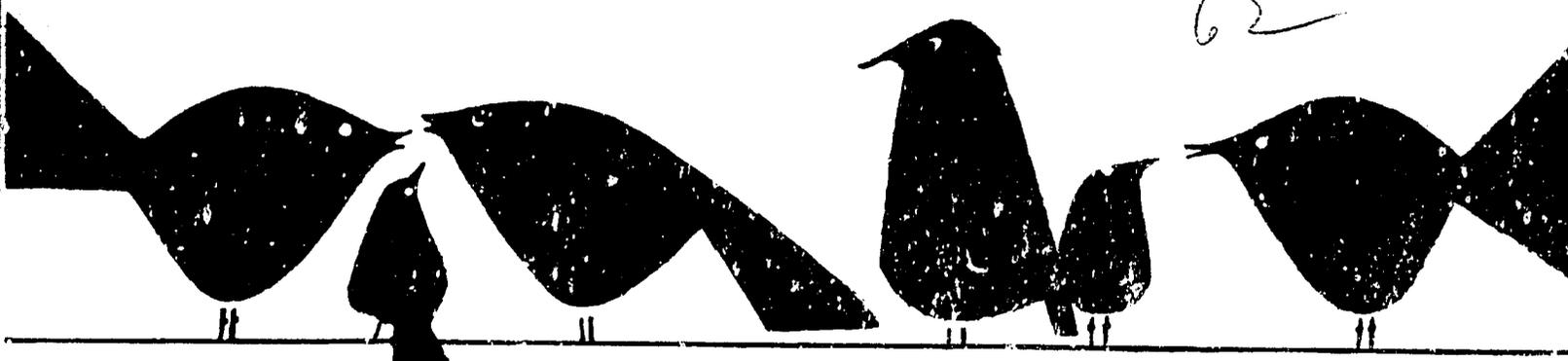


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ISN 54625

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Social Foundations of Education

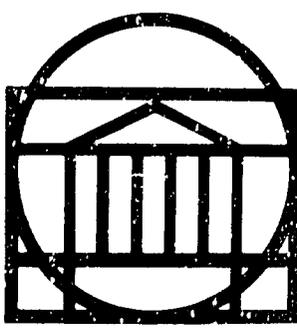
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
SRI LANKA

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Department of Foundations of Education: School of Education: University of Virginia

Northern Virginia Social Foundations
of Education Occasional Paper
Series No. 1 May 1980

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

By James R. Brady

Introduction

This publication inaugurates a new series of monographs and curriculum units to be published in conjunction with the University of Virginia's Northern Virginia Social Foundations of Education Master's Degree Program. The paper that follows was selected by the Northern Virginia staff to be published as an outstanding example of a research paper or curriculum unit that was produced by a current student in the program that merits wider distribution and attention.

Jim Brady completed the Social Foundations of Education degree program in May 1980 and holds the B.A., M.P.A., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Michigan. He is currently employed by the U.S. Agency for International Development as Chief of the Social and Human Resources Development Division, Asia Bureau. His work in A.I.D. has focused on various types of socio-economic development projects in Iran, Indonesia, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Korea and his special areas of interest include organizational behavior and change, manager training, and personal achievement techniques.

Dr. Brady's experience in Sri Lanka has been limited to short periods of on-site visitation including a review of rural health activities there for A.I.D. He chose to do research and an analysis of Educational Policies and Economic Development in Sri Lanka which resulted in the paper that follows.

Peter Hackett
Director, Social Foundations of
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April 20, 1980

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews some of the relationships between national educational policies and economic development in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) since achievement of independence. Sri Lanka was chosen for analysis because it shares many traits with other less developed countries (LDC's), but it has also pursued different strategies of development. Like many of its Asian neighbors, Sri Lanka thus has a population which is generally young, rural, and poor, but the government has devoted more attention and resources to social welfare programs than is common in the region. Consequently, a recent study of Asian "development styles" by Ralph Pieris places Sri Lanka in the unique category of "welfarestatism." This means that Sri Lanka's approach to national development emphasizes welfare measures, even at the expense of promoting economic growth. Although other countries in Asia have expressed a preference for a welfare-oriented strategy, Pieris says that most have not really made it a dominant part of their development effort. According to Pieris, Sri Lanka's social welfare orientation has produced the following kinds of benefits:

...A wide range of social welfare benefits has been provided in Sri Lanka, including free rice rations for all except a minority of income tax payers, a countrywide network of free education and health services, subsidized public transport coupled by a determined attack on inequality by the imposition of a ceiling on incomes (\$200 per month net of tax) and on land holdings. Unlike in most of the other countries delivery systems in respect of the social services have been organized to reach the rural periphery...^{1*}

Pieris goes on to point out that some of these benefits have been provided at serious costs to the economy. Sri Lanka thus has high governmental overhead costs (for administering welfare programs), high unemployment rates, and an increasing inability to raise urgently needed revenues from an "overly pampered" electorate.

The experience of Sri Lanka also merits study because it suggests some of the things which could occur elsewhere as a result of some recent changes in developmental theories and the policies of international aid organizations working with LDC's. More attention is being given to social development by foreign aid donors such as the United States, the IBRD, and some United Nations agencies. In part, this change in strategy stems from the perceived failure of earlier macroeconomic theories and program strategies concerning the LDC's. For example, after the Marshall Plan's successes in rebuilding Europe after World War II, U.S. foreign aid to the LDC's stressed the need for large capital development projects. When these failed to produce the desired rate of economic progress, new theories about tailoring resources to particular "stages of growth" were postulated in the 1960's--"The Decade of Development." Once again, the disappointing economic growth rates in the LDC's--and a growing concern with economic slow-downs in many "developed" countries--reduced our confidence in the gospel of the macrotheorists.

*Numbers refer to source notes at the end of the paper.

Existing economic dogma failed to explain the persistence of high unemployment rates along side of high inflation levels in the U.S. and other countries. The general economic situation was made even more gloomy by the drastic increases in oil prices imposed by the OPEC clique and the ensuing global "energy crisis" of the 1970's.

The new concern with promoting social development also stems from the feeling that few of the benefits of economic development seemed to be reaching the lower income groups in the LDC's. As a result, the U.S. Congress, in 1973, mandated that U.S. bilateral economic development assistance should give higher priority to projects which directly benefited the poor. This resulted in more attention being given to the initiation of new programs and the redirection of existing programs to promote health, educational, and agricultural benefit programs for the poorer people in the LDC's. It is not yet clear how much substantive change has been produced by these "New Directions" policies. However, it should be borne in mind that the new U.S. strategy applies most directly to bilateral development assistance and this constituted only about a quarter of the \$7.5 billion requested by President Carter for non-military assistance for FY 1979.³ Similarly, LDC planners and other donors have given verbal support to programs for promoting equity and social welfare, but few major changes in resource allocation patterns can now be detected. This may be due, in part, to the lack of sound theory and experience related to social development. Perhaps Sri Lanka's efforts can shed some light on what will or will not work.

II. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPMENT

As suggested above, the new interest in promoting social development implies that educational programs should be given higher priority by national planners and international agencies. However, as in the case of macroeconomic theory, there has also been a growing concern that we do not really know much about the interrelationships between education and development. In the 1950's and 1960's, there was a relatively high degree of confidence that investments in education would accelerate economic growth. However, recent reports express doubt that this did occur in many of the LDC's. In his 1976 book, The Diploma Disease, Ronald Dore reports that much of the available data suggest that there was a negative correlation between tertiary educational enrollment levels in the 1950's and the economic performance ratings of many LDC's by 1965.⁴ While admitting that the evidence is often confusing, Dore argues that the quality of education and the "real goals" of the school system are as important as enrollment data in measuring the impact of education on economic development. Consequently, Dore contends that the type of education provided in Sri Lanka is directed more toward meeting academic certification requirements per se, rather than toward producing the types of skills needed for economic growth.⁵ This suggests, therefore, that the provision of educational opportunities on a broad scale may not, in itself, be adequate to promote economic progress. On the other hand, a 1974 World Bank (IBRD) Sector Working Paper on education appears to give rather high priority to the provision of "mass education." The Bank paper notes that educational systems have been irrelevant to the needs of many developing countries during the past two decades because, in part, they were coupled with overall development strategies which were not reflective of local needs and conditions:

Emphasis on the development of the modern economic sector, providing employment to a small and intensively trained elite, leads to the neglect of the 60-80% of the population living in sectors characterized by traditionally lower productivity. Consequently, a large part--often more than 50%--of the resources is devoted to secondary and higher education, although the student enrollment at these levels is generally less than 20% of the total. Despite the substantial progress realized in both general development and education during these decades, the bright hopes of the early years are far from being realized...The growing realization that equitable income distribution is not an automatic correlary of growth has turned attention to a development strategy which is directed to sharing the benefits of growth as well as to growth itself.⁶

The paper goes on to urge that education also address the needs of people in the traditional and transitional sectors of the national economy. This requires an emphasis on "...mass education to ensure that all receive education and training of some kind as soon as resources permit and to the extent that the course of development requires."⁷

The differing stands taken by Dore and the World Bank paper on how education should relate to economic development are illustrative of the problem of identifying an analytical framework for viewing the situation in countries such as Sri Lanka. On the positive side, the absence of agreement in the literature on cause and effect relationships between education and economic development may help us avoid some of the mistakes attributed to the overconfident development dogmas espoused in the 1950's and 1960's. However, lest we forget, a recent work on educational planning in Asia by Muhammed Shamsul-Huq warns against using the patterns found in developing countries as guidelines for judging or planning educational systems in the LDC's. Shamsul-Huq notes that national development is a very complex process and the mix of interrelated components may differ from country to country or even within the same country at different time periods. He then describes the interaction between education and development as follows:

Education interacts and is interdependent with the process of development. Social structures, policies, and goals exert their influence upon the education sector, as on other sectors, while the education sector influences economic and social development by inducing change in technology through the systematic application of scientific and other knowledge for specialized tasks as a consequence of their division and differentiation, and in values and attitudes to provide the necessary incentives for increasing productive efficiency.⁸

Although Shamsul-Huq probably did not intend for this statement to be prescriptive, it does suggest some major functions which an educational system should perform in relation to the socio-economic development of a country. These functions include the: (1) expansion of technology through application of existing knowledge, (2) production of the specialized skills and knowledge needed by a "modern" economy, and (3) promotion of the personal values and attitudes needed for productive efficiency. Such requirements would seem to encompass the "mass education" concern of the World Bank, the specialized economic skills mentioned by Dore, and an additional need for translating knowledge into technology. However, it is not clear where the education system's responsibility for the expansion of technology ends and the responsibility

of the economic system begins. Nevertheless, in this study, we shall try to find out how the educational system in Sri Lanka has performed such important development-related functions as: (1) producing specialists for the economy, (2) promoting basic education for the masses, and (3) applying existing knowledge in order to expand technology. This kind of information should provide insights into the way in which education could affect, and be affected by, economic development in other countries.

III. A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

Before proceeding to look at specific data on Sri Lanka, we will only reiterate that it was not possible to identify existing analytical models or frameworks which combine the desired qualities of objectivity, relevancy, and parsimony (i.e., the model contains a manageable number of variables).⁹ Consequently, a general functional approach will be taken to ascertain how given functions (such as those described in Section II) have been performed in Sri Lanka at given points in time. We will be especially concerned with the effects of education policies on the performance of educational functions which are related to economic development. As used herein, educational policies refer to the formal statements of goals or standards which should guide national educational activities. It is recognized that there may be gaps between the promulgation of policies and their implementation and we will try to describe such gaps where possible. It is assumed that policies are the outcomes of competition between groups and organizations within the political process.

In Sri Lanka, the communal and ethnic nature of many political alignments has been an important element in the educational policy process, so we will briefly describe the major social groups. Likewise, it is important to have some appreciation of the educational system introduced during British colonial rule since certain patterns were continued after independence.

The sources for this paper were limited to locally available publications in English, with some effort being made to strike a balance between foreign and Sri Lankan writers. Since materials on recent developments in Sri Lanka were relatively scarce, our account may not adequately reflect the dynamics of the current situation. For example, while the educational system underwent significant reforms in the early 1960's and the early 1970's, current reports suggest that changes are also being made by the new government of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene which was elected in July 1977. In spite of these and other limitations, I learned a great deal about an interesting country whose experiences merit more attention than they have received in the literature on education and national development.

IV. THE MAJOR SOCIO-ETHNIC GROUPS IN SRI LANKA

It is impossible to do justice here to the long and rich history of the major groups which make up the society of Sri Lanka.¹⁰ The dominant group, the Sinhalese, probably came to Sri Lanka from northern India in significant numbers as early as 485 B.C. Shortly thereafter, the Tamils started arriving from southern India. These two groups overcame the aboriginal Veddah population and settled throughout the island. The Sinhalese adopted Buddhism and developed Sinhalese to replace the Pali language, while the Tamils practiced

Hinduism and spoke Tamil. A third social grouping--largely Moslem--consists of the Moors (primarily Arabs) who came as coastal traders from about the 8th Century, and Malays who were brought in as soldiers by the British colonial administration in the 19th Century. During the same time frame, the British also brought in Tamils from India to work on the plantations. Most of these "Indian Tamils" were not given Sri Lankan citizenship after the island achieved independence from the British in 1948. Agreements between India and Sri Lanka suggest that about half of the "Indian Tamils" may eventually be transplanted to India, while the rest may become Sri Lankan citizens. Concentrated on the tea, rubber, and coconut plantations, the Indian Tamils appear to have benefited the least from the expansion of education and other social welfare programs in Sri Lanka. This may, in turn, suggest why the plantations have often been referred to as the least progressive elements in the economy.

Finally, there are smaller groups of Burghers and Europeans--most of whom are classified as Christians. The Burghers are generally Eurasian descendents of the early Portuguese and Dutch settlers who married Ceylonese. As shown in Table 1, the Sinhalese and the Tamils are the major political forces if population is the key criterion. Classification of groups by religious beliefs now tend to parallel the socio-ethnic group classifications except in the case of Christianity. The 1971 census indicated that about 8% of the population were Christians, 67% Buddhist, 18% Hindu, and 7% Moslem.

TABLE 1--Breakdown of Sri Lanka's Population by Major Groups
(Estimates based on 1971 Census)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Population (000's)</u>	<u>Percentage (Rounded)</u>
1. Sinhalese	9,131	72%
2. Sri Lankan Tamils	1,424	11
3. Indian Tamils	1,175	9
4. Moors and Malays	899	7
5. Others	61	1
TOTAL	12,690	100%

Source: Sri Lanka Yearbook 1977 (Department of Census and Statistics, Republic of Sri Lanka, Colombo, February 1978), p.45.

Prior to the conquest of Sri Lanka by the Portuguese in 1505, the island experienced periods of impressive cultural and economic development, interspersed with periods of decline caused by internal conflict, drought, famine, and disease. Formal education in the pre-colonial period was provided largely through the religious temples. The training was usually academic with priority given to the learning and recitation of religious creeds

and traditions. Consequently, the technical skills required to build the large irrigation and reservoir systems (tanks) must have been learned outside of the temple schools.¹²

V. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DURING COLONIAL RULE

During 153 years of Portuguese control (1505-1658), a limited network of schools was established for the primary purpose of spreading Roman Catholicism. After displacing the Portuguese in 1658, the Dutch energetically went about the task of replacing the Catholic influence with that of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch thus established parish schools and required attendance until age 15. When British control replaced that of the Dutch in 1796, the new colonial rulers favored the spread of Protestant missionary schools.¹³ During later periods of political liberalization, the Roman Catholics revitalized their educational networks and became a dominant element in the missionary school system. The Buddhist, Hindu, and Moslem communities also worked to maintain their own schools, but they received only limited support from the British colonial administration.

