing of benefits than the other towns of the Central Highlands or those of the relatively underdeveloped Dry Zone.

²³ Notably the shift of the Surveyor General's Department, Post Office and Savings Bank, Registrar of Motor Vehicles and Ceylon Transport Board to Narahenpita.

²⁴ The conditions of urban utilities and the need and urgency to develop them has been urged as early as 1955. *Local Government Commission Report, Sessional Paper No. 33, Government Press, Colombo (1955).*

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As development planning progresses and big growth rates²⁵ achieved, and area reaches higher stages in the development of its physical resources (as anticipated in Ceylon's development plan), it is to be expected that planning acquires an increasingly urban industrial structure characterized by the incipient emergence of the town region as the centre of economic development²⁶. Perhaps at that stage it may be necessary to shift the basis of planning from physical resource orientation to metropolitan resource orientation and the town region. However, the physical resources have to be developed sufficiently to reach that stage in which the urban region is the most appropriate form of planning organisation.

It must however be stressed that Ceylon will remain a dependent raw material producer oriented to the world market. Its economic basis will be essentially agricultural such that physical resources oriented planning seems to be logical in the present context.

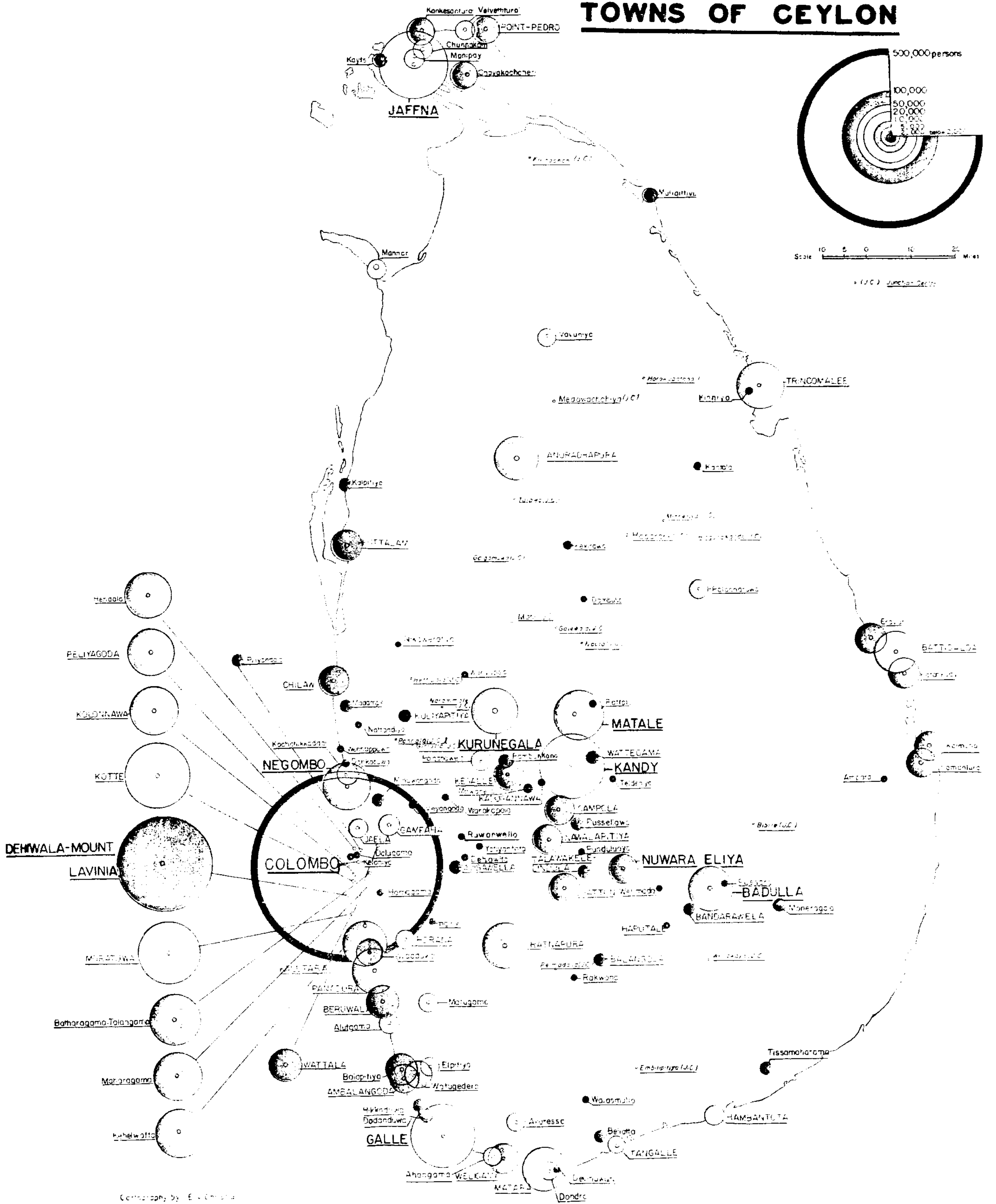
Another point is the large expenditure on social overheads partly because Ceylon is a welfare state. Should the quality of the urban environment depend entirely on welfare provision? If not, what is likely to be the fate of an expanding urban proletariat whose economic means will not permit decent standards of living in urban areas?

