

Education and Politics: Reciprocity of Education and Politics in Pre-independence Sri Lanka

Mr. R.A.Wijetunge Ranasinghe
Head & Senior Lecturer,
Department of Political Science,
University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
Email: rawrasl@yahoo.com

Abstract

The study aims to explore the reciprocity of education and politics in Sri Lanka with special reference to pre-independence era. The relationship between education and politics is reciprocal. The reciprocal can be reflected on the population's literacy too. It has found that, the Sri Lanka's population has a literacy rate of 92%, it has the highest literacy rate in South Asia. The three main colonial powers (Portuguese, Dutch and British) in some extent paid their attention to colonial education. The main objective of Portuguese educational policy was to propagate Christianity and their culture. The east India commercial company cared less for promoting education in Ceylon until they became the political power. The Parish Schools were established to promote religious knowledge. The entire system of education in Ceylon at the early 20th Century was reflected colonial interests. The attempt of the colonial government to reactivate the local elementary education could not make considerable contribution for the expansion of vernacular education. The only which they had done was given opportunity to mass population to enroll.

Key Words: Education, School, Politics, Colonial Power, Ceylon

01. Introduction

Everyone has the right to good quality and relevant education. Since independence in 1948, education is top of the priority list for the government of Sri Lanka (Perera, 2000: 1). Ceylon (now the nation of Sri Lanka) is a tropical island, comprised of a total terrain of 65,610 square kilometers. Though comparatively small, it is a land of diversity-diversity of peoples, scenery, climate, and religions. Education is free up to the postsecondary level and is compulsory between the ages of 5-14. The Sri Lanka's population has a literacy rate of 92%, it has the highest literacy rate in South Asia and overall, one of the highest literacy rates in Asia. Thus it is hailed internationally for her achievements in literacy, educational enrolment and equality of educational opportunity. However, progress has not been straightforward due to the complex interactions between politics, policy formulation, and the implementation of reforms. This dynamic process has often led to contradictory outcomes (Angela W. Little 2010, p.viii).

The relationship between education and politics is reciprocal. Politics involves how rulers govern and how governed to be governed within the national and international political contexts. Political system of good governance is a dependent on the quality of education. Thus the subject matters of both education and politics are immense for the achievements of human development of a given society. It is uncontroversial that the argument which accepts that the whole civilization of human beings was designed and directed by education and politics. Social and political changes occurred over the time were due to the experiences which they got from the inhuman rule of oppression.

Lower the level of education and politics, lessen the development of a society and the country in socio-economic and political terms. As a system of politics and government, democracy is accepted as the best form of government which needs educated governors and governed for a society which maintains law and order without employing coercive power.

02. Material and Methods

Using robust data the study aims to explore the reciprocity of education and politics in Sri Lanka. Secondary data took significant place in this study. They were collected from relevant existing literatures. Qualitative method is given priority to analyze and interpret data.

03. Definition of Education and Politics

In contrast, the word “politics” brings different meanings to different people in its theoretical and practical terms. Politics for a common man is a dirty business, a debasing activity, a noisy, violent affair-demonstration, meetings, slogan shouting, political rhetoric, elections and gimmicks of elections, strikes, firings, etc (Jain M.P. 1987, p.18). Owing to these characteristics of politics, some do not like politics more than to casting their vote for individuals or party personnel to whom and to which they like. Yet man as a social being also as Aristotle mention a political animal has to engage in social as well as political affairs in his course of living in the society, as none can be isolated in his social and political life. The process of political socialization includes man into politics. The education in its formal or informal way plays a prominent role in the process of political socialization.

The term politics itself originated from the Greek word ‘Polis’ which meant city state. Politics as viewed by Greeks is a subject to be studied by everyone to be a social being. It is the base of all science –in Aristotle phrase,- a “Master Science” (Ibid p.21). Yet “politics, as Bierce views, is the conduct of public affairs for private advantages” (The Devil’s Dictionary)¹. Garner (1910, p.4-5) defines politics as ‘the business and activity which has to do with the actual conduct of affairs of the state’. Definitions above reveal that politics is governmental affairs legitimized by people for societal benefits. In that sense politics cannot be separated from social activities of which the main is politics. Politics needs knowledge without which the subject matter of political science which includes political theory, political institutions, parties, groups and public opinion and international politics, cannot be understood. Gaining of such knowledge requires education. It is accepted that the well-functionality of the western liberal democracy in a non-western context, a certain level of education is immensely required, albeit the other required conditions which are homogeneous society and economic development. Education produces innovative human capital enriched in scientific and technological expertise which is crucial in development. The economic development can produce more job opportunities and welfare services.