Under the Portuguese and Dutch regimes and the earlier years of British rule, education was provided primarily to promote conversion to the dominant religion of the ruling country. Access to local government or colonial positions was largely restricted to Sri Lankans who had been properly socialized by missionary-controlled schools. After 1870, as a result of pressures from back home to improve local education, the British colonials began to support a significant expansion of schools in Sri Lanka. Between 1870 and 1879, the total number of schools tripled and student enrollments jumped from 16,937 to 75,064 (see Table 2). By 1945, when the British were preparing to leave, the number of government and private schools had grown to 2,399 and 2,144 respectively.¹⁴ In quantitative terms, Sri Lanka had a more developed primary school system than many of her neighbors.

TABLE 2--Numbers of Government and Government-Recognized Private Schools and Students, 1870 and 1879

	<u>1870</u>	<u>1879</u>
Government Schools	156	372
Government Students	8,736	19,120
Private ("recognized") Schools	229	814
Private Students	8,201	55,944

Source: C.R. deSilva, "Education," in K.M. deSilva (ed.), Sri Lanka: A Survey (London: C. Hurst and Company for Lake House Bookshop, Colombo, 1977), p.404.

Desultory efforts were also attempted during British rule to make education more relevant to local conditions, but the road to prestigious white collar or professional employment continued to run through the academically-oriented English language schools operated by the missionaries. To expand the size of their flocks, the missionary groups eventually began to open rural schools which taught courses in the local languages. However, within a particular primary school, the economically advantaged student often received better instruction and a greater chance of proceeding on to secondary or higher education. Most poor rural students had to settle for a rudimentary primary education. At the risk of overgeneralizing, we would thus say that after 152 years of colonial rule, the British left behind two distinct systems of education: one for the elite and one for the masses. The elite system was essentially private, urban, Christian and grounded in the English culture and language. Most of these elite schools charged fees, but they also received much more generous government financial support than the private or public schools which taught in the local languages. The educational system for the masses was rural, free, grounded in the vernacular languages, and generally limited to the primary level. Consequently, anyone from a poor family who wished to pursue secondary or higher education had to overcome significant financial, geographical and other barriers.

The educational system apparently met the limited economic development needs of the colonial administration. The British were primarily interested in maintaining Ceylon as a source of agricultural products and raw materials, particularly tea, rubber, and coconuts. They also wanted to maintain the local population's dependency on British imports, such as manufactured products and textiles. There was little effort made to initiate local industries or even to improve local food production. In terms of the three economic functions we identified in Section II, there was little demand for the colonial educational system to produce specialized skills for the economy or to translate existing knowledge into technology. While some British officials expressed concern about the need for specialized technical or vocational training as early as 1841, relatively little was accomplished outside of the area of medicine. Agricultural or technical training was considered to be inferior to an English liberal education. (This strong bias against learning vocational or applied skills continued long after the departure of the British.) We assume that the preference for non-technical education also meant that the colonial educational system had little to do with the translation of knowledge into technology. Any technology needed for the plantation-based economy must have been produced by the British trading companies and/or imported from abroad. Until the creation of the University of Ceylon in 1942, most of the local elites obtained higher education in Great Britain. The University of Ceylon was formed through an amalgamation of the Ceylon Medical College (established in 1870) and the Ceylon University College (established in affiliation with the University of London in 1921). Enrollments at the University of Ceylon increased from 904 in 1942 to 1,554 in 1947.

The British colonial record on providing basic education for the masses was mixed. While efforts to provide vocational or citizenship skills were limited, the continued expansion of primary schools after 1870 contributed to a significant growth in literacy. By 1947, there were approximately one million students enrolled in secondary and primary schools or about 15% of the national population of 6.9 million.¹⁵ As shown in Table 3, literacy

(in all languages) increased from about 17% in 1881 to 58% in 1946. Table 3 also reflects the increased equalization of educational opportunities for females over time. However, only 6% of the population had achieved literacy in English by 1946. This suggests that the impact of the English schools had been limited to a small elite group during a century and a half of British rule.

TABLE 3--Percentage of Literates Relative to Population Age Five and Over for Selected Years Between 1881 and 1946

<u>Year</u>	<u>Persons Percent</u>	<u>Males (%)</u>	<u>Females (%)</u>
1881	17.4	29.8	3.1
1891	21.7	36.1	5.3
1901	26.4	42.0	8.5
1911	31.0	47.2	12.5
1921	39.9	56.4	21.2
1946	57.8	70.1	43.8

Source: J.E. Jayasuriya, Educational Policies and Progress During British Rule in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 1796-1948 (Associated Educational Publishers, Colombo, Undated), p.516.

The British colonials must be given credit for doing more to promote basic education than, say, the Dutch in Indonesia or the French in Indochina. Similarly, the British were ahead of most other colonial powers in the granting of local political rights. Universal adult suffrage was introduced into Sri Lanka in 1931, although the British retained ultimate veto power over major actions of the local parliamentary organs. Nevertheless, Sri Lankans began to play a greater policymaking role in education and other areas. The English-educated elites which came into prominence during the last years of British rule became the core of national political leadership after achievement of independence in February 1948. Finally, we should note that the use of elections to peacefully change governments has survived longer in Sri Lanka than in many of its Asian neighbors.

VI. INDEPENDENCE AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION

The first decade after independence was primarily devoted to the expansion of education, while the 1960's saw the national government assume control over almost all of the schools and initiate selective structural and curricular changes. A major reform of the primary and secondary curricula was initiated in 1972 and is apparently still in process. However, the innovations started in 1972 are being critically reviewed by the present government and some revisions are reportedly being reversed. In short, the system is still in a state of flux.

Even before independence, the provision of universal free education had become accepted as public gospel in Sri Lanka. Consequently, most political leaders continued to publicly support the concept although implementation progress lagged behind policy pronouncements. Following independence, more schools were opened in the rural areas, but the urban systems continued to receive more favorable financial support from the national government. The missionary-sponsored English schools also continued to receive government subsidies and they were still regarded as providing the best quality of education. However, protests by the Buddhist and Tamil communities resulted in the eventual termination of subsidies to private schools. Faced with this major reduction of revenues, most private schools had opted to become a part of the public school system by 1961. As a result, by 1966, almost 90% of the nation's 9,555 schools were being administered by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵

The government also moved to equalize educational opportunities through the use of local languages, standardization of curricula and texts, and a more rational spatial allocation of schools.¹⁶ Sinhala was made the official national language in 1956, but protests by Tamil groups led to the adoption of Tamil as a second language. English also continued to be used in many official communications and in the teaching of some courses. However, English has gradually declined as a medium of instruction, although it is frequently offered as a second language at secondary and higher levels.

