The physical education curriculum in post independence Sri Lanka

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The
Physical Education Curriculum In
Post Independence Sri Lanka

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree
of
Doctor of Education

From
The University of Wollongong, Australia

by
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Australia
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Certification

I Ranaweera Marasingha declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Education, in the Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, Australia, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other institution.

Signed __________________________________ M.D.Ranaweera
Date _________________________________________
Abstract

This thesis examines the historical development of the Sri Lankan physical education curriculum in the context of the many different foreign and local social, political, economic and educational forces which have impacted on physical education in the country. Three major research questions framed the study: How has Physical Education in Sri Lanka been shaped as a school subject by foreign and local influences since Independence in 1948? What are the major issues in Physical Education in Sri Lanka? How can knowledge of the construction of Physical Education Curriculum in Sri Lanka inform future directions for curriculum developments?

The research questions were addressed using a social constructionist theoretical framework through the collection and analysis of data from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Primary archival sources included administrative reports, acts, ordinances, circulars, news articles, curriculum and other documents of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and other institutions in Sri Lanka. In addition, open-ended interviews were conducted with thirty-four informants who have intimate current experience and up to thirty years in the field. Secondary sources included general and economic history books, historical research in education and physical education in Sri Lanka and other related countries. The study uncovered very little published research or scholarship on physical education in Sri Lanka.

The study found that many diverse foreign and local forces have shaped physical education in Sri Lanka. British traditions have been and continue to be the major foreign influence. However, other foreign influences, particularly during the Cold War, from the USA, the Commonwealth and communist bloc countries were extensive both before but particularly after Independence. These foreign social forces intertwined with local forces such as party politics, education resources, religion, gender and other cultural beliefs.

Under these influences the study identified a number of perennial and enduring issues for physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka, most of which have close parallels in other countries of both the North and the South. The major issue for physical education in Sri Lanka is that it has endured low status and struggled for its identity since the colonial period owing to traditional academic biases relating to its focus on the practical and the body rather than with abstractions and the mind, and a widespread focus on education for white collar employment.
The study found that physical education curriculum theory, policy and practice developments in Sri Lanka have displayed characteristics of the two major physical education models: the health and the sports-based model. Since colonial times, the majority of children have been excluded from physical activity owing to the dominance of a sports-oriented physical education curriculum which has prevailed in elite private and government urban boys schools. Outside this dominant tradition, volleyball, athletics, elle, and tennisball cricket have spread to most rural and poor urban area schools. The health model has influenced physical education for the lower social class with hygiene and medicalised notions of health dominating primary physical education, while the British (public school) sports-model was prominent for the elite.

Since Independence changing party politics has been the other major factor deciding the fortunes of physical education. Sri Lankan educators and bureaucrats have drawn on models of physical education from both capitalist and socialist countries without always taking the local context into account. After Independence, particularly in the 1950s, the health-oriented model was challenged by the sport-oriented model for children of the masses with the influence of nationalist movements. Recent reforms promoted by the National Education Commission (NEC) (1992) and the Presidential Task Force (PTF) (1997) which contributed to the emergence of the health model after 1998 are extensively discussed.

It is clear that both models are of value in contributing to a physical education curriculum for Sri Lanka and therefore the thesis proposes a "mixed-mode physical education curriculum model" which will best address issues of inequality, gender, social class distinction, ethnicity, religion, geographical locations and resource allocations. Finally the thesis proposes a number of areas of research which would assist in the development of an appropriate mixed mode curriculum for physical education in Sri Lanka.
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Although my scholarship had expired, my decision to complete the thesis and stay in Australia at my own expense for six months caused me many problems. I am very grateful to Mr. Simon Ernst, present Executive Manager of the Wollongong University ITC and his staff who effectively coordinated my scholarship matters with the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka. Through their effort, I was able to focus my attention on the thesis. The Faculty Librarian and the other staff of the Library, and the staff at the Faculty Student Center were very generous, and friendly and their support is generally appreciated. My sincere thanks to all staff of the University of Wollongong.

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Chapter One: In the Beginning

1.1 Introduction: Statement of aims

This study will examine the evolution of the physical education curriculum in post-independence (1948) Sri Lanka using an historical methodology of curriculum investigation which takes account of the social, cultural, economic and educational contexts which have shaped education policy and practice. The study will identify the major issues affecting physical education to determine how these have changed over time and how they are likely to influence the direction of physical education in Sri Lanka in the future. Finally, the study seeks to make recommendations for curriculum policy and practice based on understandings of the Sri Lankan physical education curriculum developed from the study.

1.2 Why do this study

The purpose of this study is to inform policy and other decisions about the future of physical education in Sri Lanka at the national and local levels through a better (theoretical) understanding of the issues facing physical education in the country. One of its aims is to motivate policy makers, bureaucrats and other curriculum resource persons who work in the Ministry of Education and Higher Education in Sri Lanka to utilise the results of this study for curriculum innovations. It is also hoped that these recommendations will inform physical education practice in schools and programs in teacher education institutions.

Few studies of physical education or other studies related to physical education have been done so far in Sri Lanka; research-based literature in physical education is rare in the country. The educational literature in Sri Lanka has neglected physical education; for instance, the Acts, Reports, Commissions and major educational historical research (Jayasuriya, 1969 & undated; Ruberu, 1962; Samaraweera, 1991; Sumathipala, 1968) in the period 1948-1999 rarely mention physical education. Until the Fischer Consultancy Report in 1999, there was no historical research specifically on the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka.

The Fischer Report (1999) was an important physical education event in the history of physical education in Sri Lanka. To upgrade physical education teacher education in the
country, the National Authority of Teacher Education (NATE) in 1998 invited foreign and local consultants to review the physical education teacher education curriculum in Sri Lanka and to make developmental proposals. The consultancy was undertaken by Imke Fischer who was a lecturer in physical education and physical education historian at the Australian Catholic University in Sydney, Australia. Fischer submitted the Report in July 1999. The Fischer Report will be discussed in more detail in this chapter. The only other research related to physical education in Sri Lanka which has been identified was Chandralatha Welgama’s M. Phil. degree, 'A study on the effects of school games on educational achievement' at the Colombo University in 1985.

Another motivation for this study has been the urgent need for upgrading teacher education in Sri Lanka, particularly in physical education. The national need for the upgrading of teacher education was identified by the Minister of Education and Higher Education in 1996 under the People Alliance (PA) government that came to power in 1994 (The World Bank in Staff Appraisal Report, 1996). By 1996, teacher education programs were conducted by four universities, ten Colleges of Education, sixteen Teachers’ Colleges, and the National Institute of Education (NIE). The shortcomings of teacher training programs were identified by the Staff Appraisal Report in 1996. According to the Report, different institutions operated their own agendas with little regard to national needs and priorities. Although the teacher training institutions were under the same management system in the Ministry of Education and Higher Education in Sri Lanka, there has been no national body to co-ordinate the different types of institutions, moreover, no national strategy for ensuring professional development of trained teachers nor the monitoring of its successes or failures (The World Bank in Staff Appraisal Report, 1996).

To address the problems of the teacher education system, the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka established the National Authority for Teacher Education (NATE) in 1996 (The World Bank in Staff Appraisal Report, 1996). To upgrade teacher education on the island, the government obtained financial support from the World Bank, so that the NATE was established as a part of the World Bank funded Teacher Education and Teacher Deployment (TETD) Project. The Sri Lankan government came to an agreement with the World Bank whereby assistance was provided to the International Development Association (IDA) through the TETD project to better meet critical teacher requirements and to upgrade the quality of education on the island. The NATE planned to review the entire teacher training system in order to develop teacher education in the country.
As part of the World Bank TETD project, the Ministry of Education and Higher Education in Sri Lanka sent their teacher educators to train and study in developed countries such as Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, and in neighbouring Asiatic countries. As a first step, ten teacher educators were selected from different institutions and awarded fellowships to undertake postgraduate degrees at Wollongong University in Australia in January 1998. I was included in the first batch of teacher educators to be sent to Wollongong University and I was asked to follow a postgraduate course in physical education by the authorities of the NATE.

From the personal point of view, this study will provide new knowledge which I will be able to share with my colleagues in physical education and student teachers at my College of Education. Hopefully it will contribute to curriculum innovations at the College. It is also hoped that this research will stimulate research, interest groups and the other institutions in Sri Lanka. For instance, the Ministry of Sports, Youth Council, Universities and Armed Forces, which have relationships with physical activities of the people in the country, may find the results of this research useful in developing their own programs and practices.

Finally, the findings of this research will contribute to the international literature in the area of curriculum research, particularly in the area of physical education from a third world perspective. This in turn requires an understanding of a wide range of local, national and international factors which have influenced the development of physical education in Sri Lanka, which have brought it to the present situation and which must be taken into account when developments and changes are planned.

1.3 Research Questions

Arising from the situation and concerns outlined above the following research questions were constructed to guide my study:

1) How has physical education in Sri Lanka been shaped as a school subject by foreign and local influences since independence in 1948?
2) What are the major and enduring issues in physical education in Sri Lanka?
3) How can knowledge of the construction of physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka inform future directions for curriculum developments?
Chapter One: In the Beginning

1.4 Theoretical framework and literature

1.4.1 Social constructionist historical research

This study draws on an approach to curriculum research espoused by the British curriculum researcher, Ivor Goodson. Goodson (1990) challenged traditional approaches to an historical study of the curriculum and argued that one of the perennial problems in studying curriculum was that it was a multifaceted concept, constructed and negotiated at a variety of levels and in a variety of arenas. To understand the social construction of curricula at the levels of prescription, process and practice, Goodson (1990) emphasised practical understanding and the need to locate this understanding within a further exploration of the contextual parameters of practice. Goodson (1990) claimed that the experience gained from past decades has shown the limitations of the traditional historical research. He argued that we need to throw more light on the present from the past to afford insights into the constraints involved.

According to Goodson for researchers to build a more thorough understanding of curriculum requires that participants be immersed in the immediate process, build on studies of historical events and periods, and develop a cumulative understanding of the historical context in which contemporary curriculum is embedded. Goodson (1990) argued that people do not make their own history without reasons and that it does not take place in circumstances of their own choosing.

According to Goodson (1990), the historical context reflects previous patterns of conflict and power. We cannot develop a static notion of the historical context and constraints totally and only from the past. These contexts and constraints need to be examined in relationship to contemporary action. We need to examine the interrelated nature of pedagogy, finance, resources selection and the economy with help of history. We cannot view curriculum as a bounded system. Goodson (1990) further explains that to study power relations in education, it is necessary to examine the historical study of curriculum (social construction of the knowledge). We need to develop a cognitive map of curriculum influence and curriculum constraints.

What is provided in schools and what is taught in those schools can only be understood historically. The earlier educational attitudes of dominant groups in
Chapter One: In the Beginning


Goodson (1990) found that the school curriculum was not totally constructed, controlled or operated within the school and classroom but was achieved at a particular historical point on the basis of certain social and political priorities. Finally, Goodson came to see the making of school curriculum as a process of inventing tradition. As Goodson (1990) says:

We are, let us be clear, talking about the systematic invention of tradition in an arena of social production and reproduction - the school curriculum-where political and social priorities are paramount (p. 309).

He further points out that the written curriculum, whether as courses of study, syllabuses or guidelines, is a supreme example of the invention of tradition; but as with all tradition it is not a once-and-for-all given, it has to be defended, and curriculum is constructed and reconstructed over time.

According to Goodson (1990), any curriculum implementation has occurred according to the social needs of the persons, in the places and during the time that they lived. In this process, he represents how the interests of hegemonic or powerful groups have become privileged over other groups. In other words, curriculum knowledge is socially constructed by structured hegemonic or powerful groups over time. As a result, some changes are forced on the powerless groups; it follows that the meaning of a particular curriculum is not stable or universal, but rather that it is debated and negotiated. As Tinning, Macdonald, Wright and Hickey (2000) point out, the meaning of the curriculum is different from group to group.

Curriculum is a human-made thing. It involves struggles for ascendancy between competing groups, with competing views of what should be foreground and in the practice and purpose of a particular discipline. For those that win the day, their prize is to set the agenda for what will be recognised as legitimate curriculum practice (p. 157).

1.4.2 Social constructionist historical research in physical education

In the context of physical education, several researchers have drawn on the social constructionist approach to investigate the development of the curriculum in the UK (Kirk, 1992), Australia (Wright, 1996b), and New Zealand (Burrows, 1999). Given the shared heritage of British colonialism, their findings help to understand curriculum policy and practice in Sri Lanka.
David Kirk's (1992) investigation of physical education in post-war Britain provides an important understanding of how physical education developed as a school subject in the context of the political, social, and cultural context of the times. He discusses the changing meaning and the nature of physical education curriculum over time for different groups in British society. His study is particularly useful to this thesis because, as Sri Lanka was a British colony, most of these features he describes can be seen in the context of colonial and post-colonial politics, education policy and practice particularly in physical education context. The themes Kirk (1992) identified in relation to Britain have their parallels in Sri Lanka. For instance, physical educators, politicians, and educational administrators in Sri Lanka have referred to sports and games in school context as contributing to a conflict-free society, to social cohesiveness, national pride and identity, nation building and nationalism. Further, under the recent reforms, the NEC and the PTF in Sri Lanka have highlighted the importance of physical education as a vehicle for peace, nation building and social cohesiveness (NEC, 1992-97; PTF, 1997). In addition, it is clear that physical education has a different meaning in Sri Lankan society. Kirk's (1992) work will be drawn on extensively in the following pages to identify the main themes and issues which help in understanding physical education in the British and post-colonial context.

Jan Wright (1991, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997) specifically investigates the gendered nature of physical education in Australia. In doing so she points to the ways in which a British (Anglo) model was taken up in colonial and post colonial Australia which promoted social class and gender divisions for sports such as cricket and rugby football which were pursued in Australian private schools to prepare the sons of the wealthy for positions of leadership (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b). Young affluent women were educated to be graceful wives and healthy mothers. On the other hand, physical training for children of the working class in Australia consisted of 'drill' and exercise designed to promote physical health in terms of order, cleanliness and neatness and to promote obedience to authority (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b). Wright's work also will be used extensively in the following pages to identify the main themes and issues which help us to understand the world context, in which physical education in Sri Lanka developed.

Lisette Burrows (1999) examines the discourses of "child development" in the New Zealand physical education curriculum. She found that discourses of "child development" construct particular subjectivities and power relations in schooling, which normalise and exclude many children (Burrows, 1999, p. iv). In this social constructionist historical investigation, Burrows (1999) argues that throughout the colonial period in New Zealand, and in countries like New Zealand, the child-centred
capitalist curriculum model excluded some children who did not fit the liberal humanist notion of what a child should be. Burrows (1999) further argues that developmentalism was underpinned by the British colonial influences through the British syllabuses of physical training which were used in New Zealand until the 1940s and through their impact on the ensuing New Zealand physical education syllabuses.

The findings of these social constructionist curriculum researchers have many parallels with Sri Lankan physical education. Using the social constructionist theoretical framework, the factors which have been shaping physical education in Sri Lanka will be explored through this study.

1.4.3 Other curriculum research in physical education

The works of comparative physical education historians and physical education curriculum commentators are also important in understanding the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. As a comparative physical education curriculum historian, Hardman (1992, 2000) makes a distinction between the main curriculum models: Anglo-capitalist, Anglo-communist and mixed. These are discussed later and help to understand the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka.

As physical education curriculum commentators, mainly Riordan (1978; 1988) and others (Botang, 1983; Childs, 1978; Davis, 1997; Pickering, 1978) provide support for an understanding communist curriculum model in physical education while Hardman (1992, 2000) and others (O'Donoghue, 1992; Ndee, 1996; Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992) provide insights from the developing world. Just as British colonial physical education (the Anglo-model) curriculum was important to Sri Lanka so too was the communist model. In the 1960s and 1970s, Sri Lanka was supported by the communist bloc countries under the Cold War. In addition, former British colonies such as Kenya (Hardman & Wamukoya, 1992), Papua New Guinea (O'Donoghue, 1992) and Tanzania (Ndee, 1996) also provide examples of how the British colonial features have had an impact on shaping physical education in their colonies. This research will utilise those features to understand how the Sri Lankan physical education curriculum has been shaped under the British influence as a British colony and also in the post-colonial context.
1.4.4 Major themes in the global context in physical education

1.4.4.1 The making of citizens

Different governments, parents, scientists, the military and educators in different countries in the world have perceived the purpose of physical education differently, but physical education has always found its place in the school curriculum. This has often been legitimated implicitly or explicitly in terms of the contribution physical education can make to the formation of 'good' citizens; that is, individuals who make a contribution to the national good.

Over the years physical education has been used in the schooling of young people to produce healthy, disciplined, docile, fit, nationalistic, courageous, active citizens. At different times in the past century some of these attributes or characteristics have had more prominence than others and have been used in relation to different groups of people (Tinning et al, 2000, p. 159).