04. Education and Politics: A Historical Overview

Historical evidences on reciprocity of education and politics could be found in both Eastern as well as the Western world. Some researchers on education attempt to trace the history of the oriental system of education to the 6th Century B.C., upon the evidences and records available in the Buddhist literature belonging to the same period. They reveal that a number of schools of thoughts were involved in learning, teaching and searching the truth even in the pre Buddhist time. Yet the true education could not be availed in those schools of thought in contemporary India and Buddha throughout the course of self-centered education, attained enlightenment and disseminated the truth what he realized, among the people who had been deserted in mythical worlds. His “Dharma” was free to all and no compulsory to be followed irrationally. “*Come, see and follow, if it is true.*”

Explorers of ancient ideologies in the East as well as the West were being directed towards two different paths viz. temporal and secularist respectively. The explorers of the eastern tradition concentrated more on searching emancipation from the suffering life and it was assumed that the relief could be achieved through a course of internal development. The hypothesis of their philosophy was that the root cause of all sufferings is desire or attachment. The unsaturation of feeling of life was thought the bondage to the cycle of re-birth and it could be terminated either by suffering or enjoying it excessively. Yet these extremist thoughts were corrected by the lord Buddha by teaching on the middle path which was the only way to relief from human suffering. In contrast, the advocacy of the western school of thought was that the root cause of all sufferings is isolation, egoism, and individualism. Life in such society was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short (Macpherson 1968, chap xiii). The only way to find relief is entering into a common agreement within which individualism is absent or diluted. Thus to make such society in which all can be enjoyed the life with equality, rights and freedom. The survey resulted in conceptualizing the social contract of the state. Entering into a social contract leaving from egoistic, self-centered individualism man needs an advance level of education as education only can make man civilized fitting to a political life.

It has proved by records in the Buddhist literature the education and politics were shared by two main strata of Brahmin society. Education had been reserved for *Brahmins* while politics was for *Kshatriyas*. The entire social organization and economic affairs in India were administered by these two privileged groups. The Buddhist literature accounts for many Brahmins were being mastered in "Chaturveda" the four main disciplines in which all subjects were constituted. The discipline of Princes of royal families was an assigned duty to Brahmins who were mastered in 'Chaturveda.' The heirs of throne should be proficient in theoretical as well as practical works. In this formal education "political theory, use of weapons of war expected to be completed by his sixteenth year" (Kavyasekaraya 1946). The other record that supplemented to the oriental system of education is the Confucius philosophy (551-479) which was China's most influential ancient philosophy. The Confucius educational outlook continues to influence the societies of China and neighbors like Korea, Japan and Vietnam. He gathered disciples and searched in vain for a ruler who would adopt his ideals for good governance, but his Analects were written down by followers and have continued to influence education in the East into the modern era" (Wikipedia).

Parallel to the foundation laid by the Hindu and Buddhist civilization for education, western system of education was also cradled in the lap of the Greek-Rome civilization and provided an innumerable service to the western system of education producing number of political Philosophers, Artists, Scientists, and Mathematicians, Astrologers, Sociologists etc., to the world society. With the fading of the glory of Roman Empire, the Catholic Church became the center of diffusing the western education through cathedral schools. The renaissance in Europe facilitated the expansion of education by contributing the newly innovated scientific, technological and educational supplementary. Thus Universities like Nalanda in India, Academies like platonic academy in Athens and educationists centers like Alexandria and universities like Bologna became world's centers of education in the East and the West.

Some scholars in education science, like Dieter Lenzen (Wikipedia.org) attempting to trace the period of origin of education believes that it has begun either millions of years ago or at the end of 1770". Elaborating the transmission of education from one generation to the other, Lenzen says "Education as a science cannot be separated from the educational traditions that existed before. Adults trained the young of their society in the knowledge and skills they would need to master and eventually pass on." The confrontation of man with the nature was the kindergarten, from which he

got his primary education on the materialistic world. The experiences acquired throughout the course of his constant struggle against the nature as well as fellow humans, were lessons he learned. The language, used to exchange their feelings and emotions with others was mostly the movements of parts of human body, sounds and drawings made on walls or the earth. Body language is a pre-historic means in exchanging ideas and emotions. Pandith Mahaushada, for instance, when he felt love with princesses Amara, he used the language of body to check her intelligence to ensure her quality to be his spouse. These sounds and symbols that constructed the language were medium used to educate the people. It was the early mode of auto didacticism which means "learning on your own" or "by yourself" (Wikipedia). Education constructs culture and culture evolves through the practice of transmitting knowledge and which was done through orally and imitation. Lenzen elaborates