The Ministry of Education assumed responsibility for developing curricula and teaching guidelines for all primary and secondary schools, the publication or procurement of textbooks, and the appointment and dismissal of all public school teachers. The Ministry has been given credit by some observers for helping to equalize access to education and maintain overall educational standards during the educational expansion which followed independence. However, some critics have charged that the Ministry actually reduced the quality of education by issuing substandard instructional materials and confusing guidelines for teachers.¹⁷ Moreover, tension between the university community and the Ministry grew as the latter became increasingly involved in higher education. National policies on the organization of higher education have changed periodically since independence. By 1972, most higher educational institutions had been integrated into a single University of Sri Lanka system. The President of the Republic serves as the chancellor and the Prime Minister as pro-chancellor of the university. Operational coordination over all of the various campuses is exercised by a Vice Chancellor while each campus is administered by a president.¹⁸ In 1969/70, the University received about 93% of its budget from the national government while the balance came largely from gifts and student fees.¹⁹

The centralization of control over education at all levels was consistent with the espoused aim of the successive post-independence governments to create a socialist society. Nationalization of education was also seen by many groups as the only way to break the strong influence of foreigners in the system. In 1972, Jacques Hallak summarized the situation as follows:

The educational system of Sri Lanka is a very large one, one of the largest centrally-controlled systems in the world. There are about 2.8 million students, 100,000 teachers and over 20,000 employees, almost totally under the control of the Ministry of Education. For a country

of 12.5 million inhabitants this means that practically one quarter of the population is controlled by a large and heavy single organizational body. This should be kept in mind when any evaluation of the system is attempted.²⁰

Such actions as the termination of government subsidies for the elite denominational schools, the replacement of English by Swabhasa (Tamil and Sinhala), and the expansion of rural schools undoubtedly introduced more social equity into the educational system. While Sri Lanka has not achieved the professed goal of free education for all, the data presented in the next section suggest that school enrollment levels compare favorably with many other LDC's.

VII. ENROLLMENT TRENDS

Although our data sources were not always consistent, some estimates of enrollment trends between 1950 and 1976 are shown in Table 4. The data in Table 4 suggest that overall enrollments peaked during the 1960's. Secondary level enrollments have been steadily expanding while primary enrollments have been declining. The recent slowdown in overall enrollments has been attributed to such factors as: (1) the shortening of primary education from 6 to 5 years (in 1964) and secondary education from 7 to 6 years (in 1972), (2) an increase in the minimum starting age from 5 to 6 years, and (3) a high rate of dropouts. The present government took steps in 1978 to move the entry age back to 5 years which reportedly could add up to 325,000 additional students per year.²¹

TABLE 4--Estimated Primary and Secondary School Enrollments in Sri Lanka for Selected Years, 1950-1976

<u>Year</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Percent in:</u>	
		<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>
1950	1,400,000	95%	5%
1960	2,233,000	90	10
1970	2,680,000	87	13
1972	2,627,000	82	18
1976	2,580,236	58	42

Sources: 1950 and 1972: C.R. de Silva, "Education," in K.M. de Silva (ed.), Sri Lanka: A Survey (C. Hurst and Co., London, 1977), pp.412-413.
 1960 and 1970: Jacques Hallak, Financing and Educational Policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1972), p.62.
 1976: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 4.2.

Table 5 shows the trends in enrollment as a percentage of school age population. These data suggest that in recent years, the system has been falling

behind in meeting the need for primary education while making some gains at the secondary level. The data on public expenditures for education between 1965 and 1975 also reflect a shift in emphasis from primary to secondary education (see Table 6).

TABLE 5--School Enrollment Ratios, Sri Lanka, Selected Years 1960-1976
(Percentage of Age Group)

Year	<u>1st Level</u>	<u>2nd Level</u>	<u>3rd Level</u>
	<u>Ages 5-12</u>	<u>Ages 13-16</u>	<u>Ages 20-24</u>
1960	95%	27%	0.58%
1965	93	35	1.53
	<u>Ages 6-10</u>	<u>Ages 11-17</u>	
1970	99	51	1.17
1974	80	57	1.27
1976	77	55	-

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks for 1976 and 1977 (UNESCO, Paris, 1977 and 1978), pp.178 (1977) and Table 3.2 (1978).

Note: In Sri Lanka, the normal age range for post-secondary or 3rd level education is 17-20.

Available statistics on higher education suggest a continuous growth in enrollments until the late 1960's. Enrollments at the University of Ceylon (later the University of Sri Lanka) increased from 1,554 in 1947 to 2,718 in 1957, 14,287 in 1967 and about 14,500 in 1974.²² As mentioned earlier, several universities and colleges were integrated into a single system in 1972, but the present government has announced that it will again decentralize the system. In 1976, the Minister of Education and Higher Education also announced that since the residential university system was too expensive to operate, it would be replaced by 35 new "colleges" affiliated with nine universities.²³ As of the 1977-78 school year, the University of Sri Lanka had eight campuses, including two established at Matera and Dumbara in 1978.²⁴ We would guess that in addition to the University of Sri Lanka enrollments, at least 5,000 students were probably enrolled in about 22 two-year teachers' colleges. Another 5,000 or more students could be attending various post-secondary vocational or technical schools. While university enrollments have increased rather dramatically since independence, the demand for higher education is far in excess of the available opportunities. The percentage of applicants who were admitted to universities declined from 30.3% in 1950 to 9.7% in 1973/74, while the number of applicants increased from 1,443 to 36,236 in the same years.²⁵

TABLE 6--Estimated Breakdown of Public Expenditures on
Education by Level of Education
(Percentages for 1965, 1970, 1973, and 1975)

<u>Year</u>	<u>1st Level Ages 6-10</u>	<u>2nd Level Ages 11-17</u>	<u>3rd Level Ages 20-24</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Not Distributed</u>
1965	65%	25%	5%	2%	5%
1970	61	25	7	3	4
1973	35	54	7	...	4
1975	— 84*	—	7	...	9

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks 1976 and 1977 (UNESCO, Paris, 1977 and 1978), p.576 (1977) and Table 6.3 (1978).

*Note: UNESCO did not break down the 1975 data in the same manner as it did in previous years. There also appears to be an error in the 1977 UNESCO Yearbook since it shows combined 2nd and 3rd Level expenditures equaling 7% of total expenditures for 1975. It appeared more logical to assume that combined 1st and 2nd Level expenditures equaled 84% and that 3rd Level remained at 7%.

In comparison to some of the other former colonial countries in Asia, Sri Lanka had a fairly good base on which to build an educational system. Consequently, the expansion of primary education slowed down in the 1960's as relatively high enrollment levels were reached. Those children not enrolled were probably from the more impoverished or isolated communities. However, part of the leveling off of enrollments can probably be attributed to the educational budget squeeze resulting from national economic setbacks. While Sri Lanka led most Asian countries in 1960 by devoting 5% of national income to education, it was reportedly overtaken in 1968 by the Khmer Republic and Malaysia. Public expenditures on education in 1968 were reported by UNESCO as about 5.4% of national income for Sri Lanka, 6.5% for Khmer Republic and 7% for Malaysia.²⁶ Other UNESCO data show that expenditures on education in Sri Lanka declined between 1965 and 1976, both as a percentage of GNP (from 4.5% to 3.1%) and as a percentage of total public expenditures (from 15.0% to 9.8%).²⁷ The combined enrollment and financial data suggest that Sri Lanka may now be losing ground in meeting the educational needs of its people. Before assessing the educational system's performance of selected economic functions, we will briefly review some of the qualitative changes which are being made in the system.

VIII. RECENT EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

A. Primary and Secondary Education

The educational changes of the 1950's and 1960's broadened access to education and modified the elitist orientation of many elements in the system.

However, such changes did little to achieve the government's expressed aim of making education more relevant to the nation's economic problems. By the 1970's, the economy was still very much dependent on a few agricultural export crops whose prices sometimes fluctuated widely in the world market. Unemployment rates were estimated to be over 20% and much higher than this for educated youths. In 1971, a wide-spread armed insurrection involving many secondary and university students, created the greatest threat to parliamentary government since independence. Although suppressed, the revolt represented what Urmila Phadnis called a protest of the country's youth because of the "...disequilibrium between a high-level participatory political culture in a parliamentary framework and a virtually stagnant economic system."²⁸

It is interesting to speculate on the possible interrelationships between politics, economics, and education in this situation. A population which acquired a relatively high literacy rate (78% in 1971) apparently also became politically active, since voting in national elections continued to increase (from 56% of the electorate in 1947 to 87% in 1977).²⁹ (Compared to a U.S. voting rate of about 50-60% in recent Presidential elections) Most elected politicians thus feared to eliminate such benefits as free or subsidized education, medical care, food, or transportation. Consequently, large national welfare expenditures prevented investments in economic development programs which could generate new jobs. The situation was also exacerbated by managerial inefficiencies resulting from the increasing nationalization of the economy. Political patronage, rather than personal qualifications, determined the distribution of many jobs. In short, the economy appeared to be structurally similar to what it was during colonial times and the government was still the major source of jobs for secondary and higher education graduates. While national economic needs had changed, the government bureaucracy was being staffed with young people whose education had not prepared them to develop new technologies or more effective managerial systems to meet such needs. Moreover, the nation had only seven million people in 1948 and almost twice that number by the early 1970's. Consequently, there were far more people entering the labor force than the sluggish economy could absorb.