Kirk’s (1992) and Wright’s (1996b) arguments demonstrate that the meaning of physical education and the kind of citizens expected to be produced have varied considerably for males as compared with females and whether one belonged to the upper class or lower class in Britain and in British colonies such as Australia. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, in Britain and in Australia (Wright, 1996a), games and callisthenics were considered as activities for the daughters of the wealthy class because these activities were thought to ensure that they developed female bodies capable of producing healthy children. For elite males, activities were recommended which enhanced physical fitness, vitality and masculine virtues of courage and loyalty in war and future leadership via public school games (Kirk, 1992; McIntosh, 1968; Wright, 1996b). For the children of the working class, health, character and militaristic activities meant something very different. For the lower social class male and female health was conceived in terms of order, cleanliness and neatness while for males discipline and character were developed through the regimentation of marching and drills, in addition to exercises based on the Swedish system of calisthenics that was seen to 'provide habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness' (Wright, 1996b; p.336). This notion of physical education was transferred to the British colonies but in rather different ways according to the different contexts in each colony, such as social class, gender, ethnicity and race. However, in Britain in the 1930s, social progressivists argued that physical education should be class, gender and ethnically neutral so that all types of children would experience the same meanings and outcomes as the same citizens (Kirk, 1992). In practice however, the 1933 British syllabus was used to maintain the class difference in
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Britain and in the colonies to make different kinds of citizens. These meanings and purposes have shifted over time, however the making of a citizen who has good character and good health remains one of the main concerns of physical educators.

Although the meaning of these terms shifts from place to place and time to time, one specific feature common to all physical education models has been its perceived contribution to the military preparedness for mainly male citizens via school physical activities. For this purpose, most Anglo-model countries at various times have used physical activities to prepare their citizens for future military purposes. In the communist bloc countries, military training has been a compulsory part of school physical education programs (Davis, 1997; Riordan, 1978).

In countries influenced by communist ideologies, physical education concerns were with its contribution to producing a good communist citizen. From the Marxist perspective, the developing or disciplining of one’s body and mind should be done together so as to prepare healthy citizens who are mentally and physically balanced for labour and defence.

Not only has the Soviet Union a different sports system to Western states, its entire sporting philosophy is radically at variance with our own. It echoes the Marxist notion of the interdependence of the physical and mental states of human being, so that physical culture is treated equally with mental culture in a person’s upbringing - both for the all-round development of the individual and, ultimately, for the health of society (Riordan, 1978, p. 15)

Physical education experts in the former USSR believed that organised and selected physical activities such as games and sports had the power to develop mental and physical skills simultaneously.

Physical education is an integral part of education and serves to ensure the all round development of the physical and moral qualities of school children, to prepare them for life, labour and defence of their country. More specifically, physical education should strengthen health, develop physical skills, the functional potential of the organism and motor skills, and inculcate moral qualities such as patriotism, internationalism, teamwork, boldness, purposefulness, perseverance and self-assurance. (Riordan, 1978, p. 38)

This USSR model has many parallels with other communist countries such as Cuba, the GDR and China. In these countries, physical activity and health have been identified as major essentials to creating a healthy productive work force, to the welfare of the society and to sport success for national identity (Childs, 1978; Davis, 1997; Pickering, 1978; Riordan, 1978). For instance, the Chinese government considers that physical
education develops good physiques and aids in the development of future generation. In Chinese culture, a healthy lifestyle has a valuable place and is believed to promote mental development, discipline, and good work habits. The school physical education program is considered as a key element in the training of talented people in sports and the Chinese believe that this training can be used to enhance the country's all-round development. Furthermore, the Chinese government assumes that physical education improves the work force by assuring a healthy and disciplined population (Knuttgen, Qiwei, & Zhongyuan, 1990 cited in Davis, 1997).

The countries in the developing world, including Sri Lanka have followed the developed world in using physical education to produce 'good' citizens - mainly a male. Colonisation by the first world countries, and the introduction of western culture, technology, sports, education including physical education and more recently the effects of the globalisation were able to change the societies in the developing world. For instance, Tanzania (Ndee, 1996), and Cuba (Pickering, 1978) have followed communist countries in using physical education to produce good communist citizens prepared for labour and defence, while Kenya (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992), Sri Lanka, and Papua New Guinea (O'Donoghue, 1992) have mainly followed the British traditions. Some of these however, were also influenced by the communist world during the Cold War. The emphasis placed on the making of citizens using sports and physical education in these countries has depended on the attitudes of political leadership. For instance, in Cuba, "Castro himself, a former National Squad basketball player, constantly stressed the importance of sports in terms of health, national fitness and specially national identity" (Pickering, 1978, p. 146).

1.4.4.2 Health and sports discourses in physical education curriculum

According to Tinning et al (2000) there have been two major focuses of meaning and practice which have underpinned physical education in modern western societies: health and sports. These two sites of discourse seem also to be important in determining the development of physical education in communist countries and the developing world. The meaning of health and sport and the purposes they have served, however, have changed over time and from one country to another. The following chapters will demonstrate that these two focal areas have been important in shaping physical education in Sri Lanka.
1.4.4.2.1 Health discourse

The improved health of their citizenry has been one of the main arguments for the inclusion of physical training and physical education in the school curriculum in most countries. What health means however, has changed over time and has been different for different groups of people both within and between countries. The British model has been influential because of the effect of colonisation. In the post-World War II years the relationship between health and physical education as realised in communist countries has also been important to developing countries because during the Cold War the communist countries exported their physical education model to developing countries with numerous supportive measures to develop friendship and spread the communist ideology over capitalism.

**Health as hygiene (medical definition of health)**

Physical activity professionals in the late 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries in Europe believed that the health of the masses of ordinary people was inherently weak and that it should be corrected by the ruling class mandating physical activities. These beliefs were transmitted to their colonies (Lawson, 1993). By the 1900s, the British government was considering including physical training in their schools as remediation for several reasons. A number of shock defeats for the British Army in South Africa during the Boer War in the 1880s raised questions such as: Should military drills be taught at elementary schools? Does physical training help to maintain neglected discipline in schools? Does physical training help to develop the British race? Does it cure diseases and factory related physical deterioration? and finally, will it be helpful to enhance the health situation in schools? (Kirk, 1992) Eventually, the Board of Education for England and Wales decided to include physical training in their elementary school curriculum to address these issues. The medical definition of physical education was institutionalised in 1908 with the establishment of the School Medical Service within the Board of Education for England and Wales, with Dr. Sir George Newman as its chief medical officer in England. Under his leadership, three syllabuses for physical education were published in 1909, 1919 and in 1933 to take care of the health of children in government schools in England and Wales (Kirk, 1992).

**Healthy mind in healthy body**

The rhetoric of healthy mind in healthy body in the 1909 and 1919 syllabus was based on concerns over the failing health of the population, associated with the shift of the rural population into cities to work in the new factories of the industrial revolution. In
addition the British 1909 Physical Exercises Syllabus was based on a very ancient philosophical question, the **duality** of mind and body, to justify the importance of physical exercises; that is 'a healthy body breeds a healthy mind' (Burrows, 1999, p. 151). Fischer (1999) further explains that "mens sana in corpore sano" has guided the physical education syllabi around the world since Roman civilisation... 'Mens sana' a healthy mind, will guide a person, or athlete, into correct, healthy movements, or into a moral, caring attitude to others' (p. 8). The British Syllabus of Physical Exercises in 1909 indicates these objectives of physical exercises in the following quote:

> The object of physical training is to help in the production and maintenance of health in **body and mind**. The conditions of modern civilisation with its crowded localities, confined spaces, and sedentary occupations; the increasing need for study and mental application; and the many social circumstances and difficulties which restrict opportunities for natural physical developments, all require that children and young people **should receive physical training by well-considered methods, not for the purpose of producing gymnasts**, but to promote and encourage, by means of such training, **the health and development of the body**. That physical exercise is necessary to the development **not only of the body but also of the brain and the character** (The Board of Education for England and Wales, 1914, p. 1, Italics and bold are not in original).

The Board of Education for England Wales repeatedly explained that to obtain the benefits of exercise it should be done correctly or educational effects would not occur. It also emphasised the importance of the appreciation of the beauty of movement to education; that is that aesthetic beauty through the correct techniques and the best performance of physical activity enhanced the positive emotions and was helpful to educational development.

> Rightly taught, Physical Exercises should serve as a healthy outlet for the emotions, while the natural power of expressing thought, feelings and ideas by means of bodily movements is encouraged and brought out - a power which was in ancient times carefully and even religiously cultivated, but which now tends to disappear under modern conditions. This appeal to the aesthetic sense is very great, and extremely important, for in learning to appreciate physical beauty in form and motion (The Board of Education for England and Wales, 1914, p. 5-6).

According to these early syllabi, the Board of Education for England and Wales expected not only to develop in children a cheerful and joyous spirit but also to enhance the qualities of alertness, decision-making and concentration so that perfect control of brain over body could be fulfilled. "This is, in short, a discipline, and may be termed the **educational effect**" (The Board of Education for England and Wales, 1914, p. 2; Italics are not in original).
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This is how the rhetoric went but in practice physical education meant different things for different groups of students. Wright (1996b) argues that although physical activity was included in the physical education curriculum to develop children's health, the meanings attributed to health and movement activities were different for males and females and for private or government schools. In 1859, Herbert Spencer who had a national reputation in England condemned with particular emphasis the lack of physical education in the general education of girls and the Taunton Commission set up in 1868 also accepted the criticism. As a result of these criticisms, headmistress at girls schools at Roedean, Wycombe Abbey (Miss J. F. Dove) and Sheffield executed a system of physical education and therapy after 1885 (McIntosh, 1968). To teach physical education at these schools, a local supply of specialist teachers was needed and so Madame Osterberg in 1885 introduced Swedish Gymnastics to a female teacher training institution in Hampstead which she had founded. Later, in 1895, she shifted her college to Dartford and it was the first residential college for training specialist female teachers in physical education in England (McIntosh, 1968). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Madam Osterberg argued for physical education on the basis of its contribution to healthy British women who would produce healthy children to protect the British race (Kirk, 1992). These teachers were sent to upper class private schools to enhance the physical capabilities of the daughters of the wealthy class. For the girls and boys of the working class who attended government schools, health meant order, cleanliness, and neatness to prepare a docile working and fighting force. For lower social class boys, army drill and Swedish type free limb exercises were likely to be the medium for this. The health of upper class boys seemed to be less of a concern; instead competitive team games and sports were promoted to develop the masculine physical capabilities of courage and loyalty for future leadership (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b).

The Fisher Education Act of 1918 advised all local educational authorities to provide playing fields for sports in their secondary schools in Britain because the left-wing political parties in Britain pressed the government to provide facilities for the children of the working class (Kirk, 1992). With the introduction of compulsory schooling to 14 years of age the Board of Education for England and Wales accepted that the 1909 and 1919 physical training syllabuses, which focused on elementary schools, were not sufficient for physical education to develop health and sports in secondary schools (Kirk, 1992).

Although Kirk (1992), Wright, (1996b) and Burrows (1999) argued that the children of the lower social class were excluded from the participation of games in the first quarter of the 20th century in England, McIntosh (1968) pointed out that there is a deal of
evidence to the contrary. According to McIntosh (1968), after the Fisher Education Act of 1918, extra-curricular leagues, knock-out competitions etc. in a range of sports were evident in urban School Boards such as Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Sheffield. On the other hand, it could be argued those games as developed in the private boarding schools and engaged in by much older boys were inappropriate for the much younger elementary school children. McIntosh (1968) points the factor:

The two types of school catered for entirely different age ranges, and while it was possible for boys at Public Schools to play games suitable for the physique of adults, these games were unsuitable without modification for elementary schoolboys (p. 12)

**Healthy mind in healthy body in the 1933 Syllabus**

The concern with the deteriorating health of the masses continued in the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1920s, social progressivists in physical education in Britain pointed out that the physical appearance of the British people was gradually declining owing to the static and rigid daily routines of workers in the factories which were founded as a result of industrialisation (Kirk, 1992). Maja Carlquist, a Swedish female physical educator who worked in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s, criticised the situation: "Look at the people in the streets; stiff feet - stiff restricted movements - stiff expression on their faces...Here one can truthfully talk of the melody which was lost" (Carlquist cited in Kirk, 1992, p. 59). Physical education classes which consisted of Swedish-style military drills continued in state schools following World War I. This system of physical education was criticised by female physical educators in the 1930s for its failure to address the deterioration of the British race. For instance, Maja Carlquist argued that Swedish-style school physical education drills did not help to overcome the problem of physical deterioration because although "rhythm was an essential quality in movement" (Kirk, 1992, p. 59), it was not in the military drills which were employed in schools for physical education.

In 1933, The Board of Education for England and Wales introduced the new Syllabus of Physical Training representing a marked expansion in the kind of program that could, potentially, be offered to the state school pupils. The theoretical definition of physical education in the 1933 syllabus was as follows:

It is now recognised that an efficient system of education should encourage the concurrent development of a healthy physique, alert intelligence and sound character. These qualities are in a high degree mutually interdependent, and it is beyond question that without healthy conditions of body the (sic) development of the mental and moral faculties is seriously retarded and in some cases precluded. In a word, healthy physical growth is essential to
intellectual growth (The Board of Education for England and Wales in 1933 Syllabus, 1949, p. 6).

The 1933 Syllabus devoted an entire chapter to games. The duality of mind and body continued to be a rhetoric theme. For instance, Dr. Newman used the prefatory memorandum to explain Plato’s education philosophy as his theoretical framework for the 1933 British syllabus.

No education is worth anything that is not constructed in part at least of music and gymnastic in Plato’s sense of the terms. By music (sic) he meant all that would make a true rhythm in the mind of man - literature, art and science as well the musical note and tone. He meant that everything that would conduce to the highest and best, "language, harmony and rhythm," the balanced man. By gymnastic he meant the two primary things, hygiene and physical exercise. In his view hygiene was mainly a matter of dietary and an open-air life, and exercise should aim, he said, not so much at producing mere strength as at the development and education of the spiritual side of human nature (The Board of Education for England and Wales in 1933 Syllabus, 1949, p. 5).

Kirk (1992) and others point out that, although the 1933 syllabus was prepared for hygiene and sport participation for the children of the working class, it was mainly focused on health-related weaknesses of such children. Little attention was paid for making leaders out of working class children through physical education. In practice the Board of Education in England Wales and leaders in their colonies continued to teach drill to working class children. Kirk (1992, p. 130) criticises statements in the 1933 syllabus.

Neither of these statements would have been out of place thirty or even fifty years earlier, and their presence suggest that the ruling class view of the needs of the working classes had changed little in this time...However, even though the 1933 Syllabus did include an expanded view of physical education, these changes were merely a hat-doffing exercise to current trends, and did nothing to disturb the medico-health definition in which working class physical education was firmly set (Kirk, 1992, p.130).

Burrows (1999) also comments on the 1933 syllabus. She points out that although some of the ideas it drew upon in relation to the participation of children of the masses in sporting activities were complementary, many of them were contradictory (p. 164). Burrows (1999) points out that the 1933 syllabus followed two major contradictory theories: one was the promotion of enjoyable play and games for school children of working class; and the other was the extensive surveillance of posture and formal exercises. In practice, the second theory was applied for the children of the working class and the first was only rhetoric and was mainly confined to the children of the upper class. The 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Training became the major physical
education curriculum document for British colonies. In Australia and New Zealand, it was the major curriculum document through the 1930s and mid 1940s (Wright, 1996b). In Sri Lanka (Administration Reports, 1936-70), Tanzania (Ndee, 1996) and Kenya (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992), the 1933 British syllabus was used until the 1970s. In Sri Lanka, the 1933 syllabus was first used in 1936 (Robinson in Administration Report, 1936) and continued as the main syllabus resource until it was replaced by the 1972 reforms. In 1963, it was translated into Sinhalese and distributed to schools (Ministry of Education in Administration Report, 1963).

Health for military preparedness

The relationship between physical education and fitness to serve and defend the country - that is the military preparedness - has been a perennial theme and source of legitimation for physical education in the school curriculum. For instance, following defeats of the British Army in the Boer War, physical education in Britain received an impetus and the site for the preparation of fit young men ready to defend the country. To face the war threat, the British syllabuses accepted military drills for boys in their government schools.

This British acceptance of military exercises in the physical education program in school became a common feature of curriculum in European countries and in their colonies. In the 19th and through to the mid 20th centuries, drill, which was generally taken by service officers, and was seen as a means of inculcating obedience and the ability to work in unison and respond to commands. For young men and women, drill was seen as the real way to inculcate habits associated with compliance, obedience, neatness and respect (Kirk, 1992). In Britain and Australia cadet platoons were formed in schools with rifle drills, map reading, combat formations and other various militaristic activities to train boys for future participation in army platoons. In Sri Lanka, most available Administration Reports from the Ministry of Education between 1900-1990 mentioned school cadet platoons. In contemporary Sri Lanka, male children of the masses in government schools enthusiastically participate in cadet platoons to enlist as defence personnel as the easiest way to find a government job.

USSR leaders from 1928 onwards also included military activities in their school programs continuing after World War II, between the 1950s and 1970s. In the Cold War situation this practice was strengthened and spread to other communist bloc countries. The USSR government introduced a GTO, "Ready for Labour and Defence" a national fitness program, in 1931 and the physical education syllabus in all schools was required to be based upon it. In these programs children were expected to carry out the initial
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military training program, to wear a gas mask for one hour and to know the basic rules of civic defence (Riordan, 1978). Chinese fitness test programs were introduced throughout the country after approval by State Council in 1974 to provide basic requirements of physical fitness for young people and children as a part of "fit to fight", defence and labour (Botang, 1983). In Tanzania, Nyerere’s sports and physical education policy was intended to prepare people who were fit to fight, defend and to establish an egalitarian society: 'Socialist Tanzania' (Ndee, 1996, p. 200).