“Oral language developed into written symbols and letters. The depth and breadth of knowledge that could be preserved and passed soon increased exponentially. When cultures began to extend their knowledge beyond the basic skills of communicating, trading, gathering food, religious practices, etc., formal education, and schooling, eventually followed. Schooling in this sense was already in place in Egypt between 3000 and 500BC” (Ibid).

04.1 Socialization of Man through Education

The adaptation of man to the society is realized as socialization. The next step of a socialized man is the politicized. Society is the place in which politics (state) was incubated. The “society” as defines by Lipson (1967 1967, p.51) embraces all human relationship and groups. The society is not an entity of divine right but a man made. It is an artificial organization, a crowd of individuals who are trying to serve their selfish interests through competition, free, contract and exchange. Yet all should be understood that having a comfortable and convenient life is possible only through a united effort. The concept of “general will” of Rousseau and the concept of “collective conscience” emerged in the theories of sociologist like Durkheim who argued that the society can be made beneficial for man when he fulfill his duty to the society in return.

Education is the driving force of socialization as well as civilization. The simple and primary source of education which assimilated knowledge and understanding was the mimicry through which the generation after generation learns from their predecessors how to face challenges of other human and the nature. Such socialized education makes man with capacity and capability to manage his life within the society in which selfishness, competition, egoism as well as contracts among individual and groups are intrinsic. The success or failure of man is a determinant of the degree of his socialization in which education plays a prominent role.

The socialization the process of which could be enhanced through education is the first step to politics. The first formal means of socialization of man was the family in which he learned his duties to be accomplished to the family in preserving his position in it. Man, throughout his carrier as a member of the family, he learned how to follow the leadership of father, who secured, guided and educated the other members of the family. Yet man entered the civil society he lost his freedom which he enjoyed within the family due to the bondage with others in the society. The extension of family made a tribe and tribes made the society in modern sense. The society was the second class room from which he educated more through the process of socialization in its extensive means.

When man was able to be self-sufficient in foods and other common amenities, he attempted to reinvestigate the physical world, nature, human life, sole and paths to detach from all kinds of the sufferings. At Its early beginning, the search for the truth was isolated and solitude. Many solitaries first attempted to search the truth of life and when it seemed hard, they went to others who were also searching the same. When “Siddhartha” was in searching the truth of life, there were sixty two mythical schools of thought who too were exploring the path of deliverance from samsara. Each and

every searcher in the ancient India exchanged their findings and beliefs and updated their knowledge on disciplines such as Astrology, Ayurveda, and Mathematics etc. Some teachers concentrated on prophets and all kinds of sufferings and also how to relief from it. Thus each leader of particular school of thought believed that the truth is what he has found and others should follow him and his teaching. Some of them were extremists and observed hard conducts. Almost all groups who searched experimented and practiced were Brahmans who spread of knowledge whether it was correct or incorrect.

The society in the ancient India was divided into Four Cast or *Chatur Warna* among them Brahmins represented the apex of the social hierarchy and was considered to be eligible for education. The *Kshatriyas*, who were deserved to be rulers, should be procured their education from Brahmins. The other two categories *Waisya* and *Sudra* were excluded from right to formal education as education was not important for them according to the nature of the professions which they have been assumed and involved. Princes of royalties were given education at the palaces and children of other nobles were sent to a master like *Disapamok* in *Thakshilaw* which was the famous academy during the lord Buddhas' time. For instance, the Prince Siddhartha, procured education from Brahman *Sarwamitra*. Those who are inheritors of the throne should complete the course of education which had been scheduled and designed for royalists. Thus politics and education were bounded privileges for royalists and others were being marginalized from this universal right.

Even in the western world in the ancient and medieval period, education was the privilege of upper strata of the society. In the ancient Greek society, for instance, right to education and politics was deserved only for citizens but not for the slaves and women. During the time of Socrates, the education was rather expensive due to the educational monopoly of '*Sophists*.' and it was unaffordable for Socrates. Also subject matter of education was based on belief and faith on myths. Socrates realized that the main cause of unscrupulous and sophistic rule in Athens was restricted avenues and irrationality of education.