In any event, the 1971 insurrection may have hastened the educational policy changes which began in 1972. These reforms appeared to be directed toward a combination of aims, including: (1) keeping educational costs at a manageable level, (2) achieving a closer match between the numbers and types of school graduates and the labor market, and (3) increasing operational efficiency within the school system.³⁰ However, it is difficult to sort out the motivations behind specific policy changes. Following is a brief description of some of the principal reforms which were initiated in 1972:

(1) The duration of primary and secondary education has been reduced from a total of 12 years to 11 years and the minimum age for entering school increased from 5 years to 6. The new pattern consists of 5 years of primary, 4 years of junior secondary, and 2 years of senior secondary education. (The main features of the new education system are shown in Figure 1).

(2) The 5 years of primary education are to be handled by non-specialist teachers, so schools can be small and located closer to the student's residences. The goal is to increase the enrollment rate from 85% of primary school age children to 93% by 1980. To reduce the high rates of dropout and grade repeaters, promotion is to be automatic between Grades 1-4 and

6-8. (However, primary enrollment ratios actually appeared to be declining, if the data in Table 5 (above) are correct. Similarly, UNESCO data for 1976/77 showed repeater rates of 16-19% for Grades 2-5.)³¹

(3) Considerable emphasis is being placed on revising the curricula for junior secondary schools (Grades 6-9) since Grade 9 will be the highest level completed by the majority of youths. A common curriculum includes the following subjects: religion, mother-tongue, second language, mathematics, science, social studies, health studies and physical education, aesthetic studies, and two pre-vocational subjects. At the end of Grade 9, students will be tested on all ten subjects in a National Certificate of General Education (NCGE) examination. The common curriculum and school leaving examination are intended to correct the previous imbalance between the more popular arts subjects and the less favored sciences and vocational studies. Allowing only two repeats on the NCGE examination is intended to encourage students to seek employment rather than to continue to try to pass the examination. Since the government permits only students from recognized schools to take the examination, there has reportedly been a drastic reduction in the number of private tutoring enterprises. (However, recent reports indicate that the present government has already decided to abolish the new examination system and establish revised forms of the General Certificate of Education.)³²

The addition of two required courses of pre-vocational studies during Grades 6-9 is designed to bridge the gap between school and society. Writing in 1974, a Sri Lankan education official noted that:

...Pre-vocational studies are intended to give an understanding of agriculture, local industry, local raw materials, methods and skills of production. The intention here is not to teach a technical subject as a vocation (the task of technical schools), but to give the student basic skills and an understanding of the nature and scope of occupations available in the economy.³³

Ronald Dore is one of those who are skeptical about the prospects for inducing a genuine interest in technical and vocational pursuits through the introduction of such required subjects. He fears that these new subjects will only produce the usual orientation among teachers and students toward passing the certifying examination, rather than obtaining a real appreciation of the occupations concerned.³⁴ C.R. de Silva is also doubtful that the prevocational and technical subjects will change student and parental attitudes toward career preparation:

...Moreover, parents who have regarded schools as an avenue for a better life for their children are hardly likely to react enthusiastically to a system designed to encourage students to remain in their family setting and to be self employed. There is also the possibility that, without adequate equipment and qualified teachers, instruction in the pre-vocational subjects could easily degenerate into training at a craft level. Indeed, the question of re-training teachers should be an aspect to which more attention ought to be paid.³⁵

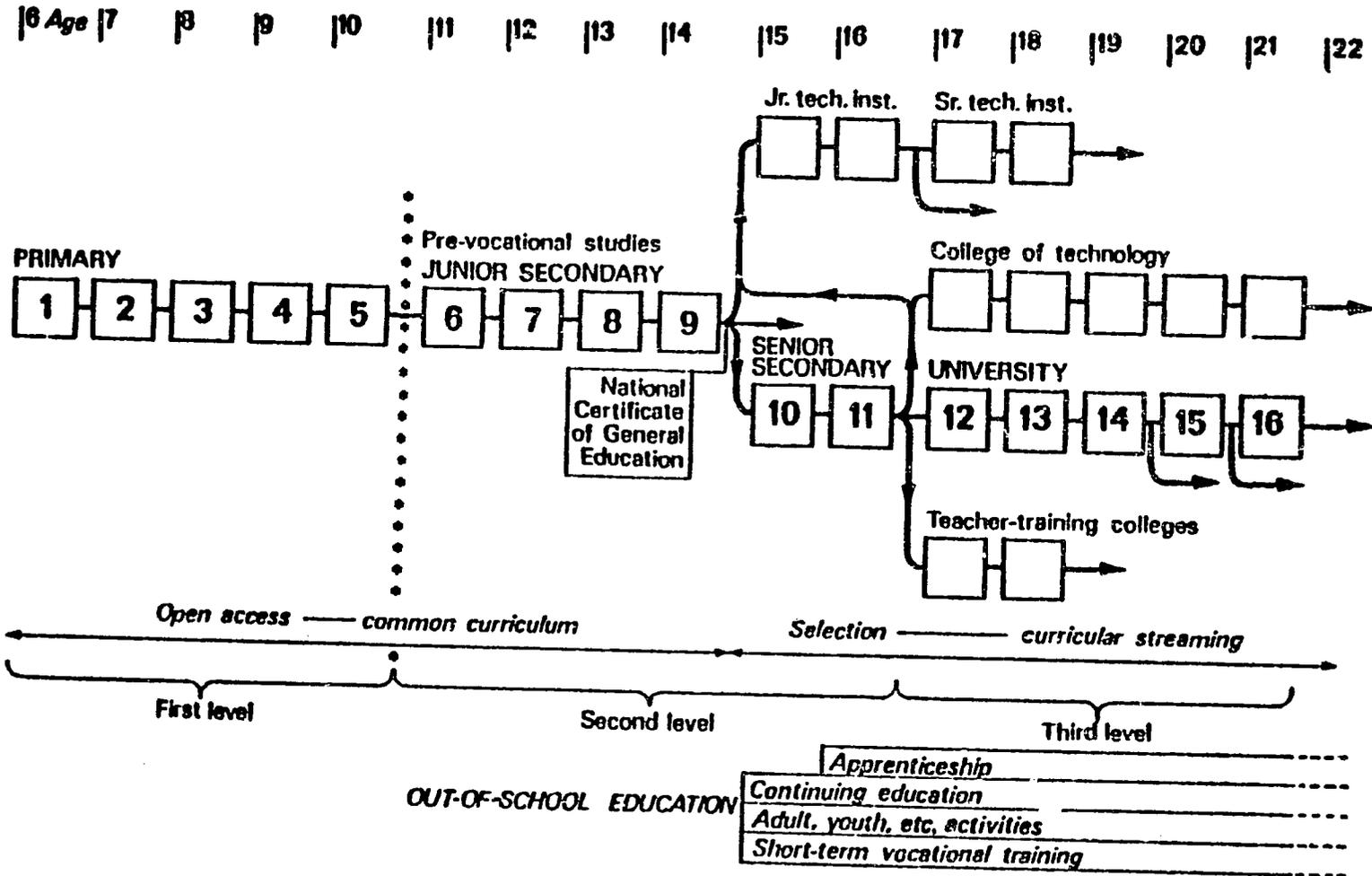


FIGURE 1. The new educational system of Sri Lanka

Source: Jacques Hallak, *Financing and Educational Policy in Sri Lanka*, (UNESCO: Institute for International Educational Planning, Paris, 1972), p. 97.