Increasing urbanization will be inevitable. However, bearing in mind the persisting demographic trends, urban unemployment, the shy role of private investments in urban social overheads, development planning will have to pay more emphasis to urban affairs and urbanization than what it actually gives today.

²⁵ The current growth rate of 8 per cent is very encouraging indeed, and it is believed that it can be stepped up further.

²⁶ Berry, Brian, J. - The Urban Growth and Economic Development of Ashanti, *Urban Systems and Economic Development*, University of Oregon, Oregon, 1962, pp. 53 - 64.

TOWNS OF CEYLON



Cartography by E. V. Christy

Table 2 — Urban Population : Regional Distribution

Region	Urban Population 1953	Urban Population 1963	Percentage in each Region	Numerical Increase	Percentage Increase
Colombo City	426,127	510,947	25.4	84,820	19.9
Colombo Region	248,048	423,391	21.0	175,343	70.7
South West Region (Exc. of City C. R.)	315,927	439,031	21.8	123,104	38.9
South West Region (Inc. City & Col. Reg)	990,062	1,373,369	68.2	383,267	38.7
Highlands	197,618	263,089	13.0	65,467	32.8
Jaffna Peninsula	121,384	150,436	7.5	29,052	23.9
Areas of Dry Zone	164,881	229,389	11.3	64,508	38.5
Total (Ceylon)	1,473,985	2,016,285	100.00	542,300	36.7

Table 4 — Urban Ratio : Regional Distribution

Urban Ratio %	Category	District	Geographical Zone	
		Wet Zone Lowlands	Central Highlands	Dry Zone
above 38.2	Very high	Colombo	—	—
above 29.6	high	—	—	—
above 19.1	above average	Kalutara Galle	—	Jaffna Batticaloa Trinco.
above 9.6	below average	Matara	Kandy Matale	Mannar Vavuniya Amparai Anuradhapura
below 9.5	very below average	—	Nuwara Eliya	Hambantota Kurunegala Puttlam Polonnaruwa Badulla Moneragala Ratnapura Kegalla