It was the main reason for Plato to open the Platonic Academy in which hundreds of scholars pursued mathematical and philosophical investigations (Nicholas Capaldi & Luis 1977, P.36). Plato expected to disseminate the knowledge, truth and rationality through his academy to Greeks. When people are lack of education, Plato believed that they would behave unethically and inhumanity. His hypothesis with regard to education and ethics was "*Virtue is Knowledge*." Plato criticized so-called intellectuals in Athens for their irrationality which caused loss of Socrates-the great philosopher of whose death made Plato regretted and determined to continue the path along which Socrates marched truth what he fostered. The death of Socrates and unscrupulous rule in Athens were the main reasons for Plato to conceptualize his ideal ruler-"*the philosopher king*" who made all decisions of the government by virtue of his incomparable wisdom and intellectual capacity. According to Plato, education was the one and only way to be used to construct the new society which is led by knowledge acquired by ruling personal instead of irrational, emotional and nonintellectual assemblies like Athenian council of citizens. He believed that if the ruling authority is possessed by uneducated or less educated it would necessarily be the cause of emergence of injustice, undeserved and inhuman rule.

The governors, as Plato believed, should earn education till they become philosophers who then become qualified to be a ruler by virtue of their higher education and training enhanced through theoretical as well as practical exercises. The Platonic course of education was absolutely extensive. Starting from the childish age until become a perfect citizen with developed body and mind man should continue education. Plato says "I mean by education that training is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of virtue in children." The end of the education is to develop in the body and the

soul all the beauty and all the perfections of which they are capable” (Dhiman 1987, p.17) in order to undertake this main task of making a perfect man with sound mind and body, Plato begins the primary education at the age of ten. After the completion of ten year education he has to sit for the first test at the age 20. Those who could not get through the test should undertake the labor intensive works in the production and the service sectors as they are fit with such doings. The successors at the examination are allowed to continue their education for next ten year period, till he becomes 40 in ages. At the end of the next ten years of education, they have to sit for the second test at the age thirty years. Those who were unable to get through of the test, they were to be sent to work in security service. The excels at the exam will be directed to extra ordinary training for another period of five years and they will be qualified but not yet prepared to be rulers in Platonic Republic. Thereafter, they have to be practical from being an ordinary man living with ordinary populace for another fifteen years.

Through the entire course of education, the message given by Plato to the present day people is not negligible. It also reminds us the reciprocity of education and politics. Listen to Plato. He asks you “if you want to make your shoes, you certainly go to a competent cobbler. Isn’t it? If so, at the most important step of your life – the selection of your governors, shouldn’t you select a competent and knowledgeable.” Plato acknowledged that both parties: in a political society –the governors and governed should be acquired education to be either good governors or good governed. Thus the constructed thesis of the Platonic philosophy is that “politics and education is reciprocal”. It means, if there is no education there is no politics in its real term. Undoubtedly, the Platonic thesis on education and politics displays the significance of education in legitimizing the contemporary politics of developing world. Yet it has become obvious that the only rule to be completed to be a politician in a third world politics is be the member of a corrupt political family. Education has become immaterial in this case. When people are illiterate political corruptions are high. In such a context a small group of semi monopolistic corporations can dominate the economy. These corporations would have sufficient means of influencing the political institutions and through them, the administrative system, so that it would preserve and protect corporate interests (Gould 1979, p.61). A far-flung example may be taken from Liberia, an African country of 1.6 million people, of which 90% are illiterate. It is estimated that 50,000 people (3% of total population)- the descendants of the American slaves who established the country in the 19th Century and known as “Americo - Liberians”, are the chief local owners of the means of production, chief political rulers and beneficiaries of the administrative system’s actions. There the major political, administrative, and commercial elites in Liberia are literally concentrated in one family. The awareness about duties to the society in returning to enjoying the rights and freedom is a fundamental characteristic of one’s education.

None can enjoy his rights and freedom unless they are assumed by the society and secured by the government. Also he / she should realize that unless the accomplishment of duties to the society she/he is not permitted to enjoy right and freedom as they wished. For such awareness one must have acquired education of certain level. Then it is obvious that the important of education is not only for rulers but also for ruled.

The society to which man entered is an artificial organization, a social life man had to involve in a great competition sharing physical resources in order to having a better life, caused a growing anarchism in which life of man become difficult and troublesome. The theorists of social contract described the status of man in the state of nature and entered into a social contract concluding the anarchism in which “life of man, as Hobbs explains, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (Macpherson 1968, p. 19) it is acceptable that it was the suffering and nothing else that made man educated to enter into such an advanced social contract which concluded the anarchist society.