Unless additional training or guided work experience is provided for those leaving school after Grade 9, the new educational scheme may have limited impact on the need for more relevant preparation of youths entering the work force.

4. Only about 10% of those passing the NCGE examination will be permitted to go on to senior secondary school (Grades 10-11) for further "specialized" training. The new curriculum would require students to spend at least 25% of their time on such core subjects as socio-economic and cultural studies, statistics, management, English and mother-tongue. The new approach is thus geared to better prepare students to go into midlevel technical or subprofessional jobs or to enter other post-secondary technical training institutions. Of course, some will also go on to compete for admission to a university, but one purpose of the reforms is to reduce the numbers seeking to enter the universities.

Most observers would say that the SriLankans have done a good job of identifying the problems which beset their educational system and that the policies adopted will bring improvement, provided that they are implemented. The educational system consists of many interrelated components or subsystems so that changes in one part impact on other parts. The Government of Sri Lanka concentrated first on the secondary school system and only recently began to make changes in the content of post secondary education. Inadequate finances have constrained improvements in science teaching and other areas. Some assumptions are also being made that the local governments or the private sector will bear much of the responsibility for technical training for the Grade 9 leavers, nonformal education, and training for out-of-school youths.

B. Changes in Higher Education

The 1971 insurrection reportedly led to increased efforts by the Government to exercise control over the universities, so the ensuing tension between the faculties and the Ministry of Education has sometimes not been conducive to orderly growth and change.³⁶ Nonetheless, if recent data on university program enrollments are accurate, somewhat less emphasis is now being placed on liberal arts or general studies. The breakdown of fields of study for university students given in Table 7 shows that over half are in fields outside of what is normally labelled liberal arts studies. Since over three-fourths of the students were commonly reported to be enrolled in liberal arts a decade earlier, this represents a significant change. It appears that the increased enrollments in fields more directly related to science and technology have resulted from both internal changes in university course offerings and the absorption of more technically oriented educational institutions into the university system. These enrollment trends suggest that at least some elements of the higher education system are becoming more closely attuned to national development needs. Unfortunately, some of these gains may be offset by the steady outflow of physicians, engineers, and similar scarce talents to other countries.

While we did not find very much current information on private vocational or technical training institutions, these appear to be gradually expanding at both secondary and post-secondary levels. Efforts are also reportedly underway by the government to establish an Open University to

TABLE 7--Distribution of University Students by Field
of Study, Sri Lanka, 1974

<u>Field of Study</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>	<u>Percent of Students</u>
Social sciences, Humanities, and Fine Arts	6,704	46%
Engineering	2,648	18
Natural Sciences	1,823	13
Education*	1,482	10
Medicine	1,315	9
Agriculture	433	3
Law	<u>163</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	14,568	100%

*Does not include 5,184 students in two-year teacher training colleges.

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977 (UNESCO, Paris, 1978), Table 5.2.

provide opportunities to those who could not be admitted to regular university programs. Education at the post-graduate level has also started to grow, although graduate enrollments constituted only 4.8% of university enrollments in 1974 (697 students out of 14,568).³⁷ Funds for research by graduate students or university faculty have been quite limited, since there is little demand for university research by government or industry. The low level of university research suggests that the educational system is not actively performing the economic function of translating existing knowledge into technology.

If fully implemented, the secondary education reforms started in 1972 should lead to better preparation of students for finding jobs or pursuing technical or higher education. At the university level, there is still a strong popular preference for liberal education courses but recent enrollment data suggest that more students are studying scientific and technical subjects. The future direction of higher education in Sri Lanka is difficult to predict in view of the recent announcements about establishing a new decentralized system of regional colleges and universities. One of the objectives of the 1972 university integration was to permit individual campuses to develop special centers of academic strength by drawing on the overall talent available within the university. While development of such expertise has reportedly been difficult under the present system, the further dispersal of talent through decentralization may only exacerbate the problem.

A 1972 study of educational policy and financing in Sri Lanka by Jacques Hallak suggested that a greater share of national expenditures would have

to go to education if the new educational reforms were to be successful. The study concludes, however, that even if the reforms are successful and the 150,000-200,000 students who leave each year after Grade 9 have acquired useful knowledge and skills, there must be opportunities for them to be gainfully employed.³⁸ Between 1970 and 1977, the economy did not expand significantly, so few new jobs were created. The high rates of unemployment were a major factor in the overwhelming defeat of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in the July 1977 elections. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) won 140 of the 168 Parliamentary seats and later picked up three more seats when other MP's allied with the UNP. In limited municipal elections held in May 1979, the UNP again made a strong showing and this was widely interpreted as an endorsement of Mr. Jayewardene's administration. Under a new Constitution approved in 1978, stronger powers were granted to the President. Mr. Jayewardene relinquished his role as Prime Minister to serve as President for the next six years. After that, the President will be popularly elected for a six year term. Although the increasing centralization of power in the Presidency has been attacked by some opposition party leaders, it has also facilitated the initiation of economic policy changes which previous governments were reluctant to touch.³⁹

IX. RECENT ECONOMIC TRENDS

The years 1970-77 were generally characterized by the continuation of national economic policies which encouraged consumption at the expense of savings and investments in economic development.⁴⁰ Increased nationalization of the private sector also contributed to the lowering of economic productivity and a decline in foreign investments. The frequent drops in world prices for Sri Lanka's major exports (tea, coconuts, and rubber) and the sharply increased costs of petroleum imports after 1973 added to the financial and foreign trade problems. While the growth in gross domestic product had averaged 4.6% per year for 1960-70, it averaged only about 3.1% per year for 1970-77. (Nevertheless, this surpassed the 2.8% reported for the United States for 1970-77!)

The new UNP administration of Mr. Jayewardene has taken steps to remove excessive economic controls, transfer public funds from welfare to developmental activities, and increase public revenue income. The government is also trying to accelerate economic activity and create more jobs through major projects to develop the Mahaweli Ganga region, establish a free trade zone near Colombo, and promote urban renewal in the greater Colombo area. The Gross National Product (GNP) for 1978 was estimated to be \$2.3 billion (Rupees 36,139 million), in current prices. Expressed in real terms, this represented an annual increase of 8.2%, as compared to 4.4% in 1977. Good weather has also helped to increase food production and there was a record rice harvest of 90.6 million bushels (paddy) in 1978. Some of these recent gains have been offset by continued low productivity on many of the nationalized plantations (which produce most of the country's exports). Consequently, the economy is still very vulnerable to fluctuations in international prices because it depends on a very limited range of exports (tea, coconuts, rubber, and gems).

Although reliable data are not available, it was believed that unemployment may have declined from about 20% in 1975 to about 16% in 1978 (or 900,000 unemployed people out of a work force of 5.6 million). Industrial

production expanded by 11% in 1978 with the major growth areas being basic metals, textiles, paper products, and chemicals. In 1977, it was estimated that Manufacturing accounted for only 12.6% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) while Services accounted for 32.9% and Agriculture 32%. Data from the Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) show that Manufacturing accounted for 12.4% of Sri Lanka's GDP in 1965, 13.6% in 1970, and 13.1% in 1975.⁴¹ These figures reflect the relatively low priority that has been given to industrial development. Consequently, the demand for technical and specialist graduates from the school system has been rather limited. However, industrial expansion could be stimulated by current developments such as the new free trade zone and the greater encouragement now being given to the private sector.

X. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA'S ECONOMY

If the new political leadership in Sri Lanka is successful in accelerating economic growth, the country should be able to make greater investments in education. However, such funding increases may also be contingent upon what the educational system can do for the economy. Let us use the three economic functions identified earlier to assess the possibilities.