Table 3
POPULATION OF CEYLON — 1963

District	Total Population	Total Urban Population	Urban Ratio %	Rural Ratio %	Occupational Structure of the Gainfully Employed Population (with a population over 10,000)										
					Urban Areas			Rural Areas			Total Gainfully Employed				
					Pri- mary %	Sec- ondary %	Ter- tiary %	Total	Pri- mary %	Sec- ondary %	Ter- tiary %	Total	Pri- mary %	Sec- ondary %	Ter- tiary %
Colombo	2,207,420	1,023,831	46.4	2.6	32.2	62.9	312,324	25.9	33.8	38.6	315,218	14.3	33.0	50.7	627,542
Kalutara	631,457	126,441	20.0	5.8	34.7	57.9	26,418	51.3	21.7	26.4	157,160	44.7	23.6	30.9	183,578
Kandy	1,043,632	119,228	11.4	9.6	21.4	67.9	32,737	69.2	13.0	16.9	314,660	63.7	13.8	21.7	347,397
Matale	255,630	29,380	11.5	7.8	24.4	66.2	7,125	72.7	11.4	14.4	73,307	66.9	12.5	19.0	80,432
Nuwara Eliya	397,756	24,510	6.2	18.1	24.0	55.6	5,321	86.2	4.3	8.7	167,221	84.1	4.9	10.1	172,542
Galle	641,474	129,954	19.2	4.6	36.6	57.8	26,036	47.4	29.2	22.5	151,305	41.1	30.3	27.7	177,341
Matara	514,969	60,438	11.7	6.5	24.4	67.3	11,662	56.9	20.3	21.3	126,351	52.7	20.6	25.2	138,013
Hambantota	274,297	22,248	8.1	—	—	—	—	66.4	13.8	18.6	68,784	66.4	13.8	18.6	66,784
Jaffna	612,596	150,784	24.6	16.4	32.5	49.2	32,476	48.9	23.0	26.9	120,622	42.0	25.0	31.6	153,098
Mannar	60,124	8,993	15.0	—	—	—	—	57.8	14.6	26.3	19,020	57.8	14.6	26.3	29,030
Vavuniya	68,621	11,201	16.3	—	—	—	—	67.8	12.0	19.6	23,277	67.8	12.0	19.6	23,277
Batticaloa	196,189	49,293	25.1	—	27.5	53.3	12,864	64.6	16.0	18.2	40,192	53.0	18.8	26.7	53,056
Amparai	211,732	28,595	13.5	50.0	16.5	32.9	8,127	59.6	17.0	22.5	56,867	58.4	16.9	23.8	64,994
Trincomalee	138,553	34,817	25.1	17.4	34.0	47.1	11,361	59.5	15.4	23.5	31,996	48.4	20.2	29.7	43,287
Kurunegala	852,661	30,100	3.5	6.5	19.0	73.4	7,923	64.9	15.1	18.9	231,072	63.0	15.2	20.7	238,995
Puttlam	302,546	24,144	8.0	20.2	23.3	54.4	8,396	47.7	27.8	23.9	84,897	45.2	27.4	26.7	93,290
Anuradhapura	279,788	32,877	11.8	10.7	34.4	54.2	10,192	74.3	10.5	14.5	73,281	66.5	13.4	19.3	83,474
Polonnaruwa	113,971	5,911	5.2	—	—	—	—	65.9	15.8	17.5	38,638	65.9	15.8	17.5	38,638
Badulla	521,845	42,264	8.1	6.8	26.0	65.5	7,611	79.5	7.9	12.1	178,712	76.5	8.6	14.3	186,323
Monaragala	132,260	3,386	2.6	—	—	—	—	78.1	7.3	13.4	39,569	78.1	7.3	13.4	39,569
Ratnapura	546,037	26,281	4.8	11.0	21.9	65.0	6,900	75.8	10.5	13.3	184,651	73.5	10.9	15.2	191,551
Kegalla	578,506	17,513	3.0	55.7	20.1	72.3	3,916	62.9	17.7	18.7	167,009	61.6	17.7	19.9	170,925
Ceylon	10,582,064	2,016,285	19.1	6.5	30.6	60.9	531,389	60.8	17.6	20.6	2,663,736	51.8	19.8	27.3	3,195,125

Table 5 — Percentage Rates of Growth 1953 - 1963

Selected Towns

Classes of Towns	12.1 - 24%	24.1 - 36%	36.1 - 48%	More than 48%
More than 100,000	Colombo City		Dehiwela Mt. Lavinia	
100,000 50,000	Galle, Kandy Jaffna	Kotte Moratuwa		
50,000 20,000	Negombo Panadura Matara Kurunegala	Kalutara Matale Ratnapura Trincomalee Batticaloa	Kolonnawa Hendala Kandana Battaramulla	Anuradhapura Badulla Maharagama Kehelwatta
20,000 10,000	Gampola	Weligama Eravur Chavakachcheri Kalmunai		Kegalla Balapitiya
10,000 5,000		Piliyandala Polgahawela		Kochchikade Vavuniya
5,000 2,000		Veyangoda		Beliatta Kekirawa
below 2,000				Welimada

Appendix— A

Programmes in 1966/71 Budget : Relationships to Urbanization (Direct and Indirect)

(Computed from The Development Programme 1966 - 67)