“Development of society includes not only the economic growth, poverty reduction, income redistribution to improve in health and nutrition and to population change, but also aspects such as civil, political and human rights, political freedom participation in the process of government democratic value and so on; which can be clubbed together and discussed under the category of political development. The summery of above is the education is crucial in political development as well as economic development. “Education, as Adam Smith 1776 mentions, would make citizens better by reducing crime, overcoming delusion inability, superstition and in general enhancing the social & economic order” (Smith Adam 1776).

Observing the correlation between the education and politics, Coleman (1965) says that “education seems to be the prime determinant of political development. Political capacity is manifestly dependent upon modern education... is critically important in resolving the two most general & most fundamental problem in political modernization namely the changing of attitudes and reducing the gap between the ruling elites and the less modernized masses. Good governance is the outcome of democracy. For democratic governance as Mill mentions requires literate masses. Education is an essential condition for western democracy albeit economic development and homogeneous society as educated rulers and ruled are the pillars of democratic politics (Mill J.S. p. 118).

05. Education and Politics in Ancient Ceylon

The Sinhalese tradition of education was commenced with the arrival of Arahata Mahinda and followers. Yet even in the pre-historic era the people who were belonging to three ethnic groups viz, Yakka, Naga and Dewa in accordance with the level of their civilization, had acquired certain education in technical spheres. Kuveni for instance was making cotton while two brothers were confronting for a chair made of precious stones. The theoretical education was monopolized by Brahmans and hence be the teachers of royalists. The Prince ‘Pandukabhaya’ received his education from Brahman Pandula. Thus the native education that prevailed in informal level converted into formal with the arrival of Arahata Mahinda who laid the foundation to the formal education in Ceylon and Bhikkus became proficient in teaching the Lord Buddha’s Dhamma. Village Monasteries became the centers of education from where the Damma was disseminated. Preaching was the way of educating the ordinary people. The rapid development of education centering village temples was first benefitted by Bhikkus. The art of inscription facilitated by Brahmin alphabet and many Buddhist scripts were translated into pali and pali into Sinhala. Rev. Buddhagosa translated pali Attakatha-the old commentary literature into Sinhala (Wilhelm Geiger 1984, p. x). The influence of Sanskrit on Sinhalese literature was also immense. Several works in Sanskrit evidenced that the education in the early Ceylon was benefitted by royalists and Bhikkus. King Buddhadasawrote Sarartha Samgrahaya a medical treatise in 4th Century A.C. the famous epic Janakiharana was written by the King Kumaradasa. Following this tradition some woks were done as Sinhala lyrics among them kavisilumina, muvadevda, sasada, fostered Sinhala language and literature.

Though the art of inscription was developed in Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala, it was thought insecure that preserving Buddismonly by the means of writing in the midst of frequent invasion from South Indian dynasties as well as natural disasters. Maha Sanga, therefore, handed down orally (read in memory =mukapali) committed to memorized what they learned. The thought behind that was the preservation of dhamma was survival of Bikkhus who were then the walking books. During the reign of King Wattagamini Abhaya, owing to the 12 years long drought known as “BaminiTiya”, Bhikkus left to Andradesh for survival. Reportedly many became victim of the drought and few who found survival returned home and thought to have a canon to preserve damma. Thus the Canon written down was carried out at Matale Aluvihara with the help of local chieftains (Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs). Since then the system of education of the island cherished and

nourished in the Buddhist monasteries and subject matter was more or less a religious. Chief incumbents were the teachers of Bhikkus as well as devotees in the Sinhala Buddhist society. The Dravidians too followed the South Indian tradition in which education was given by “guru” at his home and Muslims were educated by the Mawulavi in Mosques. This system of indigenous education was lasted until the country became victim of western colonialism.

05.1 Education in Ceylon under the Colonial Rule

The three main colonial powers in some extent paid their attention to diffuse Christianity and colonial education. The main objective of Portuguese educational policy was to propagate Christianity and their culture. The cultural expansion through the conversion of natives into Christianity was given priority in the agenda of the Portuguese colonial policy. This project was patronage by the king of Portugal extending the assistance in monetary as well as security terms. According to Rev. Fr. Peter, “the king himself secured missionaries for the colonies. In almost every that left Lisbon for India were sent under royal auspicious missionaries of various orders for the newly gained territories” (Rev. Fr. Don Peter 1969, p.283). When the first Board of Missionaries to Ceylon was dispatched by the Portugal monarchy in 1543, it was the king Bhuwanekabahu, who reigned in Kotte (1521-1551). The expansion of the Christian education was facilitated by Don Juwan Dharmapala- the king of Kotte, granting finance and lands for buildings.