In capitalist countries, the fighting force and the military practices in school physical education programs were not generally considered appropriate for girls. For instance, Rosalie Virture, who was the physical training organiser of the Department of Education in the state of Victoria in Australia, argued that drill had no place in the daily physical training for school girls (Education Gazette and Teachers’ Aid, May 1933, cited in Tinning et al, 2000).

*Education through the physical: physical education as contributing to the physical, social and emotional development of children*

During the 1930s-1950s, North American physical education philosopher J.F. Williams and philosopher John Dewey argued that physical education was not only concerned with the physical health of children but also to develop social and emotional development of children; "A Physically Educated Individual".

In this situation, the present revision continues to stress the view that physical education is an education through physical activities, that it must serve the whole person and not muscles alone, and that such a physical education requires in teachers high competence, devotion to duty, and superior effort...teaching social values, accident prevention and safety, camping and outdoor life, the professional society, public relations, adult education, unified administration, research in physical education, and others (Williams, 1959, p. vi).

Physical education should aim to provide skilled leadership and adequate facilities which will afford an opportunity for the individual or group to act in situations which are physically wholesome, mentally stimulating and satisfying, and socially sound (Williams, 1959, p. 237).

This was taken up by Australian physical educators in the 1950s. Physical training bulletins in the 1950s in Australia emphasised shifts from a preoccupation with posture, physical health, discipline and control to fitness (cardio-vascular endurance), skills, social and emotional development. Wright (1991) cites an article, "The Spirit and Purpose of Physical Education" in the "Physical Education Bulletin" of the early 1950s:
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Physical education contributes to the total education of children and has as its medium, physical activities. The activities themselves are not the aim of physical education.

**Organic Development:**
1. To contribute to the development of cardio-respiratory endurance through participation in vigorous physical activities.
2. To promote skeletal and muscular growth through resisted muscular activity.

**Neuromuscular Development:**
To develop hand-eye, foot-eye coordination, rhythm, body mobility, speed, agility, strength and good body mechanics through agility activities, dancing, games and contests, to the end that each boy and girl may achieve high degree of motor control.

**Social and Emotional Development:**
1. To develop high standards of sportsmanship, fair play, self-discipline, leadership, followership and other traits essential to good civic behaviour.
2. To provide an opportunity for social adjustments and the development of emotional control. These may be achieved by intelligent leadership combined with the free play of the group process that arises in the games situation.

**Recreational:**
To provide opportunities for each boy and girl to learn healthful, recreational activities which can be used now and in later life (Wright, 1991, p. 72).

**Health as fitness**
In the 1970s, cardiovascular research concerns with the low levels of fitness of young people in the capitalist systems as compared to the communist during the cold war motivated a shift in emphasis to health and fitness (Kirk, 1992). Although sports, games and the development of motor skills were high priorities in school physical education programs after the 1950s, the health benefits of physical activity continued to be a major argument mounted for the inclusion of physical education in the curriculum. For instance, the Australian education departments in Victoria in 1970 and South Australia in 1980 gave priority to the health benefits of exercises in their syllabi in physical education (Tinning et al, 2000). With medical researchers pointing to the relationship between coronary heart diseases (CHD) and physical inactivity in the 1970s, physical activity became an important aspect of healthy lifestyle.

Kirk and Coloquhoum (1989) have been critical of the ways that a relationship between exercise, fitness and health has improved health-based physical education. Kirk and Coloquhoum (1989) have pointed out the assumptions behind this 'healthism' (Crawford, 1980) approach: health is a self-evident good; individuals are responsible
for their own health; the body can be considered analogous to a machine; and exercise equates with fitness which, in turn, equates with health. On the basis of these assumptions, fitness was included as a special session in the school timetable in addition to regular skill development lessons in the 1970s in South Australia and in the 1980s in Queensland in Australia (Kirk & Coloquhoum, 1989). These trends related to health in the 1970s and 1980s are grouped together by Kirk (1991) under the concept of Health-Based Physical Education (HBPE): "I used the term 'HBPE' to embrace a variety of physical education programs (for example, Health-Related Fitness [HRF]; daily physical education) that have a health focus" (Kirk, 1991). This approach was influential in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s but has been dropped in favor of a sport developmental approach in the late 1990s (Penny & Evans, 2000).

**Healthy lifestyle approach**

Incorporating traditional physical education, health, home economics and outdoor education into a new Health and Physical Education framework has made a big change in Australia and New Zealand. Under this concept, health has been conceived as physical, mental, social and spiritual well-being. To comply with this concept, the Maori concept of Hauora was included to locate well-being as a central concept underpinning the Health and Physical Education curriculum in New Zealand in 1999 (Tinning et al, 2000).

According to Tinning et al (2000), as health concerns were the main emphasis under this broader concept of health in physical education, the independence of physical education was subsumed under the health umbrella in Australia in 1989. "Indeed in Australia, when the various state ministers of education agreed in 1989 on the principal of a 'national curriculum' which developed skills and competencies in eight Key Learning Areas, physical education was not designated as one of the areas but was to be subsumed under the Health KLA" (Tinning et al, 2000, p. 165). This was criticised by people who were interested in sports and in the integrating of physical education as more than a component of a healthy lifestyle. In 1991, the Australian National Collaboration produced for PDHPE a 'Statement' which outlined the major elements to be taught and a 'Profile' that described student learning outcomes. One of the most important change points in Australian physical education was the inclusion of physical education for the HSC examination in the mid to late 1980s. A number of interest groups such as the Confederation of Australian Sports (CAS) and ACHPER convinced the authorities of the grave danger of only a health orientation to physical education. As a result, in April 1993, the term 'Health KLA' was changed to 'Health and Physical
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Education' which saved the term 'Physical Education' from disappearing without trace under a 'Health' umbrella.

On the other hand, at present in Britain the physical education curriculum is clearly oriented to a performance and sports-oriented physical education curriculum rather than to health. According to Penny and Evans (2000), the present England and Wales physical education curriculum is dominated by sports. Kirk (1992) found that school physical education was a major topic in the 1987 general election, based on a perception that the British heritage of public school game performance had declined because of a curriculum focused on health and equity. Therefore, the British government wanted to intervene to upgrade sport performance in the country. The British Department of National Heritage in 1995 pointed out to the government that school sports needed to be enhanced and the proposal was praised by the Prime Minister at that time (Penny & Evans, 2000). At present competitive team games are offered as part of the formal physical education curriculum, followed by coaching sessions outside formal lessons. In addition, all prospective teachers of physical education in England and Wales need to be equipped to teach and coach at least one mainstream game played in the summer and one mainstream game played in the winter (Penny & Evans, 2000). However, Penny and Evans (2000) have criticised this practice because it excludes enjoyment, fun and the health benefits of physical activity. Thus, Tinning et al (2000) suggest that physical education seems to be in grave danger of losing its identity, on the one hand to health and fitness, and on the other hand to sports.

1.4.4.2.2 Sport discourse

According to Goldlust (1987) modern competitive organised sports were created in the 18th century in Britain and spread to Europe and the colonies. The administrators in British private boys' schools (public schools) institutionalised games for the development of gentlemen and to discipline the riotous sons of the elite class. Their purposes were to develop leadership and patriotism in the upper class boys as future leaders in the colonies and in Britain via masculine games such as cricket, rugby football, swimming and rowing. Hargreaves (1986) explains the aims of Thomas Arnold's Rugby Public School in Britain:

Arnold's aim was to create an enlightened ruling class of educated men who would resist the crimes of Toryism and the greed and vulgarity of industrialists on the one hand, and the socialistic claims of the oppressed on the other. Education at Rugby, where he was headmaster from 1828-42, was therefore designed to turn out 'Christian gentlemen', men who were disciplined, socially responsible and self-reliant enough, not only to govern themselves but the lower orders as well (p. 39).
As pointed out above, for working class boys physical education was not games but drills and gymnastic exercises for the development of qualities such as loyalty, discipline, cleanliness and hygiene (Mangan, 1988). As sport was an institutionalised form of physical activity, with rules and regulations and officials to control the progress, it was taken up by the early European upper classes to prepare leaders in their respective countries. At the same time, early colonial leaders in Britain who had participated in sports when they were at British public schools, brought games and sports to the British colonies. In the colonies, these sports were mainly introduced to the children of the elite class (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b); however various versions of these sports, and new ones which developed from them, soon became widely popular.

Sport and games currently have a prominent place in the physical education curriculum in most Western, communist and developing countries. According to Tinning et al. (2001) the major reason for this is that sport is perceived as transmitting culturally valued activities to the next generation. The features of British versions of institutionalised forms of competitive physical were adopted by the communist rulers in the former USSR because they could use sports to transmit their communist values for labour and defence (Riordan, 1978). Eventually, British style team sports dominated other traditions such as gymnastics in Europe and traditional games and other physical activities in many developing countries.

According to Tinning et al (2000), two major discourses have been constructed in relation to sports: performance and participation. In the context of the performance discourse, what is important or valued is the means by which performance can be improved and how this can be measured. The participation discourse on the other hand is concerned with inclusion, equity of involvement, enjoyment, social justice, caring, and cooperation (Tinning, 1997; Whitson & Macintosh, 1990). The performance discourse is associated with human movement science subjects such as biomechanics, exercise physiology, sports psychology, test and measurements, sports medicine, fitness training and so on. The language used in these subjects is about selection, training, exclusion, survival of the fittest, competition, peaking, "no pain no gain", threshold work loads, progressive overload etc. The participation discourse is generally relevant to the subjects of Sociology and Education and it is concerned with social class, ethnicity, gender, religion and cultures (Tinning et al, 2000).

However, according to Tinning et al (2000) the benefits of sports are increasingly problematic at the beginning of the 21st century. The assumption that sports contribute
to the formation of total individuals is questionable when children are exposed to sport media images and institutional forms of racial vilification, elitism, violence, thuggery, exclusion, individualism and sexual harassment in the context of sports. On the other hand, sports winning, losing and playing can be used as a vehicle to marginalise, disgust, victimise, and terrorise people (Tinning et al, 2000).

**Sport discourse, national identity and sport schools**

Sport has become so important as a marker of national prestige in the international arena, that many countries have now established schools which are specifically devoted to supporting the development of talented students. The first of these were established in the former Communist Bloc countries. According to Childs (1978) sports schools were one of the major influences on the former GDR’s success in several Olympics. "According to official publications, the idea is to spot children who, being members of the FDJ or Young Pioneers, are specially gifted in a particular sport and then give them the chance to transfer to a school which can help them to develop their special talents" (Childs, 1978, p. 88). The curriculum implementation in these sports schools in the GDR was identical to other schools but in addition they trained their pupils to become first class sportsmen and women. These schools were, in fact, confined to the Olympic sports and much of the students’ time was taken up by sports. Sports school children who wanted to enter the universities stayed at school for a year or two extra. Most of the students in these schools became professionals in the field of sports and physical education in the GDR (Childs, 1978; Naul, 1992).

Hardman (1992; 2000) points out that many Anglo-model developed countries now operate sport schools parallel to the communist countries. For instance, in France, 300 talented athletes aged 11-25 have been placed at the National Institute in Paris to meet the demands imposed by preparation for competition. These types of sport schools now operate in Australia, Canada, Finland, and in the UK.

In the United Kingdom, young sporting talent has typically been identified by an individual or outside agency in/out of school on an 'ad hoc' basis. Some government bodies of sport have introduced their own development programs and in the case of soccer (Lilleshall) and tennis (Bisham Abbey), Schools of Excellence have been established (Hardman, 1992, p. 39).

Furthermore, developing countries have also established sport schools for elite athletes; for instance, in Sri Lanka every administrative district has a sport school for selected students with full boarding facilities under scholarships provided by the Ministry of Education.
Chapter One: In the Beginning

The communist countries used sports during the Cold War to show supremacy of communism as an ideology over capitalism in the bourgeois countries and for social control. The communist countries followed the Soviet model sports programs including complementary mass participation, the development of school sports and physical education, elite sport systems, the all-country sport classifications, and the necessary administrative structures to support these. Success in sports was viewed as the measure of the nation’s (workers and farmers) efficiency, power and health. The shared ideology of communism brought sporting excellence in these countries as a result of state-controlled sports delivery systems for "it prescribed the level of commitment to developing excellence, provision of facilities and organisational structures including schemes in identifying and nurturing talent, coach education, sports medicine, other ancillary systems and, some argue, the use (or abuse) of drugs" (Hardman, 1992, p. 36).

1.4.5 Specific issues for physical education in the global context

Status of physical education

In modern times, physical education has always struggled in Western countries and those following Western countries for recognition and a place in the school curriculum. According to Reid (2000), the academic tradition in education in Britain and in other countries in the Western world has defined knowledge in terms of the mastery of material and procedures that are expressed in verbal or written propositional forms. Physical education is mainly concerned with the practical and with the body rather than with abstractions and the mind and so has often been accorded a low status in comparison to more academic subjects.

Historically there have been practical reasons for the lack of value associated with physical education. Government and private sector jobs, mainly white-collar jobs, have traditionally been assigned to people with academic qualifications which involved intellectual work. Therefore, physical education has not been a core subject in many Western countries and their colonies. Most of the head teachers in Kenya, for instance, argued that there were no career opportunities in physical education, therefore students followed courses supported by their parents and teachers that would be suitable to obtain 'white-collar' jobs or for continuing in education. Subsequently, in Kenya physical education has been regarded as a subject without academic significance (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992).
In another example, the use of military drills in physical education have created a low status for physical education in Tanzania because military-related activities have always recalled the painful colonial experiences which were accompanied by corporal punishments even after Independence in 1963. To conduct military exercises, strict military discipline was enforced and this created a low status for physical education in Tanzania (Ndee, 1996).

Physical education teachers have correspondingly suffered low status. For instance, non-graduate teachers of physical education were not allowed to enter staffrooms in Britain in the first half of the 20th century (Kirk, 1992). Until the 1930s, in the UK, non-commissioned officers were given physical education teacher appointments to teach drills. According to McIntosh (1968), the appointment of non-commissioned officers as drill teachers was initiated in the 1870s. This contributed to the low status of male physical education teachers and this continued until the 1960s even when male physical education teachers became graduates (Kirk, 1992). Female physical education teachers, on the other hand, enjoyed higher status than males in the UK because they had enjoyed graduate status since the early 1900s (Kirk, 1992). Departments of Education in many countries did not until recently recruit or train adequate resource persons to teach physical education at the tertiary level. For instance, as late as 1990 there were not enough qualified lecturers to teach physical education at the Teachers’ Colleges in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Only three lecturers in the nine teachers’ colleges in PNG had specialist qualifications in physical education (O’Donoghue, 1992).

Though there are status issues for physical education in the Anglo-model, it has high priority in communist-model physical education. In all socialist countries, physical education and sports as a school subject are compulsory and examinable. While some form of physical education and/or sport is compulsory in most capitalist countries, it is not always examinable and is not always compulsory for all years. In Cuba, "Physical Education and sports as a subject is compulsory in all schools, colleges and in all universities until the third full year (Pickering, 1978, p169). In all schools in communist countries sport is the base point in all physical education programs and competitions are carried out to improve sports. However, awards for these competitions are given for progress rather than for excellence. In Cuban secondary schools, five basic sports are compulsory: track and field, gymnastics, basketball, volleyball, and baseball for boys, with modern gymnastics on a competitive basis as an alternative sport for girls (Pickering, 1978).
In developing countries physical education as a subject is compulsory but often sport is an extracurricular activity. For instance, in Kenya, president Kenyatta’s intervention to make physical education a mandatory subject in 1980 gave a boost to the 1980 physical education syllabus to enhance the level and status of physical education an extensive campaign was designed. Schools were compelled to schedule two physical education periods per week in addition to "after-class" games and sports sessions (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992). Nyerere, on the other hand, did not include a physical education subject in the regular timetable in Tanzanian schools with a vocational bias and it was usually carried out in the afternoon as an extra-curricular activity (Ndee, 1996).

In all countries, monetary allocations for physical education resources are less than for the other subject areas. Even in most developed countries such as the USA (Krotee, 1992), Australia (Senate Report, 1992; Tinning et al, 2000; Wright, 1996) and Germany (Naul, 1992) resourcing in physical education is a problem. It is also a common problem in communist countries (Childs, 1978; Davis, 1997; Hardman, 1992 & 2000; Pickering, 1978; Riordan, 1978) and in developing countries like Kenya (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992), Tanzania (Ndee, 1996) and Papua New Guinea (O'Donoghue, 1992).

To address the narrow and traditional academic definition of knowledge which some conceived to disadvantage physical education, the scientific definition of physical education in the 1950s emphasised propositional knowledge via movement science in relation to physical education (Kirk, 1992). In the 1980s, Australian HSC curriculum and examination papers were highly theoretical and scientised (Tinning et al, 2000). According to Tinning et al (2000) several research findings in physical education teacher education in Australia have shown clearly that their courses privileged scientific knowledge of the body in their curriculum over pedagogy and health education.

Curriculum consistency, accountability and efficiency with centralised/ nationalised curriculum
Maintaining consistency, accountability and efficiency in curriculum participation for all students is not a problem in the centralised system of the communist physical education model (Davis, 1997). The communist countries’ curriculum aims, norms and prescriptions are provided and implemented to maintain curriculum consistency. China is a good example. The national curriculum in physical education which is established by the State Education Commission fulfils part of the rights and obligations to obtain an education which are identified in the Chinese constitution for all Chinese citizens. Physical education designed to help students gain skills and concepts of track and field, gymnastics, basketball, volleyball, soccer, fitness and some traditional marshal arts is
taught at all schools. This process makes for uniformity in physical education across all schools (Davis, 1997).