(pp. 26 - 29, 35 - 38, 42 - 44)

Specific Programme	Sector (budgeted)	Estimate Rs. (million)	Nature of Relationships to Urban Growth
1. Fertilizer storage	Agriculture	5.5	26 stores, location mainly urban (road and railway transportation) new loci of growth and concentration.
2. Sugar cane factory Gal Oya, Kantalai.	"	12.0 10.0	Tied up sugar plantations—sugar industry and by-product—increasing concentration and of specialization nascent urban centres.
3. Milk, Condensed Milk Tamankaduwa spray drying plant Ambewella.	"	6.5 2.8	increasing activity and area development. "
4. G.P.S. Storage.	"	9.0	New loci of growth and concentration.
5. Multipurpose Schemes Uda Walawe. Gal Oya Mahaveli Diversion Project.	"	373.00 *27.35 (continuing expenses) (not budgeted but more than 1 billion)	Indirect relationships, through increase of regional productivity and planned settlement. In-built industrial structure.
1. Textiles : Large scale Medium scale Small scale	Industry	246.7 9.0	Integrated textile mill (Veyangoda) and 2nd. textile mill; diverse regional centres. In small towns when electricity is available.
2. Cement	"	212.0	Large scale industries at Kankesanthurai; Galle, Grinding plant. 2nd. factory at Puttlam and Colombo packing plant.
3. Plywood	"	15.0 4.0	2nd. plywood factory - new location Gintota - chipboard factory.
4. Paper	"	18.0	Valachchenai - concentration of activity.
5. Ceramics	"	2.5	Negombo.
6. Steel	"	29.0	Oruwela—stimulates regional growth and increasing activity around it.
7. Tyre	"	14.0	Kelaniya—pull trends and increasing growth.

Appendix—A (Continued)

Specific Programme	Sector (budgeted)	Estimate Rs. (million)	Nature of Relationship to Urban Growth
8. Fuel oils and lubricant refinery.	Industry	112.0	Sapugaskanda—several by-product industries increasing industrialization and urbanization.
9. Fertilizer.		190.0	Heavy capital investments and labour pooling—increasing concentration—Multiplier effect in regional growth.
10. Flour milling.		10.5	Close to the port—increasing urbanization of the urban areas.
11. Industrial Estate.		9.0	Ekala, Boosa and Arialay—Cores of industrial activity.
12. Fishing harbours.		21.25	Stimulates growth and concentration of activities.
13. Wholesale Markets.		1.5	Central importance—prospects of employment—stimulates growth and activity.
1. Power Major works.		Economic Overheads	155.0
2. Power Rural electrification.	37.5		500 villages—stimulus to modernize rural industries.
3. Transport Improvement of roads.	128.5		Stimulates mobility hence of distribution and exchange between central places indirect relationship to the growth of central places.
4. Transport Ports—Colombo.	18.2		Directly connected to port—city growth.
Trincomalee.	2.6		Will effect increasing commercialization and related urban growth.
Galle	21.0		Enhance industrial commercial and regional importance. Fillip to city growth.
K.K.S.	25.1		Connected to cement industry. Impact on town growth.
5. Telecommunications greater Colombo scheme.	7.6		Direct effects to commercial and industrial growth, hence to urbanization.
All island dialling system	72.5		Communication of ideas. Impact on administration, commerce and industry—stimulate all island dispersion of activities.
6. Tourism.	3.0		Growth of specific townships because of construction of hotels etc.

Appendix—A (Continued)

Specific Programme	Sector (budgeted)	Estimate Rs. (Million)	Nature of Relationship to Urban Growth
1. Health District Hospitals.	Social Services	14.2	6 District Ayurveda hospitals—pull factors will operate—700 beds (all in urban locations).
Water supply and sewerage.		109.4	
2. Higher Education		136.0	Towards improvement of urban environment. 22 new schemes.
Technical.		37.5	Mostly urban. New junior colleges and universities to be located in urban areas enhancing their institutional significance.
3. Housing		80.0	Polytechnics, technical schools, College of commerce—(all urban in location).
4. Anuradhapura Re-development		320.0	29,000 housing units—all in urban or suburban locations.
		2.0	Stimulate the urban growth of the ancient capital city.