Under the Madras administration the well-organized Dutch system of education was allowed to fall into disuse by the military governors (Turner 1923, p.161). The east India commercial company cared less for promoting education either in India or Ceylon until they became the political power. Yet after Ceylon became a crown colony in 1802 with the occupation of maritime territories ending of “dual control” the first governor Sir. Frederic North took personal interest in promotion of Christianity and education. Consequently a revival of schools and the beginning of several new educational developments were took place during the period of his administration though it was short.

The existing situation of education in the island at the positioning of governor North in 1798, as he evidenced was distressing. *“Only a few school masters continued to work in spite of their not are paid by the government, their positions as village registrar kept them faithful to their work. But the schools in general were in a very poor state and in some cases the masters could not continue their work even if they desired to do so, chiefly because the school buildings had either fallen down or were on the verge of collapse”* (Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs)

In spite of the Dutch system of Education was impressed by the Governor North, his ambition was to promote the Western education in Christian environment. Yet the main constraint to achieve his ambition was the absence of English clergymen. Governor North, therefore, made provisions to get the service of 10 Dutch clergymen who had been imprisoned by the Madras Administration. Yet owing to the refusal of them to pray for the king of the Great Britain, the effort of North was in vain. Yet he was successful in achieving his goal of reconstruction of education in Ceylon with the arrival of Rev. James Cordiner and the missionaries of the London Missionary Society to the island.

The positioning of Rev. Cordiner as the Chaplain in charge of the garrison in Colombo turned a new page of the system of English education in Ceylon. Rev. Cordiner assigned the position of superintendent of all the schools and the examination of the candidates for the office of school masters (letter of North to court of Directors East India) Rev. Cordiner appointed as the Principal of Schools and it laid foundation to the state sponsored school system and education became the public burden in the country. It is noteworthy to mention here that the school masters who were the registrars of marriage and keeping such records under the Dutch were allowed to continue without interruption from the new duties. With the arrangements made to pay the school servicethe system of paying grants by the government commenced. It is noteworthy to mention that school masters

who were being acted as registrars of marriages and keeping such records were kept to continue without interruption from the new duties.

The next step of development of the system of education in Sri Lanka was the establishment of Parish Schools of which main objective was to promote and growth of religious knowledge. The appointment of preachers and catechists to supervise work done in schools was next step taken to rehabilitate the Parish Schools. The preachers were assigned to examine the conduct and efficiency of the catechists and school masters.

Yet attendance in Parish school was poor. In contrast to the previous Dutch system under which attendance to school was compulsory and absentees were charged tax. In order to overcome the poor attendance the governor ordered by issuing a Gazette notification to "all Protestant parents to send their children to the established schools and requested the Muddlers and headmen to monitor the order were carried into effect (Proclamation of Governor- Ceylon Govt. Gazette 4 June, 1802).

The contribution of Governor North by building of schools, appointing school masters, and paying them and encouraging children attendance to the development of Parish Schools was immeasurable. With realization of the significance of English education for the future of the British colonial rule the governor North proposed to establish 'Superior Schools' and to grant scholarship to enter the universities in England. These types of schools were supposed to be opened for children of Burghers and natives whose families are eligible to the office of mudaliars and other dignities.

The superior schools were of two categories viz. academy and Seminary and they gave the highest possible education to the country. The effort of rehabilitation of the system of education projected by Governor North was not encouraged by the home government and instead, he was advised to curtail expenses of maintenance of education. It resulted in drastic reduction of budget for education, reportedly it was from about £ 5000 to £ 1500 (Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs) responding to the order of the home government Governor North had to economize the education by closing of some educational institutions and retrenching the staff. The salary paid to the teachers of Parish schools had to be withdrawn and they ceased to be maintained by public funds any more (Ibid).

The next phase of education in Ceylon under which it received less attention and hence was not flourished was commenced with the governorship of Maitland under which the degree of achievements in education was relatively far less than that of colonial administration. For instance, either he himself or the home government showed no interest to improve the system of education. It is said that during the years which followed the retirement of North and Cordiner, educational progress in the country came to a standstill.