However, state control of curriculum is not a monopoly of the communist countries. Many non-communist countries have moved toward a more centralised curriculum model in recent years. In Australia for example, when the Australian Labour Party was in power in the 1980s, they centralised many government functions. As a result, in 1989, Health and Physical Education became one of the eight key learning area subjects in the national curriculum. The national curriculum however, has been taken up in different ways in each of the Australian States (Tinning et al, 2000).

**Gender, ethnicity and culture**

Equity has been an issue throughout the history of physical education curriculum throughout the world. Whether it is a capitalist, communist or mixed curriculum model, in developing countries a sports orientation in the curriculum excludes many students, particularly girls. Wright (1996b), for instance, found that a male tradition of physical education, built around organised sport and the human movement sciences, has marginalised student-centred pedagogues and forms of physical activities, such as gymnastics and dance, which are more likely to be associated with girls and women in Australia. In addition, Wright (1996b) found that there has been a continuing and marked absence of oppositional discourse in Australian physical education to contest the dominance of the masculine tradition.

Wright (1996a) argues that discourses of gender difference in physical education and sport are socially constructed and not associated with biological differences. She demonstrates through an analysis of interviews with students as well as their teachers and the male students that it is widely accepted that girls lack physical skills, toughness and courage, ability to withstand pain and lack the desire to get in and have a go associated with boys. These were all in relation to a very specific form of physical activity - that of traditional team sports and competitive endurance activities in which the girls were more likely to be less skilled and experienced than to boys.

Despite the high levels of skills shown by girls in dance and gymnastics, students and teachers saw the girls as the antithesis of boys, fragile in comparison to the boy's toughness. Wright (1996b) argues that whatever activities might be offered in physical education, it is essential to include activities that provide for girls and women with a sense of their bodies as powerful and enabling. People in the patriarchal society in Sri Lanka consider girls as weaker than boys. However, dance and gymnastics, in which
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girls are stronger, are not popular or not considered as physical education in the curriculum of Sri Lankan schools.

Secondly, ethnicity is an important issue for consideration in developing countries. For instance, the British Victorian public school games for boys were confined to the Europeans and some Asians for leadership purposes in Tanzania.

In the white dominions confidence was the purpose of exercise, while in the black colonies obeisance was the intention. Drills which promoted *inter alia* obedience and did not require sophisticated facilities, were left for the Africans, but under the supervision of the Europeans. (Ndee, 1996, p. 199)

Thirdly, physical education is impacted by social division such as caste and class and by specific cultural beliefs and expectations. In Asian countries like India and Sri Lanka, British public school games were confined to the upper class as well as to the higher caste boys; they were not for girls or lower caste boys of the masses (Mangan, 1981). In the highlands in Papua New Guinea, many physical education teachers have given up teaching physical education because if children get injured when doing physical education, school or teachers need to follow the strong tradition of 'pay-back'. "If the injury is serious or so deforming as to result in a drop in the 'bride price' of a female student, the life of the teacher could be in serious danger" (O'Donoghue, 1992, p. 34). In Muslim countries like Kuwait (Behbehani, 1992), culture and religion impose limitations on girls' physical education so that the implementation of an Anglo-model of fun-oriented, open and free instruction activities is problematic in these countries.

1.4.6 Curriculum research in Sri Lanka

As mentioned earlier, few curriculum research studies have been undertaken recently in Sri Lanka. In the 1960s and 1970s, the history of the general education curriculum was researched by a small number of Sri Lankan scholars. In 1968, Sumathipala investigated the history of education in Sri Lanka with special reference to the contribution made by C.W.W. Kannangara, who was the farther of free education and the first native Minister of Education (Little, 1999), to the educational development of Ceylon. Ruberu (1967) also researched Kannangara’s contribution to education development. Jayasuriya (1969; Undated) researched education history before and after Independence in Sri Lanka and C.R. De Silva (1977) researched the history of education in Sri Lanka. In 1991, Samaraweera investigated education, technology and economic development as a comparative study focusing on the period 1950-1975. There have been no further historical studies of the curriculum until 1999 except for
Senadeera (1996) who researched the contemporary secondary school curriculum and made recommendations for curriculum innovation. Little (1999) too has researched curriculum historically in Sri Lanka, particularly in Estate Schools attended by children of Indian-origin Tamil workers. However, physical education curriculum had never been specifically researched using historical investigation until 1999 when the international consultant Fischer (1999) investigated Sri Lankan physical education curriculum as part of her task as consultant on the project to upgrade physical education teacher education.

The Acts, Reports, Commissions and the major educational historical research (Ruberu, 1962; Sumathipala, 1968; Jayasuriya, 1969 & Undated; Samaraweera, 1991; De Silva, C.R. 1977; Little, 1999) in the period 1948-1999 did not mention anything about physical education. The educational research literature in Sri Lanka neglected physical education but it was an important subject in the Administration Reports and Circulars of the Ministry of Education there. However, one study which relates to physical education was carried out by Chandralatha Welgama for her M.Phil degree, titled 'A study on the effects of school games on educational achievement' at the Colombo University in 1985.


The Fischer Report in 1999 was an important event in the history of physical education in Sri Lanka. To upgrade physical education teacher education in the country, the National Authority of Teacher Education (NATE) in 1998 invited foreign and local consultants to review the physical education teacher education curriculum in Sri Lanka and to make developmental proposals. The consultancy was undertaken by Imke Fischer, a lecturer in physical education and physical education historian at the Australian Catholic University in Sydney, Australia. Fischer started her work in February 1999 and submitted the Report on 10th July 1999.

The major aims of the Fischer (1999) consultancy were 'to review the current syllabi and curricula of pre-service teacher education in physical education and suggest revisions and modifications', and 'to suggest methods to develop teacher support materials in relation to physical education through physical education pre-service teacher education' (Fischer, 1999, p. 11). A number of instruments were used to collect data for the consultancy. Two local consultants and a resource group which consisted of
seventeen different local experts in physical and health education were used. Two workshops were held with this group for feedback and comments. The consultants visited different institutions and met key personnel. Discussions and interviews were held during visits with different key administrative and academic figures who had relationships with education, sports, health and physical education in Sri Lanka. In addition, school physical education teachers, education officers in physical education, and college of education and teachers' college lecturers in physical education were interviewed and discussions were held. Most of the documents which related to education and physical education in Sri Lanka were reviewed; for instance, syllabuses, acts, reports, news articles, texts, teachers' handbooks, circulars, and administration reports. The recommendations, perceptions, and criticisms of Sri Lankan physical education in the Fischer Report (1999) are included in forthcoming chapters as appropriate.

1.5 Methodology

This study draws on the methodology of historical curriculum research generally, and a social constructionist approach specifically to investigate the physical education curriculum in post-Independence (1948) Sri Lanka. The investigation of the social construction of physical education curriculum at the levels of prescription, process and practice was deemed necessary here to develop an understanding of the complex contextual parameters involved.

During the investigation process, emphasis was placed on understanding the existing situation of the physical education curriculum in the light of past curriculum developments. Informants with intimate experience of current curriculum process in Sri Lankan physical education and that process over thirty (30) years were interviewed to achieve this purpose. As a starting point, participants were engaged in conversations in relation to their personal educational, sporting and physical educational biographies to develop rapport. These were followed by open-ended interviews probing areas of interest and concern to them.

Following Goodson (1990), this study attempted to understand how dominant groups carried historical weight on the basis of certain social and political priorities. Physical education traditions in Sri Lanka were also identified by examining written curriculum materials and other related documents. As a social constructionist investigation, the study investigated how curriculum knowledge has been constructed by hegemonic or
powerful groups, and how the meaning of physical education curriculum has changed over time and has been influenced by diverse and constantly changing social factors such as gender, culture, ethnicity and social class.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the three major research questions were: i) How has physical education in Sri Lanka been shaped as a school subject by foreign and local influences since Independence in 1948?; ii) What are the major and enduring issues in physical education in Sri Lanka?; iii) How can knowledge of the construction of physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka inform future directions for curriculum developments? These questions gave rise to a number of minor research questions which were investigated through appropriate primary and secondary sources. According to my own experience and reading, secondary sources were selected which would provide information about social and cultural contexts in which the physical education curriculum was developed. Before the research proposal was presented to the Wollongong University, I went to Sri Lanka for three weeks and piloted open-ended interviews with key informants and approached some primary sources. After returning from Sri Lanka, the proposal was presented and I went to the research field (Sri Lanka) again for data collection. At the same time, the process of reviewing literature was continued. During this on-going process, the research questions were developed. The following table shows the relationships between research questions and data sources.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research questions</th>
<th>Data from primary sources</th>
<th>Data from secondary sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 What have been the British influences on Education and physical education? (economics, politics, religion, social class, etc.)</td>
<td>Administrative Reports (AR), Circulars, Acts, Reports, Ordinances, Conventions, Artefacts (exchanged letters or archival documents etc.), and Interviews with informants</td>
<td>General and Economics History books, Education History (Sumathipala, 1968; Jayasuriya, 1977; Pakeman, 1964; Perkin, 1992, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 What have been the other foreign influences on Education and physical education? (Cold War, communist block countries, USA, Canada, India, etc.)</td>
<td>Hansard Reports, Agreements, Archival documents, Interviews with informants</td>
<td>History books, News articles, Curriculum documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 What have been the local influences? (Social class, religion, culture, gender, caste, medium, etc.)</td>
<td>a) Circulars, Reports, Acts &amp; Ordinance, Newspapers, Policy documents &amp; Artefacts</td>
<td>Heard about, and read histories of, Sri Lankan society, culture, education and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Open ended interviews with informants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Direct experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 What have been education theory, policy and practice developments? (reforms, curriculum shifts, teacher education)</td>
<td>a) Reports, Acts, Circulars, Syllabi, Ordinance, Curriculum documents, Newspaper articles, artefacts, etc.</td>
<td>Research Reports, History of Education, General History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Open ended interviews with key informants (bureaucrats, politicians, and educators)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 What have been PE curriculum theory, policy and practice developments?</td>
<td>Above sources related to physical education</td>
<td>Above sources related to physical education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 What are the main issues in present physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka?</td>
<td>a) Present physical education curriculum documents, syllabi, newspaper articles, acts, etc.</td>
<td>a) Educational research reports which mentioned physical education, media reports, general curriculum documents, syllabi, text books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Open-ended interviews with informants.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the future directions for physical education curriculum developments? (from the viewpoints of influential/key stakeholders)</td>
<td>Information from above documents and open ended interviews with informants</td>
<td>Information from above sources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two types of data in this research: historical data from primary and secondary written sources; and open-ended interview data from the key informants. Historical data have been collected using archival searches and the analysis of such primary sources as Administrative Reports, Acts, Ordinances, Circulars, Curriculum documents, newspaper articles and other related archival and artefact documents of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and other institutions in Sri Lanka. Secondary sources included general and economic history books on Sri Lanka and other related countries, historical research in education in Sri Lanka and other related countries such as Britain.

Open-ended interviews are a major tool in qualitative research. Open-ended interviews allow the interviewer to set the initial topic area but the participant is enabled to move into areas which are perceived to be of most significance. Open-ended interviewing provides occasions for close researcher-informant interaction. Although the researcher's personal feelings/subjectivity can be involved, it provides a distance reducing experience to the researcher and to the informants (Burns, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

In open-ended interviews, we have to be prepared to follow unexpected leads that arise in the course of our interviewing. The depth of data from open-ended interviews is enhanced by the use of prompts such as tell me more and explain in pursuing points of interest and help to capture how informants think and about something (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Such a broad-scale approach to understanding is drawn from the assumption that qualitative research, notably nonreductionist, is directed to understanding phenomena in the fullest possible complexity. The elaborated responses you hear provide the affective and cognitive underpinnings of your respondent's perceptions. With this picture you have obtained what is characteristic of qualitative inquiry: the natives point of view (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 92).

Open-ended interviews facilitate access to events, persons, places and times that cannot be observed directly by the researcher. The individual's life experiences can be obtained
in the person's own language. Data from these interviews is generally reported as narrative containing direct quotations from interview statements.

The interview data were collected using open-ended interviews with thirty-four (34) key informants who have had experience with the historical events, times, places and people (Burns, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994) human interaction is important for finding or constructing knowledge in qualitative inquiry, and researchers have the opportunity to select participants according to particular aspects of the research. As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) pointed out "the strategy of participant selection in qualitative research rests on the multiple purposes of illuminating, interpreting, and understanding - and on the researcher's own imagination and judgment" (p. 27). This study sought to illuminate, interpret and understand the social construction of the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka between the hegemonic groups and the powerless groups in the context of historical events, place and time by choosing informants who have been directly involved in the physical education curriculum prescription, process and practice.

The thirty-four (34) key informants were selected from different levels of professional experience, educational qualifications and categories. These informants included retired and current lecturers in education and physical education at universities, colleges of education and teachers' colleges; retired and current school teachers of physical education and other subjects; college of education presidents and school principals; Project Officers in physical education at the National Institute of Education; Education Officers; the Directress of Sports and Physical Education at the Ministry of Education and Higher Education; Sports Ministry officials; and sports writers.

The two university lecturers, the two retired training college lecturers/education officers, and one of the physical education teachers were primary school children before Independence in 1948, had completed secondary and tertiary education in the 1950s, and found teaching appointments in the late 1950s or early 1960s. The two university lecturers had also been school principals and lecturers at teachers' colleges and colleges of education before joining universities. They had also taught comparative education at their universities. The two retired training college lecturers had been physical education officers during their career and were involved in the development of the Sri Lankan physical education curriculum. These two lecturers had followed physical education courses in Madras, India. In addition, the retired male training college lecturer has a
bachelor’s degree and masters level qualifications in a range of areas, including physical education. The retired female physical education teacher had been a teacher for thirty-five years and had been involved in the physical education curriculum development; she also studied in Madras.

The Directress of Sports and Physical Education in the Ministry of Education and the female Project Officer at the NIE were chosen because of their responsibilities in curriculum planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Both these women were physical education teachers, education officers and lecturers at colleges of education and teachers’ colleges with more than 25 years experience. They were also former national level netball players and athletes. The NIE female Project Officer completed her bachelor’s and master’s in Sri Lanka, in addition to the physical education training certificate from the teachers’ college at Maharagama, Sri Lanka. The Directress of Sports had followed training courses in Madras, in Sri Lanka and read a master’s in physical education at Leeds, UK.

All the COE physical education lecturers had more than 25 years of experience as school physical education teachers and colleges of education lecturers. Of the two physical education teachers, one was Sinhalese and the other was Muslim. The Sinhalese physical education teacher had had experience as a teacher and a teacher leader for 27 years. The Muslim physical education teacher was COE passed with nine years service as a physical education teacher who had done his all studies in Sinhalese medium. One of the Sport Ministry officials attended a central school and was a national championship athlete who studied in the GDR and had had more than 25 years service as a sport officer, athletic coach, sport lecturer and administrator, while the other was a national level athlete and volleyball player who had completed his masters level qualification in sports science in Cuba and had had more than ten years of experience as a sport officer, coach and sport lecturer. The two sport writers were national level athletes, officials of several sporting organisations, and had more than twenty years experience as sport writers. The male sport writer had completed his bachelor’s and master’s in Sri Lanka and in India while the female sports writer had studied in the GDR.

One of the COE presidents, two of the COE lecturers, one of the training college female lecturers, two of the school principals and two of the teachers represent lecturers, teachers and administrators who are other than physical educators. One principal and one schoolteacher are mathematics-trained certificate holders while all others have bachelor’s and master’s in different fields, but they all have sporting backgrounds. The
two COE male lecturers in other than physical education and the COE male president have been teaching comparative education for several years. The two Tamil male COE lecturers and the Muslim teacher were selected because they represent minority communities. The two Tamil lecturers completed physical education teacher training certificates in the Tamil medium and are former national-level soccer players and athletes. The male Muslim teacher has an English teachers' college training certificate and a degree in English and is teaching English at a Muslim school.
### Table 2: Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University lecturers in education (female)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Directress of Sports &amp; Physical Education, Ministry of Education &amp; Higher Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President COE(male)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>female Project officers in physical education in NIE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COE lecturers other than physical education (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Retired Training College lecturers/Education officers in physical education (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ college lecturers other than physical education (female)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>COE Tamil physical education lecturers (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School principals (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Physical education teachers, Muslim and Sinhalese (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers other than physical education (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sports Ministry officials (male)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim teachers other than physical education (male)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sports writers (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COE lecturers in physical education (male &amp; female)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter One: In the Beginning
Data Collection and analysis

There were two steps in the data collection, completed simultaneously. The first step was to collect data from the primary and secondary documentary sources. Written permission to take notes, make photocopies of official documents, artefacts, and archives, (for examples Administrative Reports, Circulars, Acts and Ordinances), were obtained from the Ministry of Education and the Department of Archives. Before the survey and analysis of primary sources, I read relevant secondary sources which pointed to key primary sources intertwined with the broader social and political context, and interviewed some key informants such as retired physical education lecturers and current physical education lecturers whose background and experience provided information concerning the history of education and physical education in Sri Lanka. I expected that major themes would have developed from these primary and secondary sources through readings, my own experience and interviews. The ongoing reading process was continued until the completion of writing and some initial informants were interviewed by phone for further clarification while the thesis was being written.