The educational system has done a good job of providing basic education for the masses if we use literacy as our primary indicator of effectiveness. The average rate of literacy (in any language) reportedly increased from 58% in 1946 to 65% in 1953, 72% in 1963, and 78% in 1971. It could now be as high as 85%. While progress in promoting literacy has not been completely uniform, Sri Lanka's progress compares favorably with that of other countries. Using 1970-71 data, we see that urban literacy rates in Sri Lanka are higher than rural (86% versus 75%) and males have a higher rate than females (86% versus 69%). Nevertheless, a literacy rate of 65% for rural women in Sri Lanka is higher than the rate for all women in Singapore (54%) or Turkey (34%); it is slightly less than the rate for rural women in Thailand (68%).⁴²

Another indicator of progress in providing basic education is the ratio of school enrollments to school age population. For example, H.M. Phillips uses four years of continuous enrollment in school as an index of basic education; these four years can occur at any time during ages 5-14. In assessing the coverage of basic education in the developing countries as of 1970, Phillips estimates that only about 66% of the target population was enrolled. He also predicted that the enrollment rate would not exceed 66% for 1975 and 1980, or 67% for 1985. Phillips concludes that there will be a stagnation of efforts to achieve the universal minimum of four years of basic education in developing countries unless special steps are taken.⁴³ While we could not obtain consistent data on recent enrollment trends in Sri Lanka, the reported 1975 ratio of 77% for primary education alone suggests that performance has exceeded the average levels of 66-67% cited by Phillips for the developing countries. However, Table 5 (above) indicates that the ratio of primary school enrollments to the primary school age population now appears to be headed downward, so Sri Lanka's comparative gains may be lost if corrective action is not taken.

In terms of producing specialized skills for the economy, we assume that this would be done in Sri Lanka primarily at the senior secondary

and higher levels of education (Grade 10 and above). The new reforms in secondary education are intended to increase the teaching of subjects which are more relevant to jobs in science and technology. However, high quality instruction in these fields will require greater financial investments in laboratory facilities, new teaching materials, and the training or retraining of teachers. While we saw (Table 6) that the share of total public education expenditures which went to secondary education reportedly increased from about 25% in 1965 to 54% in 1973, secondary school enrollments have also been increasing rather rapidly. Consequently, most of the added funds have probably been used to cover current operating costs, with little to spare for improving equipment and facilities. We would assume that similar problems exist at the university level. In short, the educational system is now offering more specialized or technical subjects and more students are being enrolled in these subjects, but the course content sometimes suffers from inadequate or outmoded instructional materials and facilities.

It appears that limited financing for higher education has also been one of the major constraints on the university's role in translating existing knowledge into technology.⁴⁴ It is tempting to conclude that the educational system has not been more actively involved in providing specialized skills or expanding science and technology because there has been little demand from the society for it to perform such a role. While accepting the general validity of this argument, we might also ask if the university faculties have actively tried to introduce innovations into their own institutions which would contribute to national socio-economic development. For example, medical schools in Sri Lanka, as in other countries, have continued to train doctors to work in specialized, curative-oriented urban hospitals while the most urgent need is for preventative-oriented medical generalists to serve in the rural areas. Consequently, doctors graduating from such schools are more oriented toward working in Western Europe or North America and this is where many of them are going. While admissions to medical school in Sri Lanka averaged 246 per year between 1970 and 1974, at least 172 doctors per year left for employment abroad during 1971-73.⁴⁴ Of course, the outflow of physicians, engineers, and other scarce talent has also been affected by government ceilings on personal earnings in Sri Lanka and the generally inactive economy.

Conversely, some relevant university innovations are being reported, such as the recent creation of a Department of Applied Science at the Katubedda campus of the University of Sri Lanka (formerly the Institute of Technology). It is also recognized that university faculties may have a difficult time influencing the policy process, given the increasingly centralized administration of education. How the recently proposed decentralization of higher education will affect the policy process remains to be seen. We would only suggest that university faculties must share the responsibility for producing the types of graduates who can function effectively as innovators and leaders in the economic sector. The leading educators in a relatively open and free political system like Sri Lanka's should be able to exert more influence on government than their colleagues in certain other Asian countries.

At the highest level of the political system in Sri Lanka, concern is being expressed about making education more accessible and more relevant to current national needs. In an August 1977 speech, President Jayewardene

said that his goals for improving education included: (1) improving rural schools and establishing school farms to teach practical skills, (2) establishing specialized institutes to improve plantation industries, agriculture, and fishing, (3) improving adult and vocational education, and (4) establishing channels of communication which link the national government to local PTA's through a "Parliament of Parents."⁴⁵ Naturally, translation of these broad goals into operational changes requires money and other resources, but they at least suggest that the present regime is sensitive to the need for further improvements in the educational system.

XI. COMPARING SRI LANKA'S PROGRESS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

While per capita GNP has been the principal indicator for measuring national economic development, this does not necessarily provide a good measure of social development. One measure of social development, designed by the Overseas Development Council (Washington, D.C.), is the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI). The PQLI combines indicators of infant mortality, life expectancy and literacy into an index of well-being which runs from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest). Table 8 provides estimates of per capita GNP, the PQLI, and the three components which go into the PQLI for Sri Lanka and 10 other Asian countries. While Sri Lanka's per capita GNP of \$200 per year represents the median income level for this group of countries, her PQLI of 82 is equaled only by Korea. Sri Lanka also has the highest rate of life expectancy among the 11 countries shown in Table 8, while only Korea and Malaysia have a lower infant mortality rate. The rough estimates of literacy for 1970-71 place Sri Lanka above the median level for the group. In short, these indicators seem to confirm that Sri Lanka's progress in social development has exceeded that of many of her neighboring countries. Moreover, the per capita GNP figures suggest that Sri Lanka's progress in economic development has equaled or exceeded that of her South Asian neighbors (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) while lagging somewhat behind that of the Southeast countries.

Sri Lanka's people may be relatively poor in economic terms but they have enjoyed comparatively high levels of nutrition, health, and education as a result of giving priority to the broad dissemination of welfare services and subsidized food rations. The high national level of basic education means that the work force should be able to quickly learn many of the specialized skills needed for industrial growth. As a matter of fact, Sri Lanka's low per capita income level and the availability of literate workers are now being touted as major assets as she attempts to attract more foreign investment. In short, it appears that Sri Lanka may now begin to recoup some of the economic development losses resulting from the years of higher concern for welfare investments. Hopefully, some of the increased revenues resulting from better collections and a more rapidly growing economy can be used to help maintain relatively high enrollment ratios and improve the quality of education.

The existing high levels of national political awareness and participation in Sri Lanka suggest that the elected leadership will be sensitive to the need to preserve and improve on the educational gains made since independence. There do remain potentially serious social and political problems which can only be solved through greater cooperation between the major communal groups. Similarly, there are significant deficiencies in the

TABLE 8--Socio-Economic Indicators for Selected Asian Countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>Annual Per Capita GNP (US\$)</u>	<u>PQLI</u>	<u>Infant Mortality Rate</u>	<u>Life Expectancy At Birth (Years)</u>	<u>Adult Literacy (Rate %)</u>
Malaysia	\$930	73	44	66	60%
Republic of Korea	810	82	38	65	91
Philippines	450	71	80	58	87
Thailand	410	71	68	61	82
Indonesia	<u>300</u>	48	91	50	62
Sri Lanka	<u>200</u>	82	51	68	78
Pakistan	190	36	136	51	21
India	150	41	122	50	36
Burma	140	50	140	51	67
Nepal	110	27	152	44	19
Bangladesh	90	32	153	46	22

Source: All data except literacy are from the 1979 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau, Incorporated (Washington, D.C., April 1979). Literacy data, except Sri Lanka's, are from World Development Report (The World Bank, Washington, D.C., August, 1979), pp.126-127. Sri Lanka literacy rate is from UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1977 Table 1.3.