It was governor Brownrigg- the successor of Maitland paid more interest in promoting education and spreading of Christianity as he could relax from reorganizing administration as it was made perfect by Governor Maitland. It was said that the personality of Brownrigg could invest in reaching his goal of educational development and diffusion of Christianity among locals. The subjugation of the Kandyan Kingdom by the British in 1815 completing the colonial authority in Ceylon favored the diffusion of English culture through the western system of education. The religious education was given priority. The establishment of the Archdeaconry of Colombo in 1818 and the appointment of Archdeacon as the superintendent of government schools in the country accelerated the progress of education. The Church of England in Ceylon became the body responsible for conducting education in Ceylon. It really played a role of the department of Education in the island.

5.2 Education and Politics under the Colebrook-Cameron Reforms

By the time of arrival of Colebrook Commission there were three types of schools (Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs) in Ceylon they were Govt. Schools, Missionary Schools and Private Schools. The commission reported to the Archdeacon that there were 79 Parish Schools under the management of the government also it was found that except the academy no other schools of which medium was English under the purview of government. The base of the educational system proposed by the commission was humanitarianism. The proposals of Cole-Brooke were quite radical and he as a liberal wished to see all equal irrespective of their national or caste of origin. The "Knowledge" was his main target and it was thought the acquisition of knowledge is possible through formal education from a collage or a university. He proposed to establish a collage in Colombo (Ibid).

The main concern of Colebrook in reorganization of education in Ceylon was expansion of opportunity to the natives in civil service. So far the appointment was given for those who educated in abroad universities and importing of such educated was realized costly. Colebrook found scholars with general knowledge of which capacity was considered more than enough to handle the positions of public service, in the American Seminary in Jaffna. The Colombo Academy was reestablished incorporating some additional features planned by Colebrook to make his imaginary collage (Mendis 1952, p.76).

The government schools of which education was carried out by vernaculars were found deteriorating in both quality of education and resources. Colebrook reports that these schools were not fit with (his) mode of education to produce public servants due to the low level of education provided by them. *"School masters are not required to understand the English language.... They are extremely unfit for their situations..... Nothing is taught in schools, but ready in the native language. Government schools in several instances exist only in name. Children being assembled occasionally for inspection many of whom had received instructions in the schools of the missionaries of which the government school masters are alleged to be jealous"* (Mendis 1952, p.73). Abolishing this system of education under the purview of government, Colebrook took action to reform them under direction of a commission which should be composed of the Archdeacon, a clergy, the Government Agent in the district and some of the principal civil and judicial functionaries at the seat of government (Ibid). The residents of the district empowered to inspect and superintend the schools in their respective districts and to report on their efficiency and management (Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs).

5.3 Revivalist Movement and the Renaissance of Native Education

- **The Education under Donoughmore System**

The entire system of education in Ceylon at the early 20th Century was reflected colonial interests that aimed to produce men for lower ranks administrative positions in the local market within itself. The management of education was accomplished by the Department of Public Instructions under the guidance of the British imperial line. The course of contents of education had been designed to meet the rising demand for administrators by the commercial economy and quality of them as Jayaweera (p.462) mentions should be purveyors of the Western culture. The assigning duty for the Board of Education (BOE) was Education established in 1899 and the Board collaborated with the colonial government in its functions during 1920s.

The governors of education were all British and it indirectly caused the development of The British System of Education. Director of education, Jayaweera (Ibid) mentions was responsible to governors and their chief advisors the colonial secretary, colonial treasurer, and Attorney General and their chief advisors.

By quoting Haussler's study Jayaweera explains further that the recruitment for colonial administrators deliberately were made from the prefects and other students of the British public Schools who were expected to possess the qualities required of "empire builders." Debates in the legislative council during the second half of the 20th century prioritized matters pertaining to education of the country. It was due to the relationship of colonial administration and the education of the country. The advises of Ceylon Board of Education which was created in 1895, were followed the government in granting aid to schools. The Board could enjoy powers beyond that of its assigning duty of advisory; its endeavor was to protect the Christianity and the colonial interests. The attempt of the colonial government to reactivate the local elementary education through the monitor of the local government institutions was made by enacting of the term schools Ordinance No. 5 of 1906 and the Rural Schools Ordinance No. 8 of 1907. Three Municipal Councils and 21 local Boards Towns were permitted to establish and manage vernacular schools and enforce compulsory attendance till 12 years if the so desired. The ordinance no 8 of 1907 district schools committee were established under the provision of the authorized to open schools at the local levels and finance was assigned to provide by 1/3 of road tax and village committees funds. Yet both ordinances could not make considerable contribution the expansion of vernacular education.