Step two took the form of open-ended interviews with key informants. Consent forms, sample interview guides and request letters for interview times and dates were sent to the informants in Sri Lanka. Dates, times, places and consent for audiotape recording were obtained prior to the interviews. Interviews were negotiated at times convenient to the participants and interviews were conducted in the participants’ professional settings or another comfortable environment nominated by them. Most interviews took about forty minutes but some continued for up to one hour. Prior to the interviews, the researcher had a casual discussion with each of the informant and provided a brief explanation of the research project. All the informants were very happy to talk about physical activities and physical education during their school times and responded enthusiastically to questions.

During the interview process, informants were encouraged to describe their own perceptions of sports and physical education. Core questions were asked of all informants, with specific questions developed for the particular roles of each. For instance, the lecturers in physical education at the colleges of education and teachers’ colleges were asked: What kind of changes have you noticed during your career as a physical education teacher and a lecturer?
   a) Changes in syllabus, activities?
   b) Changes in teacher education?
   c) Changes in assessments?
Chapter One: In the Beginning

The Education Officers of physical education in the Ministry of Education were asked: What are some of the main issues, from your point of view, for physical education in Sri Lanka?

The retired physical education teachers were asked: What do you think were the major influences on physical education? Are these different now? Have these changed from when you began teaching?
   
a) Did these factors influence boys and the girls the same?
   
b) Did these factors influence either students or parents in general government schools in the same way as in private public schools?

All interview data were transcribed and organised according to the major themes which emerged from primary and secondary sources. The literature from Sri Lanka provided a social, economic, cultural, and political context within which to analyse and compare primary and secondary historical information from the research field. The literature from other countries was incorporated with Sri Lankan evidence to make comparisons.

1.6 Limitations

The major limitations of this study are related to accessibility of literature in general and specifically in the Sri Lankan context, access to key figures in Sri Lanka, working and studying in Australia so that data had to be collected in a restricted time period.

1.7 Ethical considerations

As this research did not involve an experimental intervention, the primary ethical considerations in the research were: i) receipt of written and verbal permission to interview informants; ii. receipt of written permission to take notes; make photocopies of official documents, artefacts, and archives, (for example, Administrative Reports, Circulars, Acts and Ordinance); iii. the protection of participants’ anonymity in data collection and processing and in the compilation of the draft and final versions of the thesis.

Before going to the field, permission from the Wollongong University Ethics Committee was obtained. Consent forms were used to gain permission from the participants. The participants’ anonymity was protected by acknowledging and quoting directly only where full permission had been granted. Interviews were negotiated at times convenient to the participants and interviews were conducted in the participants’
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professional setting or another comfortable environment nominated by the participants. Copies of interview guides were posted to key stakeholders prior to interviews.

1.8 My story

The biographical statement provides a sense of how physical education and sporting practices work themselves out in the life of Sri Lankan man who has been intimately linked with its workings at all of the levels taken up in the thesis. My own education, and experience as a student, a teacher and a lecturer in physical education stimulated my interest in several issues in physical education in Sri Lanka. This experience and the issues that I identified helped me to tell the physical education curriculum story in Sri Lanka. As Glesne and Peshkin (1992) note the influence of my own subjectivity needs to be recognised throughout a study of this kind.

As a toddler, I played village sports with my siblings, even before kindergarten. Until I was sent to village school, I played mango shell jump (Ambakottan Paneema), Attapal (one boy was a catcher while the others touched his hand and ran away; the catcher needed to touch the running boys by chasing. We had a rest tree, under which the catcher could not touch the runners), Hengimuttan (hide and seek), Koanpittu (the player needs to put wet sand into a cup or a coconut shell and prepare a sand cake), Sellan Geval (imitating home chores using own cutlery), and Swings using swings made from creepers, with my siblings and neighbouring children at our home and at neighbouring houses of our relatives.

Physical education period in primary and junior secondary schools was just a play period for us. I was sent to Kindergarten in 1957 at my native village school and continued there until year 8 (1966). I enjoyed physical activities with peers in school and also after school and in holidays. There was no physical education teacher at this school and we were not taught any sport or physical activity. We had a physical training (Saramba) period and during that period we played Elle (Rounders), Chackgudu, Marbles, Ambakottan and Attapal. However, every year we had an athletic circuit meet and for that meet we were selected to compete in running events. Without any training, we participated in these events.

Female children were excluded from physical activities. I do not recollect that any girls of our age participated in physical activities with us. I remember that when girls came to the playground for their games we chased them away. They went to a corner and
played their own games like Ambakottan, while we used most of the school playground for our games like Elle.

Health and hygiene were taught by our class teachers. Class teachers daily checked our health habits such as brushing of teeth, washing of faces, cleanliness of clothes, trimmed fingernails and haircut. One day I was sent to the school well with other children to brush our teeth because they were not clean. We were given a mirror and wood charcoal to brush our teeth and we were punished. Every morning in the school assembly, our health habits were checked by monitors and teachers so we were very careful about our health habits when we were at our village school.

The school health medical officer and the public health inspector came to our school every year to give us quinine and hookworm medicine. The Hookworm Medicine Day (Kokupanubeheheth Dinaya) is very interesting to recollect because some children refused to drink this bitter medicine and their parents forcibly dragged them to school and made them swallow it. Some days we were shown documentaries on health practices by the public health inspector. We never missed these documentaries as they were the only movies we were able to watch in those days.

Unlimited freedom allowed by my parents was also one of the factors which motivated me for sports. As the eighth child in a family of eleven, I was given full freedom to play village games such as rounders, village cricket (locally made balls and bats), and several other indigenous games at any time anywhere in the village because my parents did not have time to pay their full attention to all the children in this big family of low economic status. In addition to the above local games, we swam and fished in village tanks and streams.

Physical education activities at the middle class suburban central school swayed me towards sports. I passed the Grade 8-scholarship admission examination, which enabled me to enrol in the science class at the suburban area central school at Kuliyapitiya in 1967. At this middle class central school, we had access to any sporting events we wanted such as volleyball, netball, cricket, soccer, badminton, table tennis, scouting and cadetting. I selected athletics, volleyball and cadetting but I mainly participated in athletics because it did not cost anything extra. In addition, our physical education teacher discouraged us from playing more than one sport because he thought that if we would not have any success in any.
Our physical education teacher was very strict but at the same time very friendly. He was very attentive to us. We had a PT period once a week where the physical education teacher was punctual. He taught us athletics during the PT period and some of us were selected for afternoon training (coaching). The attendance of selected students for afternoon training was compulsory. If we did not attend, we were punished. If the physical education teacher was absent, the athletic captain undertook our training. Our physical education teacher took our athletic team for district and public school athletic meets during the weekends. For other sports, there were particular teachers assigned and those teachers coached children in the afternoon. I represented the central school public school athletic team, which had a good island-wide reputation during the period of 1967-1970. I was successful in academic work as well as sports at the central school. I completed my HSC with mathematics in 1973. I knew that without academic qualifications finding a government job would be a great problem. However, I continued to play games with my village colleagues after school and during the vacations.

Although some teachers taught subjects other than physical education (mathematics and science) took up teaching physical education in addition to their normal work. I found a job as a mathematics and science teacher in 1973. Under the 1972 Education Reform Act, the government made appointments to teach mathematics and science to all junior secondary school children because until 1972 mathematics and science were taught only at schools where facilities were available to offer the science stream, for instance, Central College where I studied. I was able to get one of these appointments easily in a rural area school (later I was transferred to my native village school where I had completed my primary education) because I belonged to a family which supported the ruling political party (SLFP). As a mathematics and science teacher between 1973-1978, most of the days I had to teach forty periods (forty minutes each) a week, because there were no teachers who could teach mathematics, science and physical education for Grade 6 to Grade 10 in that school. I organised after-school classes and taught children without any tuition fees. It was a difficult task to teach mathematics and science to these children because most parents were not literate in these subjects and were unable to give any support at home. However, my students performed well in the Grades 9 and 10 government exams in 1975 and 1976.

For several reasons, some teachers other than physical education in remote areas led children for physical activities. While teaching mathematics and science I gained a reputation in teaching physical education, which I taught because there were no physical education teachers at the schools where I taught. The other reason for me to
teach physical education was that it was an examinable subject for National Certificate of General Education (NCGE) at the end of the Grade 9 class during the period of 1972-1977 (Education Reforms, 1972) and my sporting background at the central school motivated me to teach sports. My athletes won circuit level championships during 1975-1977 and participated in district athletic competitions for the first time from this remote area school.

I gave up teaching mathematics and science in 1978. Just after the 1977 General Election, I was transferred to a very remote area school as a punishment, because of my family association with the political party SLFP which lost power. The new ruling party (UNP) members of my village persuaded the area member of parliament (who was also the Deputy Minister of Education) to transfer me. It was this punishment transfer, which caused me to give up teaching mathematics and science. Though mathematics and science teachers had higher status in Sri Lanka, I decided to become a physical education teacher for three reasons. The major one was my political victimisation together with the fact that trained teachers were paid on the same salary scale, and my sporting background.

In 1978, I enrolled at the Teachers’ College at Katukurunda in Sri Lanka to follow a two-year diploma course in secondary teacher training in physical education. It was a residential institution and we were able to do physical education practical subjects well into the evening. Theoretical subjects such as Principles of Physical Education, Training Principles and Health Education were taught by senior lecturers who came from Colombo, while practical subjects such as Sports Skills and Teaching Practice classes were taught by lecturers who stayed on the college premises. These lecturers were seconded physical education teachers.

Different internal politics and the policy decisions of the Ministry of Education negatively shaped the course of physical education teacher training at Katukurunda in the late 1970s. As a result of the internal political conflicts at the college, Katukurunda teachers’ college was taken over by the Police Department to train their officers in 1978, and we were transferred to the Teachers’ College at Maharagama closer to Colombo. At Maharagama, we were unable to continue our practical training as before. At this college, residential facilities were not provided and we had to find our own residential accommodation. Few of us came for evening practices while others did not come at all, owing to accommodation problems.
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The annual inter-house sport meet and participation at national level sporting activities were specific components of our training. At Maharagama, there were several different specific training courses such as Physical Education, English, Mathematics, Science, Special Education and Handicraft. All students in these courses participated in the 1979 house meet and I became the champion athlete and won college colours for volleyball and athletics. I represented the Ministry of Education athletics team in 1978 and 1979. I won the All Island Teachers Meet and Government Service Athletic Championship Meet events in 1978 and 1979 when I was at the two colleges. In 1980, I was appointed to a secondary school as a physical education teacher.

To gain a reputation to school and themselves, and for the personal satisfaction, some physical education teachers continued participating and coaching of sports. As a secondary physical education teacher (1980-1986), I coached athletics and swimming, and my students won national school games places in 1984, 1985 and 1986. While teaching physical education at secondary schools, I competed in volleyball, athletics and swimming and was a member of the Education Department volleyball team for three years (1983, 1984 and 1985) which won the National and Government Services Meet in 1985. My school athletes who were trained after school and in holidays won National School Games events in 1984 and my swimmers who were trained in the village tanks and streams but not in the swimming pools won places in the National School Games in 1985 and 1986.

Again, party politics influenced my fortunes. I was transferred twice to Colleges of Education in 1986 and 1990, partly as a result of political pressures exerted by teachers, who were their supporters, on politicians of the ruling party. First, I was seconded to teach physical education at Bandarawela College of Physical Education in 1986 under the guidance of the Director of Sports, Mr. Sunil Jayaweera. Then in 1990, I was transferred to Nilwala College of Education at Akuressa where the Ministry of Education and Higher Education started a parallel physical education course to that at Bandarawela.

Physical educators at the Colleges of Education were perceived to be inferior to lecturers of other subjects. At Bandarawela and Nilwala COEs, I had personal experience of the poor status accorded physical education lecturers. Lecturers who taught subjects other than physical education at the above two colleges always told us that we were not graduates and not qualified to become lecturers as they all were graduates and we only had a teachers' training certificate at diploma level. Therefore, when I was at Bandarawela I registered to follow the BA degree course as an external candidate at the Peradeniya University in 1986 and obtained the degree honors in 1990.
Chapter One: In the Beginning

At Nilwala, I became aware of the cultural issues associated with students' dress in relation to physical activities. When I was teaching at Nilwala COE at Akuressa (1990-1993), the physical education student teachers were allowed to wear track pants in the playground and in the gymnasium but not in the classrooms. For one of the teaching practice sessions in 1990, I advised all physical education students to wear track pants for teaching practices but one of our female physical education lecturers cancelled my advice and ordered female physical education student teachers to wear saris. The female lecturer said that if our students wore track pants in the playground it would be a cultural issue. Teaching practice dress for females was white saris and for males white trousers and shirts.

Though I had taught specialist physical education courses, I was not confirmed in my position until President Premadasa stopped some of the minor political victimisations in 1991. Under the circumstances, I decided to change my career as a specialist physical education lecturer at Nilwala. There were three reasons for this change: my academic qualifications were sufficient to become a senior lecturer in another area; the political interference for physical education lecturer appointments; and the low status of physical education. In 1991, I applied for a lecturer post in another area and in 1992 I was given a promotion from an assistant lecturer post in physical education at Nilwala to Mirigama College of Education as a lecturer coordinating officer which was a senior position. When I left for Australia to undertake further study, I was teaching mathematics and physical education as a relief lecturer in the primary teacher-training course in addition to the duties of a lecturer coordination officer. However, while working at Mirigama, I taught physical education as a specific lecturer at the B. Ed primary teacher training weekend courses that were conducted by the National Institute of Education (NIE) at their centres at Kurunegala and in Colombo. As mentioned in the section 1.2, I was asked to follow a postgraduate course in physical education in Australia by the NATE to fulfil the shortage of physical educators in the area. The proposal of the NATE catalysed my interest to become a graduate in physical education from a foreign university, as the facility is not available in my country.
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1.9 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has five chapters, each of which in different ways helps to answer the three major research questions and the other minor research questions which have been indicated in the methodology section above. To understand the issues more clearly I have attempted in all chapters to provide background information concerning the social, political, economical, and educational context in Sri Lanka that relates to the development of physical education curriculum in the country. In Chapter One, I have begun to provide background information and reasons for this research, to follow the methodology assumptions in keeping with the social constructionist perspectives and to explain the research strategies employed to interrogate the research questions I have set out.

In Chapter Two, I introduce a brief summary of physical education in the social, political, economical and educational historical context in pre-colonial and colonial Sri Lanka. When discussing physical education in colonial Sri Lanka major attention is paid to the period 1900-1948. As might be expected from Chapter One, Chapter Two will show that the British colonial medico-health physical education model continued to influence the Sri Lankan physical education curriculum because the British colonial education and physical education models, and the British powers influenced aspect of social, religious, economical and cultural heritages of people throughout their former colonies.

Chapters Three and Four provide information largely from primary and secondary sources. Chapter Three covers the period from Independence in 1948 to 1970. The 1970-1977 United Front government eliminated the British connections introducing a new constitution in 1972 through which many changes also occurred in other areas including education and physical education. My own experience and general reading indicate that capitalism which was introduced by the Colebrooke Commission in 1831, reached its initial peak in major cities and even in the remote area villages through colonial rule until independence in 1948. The start of the struggle by nationalist movements as a result of Independence in the country is marked early in Chapter Three. Later I consider the mixed-mode of capitalism and socialism which is the middle pathway implemented by the SLFP coalition governments between 1956-1965. This was because of the influences of the Cold War conditions after the end of the first decade of Independence. Although the Cold War influenced Sri Lanka, the British model survived throughout the period of the UNP government between 1965-1970. Through the data presented in Chapter Three, I mainly attempt to determine how the
physical education curriculum specifically was changed by the nationalist movements and other local and foreign influences.

Early in Chapter Four, I deal with the period from 1970, when the British capitalist model was overpowered by the communist or socialist model and a socialist education system emerged. This survived only for five years (1972-1977) and Chapter Four goes on to the period from 1977-2000 which a capitalist model with some socialist features have been dominant. Chapter Four also identifies how the physical education curriculum was shaped by a number of social forces in this period. As most informants were interviewed in Sinhalese, quotes in these chapters are first presented in Sinhalese and followed by English translations.

In Chapter Five I discuss the overall physical education story in Sri Lanka. Chapter Five also explores some recommendations for future directions in physical education developments in the country.
Chapter Two: Physical education prior to Independence

Figure 1 - the map of Sri Lanka

URL: //www.lonelyplanet.com/mapshells/indian_subcontinent/sri_lanka.htm
Chapter Two: Physical Education Prior to Independence

2.1 General introduction to the country and the people

Sri Lanka was known in ancient times by different names suggestive of wealth, riches and prosperity. The early Chinese named it 'the land without sorrow' and it was the 'Isle of gems' to the Tamils in Southern India. The Chinese monk Fa-Hien, who visited the island in the fifth century A.D., described Sri Lanka as a country where the weather is temperate and attractive with no difference between summer and winter. The early Arabian merchants called it the 'Isle of Delight', while to the Sinhalese themselves it was Lanka Deepa 'the Resplendent Isle'. In the great Indian epic, the Ramayana, it was named as 'Lanka' (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated). According to Deraniyagala, one of the former Directors of the National Museum in Sri Lanka, the names of Sri Lanka Dvipa, Sinhala Dvipa, Silendip, Zeilan and Ceylon, originated from the early North Indians. The name Ceylon was used by the Europeans who invaded the island: the Portuguese in 1505, the Dutch in 1656 and the British in 1796 (De Silva, K.M., 1977). The name Ceylon was changed to Sri Lanka in 1972 by the UF government between 1970 and 1977 (De Silva, K.M., 1977). After winning the 1977 election, the United National Party changed the name to Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka under the constitutional changes of 1978 (URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.srilanka/html- last updated: 16 February 1998).

Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean. It is situated a little north of the equator and separated from the south-east coast of India by a distance of about 40 miles at the nearest point by the Palk Strait. The distance from the northernmost point on the island to the furthest point south is about 270 miles and the distance from the West coast to the East about 140 miles, where the width is greatest. Sri Lanka's topography is dominated by a central mountain massif with the highest point at Pidurutalagala about 2524m. The area of Sri Lanka is 65,610 sq. km (URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.srilanka.html- last updated 16 February 1998). The climate in Sri Lanka is tropical. The lowlands are always hot and the high lands are cooler. Sri Lanka has two major monsoons, the south-west and the north-west, that supply rain generally in May-June and November-December respectively (URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.Srilanka.html- last updated 16 February 1998; Jayasuriya, Undated).

Sri Lanka is a densely populated, multicultural society. Government-estimated population in 1996 was 18,300,000, growing at an estimated annual rate of 1.3% (1985-1995). Life expectancy in 1946 was 43 years but by 1995 it was 75 years for women and 70 for men. The largest ethnic group is Sinhalese 74%, followed by Sri Lankan Tamils 12%, Indian Tamils 5%, Muslims 7%, with smaller minorities of Malays and
Burghers, and the Aboriginal Veddhas, descendants of the earliest inhabitants. Religions are chiefly Buddhism (69%), Hinduism (15.5%), Islam (7.5%), and Christianity (7%). Sinhalese and Tamil are the official languages while English is mainly used in the government and private business sector. Education is free up to university level and compulsory to 14 years of age. Secondary school enrolment is about 74% of the particular age group and tertiary level is around 5% with 90% adult literacy in 1995 (URL; http://www.tcol.co.uk/srilanka/html, last updated: 16 February 1998). Education in Sri Lanka is not sufficiently vocational and is mainly focused on the academic disciplines (Presidential Task Force [PTF], 1997). Health service is free with island-wide hospitals and clinics. There are private hospitals and clinics in the main cities such as Colombo, Kandy and Matara. Most children (about 90%) are immunized for common childhood diseases but malaria remains a problem. Leprosy and cholera are found but cholera is mainly during the drought seasons and HIV/Aids is increasing. The estimated labour force was about 6.3m in 1996 with 35% in agriculture, 15% manufacturing, and 42% in service industries. Many Sri Lankans work abroad, chiefly in the Middle East. The unemployment rate in 1996 was 11.3% (URL; http://www.tcol.co.uk/srilanka/html, last updated: 16 February 1998).

2.1.1. The people of Sri Lanka

The Indigenous Aboriginal people
The history of early inhabitants in Sri Lanka goes back to 125,000 BC. Recent studies of the fossils of Balangoda Man reveal that these were the early Aboriginal people of Sri Lanka. Some historians argue that the Veddhas who live at present in remote forests as a racial minority are descendants of Balangoda Man (URL; http://www.tcol.co.uk/srilanka/html, last updated: 16 February 1998).

The Sinhalese
The Sinhalese are the major ethnic group on the island, and speak Sinhalese. The Sinhalese believe that they are descendants of the Aryans from North India (Bengal). The story is that one of the North Indian princes named Vijaya, who was expelled from the country with his 700 followers by his king father in 543 BC, landed in Sri Lanka by sea. He built friendships with indigenous people, married one of their princesses, and established the Great Dynasty of the Sinhalese (Mahawansa). After becoming king, however, he neglected the indigenous people and married a North Indian princess. His 700 friends followed his example. Thus, by and large, the early Sinhalese were descendent of Aryan migrants of North India (Jayasuriya, Undated; URL;
Chapter Two: Physical Education Prior to Independence

http://www.tcol.co.uk/srilanka/html, last updated: 16 February 1998). The capitals of the Sinhalese Dynasty were mainly established over the north central province, where they installed a great irrigation network for agriculture.

By the end of 13th century, the southern Indian Tamil kings had invaded the north central province kingdoms and destroyed the irrigation systems. As a result, a Malaria famine set in all over the area. The Sinhalese kingdom was shifted to cities in the southern part of the island. The Sinhalese people split into two separate kingdoms at the end of the 15th century; the up-country Kandyan kingdom and the low-country kingdom of Kotte. After the death of the Kotte King in 1521, the Kotte kingdom was shared by three brothers as three sub-kingdoms namely Seetawaka, Kotte and Raigama (Liyanagamage et all, 1992).

European nations started to invade the Sinhalese kingdoms in the 15th century. The Portuguese came to Sri Lanka in 1505 and the Kotte kingdom sought protection from the Portuguese against the Kings in Raigama and Seetawaka. In 1557, Dharmapala, the last king in Kotte bequeathed his throne to the king of Portugal. The Portuguese acquired most of the coastal belt on the island, leaving the central region to the kingdom of Kandy. From the 1630s, the Dutch began to intervene in Sri Lankan internal matters. The king in Kandy gave maximum support to the Dutch to chase the Portuguese from the island. By 1656, the coastal belt of the island had come under Dutch rule. In 1796, the British invaded the Dutch-ruled area and the area of the Dutch colony came under British rule in 1802 (URL: http:// www. tcol. co.uk.srilanka / html- last updated: 16 February 1998).

In 1803, a British effort to subjugate the Kandy kingdom ended in a disastrous defeat. However, the Kandy King lost favour by murdering one of the minister's family in Kandy including the minister's wife, his two sons and daughter as the King had heard that the Minister was going to support the British. The British were able to invade Kandy in 1815 with the support of the Kandy people. The Kandyan kingdom was ceded to the British on 2 March 1815 without a fight by its leaders, consisting of members of the laity as well as the Buddhist clergy. The British Governor and a number of Kandyan chieftains signed a convention whereby the British recognised the powers and privileges of the Kandyan chiefs who supported them to overthrow the King. Jayasuriya (Undated) quotes from article 5 of the convention clauses which highlighted the level of British acceptance of the protection of native religion Buddhism (Boodhoo):
Chapter Two: Physical Education Prior to Independence

The religion of Boodhoo professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces is declared inviolable; and its rites, Ministers and Places of Worship are to be maintained and protected (p. 31).

Later, the British recanted on the Convention because, in 1818, the chieftains in Kandy organised a rebellion against them. As a result, the British established administrative procedures which did not involve the traditional higher-caste chieftains and the British ruled the country until they granted Independence to Sri Lanka in 1948 (Jayasuriya, Undated). After Independence, the Sinhalese became the dominant social and political force. However, internal conflicts between religious and cultural groups continue to be a feature of Sri Lankan society.

The Sri Lankan Tamils

The Sri Lankan Tamils are descendants of South Indian Tamils. With the closeness of Sri Lanka to south India, it is likely that even in the earliest times groups of Tamils from south India came to Sri Lanka and made it their home, particularly in the northern part of the island. According to the historians (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Liyanagamage et al, 1992), the South Indian Tamil Kings invaded Sri Lanka several times. With the help of the South Indian Tamil Nadu, the Tamils were able to force the Sinhalese to migrate to the South of the island around the end of the 13th century. Since then, the Tamils have been in conflict with the Sinhalese (URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.srilanka/html-last updated: 16 February 1998).

Some of the early Tamil Kings ruled the northern and north central part of the island in collaboration with the Sinhalese. One of the Tamil Kings, Elara, ruled the country for forty-four years (161BC-120BC), earning a great reputation for justice and impartial administration (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Liyanagamage et al, 1992). Some other Tamil kings like Kalinga Maga (1196-1255) did not care about the Sinhalese and their religion. These kings destroyed the Sinhalese irrigation systems and other cultural and religious objects including temples and libraries (De Silva, K.M., 1977). Sankili, the last Tamil King in Jaffna, was captured by the Portuguese in 1621 and the Tamil areas remained under foreign control until Independence in 1948.

English language schools were established in Tamil-held areas of Sri Lanka as early as 1813, when missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions arrived in Sri Lanka. The American missionaries were refused permission to establish schools around Colombo and sent to Jaffna. This was a great opportunity for the Tamils because the missionaries had educational professionals and financial resources. It was said in the Colebrooke Commission report in 1831 that the American
mission had achieved the best educational developments on the island (Colebrooke Report, 1831 cited in Jayasuriya, Undated). During the British rule of 1825-1948, the Tamils in the North and East were able to obtain better education than the Sinhalese and they became well established in resources and government and private sector job opportunities (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). After Independence in 1948, these opportunities for Tamils gradually diminished. This helped to catalyse the conflicts with the majority Sinhalese. At present the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) are fighting the Sri Lankan Army for the right to an independent Tamil state.

The Sri Lankan Muslims
Before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, Muslims from Arab countries traded with Sri Lankan Kings (Liyanagamage et al, 1992). The Muslims supported the Sinhalese in their battles with Portuguese but the Portuguese were able to subdue the Muslims. Since then, the Muslims spread to North and Southern part of the island, usually as owners of small businesses. After Independence in 1948, the Muslims in Sri Lanka developed their economic status gradually because the Arab countries where Muslim population is high have been helping them. The Muslim population on the island was 7% of 18,300,000 in 1996 (URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.srilanka/html- last updated: 16 February 1998).

The Burghers
The small Burger population are the descendents of Portuguese and Dutch parents who intermarried with Sinhalese or Tamils of Sri Lanka. The Burghers are Christians and speak English and live with all ethnic groups peacefully.

Indian Tamils
Most of the Indian Tamils are the tea and rubber estate workers and constitute about 5% of the population in Sri Lanka. They are descendents of South Indian labourers who were imported to work in the coffee and tea plantation sectors in the mid-19th century by the British. Some Indian Tamils were sent back to India in 1964 but in 1988 all remaining Indian Tamils were granted Sri Lankan citizenship (Little, 1999).
2.1.2 Social class and caste system in Sri Lanka

When Vijaya came to Sri Lanka in 543 B.C., he brought the North Indian caste system that at present prevails in the Sinhalese community and the caste system in the Tamil community was imported from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism to the island in 3 BC the caste system that was brought by Vijaya and his 700 followers from India was broken down by Buddhism (Jayasuriya, Undated). The caste system was rejected by the Buddha. After South Indian Tamil kings invaded and subjugated the Northern parts of the island, the caste system emerged again. Caste system practices were highly regarded during the Kandyan kingdom that had been ruled by the last king of Tamil origin. According to the Muslim teacher informants (1999, Interviews), the Muslims do not consider the caste system as do the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The caste system practices are still significant in the Sinhalese community though the majority of Sinhalese are Buddhist, owing to cultural beliefs. According to Little (1999), the Estate Tamils (Indian Tamils) are excluded by the Sri Lankan Tamils who mostly live in north and eastern parts of the country owing to this caste prejudice.

With European influence, the caste system was somewhat weakened by the capitalist economic system and social class distinction started to emerge based on wealth as the determinant of status in society. However, caste system is not yet totally rejected by the Sri Lankan Sinhalese and Tamils.

2.2 Ancient Sri Lanka - before European colonisation

2.2.1 Education in ancient Sri Lanka

There were two types of education in ancient Sri Lanka. One system was the formal instruction and learning provided in Buddhist temples. The other was the traditional instruction which operated outside the temple informally in the general public. Formal instruction and learning has a long history in Sri Lanka. The early migrants with Vijaya from India may have brought literacy skills from India. Other opinions are that the literacy skills were brought with Buddhism in the 3rd Century BC by the Venerable Mahinda, who was a son of the Indian Emperor, King Asoka. Whichever the case, the formal system of education in the temples started well before the Christian era (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated). The three R’s of writing, reading and religion were taught by Buddhist monks to interested lay males who belonged to the upper social class. The majority of females were not educated in either systems, the temple or outside to it. In the feudal system, the general public were kept away from the nobles and from formal education (De Silva, K.M., 1977).
The temple-related educational system was controlled by the religious order with University-level temple schools for Buddhist monks. These monks from China, India, and Burma came to Sri Lanka for their thesis work under the guidance of expert Buddhist monks (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated). A Buddhist monk named Fa-Hien from China in A.D. 411 who came to Sri Lanka for two years of study, commented on the art works, crafts, irrigation and the higher standard of academic learning in the Buddhist temple Universities (Jayasuriya, Undated). Education in the temples was supported by the King because there was a need for literate officials who could maintain revenue and keep records for the purpose of administration. According to K.M. De Silva (1977), and J. E., Jayasuriya (Undated) this temple education system created a tradition that gave respect to an educated man. The education provided at the temple had a strong academic or literacy bias (Jayasuriya, Undated).

The other education system that existed on the island underpinned and maintained the feudal system. In contrast to the temple education, technical skills such as those needed to construct buildings, irrigation networks, and other craft-related skills were transmitted from generation to generation. The transmission of technical skills was accomplished either by father to son or through craft apprenticeships. Both happened outside the temple education system. One outcome of this practical education was the ancient Sri Lankan irrigation system which has been appreciated by academics as demonstrating a high level of engineering achievement (Liyanagamage et al; 1992).

2.2.2 Physical training, sports and games in ancient Sri Lanka

Physical activities in ancient Sri Lanka were mainly shaped by North Indian migrants, but the influences of the Romans and the Chinese were also recognizable (Deraniyagala, 1959). Activities were mainly confined to royalty, nobles, and military personnel who belonged to the upper social class. There is little evidence to indicate the kinds of physical activities in which the indigenous people were involved. Vijaya and his 700 followers brought Indian physical activity practices to Sri Lanka. After establishing their Great Dynasty in Sri Lanka, as was the case in other feudal societies, the Sri Lankan monarchs also provided enough facilities to train their military people. In this army training, the ancient Sri Lankans performed physical activities similar to those of the Roman, Greeks, Chinese and Indian (Deraniyagala, 1959); for instance, fights on horse and elephant back, combat with swords, swimming competitions with weighted armour, combats against animals, archery, wrestling, javelin, and several other related activities (Deraniyagala, 1959). According to Deraniyagala (1959) Sri Lankans followed Romans in their military training.
Siamese records mention combative sports staged in the Island two hundred years before Christ, and intercourse with Rome to which Pliny refers and now abundantly proved by numismatic finds, no doubt supplied a contribution from the Roman arena. Arabs, Persians and Chinese who were mainly responsible for the sea-born traffic of Ceylon were keenly appreciative of these sports (Deraniyagala, 1959, p. 2).

According to Deraniyagala (1959), the preparation of physically fit people for positions in the king's army was not a matter of class or caste differences. In early Sri Lanka, any physically fit, courageous, young men were recruited to the King's army after being selected on the basis of their skills in competition with 'heroes' in the King's army. After selection, the skilled were given specific training under experts in the king's army.

A strong military preparedness was needed to maintain the power of the monarch in ancient Sri Lanka. The monarchs trained their men in order to foster a disregard for pain and death, and to inculcate the valour and pugnacity essential for the survival of the race. Deraniyagla (1959) explains that he had seen the notes of a Swedish sergeant who served in the Dutch army in 1669 regarding the skills of the king's army as follows:

Sinhala soldiers are nimble and dexterous and also dauntless and are therefore held to be the best soldiers in the whole of India, as indeed the Hollanders have tested and proved, not without great damage to themselves. They also exercise themselves surprisingly well in jumping and flying over each other's heads with such agility that it is marvellous to watch (Deraniyagala, 1959, p. 1).

Although physical activity was considered important, particularly in the army, the highest, most prestigious positions in the army were only given to high caste men of high intellectual ability. Caste and intellectual ability were valued more highly than physical ability and to protect the monarch, the feudal system was organised accordingly (Deraniyagala, 1959).

The lower social class took part in some physical activities during their leisure and festival seasons. However, these people generally engaged in physical activities only with people of their own caste. Whether higher caste or low caste, the skilled were rewarded by the King. Deraniyagala (1959) classifies physical activities of ancient Sri Lanka into four groups. They are:

i) Combative sports
   a. Men vs. men
   b. Men vs. animals
   c. Mammals in combat
   d. Birds in combat
ii) Field sports with animals
   a. Hunting
   b. Falconry
   c. Horse racing
   d. Bull racing

iii) Two types of field games- religious and leisure:

   Religious field games:
   a. Coconut striking
   b. Hook tugging

   Leisure field games:
   a. Buhu
   b. Thattu or Thachchi
   c. Gudu
   d. Rata Allanava
   e. Swings

iv) Aquatic sports
   a. Swimming
   b. Water sports (Deraniyaala, 1959, p. 1)

These activities can be classified into two groups: physical fitness activities for military purposes; and leisure activities such as dance, swings and swimming. Combative sports and field sports with animals were mainly done by military people for physical fitness while field games and aquatic sports were enjoyed by the general public for leisure. Combative sports were confined to army people while leisure activities were enjoyed by both army people and the general public. According to the historical evidence, most traditional physical activities were still carried out in Sri Lanka except militaristic activities because traditional militaristic activities were discouraged by all Europeans as they were harmful to their security in the country.