- Notes: 1. The PQLI, or Physical Quality of Life Index, combines indicators of infant mortality, life expectancy, and literacy into an index running from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest).
2. The Infant Mortality Rate is the annual number of deaths to infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births.
3. The Life Expectancy Rate is the average number of years a newborn child could be expected to live if current mortality conditions were to continue throughout his or her lifetime.
4. Data years vary but usually fall between 1975 and 1977, except for literacy estimates which usually fall between 1970 and 1971.

educational and other services being provided to many of the plantation communities. On the positive side, Sri Lanka's educational system has contributed to increased social equity since independence by (a) increasing

educational opportunities at all levels and (b) transforming the school system from one centered on the foreign-dominated education of a small elite to a system which is more concerned with the masses. This does not mean that there is complete equality of educational opportunity, but significant gains have been made. While higher priority should have been given at an earlier stage to making the content of education more pertinent to economic development needs, such changes were constrained by the low level of effective demand for specialized skills and by limited overall financing for education. However, the system now appears to be making these kinds of changes.

SOURCE NOTES

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2. Ibid., pp.24ff.
3. U.S. Secretary of State, U.S. Foreign Assistance Programs for Fiscal Year 1979 (Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee), Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., March 2, 1978.
4. Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease--Education, Qualification and Development (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1976), p.86.
5. Ibid., pp.61-66.
6. World Bank, Education--Sector Working Paper (World Bank, Washing, D.C., December 1974), p.3.
7. Ibid., p.4.
8. Muhammed Shamsul-Huq, Education, Manpower, and Development in South and Southeast Asia (Praeger Publishers, New York, 1975), pp.52-53.
9. An interesting framework developed by Earl Hopper compares national educational systems according to the manner in which they select, instruct, and allocate students. The scheme provides good ideas for relating such things as the ruling regime's ideology and the selection of students, but use of the overall concepts requires the manipulation of more variables than we could manage in a paper of this nature. See E.I. Hopper, "A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems," in Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey (editors), Power and Ideology in Education (Oxford University Press, New York, 1977), Chap.6.
10. For a detailed scholarly account of the early settlements and the development of pre-colonial education, see U.D. Jayasekera, Early History of Education in Ceylon (Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Ceylon, Colombo, 1969).
11. Sri Lanka Yearbook 1977 (Department of Census and Statistics, Republic of Sri Lanka, Colombo, February 1978), p.45.
12. Jayasekera, Early History of Education in Ceylon, pp.166-181, discusses the subjects taught in the temples in ancient times. He suggests that craftsmen from India may have constructed some of the early stupas and temples and then passed on their skills to the Ceylonese. Also see the discussion of temple education in C.R. de Silva (ed.), Sri Lanka: A Survey (Published by C. Hurst and Company, London, for Lake House Bookstore, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1977), pp.403ff.
13. The educational activities of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonials are described in J.E. Jayasuriya, Educational Policies and Progress During British Rule in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 1796-1946 (Colombo: Associated Educational Publishers, Undated).

14. School expansion data for 1830-1960 are given in A.W.P. Guruge, Planning the Location of Schools: Sri Lanka (UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1977), p.17.
15. These 1966 estimates are based on Government of Ceylon data reported in Richard F. Nyrop, et.al., Area Handbook for Ceylon, DA PAMP 550-96 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971), p.154. The 9,555 schools included 8,361 "government" schools, 103 private schools, 852 estate schools, 217 temple (pirivena) schools, and 22 night or special schools.
16. Guruge, Planning the Location of Schools, Sri Lanka, provides details on restructuring school networks in seven communities between 1960 and 1964.
17. For an interesting but critical view of the Ministry's efforts from 1948-1968, see J.E. Jayasuriya, Education in Ceylon Before and After Independence 1939-1968 (Associated Educational Publishers, Colombo, 1969), Chapter 14.
18. Premadasa Udagama, "Republic of Sri Lanka" in Asa S. Knowles (editor-in-chief), The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, Vol. 8 (Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, California, 1977), pp.3944-3945.
19. Jacques Hallak, Financing and Educational Policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) (UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1972), p.80.
20. Ibid., p.54.
21. Ferguson's Ceylon Directory 1977-78, 118th edition, (The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, Ltd., Colombo, 1978), p.1398.
22. University enrollment figures for 1947, 1957, and 1967 are from C.R. de Silva, Sri Lanka: A Survey, p.421 while the estimate for 1974 is based on data in the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 5.1. Females constituted about 37% of university enrollments and 84% of the teacher training colleges in 1973-74. Females also make up about 50% of primary and secondary enrollments, so educational opportunities for females have continued to be rather good in Sri Lanka.
23. Ferguson's Ceylon Directory 1977-78, p.1405.
24. The University of Sri Lanka campuses included Perdeniya, Colombo, Gangopawila (formerly Vidyodaya Buddhist University), Kelaniya (formerly Vidyalankara Buddhist University), Katubedda (formerly Ceylon Institute of Technology), Jaffna (established in 1974), Matara and Dumbara.
25. de Silva, Sri Lanka: A Survey, p.423.
26. A comparison of expenditures for 19 Asian countries is made in UNESCO, Growth and Change: Perspectives of Education in Asia (UNESCO, Paris, 1972), pp.20-21.
27. UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 6.1.
28. Urmila Phadnis, "Sri Lanka's Troubled Decade," Asian Affairs, Vol.5, No. 5, May/June 1978, p.299.

29. Ibid., pp.297-298.
30. Much of our basic information on the 1972 primary and secondary education reforms came from Hallak, Financing and Educational Policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), pp.95-121 and Dore, The Diploma Disease, pp.122-130.
31. UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 4.2.
32. Ferguson's Ceylon Directory 1977-78, p.1402.
33. T.O.P. Fernando, "Pre-vocational Studies in Sri Lanka," Prospects--Quarterly Review of Education (UNESCO), Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1974, p.74.
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36. Ibid., pp.419-431, provides a good outline of the development of higher education and the recent problems. See also Udagama, "Republic of Sri Lanka" in Knowles, The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, passim.
37. Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 5.1.
38. Hallak, Financing and Educational Policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), p.121.
39. Recent political developments in Sri Lanka are described in Asia Yearbook 1979 (Far East Economic Review, Hong Kong, 1979), pp.294-297; James Jupp, "Democratic Socialism in Sri Lanka," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 50, No.4, Winter 1977/78, pp.625-643 Bruce Mathews, "Recent Developments in Sri Lanka Politics," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 51, No.1, Spring 1978; Phadnis, "Sri Lanka's Troubled Decade," and Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States--Sri Lanka (Prepared by U.S. Embassy annually and released through the U.S. Department of Commerce), June 1979.
40. The following discussion of economic trends is based largely on information contained in Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States--Sri Lanka, passim, and Asia Yearbook 1979, pp.294-297.
41. United Nations, Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific 1976 (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, 1977), p.14. When compared with 10 other countries for 1975, Sri Lanka ranked in ninth place (in terms of Manufacturing's share in Gross Domestic Product). Only Indonesia (10.5%) and Burma (10%) were behind. Among the countries which led Sri Lanka were Republic of Korea (28.4%), Philippines (20.9%) and India (16.9%).
42. UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1977, Table 1.3.
43. H.M. Phillips, Basic Education--A World Challenge (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1975), pp.42-43.
44. Although the National Science Council of Sri Lanka made 116 grants for agricultural plant sciences and other research in 1977, it is not clear who received this government support for research. See Sri Lanka Yearbook 1977, pp.134-135.

45. Admissions data are from de Silva, Sri Lanka: A Survey, p.426. Data on outflow of doctors is from Lalitha Gunawardena, "Medical Emigration, Inappropriate Education and a Distorted Health Care System," Marga, Vol. 4, No.1, 1977 (Marga Institute, Colombo), p.39.

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