The main course of failure of the expansion of the vernacular education was lack funds the central government was pressurized by the requirement of locally produced educated to carry out the colonial policy and hence the education District committees were established without a direct connection with the local government institution under education ordinance of 1920. But were acted as agencies of the central govt. their task was to expand the funds allocated by the central govt. and maintained schools and enforce compulsory education

The participation of local government institutions in educational provision resulted in the establishment of a number of ill-equipped vernacular schools which objective was expanding the literacy of rural areas. Yet the attempt was not much successful as the colonial authorities did not want to expand vernacular education and it resulted to socio-economic backwardness of the rural population.

The revivalist movement contributed more to expand of non-private educational institutions yet the missionaries were enjoyed privileged extended by the colonial government. The Wace 1905 commission observed the injustice perpetrated on the majority through education policy and recommended a positive clause to safeguard the religious interests. Instead of taking favorable action against facilitating the non private schools the clauses of Wace commission that favored local schools were amended and weakened on the pressure of missionaries. Yet the governor Manning decisions to withdraw grants from denominational schools was a major setback of the missionaries. Yet the government reverted its former policy that favored government, schools after Manning's departure.

After 1924 Buddhist and Hindu interest were more adequately represented in the legislative council and their demand for a positive conscience clause was favorably considered by the MacCrae Commission in 1929. Yet the missionaries could induce the governor to continue to resist the proposal. Therefore denominational schools could enjoy its former prestige.

Though the vernacular schools were increased their contribution to make quality education was not reached. The only which they had done was given opportunity to mass population to enroll

Curriculum wise vernacular schools provided a minimum elementary education and were worked on the very mechanical system of payment however, functioning of vernacular schools were not impressive. These schools did not encourage to retain students. The school leaving certificate at grade eight considered a qualification for a job of teachers or notaries the availability of these jobs encouraged students to reach up to grade 8. The economically well-being students left English

medium schools. However the long history of Sri Lankan education contributed to achieve the higher literacy rate in South Asia indeed.

Conclusion

Each nation state from liberal democracies to totalitarian systems uses education as one of their state apparatus to transmit their political ideologies. Thus the Education is encapsulated in the political environment of the Sri Lanka too. Protests, heated debates, arguments and counter arguments on allocation to education and reciprocity of politics and Education are not so uncommon in Sri Lanka. On the other hand the Sri Lanka's population has a literacy rate of 92%, it has the highest literacy rate in South Asia and overall, one of the highest literacy rates in Asia. The relationship between education and politics is reciprocal. Thus the subject matters of both education and politics are immense for the achievements of human development of a given society. Historical evidences on reciprocity of education and politics could be found in both Eastern as well as the Western world. In case of Sri Lanka the Sinhalese tradition of education was commenced with the arrival of Arahata Mahinda and followers. Even in the pre-historic era the people who were belonging to three ethnic groups viz, Yakka, Naga and Dewa in accordance with the level of their civilization, had acquired certain education in technical spheres. In case of colonial period, the three main colonial powers in some extent paid their attention to diffuse Christianity and colonial education. During the British colonial period the East India Commercial Company cared less for promoting education either in India or Ceylon until they became the political power. It is worth noting here, the establishment of Parish Schools was one of the notable even in the education history of Sri Lanka. The contribution of Governor North by building of schools, appointing school masters, and paying them and encouraging children attendance to the development of Parish Schools was immeasurable.

The main concern of Colebrook in reorganization of education in Ceylon was expansion of opportunity to the natives in civil service. It is worth noting here the entire system of education in Ceylon at the early 20th Century was reflected colonial interests that aimed to produce men for lower ranks administrative positions in the local market within itself. The attempt of the colonial government to reactivate the local elementary education through the monitor of the local government institutions was made by enacting ordinances. Yet the ordinances could not make considerable contribution the expansion of vernacular education. The participation of local government institutions in educational provision resulted in the establishment of a number of ill-equipped vernacular schools which objective was expanding the literacy of rural areas. Yet the attempt was not much successful as the colonial authorities did not want to expand vernacular education and it resulted to socio-economic backwardness of the rural population. However the economically well-being students left English medium schools. Finally it is worth noting here the Political conduct should advance educational life. Thus the reciprocity of politics and Education should advance educational status of the nation state.

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