2.2.3 Cultural issues and physical activity in feudal Sri Lanka

Although the majority of Sri Lankans were Buddhist they have carried out brutal, deadly, and bloody physical activities with men and animals. According to the Buddha’s teaching, causing harm of any kind is not a human activity, it is done by devils not Buddhists. Deraniyagala (1959) explains this contradiction by suggesting that the Hindu traditions during the Kandy period could have influenced the society. On the other hand warfare may also have had a powerful influence. The Sinhalese had been invaded by the Tamils, Indians and Europeans; they always needed to be ready for war. Although
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Buddha taught that causing harm was bad, Buddhists acted according to the king’s desires and/or social needs. In this way social forces shaped physical activity in the society.

Female members of Sri Lankan society were generally excluded from physical activities. Women were rarely found in the army or in competitions in the arena. On some occasions upper class women were involved in swimming events. For instance, a swimming event for the King’s wives can be seen in Kausilumina (a famous literature text written between 1153 -1186). In Sandesa texts (a kind of literature text between 1300-1600), swimming events for women are common but these events again appear to be confined to the upper social class (NIE, 1992). Low caste citizens were also excluded from physical activity but leisure activities did involve them with their own caste people. Because of the Hindu influences during the Kandy period and also owing to traditional cultural beliefs, the low caste people were excluded from other physical activity.

2.3 Education under the Portuguese 1505-1656

When the Portuguese came to the Kotte Kingdom in Ceylon in 1505, it was divided into three kingdoms and Asiatic merchants, mainly Muslims, traded with all of them. The three kingdoms were the Kandy, Kotte which included Colombo, and the Jaffna kingdom. The Jaffna kingdom belonged to the Tamils and the other two were in Sinhalese hands. There were constant conflicts and wars among these three kingdoms over power, resources, religion and trade (Liyanagamage et al, 1992). The Sri Lankans were rich in commodities compared to people in other islands so the Portuguese wanted to take foreign trade from the Arab merchants who dominated it at that time. As a result when the Portuguese, who were distinct traders with arms compared to the Muslim Arabs, came to Sri Lanka in 1505 the native people did not obstruct them because the islanders were already experienced with foreign traders.

The main objectives of the Portuguese were two-fold: to exploit the commercial commodities and to convert the native people to their religion which was Roman Catholic Christianity. To fulfil these aims, they used education in addition to their military power. The internal conflict among kingdoms was also to their benefit in accomplishing their objectives (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

A strong administration was firmly established by native nobles based on the caste system. This traditional caste system was needed by the Portuguese to maintain their
power on the coastal belt. Furthermore, although there was little to be gained in educating the native people, education was used to strengthen Portuguese popularity among the natives generally because people not in top ranks wanted to gain literacy skills that more confined to the upper social class through the teaching in the Buddhist and Hindu temples (Liyanagamage et al, 1992; Samaraweera, 1991).

One of the most notable contributions of the Portuguese to Sri Lankan bureaucracy and economy was the establishment of the land registry system on the island (De, Silva, K.M., 1977). Under this system taxes were collected for land and the British continued this.

The Portuguese established the Parish School system of primary education and used their Christian spiritual influence to gain ascendancy over the Sri Lankans in ways similar to their Buddhist, Tamil and Muslim predecessors. In a Parish area, schools were established in the Roman Catholic Church and these schools were developed all over the coastal areas. In addition to these schools, the Portuguese established schools for destitute children of unmarried mothers as well as children whose parents had lost their lives on behalf of the Portuguese. Organised secondary schools were not founded in the Portuguese period but colleges were established for training priests and teachers. Three colleges, twenty church area schools and one teachers' college were initiated by Franciscans while two colleges and twenty parish schools were established by the Jesuits. Education in institutions of Roman Catholic missions was private in nature but these Roman Catholic mission schools were subsidised by the Portuguese government (Jayasuriya, Undated).

The medium of instruction in all these schools was Portuguese and the curriculum was limited to reading, writing and arithmetic in the primary school, while at college level theology was taught to the best students. "The subjects which normally formed the curriculum of the colleges opened by the Portuguese missionaries were, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Singing, Latin and Christianity" (Rev Peter Pillai, 1969, cited in Samaraweera, 1991, p. 92). At the college level in Sri Lanka, the curriculum inevitably focused on the training of priests (Samaraweera, 1991). Children of Sinhalese nobles were sent to Portugal for higher education. Overall, at this time education was left to Roman Catholic denominations and through this policy, the political objective of establishing colonial rule was achieved by the Portuguese. The Portuguese were able to prepare a group of native leaders who supported the Portuguese using the Roman Catholic education system in addition to their military power.
2.4 Education under the Dutch 1656-1796

There was competition to obtain a trade monopoly in the colonies amongst Europeans during the 1650s. The Dutch, who already had colonies in the Asian region, approached the native nobles in Sri Lanka pretending that they wanted to help the native King in Kandy quit the Portuguese. With the help of the Kandy King, the Dutch conquered the Portuguese in 1656 and overthrew their trade monopoly. The Dutch maintained their rule until 1796 (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

At first, like the Portuguese, their objectives were twofold: to tighten their grip on trade and commerce; and to convert islanders to the Dutch Reform Church, although later this religious conversion was not considered important (Jayasuriya, Undated). The Dutch also used education as well as military power to fulfil their objectives. In the early days of Dutch rule, government positions were only given to those Sri Lankans who had converted to the Dutch Reform Church. However, at a later stage of their rule, the Dutch opened up opportunities in the government sector to all those who supported them, whatever their religion (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

The Parish school system founded by the Portuguese was developed by the Dutch. Dutch Parish schools were opened in their new Churches but not in the Portuguese Churches because the Dutch wanted to convert native people from Roman Catholicism to their own religion. In addition to the Parish schools, a Seminary was established for teacher training and higher education for prospective preachers. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch also opened private schools for destitute children, government officers' children and children of the nobles. By 1737, there were four private schools in Colombo, two in Galle, two in Matara, and one in Jaffna. Arithmetic, reading, writing and religious studies were taught in the Dutch Parish Schools. In the Seminary, the curriculum included advanced Dutch language, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The best students were given scholarships to Holland to study and returned as priests (Jayasuriya, Undated).

According to Jayasuriya (Undated), the Dutch administrative structure which was set up to manage the schools was considerable. All schools in the Dutch-occupied areas were under three commissions, named Scholarchal Commissions in Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. The Colombo commission was superior and had authority to control the others. The commissions consisted of clergymen, the governor's representatives, army officers and several lay members nominated by the governor in the district. The president of each commission was the chief Dutch officer representing the governor in the district.
A clergyman and a layman were appointed as school inspectors to visit schools once a year and carry out an inspection for each Scholarchal Commission. Until the age of 15 years, parish school attendance was compulsory and was enforced by means of fines. Between the ages of 15 and 17, students had to visit schools for religious instruction twice a week and, until the age of 19, students needed to visit schools only occasionally; after that the students were allowed to cease school attendance. These administrative procedures were followed to convert the people from Roman Catholic Christianity to the Dutch religion and from the other religions, as well as to keep young native people under Dutch control (Jayasuriya, Undated).

The Dutch maintained their trade monopoly until the British conquered them in 1796. Under the Dutch, education for the majority was largely shaped by religious instruction with fundamental instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. As a result of the Parish School system, a number of native people obtained teaching appointments at those schools.

The Dutch education system started the change from a feudal to a capitalist system. At the beginning, the Dutch used the feudal caste system to administer their colonial areas but later low caste people who helped them to rule the country and who were educated in their school system were able to obtain higher positions like people from high caste. As a result, native traders who belonged to low castes such as cinnamon peelers, toddy tappers and fishermen in the coastal regions became regional leaders in place of the area leaders and paddy farmers who thought themselves to be also at high caste. As rice was the major food in Sri Lanka, the paddy farmers were appreciated by the King. As a result, the descendant of paddy farmers in Sri Lankan society believed that they were also higher caste people (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

The Dutch judicial system also impacted on Sri Lankan society. The Roman Dutch Law is still followed with English law in Sri Lanka. In addition, the Dutch drafted two law systems for minority people: the traditional Tamil law, the Thesawalame for Tamils, in Jaffna which is still followed, and the Muslim law (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

According to Jayasuriya (Undated), the Dutch education system was a well-organised one. This system under Dutch rule was able to direct and stimulate the British rulers to organise their own education system from the beginning to fulfill their needs in the colony (Jayasuriya, Undated).
2.5 Sri Lanka under the British 1796-1948

In the 1790s, Napoleon invaded Holland, and other European countries to build the French Empire in Europe and the British thought that the Dutch colonies in the East would be conquered by the French. To avoid the subjugation of Sri Lanka by the French and also to protect India, the British took over the coastal areas of the island in 1796. At first the British had planned to give back the colony to the Dutch but after the end of the French threat, having assessed the situation, the British government colonised the coastal areas in 1802 and the whole island in 1815 (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

The British believed that if the power was given to traditional leaders who belonged to the higher caste in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) it could be a potential threat to the British themselves. While the British accepted class division in Britain, they considered the appointment of leaders from the colony according to the caste system abhorrent and to be done away with (Jayasuriya, Undated). As Jayasuriya (Undated) explains:

Social class distinction based on status and wealth in Britain was considered as natural, inevitable and God-given but in Ceylon distinction based on caste caused uneasiness to the British administrators (p. 88).

The Dutch administration and education systems were continued with few changes until 1832. Two separate administrations for the maritime provinces and the former Kingdom of Kandy were maintained. However, by 1830, the Colony was experiencing an economic crisis. Increase in Government expenditure on security, education and the salary bills of government servants meant that income from spices like cinnamon and other taxes were not enough to maintain an army and the government officers in Ceylon (Jayasuriya, Undated). This crisis, together with changes in Britain, shaped policy from 1830. The British wanted to establish a stable market for their industrial production and to obtain quality raw materials for their factories from the colony. To employ the liberals’ open market system in Ceylon, the British needed to establish civil peace in Ceylon and they needed land for investors to establish plantations to produce quality raw materials such as tea, coffee and rubber (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

The British government appointed the Colebrooke Royal Commission in 1822 to investigate the situation in Sri Lanka and to make recommendation to fulfil their needs from the country (Sumathipala, 1968). In 1831, Colebrooke made recommendations on administration, revenue and other related areas including education while Cameron, who was also a member of the Colebrooke Commission, made recommendations on
judicial matters (Jayasuriya, Undated). Most of the recommendations were similar to contemporary British policies and most were common to other British colonies. Some of the major recommendations related to Sri Lanka were that: the separate system of administration for the Kandy area be abolished and a unitary system be established to lessen the powers of traditional leaders in Kandy; an Executive and a Legislative Council be appointed; government monopolies over trade be abolished and free enterprise encouraged in trade and agriculture; land without any official documents be considered as crown lands and be sold on the open market. It also recommended that the exclusive principle of the civil service be relaxed and the civil service be freely open to all classes of persons according to their qualifications (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

By the 1930s, a wide range of social, economic, political and religious changes were evident as outcomes of the Colebrooke recommendations. In 1832, an Executive Council and Legislative council were established to minimise the autocratic power of the Governor. This was continued until 1931. The separate administration of the low country and the up country was given up and a uniform administration for the whole country was founded in 1832. As a result, the whole of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) came under a single administration for the first time since the thirteenth century when a single monarch reigned over the entire island. The estate plantation system was developed and government income increased rapidly. Rice cultivation, which was the major occupation of the majority of the population, was not sufficiently supported. The Ceylon government service was opened to all classes of persons according to their qualifications. Because of the land law and large-scale land sales, the peasants in the Kandy areas were dispossessed of their lands. The native people who bought lands for lower prices under the land sales policy of the British government joined the estate plantation and became rich and emerged as a new middle class in the country. To support the planters road and rail networks were established throughout the country. The construction of these networks of the British colonial government were excellent. By 1865, the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Muslims gained some religious freedom alongside the Christians but the support of Christianity was continued (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

In 1874, coffee cultivation was destroyed by the coffee pest and the economy switched to tea cultivation. The tea plantations were very successful. This was beneficial to the government and the affluent classes on the island but not to the majority of the people because paddy cultivation was not supported until the Independence in 1948. As a result of the expansion of new opportunities in the professions such as law, medicine, commerce and agriculture, the Sri Lankan middle class grew in size. Sons of the new
upper class were often educated in Britain and were therefore exposed to the political
and social literature of Europe. They returned to Sri Lanka to become the leaders of the
campaign for political freedom from Britain until the Independence in 1948 (Jayasuriya,
Undated; Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

Although the British trade monopoly in the world market was challenged by the USA
and the other countries by the 1900s, they were able to maintain their booming
economy which had been gained through the industrial revolution and the exploitation
of their colonies. Under Tory rule in Britain, the power of the affluent class in Britain
strengthened and the governors in British colonies used the imperialistic policy of
divide and rule to maintain British power. The policy involved dividing the unity of
natives by biasing government policy to the benefit of minority ethnic groups (De Silva,

Between 1900 and 1948, there was considerable struggle among ethnic groups in Sri
Lanka for political power in the Legislative Council owing to the British policy of
divide and rule. Governor Manning, acting under the Conservative government policy
in Britain, promised local political leaders that political reforms would be considered
(Liyanagamage et al, 1992). However, with governors appointed by the British Labour
governments, policies shifted toward self government in the colony and constitutional
changes were approved which provided the territorial basis for representation in the

Shifts to Independence

When the comparative prosperity in Britain decreased owing to the World Wars,
economic crisis in Europe in the 1920s and the great depression in the 1930s (De Silva,
K.M., 1977), it was increasingly difficult for Britain to maintain colonial responsibility
in addition to dealing problems at home (De Silva, K.M., 1977). As political power in
Britain changed from Conservative to Labour in 1924, 1936 and in 1945 (Macnab,
1973), British policies concerning the colonies also changed. In addition to the shift of
political power in Britain, the Commonwealth Movement’s influence on the British
Empire was also a considerable influence for changes in the colony.

Political events in India were also influential on the Sri Lankan political climate and
moves towards Independence. The Montage Declaration in 1917 promised the Indian
nationalist movements that the Indian Government would be given a significant
measure of responsible government under the devolution of power (Liyanagamage et al,
Having been informed by the Indian nationalist movements, the nationalist movements in Sri Lanka also made requests from the British government for more power to the Sri Lankan government.

Due to a number of factors, including World War 1, malaria and famines, growth in trade declined despite the increase in plantations of tea, rubber and coconut (De Silva, K.M, 1977; Samaraweera, 1991). As a result, the colonial government encountered financial deficits during the first half of the 20th century. Like many other countries, Sri Lanka was also affected by the world economic depression in the 1930s (Samaraweera, 1991). Like the Colebrooke Commission appointed in 1829, the Donoughmore Commission was appointed in 1927 by the British Government to advise on general constitutional changes (De Silva, K.M., 1977). The recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission were accepted by the British government in 1931: a new constitution was granted; universal adult franchise was introduced; and the control of education was given into local hands. Under this new constitution, native leaders, who were appointed as chairmen of the state Council Committees, were considered as Ministers, including the first local Minister of Education Dr. C.W.W. Kannangara (De Silva, C.R.; 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

The introduction of territorial representation, which led to the majority of people being represented by members to the Councils, highlighted the issues of caste, religion, ethnicity and economics. Communal representation and the Executive Council instituted by the Colebrooke Commission in 1832, were abolished in 1931. Executive committees were introduced which consisted of State Council members who were Europeans and natives. Within the electorate where different castes and ethnic groups lived, tried to send their Member of Parliament belonged to their own caste, religion or ethnic groups. The ultimate result was that Sri Lankan society was separated into different groups by the system. In addition, the social class gap between the affluent class and the lower social class was further widened by British policies between 1900 and 1948 (De Silva, K.M.; 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated; Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

2.5.1 Educational developments under the British 1796-1948

Though the British colonial factor was the main foreign influence on education and physical education in Ceylon during the period 1796-1948, especially after 1900, there were other Western and Asian countries that influenced education in Ceylon; for example, the USA, India and Eastern communist block countries, particularly the
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former USSR. For instance, the American Board of Education of Foreign Mission came to Ceylon in 1813 and developed education in the northern area of the country. Much later, also from the USA, the educational philosopher Kilpatrick came to Ceylon in 1927 when the Donoughmore Commission was sitting. Kilpatrick’s American thinking influenced radical decisions by the Donoughmore Commission such as those for universal suffrage and delegating educational authority to local administrative bodies. The Communist influence which originated from the UK, the former USSR and East European countries informed the nationalist and socialist movements in the colony and the policies of key bureaucrats in educational prior to Independence.

2.5.1.1 Educational developments under the British 1796-1831

Education was an important means of maintaining Britain’s power and control in their colonies. One of the key concerns of education in the British colonies was the preparation of a group of people to act under British command to exploit the local resources and export the produce and profit to the home country. At the same time the intention was to "civilise" the native people through education and the Christian religion (Liyanagamage et al, 1992). To these ends, the colonisers used several strategies through the vehicles of education and religion, in addition to their military power (Mendis, 1981). One of these was to provide selected groups of people with an English education to prepare them for leadership under the British and another was the educational authority that was given to Christian missionaries (Jayasuriya, Undated).

There were two types of schools in the colony by 1831: those where Western education was implemented, and the traditional indigenous schools. Western-type education was conducted by the government and private schools. The government schools took the form of 'Parish' schools and 'Superior' schools while two types of private schools, mission schools and the privately owned English medium schools conducted by Ceylon business people (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). Parish schools which were established in parish areas by the Portuguese, and systematically organised by the Dutch, were developed through missionary societies as government schools by the British. Superior schools which were parallel to British preparatory schools were founded by 1800 for sons of Europeans and sons of native Mudliars (native leaders) who had been given government posts. These superior schools provided a six-year course of study with an emphasis on Christianity and English. Although the medium of instruction was English, Sinhalese and Tamil were also taught. In addition to the Parish and Superior schools, in 1799 a boarding school called the Academy was opened parallel to the British Grammar schools (Sumatipala, 1968). The best students of
preparatory schools (Superior schools) were admitted to the Academy, and these students were prepared for higher-rank government positions. This class-based education imitated that of England. Education in government Parish Schools was in the vernacular but English was the medium in Superior government schools for the upper social class.

By 1818, four missions had come to the island: the Baptist in 1812, the Wesleyan in 1814, the American Mission in 1812 and the Church of England in 1818. They and their successors were given educational authority on the island. These missions established their own schools, the American mission in Jaffna and others in maritime areas until 1831 but later in the Kandy region as well.

The main objective of the mission schools was the Christianisation of the population, as indeed it was at government schools because they were all under Anglican management. The idea of Christianisation was supported by the colonial government because they thought that greater loyalty to colonial rulers could be obtained from Christian native people than from those who retained in their traditional religions. Until 1830 the Church of England had authority over all government schools. In 1825, Governor Barnes, whose priority was the development of the economy rather than education, found that some schools under the control of the Church of England were unsatisfactory while schools which belonged to the American Mission in Jaffna displayed excellent performance. Governor Barnes deplored the missions' emphasis only on conversion to Christianity rather than the general improvement of society (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). The governor therefore reduced government aid to education (Jayasuriya, Undated), and eventually concerns for the quality of education in schools run by the Church of England led to the establishment of the School Commission which took over authority for education from the Church of England (Jayasuriya, Undated).

By 1830, there were more privately owned schools than government and private mission schools combined. The reason for the large number of private schools was that parents thought that their children could gain prestige, privilege, and priority if they sent them to private schools. They could get government positions or start their own business as the curriculum in the private schools was focused on the manpower needs of the British in Ceylon. In these schools high quality English was taught but not religion. Reading, writing, grammar, and essay writing were included; moreover Sinhalese, Tamil and arithmetic were also taught. The curriculum of the Superior government schools was the same as for the private schools (Jayasuriya, 1977).
After European occupation the indigenous temple schools were weakened and faced hardships. Compared to the oppressive position taken on temple schools by the Portuguese and the Dutch, the British policies on indigenous temple schools were to discourage them. There was however a certain clemency in the British system that enabled temple schools to survive. According to Jayasuriya (Undated) and Sumathipala (1968), the educational standards of Sinhalese language teaching in the temple schools was satisfactory, and some of these schools taught English as well. The Buddhist priests did not allow their temple schools to die out in spite of the lack of encouragement from the colonial government (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated).

2.5.1.2 Education after the Colebrooke Commission in 1831

Colebrooke’s educational recommendations were made with the aim of creating a person who would be Ceylonese in blood and colour but an English Christian in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). Educational recommendations were made along with parallel to the administrative and judicial decisions. Some of the most important of these were as follows. Government schools were to be placed under the immediate direction of a commission, composed of the Archdeacon and the clergy of the island, the agents of governments in the district, and some of the civil and judicial functionaries. To meet the administrative, financial, and political needs of the country a national system of instruction was judged to be essential and it was to be in English. Teachers were to be appointed on the recommendation of the Commission and be required to be competent enough in English to give instruction in that language. All schools were to be English medium schools and if teachers were unable to teach in English, all government Parish Schools were to be closed. English-educated native people were to be eligible for government employment and a teacher training institution for teachers was to be founded (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). All these recommendations were implemented by the colonial government.

In 1834, the School Commission was established, handling all educational matters such as curriculum, grants-in-aid, and teacher appointment. The London Church Mission benefited because the Anglican Archdeacon was appointed president of the commission. Other members were Ex-officio such as the Treasurer, the Auditor-General, the Government agent for Colombo, and the Clergy resident in Colombo. The School Commission was not a success owing to its composition and bias; for instance
the Ex-Officio members could not give their full attention in this work as they had many other duties (Jayasuriya, Undated).

By the 1840s, there was rivalry among the missions because the Church of England was given more power than others by the governors. Educational opportunities such as financial grants, new schools and new teaching appointments to the schools favoured the Church of England. The missions that were not favoured complained to the colonial secretary (Sumathipala, 1968).

In response to conflicts around the School Commission, in 1841 Governor Mackenzie proposed a new commission, the Central School Commission, to develop education in the colony. The new commission was more representative than the School Commission of 1834. The following were Governor Mackenzie’s other proposals:

i) The standard of the government schools should be upgraded.

ii) To establish an institution for teacher training.

iii) Mission schools to be joined to government schools.

iv) Vernacular schools should be developed.

v) School admissions should be done without considering religious affiliation.

vi) To supervise the schools, inspectors should be appointed.

vii) The Central School Commission needed to be expanded (Sumathipala, 1968, p. 12-13).

By 1842, Governor Mackenzie left the colony and a new Governor was appointed. By 1847, neither the new Central School Commission nor the new governor’s policies met with success. This new Governor appointed the chairman from the Church of England, and the new chairman favoured his own denomination and the other missions again objected. Other factors influencing in the failure of the Central School Commission were:

i) The Ex-Officio members had many other duties hence they could not come to work in the Commission. For instance, the Post Master General resigned from the commission as he was busy.

ii) There were no qualified English teachers

iii) There was only one inspector in the country to supervise the schools.

iv) The commission consisted of volunteers and there was no consensus among them.

Nature of schools

After the 1830s, there were two types of English schools on the island: government schools and grant-in-aid schools. After the Colebrooke recommendations in 1831, all schools became English medium schools while government Parish schools (vernacular schools) were closed. However, following the Mackenzie proposals, vernacular language schools were again started after 1841. There were three types of government schools: English medium, Anglo-Vernacular or Mixed and Vernacular. Grant-in-Aid schools included both mission and privately owned schools. There were very few of these schools which did not obtain grant-in-aid.

The government was able to provide educational facilities to the islanders as the government income was rapidly increased by the Estate Plantations. But the rivalry between Christian missions for grants in-aid increased because grants in-aid was reduced for schools other than Church of England. Educational standards decreased by 1865 owing to conflicts among the people who handled education, despite increased finance (Jayasuriya, Undated).

In the 1840s, more Superior Schools were founded for both European and Sri Lankan girls and boys of the upper social class. The Colombo Academy, which was founded by Rev. Marsh as a private school in 1835, became the Royal College in 1881. Two schools for girls in 1843 and St. Thomas College in 1849 for boys were established in Colombo. Male and female principals were recruited from England to provide high quality English education for upper social class boys and girls. These schools were considered a great success so the colonial government opened more schools in town areas such as Galle, Matara, Jaffna and Kandy (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

In addition to the above schools, the Central School Commission established Central Schools where a practical curriculum was emphasised. This was in response to a recognition that the curriculum in most schools focused on academic subjects preparing people for clerical positions in the government sector (Jayasuriya, Undated). The practical curriculum prescribed by the Central school Commission for central schools was as follows:

1) General Geography and History
2) Commercial Arithmetic
3) Mathematics, including its applications to Mensuration. Gauging, Navigation and Drawing
4) The outlines of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, and their application to Mechanics and Agriculture (Jayasuriya, Undated, p. 164)
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However, the practical curriculum was in place for only three or four years before it was changed back to the former academic-biased curriculum. There were few economic rewards for people with practical qualifications; employers in government and private sectors considered only academic qualifications worthwhile. In a very short time, Latin was included as a school subject in the curriculum instead of practical subjects. Furthermore, retrenchment measures in 1848 led to a cut off of monetary allocations to practical education. For instance, the practical schools in Kandy and Galle lost their special character and Central School in Colombo became part of the Colombo Academy (Jayasuriya, Undated).

The Colebrooke Commission was not happy with temple schools because of the medium of instruction and the religion. As a result, the temple schools did not get state patronage and their survival depended on the enthusiasm of the Buddhist monks who controlled them (Sumathipaa, 1968).

**Medium of Instruction**

Until the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission in 1831, the vernacular languages were the medium of instruction in government Parish schools and the mission schools. Colebrooke however, advised the governor to suspend teachers at government schools who did not know English. Colebrooke had been advised in 1828 by the Secretaries of State for the Colonial and War Departments to find strategies to introduce a national system of instruction. Jayasuriya (Undated) quotes a part of the letter as follows:

> You will report whether and in what manner the national system of Instruction may be advantageously introduced (p. 91).

In response to this direction, English became the medium of instruction all over the island in 1834 and remained to until 1841. The teaching of Sinhalese and Tamil were given up and teachers who were poor in English were dismissed. English medium Superior Schools and the private schools benefited and the vernacular schools where the language of instruction was the medium were closed.

By 1839, it had become obvious to the colonial government that primary school children had problems with English as medium. Governor Mackenzie, who had an educational background, suggested in 1839 to the School Commission that the vernacular languages should be the medium of instruction at schools. This idea was contrary to Colebrooke’s proposal that English be compulsory. Governor Mackenzie
had experience of education when he was in Britain where the medium of instruction was not English for all primary students; instead for example, primary education was given in the mother tongue in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. In 1843, following Governor Mackenzie’s recommendations, the medium of instruction in primary school was changed to the vernacular languages under the Central School Commission. Vernacular teacher education was also introduced according to Mackenzie’s directions in 1839 (Jaysuriya, Undated).

The medium of instruction for upper class children continued to be English as this suited their future roles as leaders in the colony (Sumathipala, 1968). In 1843, the Central School Commission ordered that every elementary school should be supplied, when necessary, with the facilities to give instruction in the native languages, to afford the necessary preparation for English education (Jaysuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). Mixed or Anglo-Vernacular schools were established in urban areas for the development of English language firstly because there were not enough teachers and secondly because it was regarded that students needed to learn concepts and literacy in the mother tongues before switching to English at the age of ten (Jaysuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

**Teacher training**

Teacher training institutions were introduced to train English teachers and vernacular teachers during the 1840s. In 1841, a Normal Class was initiated by the Central School Commission at the Colombo Academy for training English teachers and in 1845 a native normal institution for Sinhalese and Tamil teacher training was also established (Jaysuriya, Undated). By 1858, these normal classes were closed in the course of the retrenchment measures, taken because of rebellious movements in the Kandy area in 1848 (Jaysuriya, Undated).

By the 1860s, the education standard in the colony had declined because of the inefficiency of the Central School Commission. With the backing of the financial resources from the success of coffee cultivation by 1865 the colonial government appointed the Morgan Committee in 1865 to investigate the situation and to assert the decline (Sumathipala, 1968; Jaysuriya, Undated). By the 1860s, the educational standards in Britain were also declining compared to the other industrial nations and there too, remedial actions were taken which would influence education in the colony.
2.5.1.3 Education developments after the Morgan Committee in 1865

In 1867 the Morgan Committee for educational development made its recommendations and brought a number of changes to education in the colony. The Department of Public Instruction was established in 1869, and in 1870 the government decided to give grants-in-aid to non-Christian private schools. As a consequence of this policy, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims started private schools for their children in the main towns as Christians had. In 1879 the government and private school population was 75,064 but two decades later it had risen to 218,479. By 1900, the Medical College (1870), Technical College (1893), Law College (1874) in Colombo and in 1880s, the School of Agriculture had been started for practical education (De Silva, C.R., 1977). C.R., De Silva (1977) notes that the following were the factors for this development under the Morgan Committee proposals: the educational reforms in the 1870s in England which strengthened the case for better educational facilities in the colonies; the success of coffee cultivation and the introduction of tea cultivation on the island which provided the necessary finance for education; and missionary organisations’ successful campaign for state assistance to their schools.

As well as the provisions of funding, the establishment of non-Christian schools in the towns was also given impetus by the Western Theosophist movements. In 1880, Theosophists Colonel Olcotte and Madam Blewetzki, from the USA, convinced the Buddhists that their religion was as respectable as Christianity, and they encouraged Buddhist families to establish schools like the Christian public schools. Many of the new schools were boarding schools and followed a curriculum like the Christian public schools where the medium was English. As a result, children of the upper and middle classes from native religious groups had access to the kind of education which would enable them to obtain white collar jobs under the colonial government. Thus, the native religious middle and upper social classes maintained their class privileges using English education, while the lower social class children went to the vernacular schools where the medium of instruction was native languages (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

From 1870, the colonial government offered scholarships for the best local students to follow university degree courses in Cambridge and Oxford in England. Initially, scholarships were restricted to the Academy (Royal College) but later (1880) it was thrown open to students from other schools (Jayasuriya, Undated).

Professional and vocational education institutions were also established during this period. In 1870 the Normal School was founded by the missions to train their teachers.
as the government gave grants-in-aids for teacher training. A vernacular Teacher’s Certificate examination was introduced for the issue of a teacher’s license to teachers in grant-in-aid schools. Gradually, the Director of Public Instruction introduced the monitorial system and monitors could obtain teacher training from government Normal Schools or private teacher training institutions (Jayasuriya, Undated).

By the 1900s, the colonial government became concerned that the benefits of education were not equally distributed. The South-West coastline and the Jaffna peninsula were fairly well provided with schools but the situation was very different in other areas.

2.5.1.4 Education developments, 1900-1948

Developments in British education between 1900-1948 influenced education in colonial Sri Lanka. These included: the 1902 Education Act; the Fisher Act in 1918 and compulsory secondary education; the Haddow Report in 1927 on primary education; the emergence of the child-centred social progressivist ideologies in the 1930s; the Spense Report in 1937 on secondary education; and the Butler Act in 1944 which created a tripartite school system (Gunawardena, C., 1991; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

In the 1900s, secondary education facilities were not equally distributed among all social classes in Britain, so the British government gave authority to area councils to establish schools under the Education Act of 1902 (Gunawardena, C., 1991). This influenced Sri Lanka where the 1901 Census revealed that only about one quarter of the children of school age were in schools in the colony. The report further said that of a total population of 3,565,904 as many as 2,790,255 were considered illiterate (Jayasuriya, Undated; Little, 1999). Under the recommendation of the Wace Commission in 1905, the colonial government issued Ordinance No 5 of 1906 and Ordinance No 8 of 1907 and these ordinances made education compulsory in town and rural areas for boys and girls (Jayasuriya, Undated). In line with these ordinances, major steps were taken to encourage the male population to receive some elementary education. School attendance was also made compulsory. As a result, the number of schools and attendance in these schools increased rapidly. The introduction of the scholarship examination in 1907 in Britain was also taken up by the colony (Sumathipala; Little, 1999).

The secondary schooling ratio gap between working class and upper class was high in Britain in the early 1900s. The situation was criticised by the left-wing political parties
who pressed the government to provide opportunities to lower social classes. As a result, the extension of compulsory schooling to age fourteen in the 1920s and of secondary education opportunities, resulted in most parents sending their children to schools in Britain (Kirk, 1992). Like the left wing in Britain, the indigenous religious movements criticised education policy in Sri Lanka because it was socially discriminatory. The vernacular schools in the colony did not go beyond the three Rs in the early decades of the 1900s. To investigate the situation, in 1911 J. J. Bridge, H.M. Inspector came to Ceylon. While Bridge was in Ceylon, in 1912 the Macleod committee was formed to investigate secondary education and tertiary education in Ceylon (Jayasuriya, Undated; Little, 1999; Liyanagamage et al, 1992; Sumathipala, 1968).

Bridge’s Report in 1911 mainly focused its attention on the issue of English medium education and acknowledged that learning in the English medium for the native student was a difficult task. The committee proposed that primary education should be in the mother tongue. On the other hand, parents wanted their children to be educated in English so that they would find employment. Bridge proposed three types of schools: grammar schools with London exams for affluent class children; vernacular schools for the lower social class; and schools for vocational education. However, like earlier proposals for teaching in children’s mother tongue, this was not taken up. The upper social classes were able to pay tuition fees and received an academic education in the English medium while the lower social classes could not; hence, the lower social classes continued to be marginalised. As a consequence, the society was separated into two groups and the social class gap widened in Sri Lankan society with education of the majority of society still being neglected (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

Both Bridge in 1911 and Macleod in 1912 proposed schools with vocational subjects to teach practical skills that were needed at that time. The important proposals of the Bridge Report were for primary education in mother tongues and vocational education. These two important proposals were not implemented at this stage but were taken up by the Donoughmore Commission in 1931 (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). Under the Macleod Report in 1912, important decisions were taken in relation to tertiary education including the proposal to establish a University in Sri Lanka (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968). The Macleod report also made a number of other proposals: If a student failed year 3 in the native medium, they would not be enrolled in the English school; To enroll in Year 4 in an English school, English knowledge was essential; After Year 3, vernacular language should not be a compulsory subject; More grants in-aid should be provided to the schools which did not charge
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tuition fees; A Certificate of primary education completion needed to be provided and it should be considered as a qualification for government work as clerks; and Oxford and Cambridge exams should be suitable for Sri Lankan students as Bridge in 1911 had proposed (Sumathipala, 1968). World War 1, the Sinhalese and Muslim conflicts in 1914 and 1915, and world economic depressions delayed the implementation of the Macleod and Bridge proposals. However, under the Education Ordinance No. 01 of 1920, Ceylon University College was founded in 1921.

By 1918 there were two types of schools in both Britain and Sri Lanka: state schools and private schools. Private schools received grants-in-aid and were mainly owned by the wealthy class but some assisted denominational schools were opened for lower social class children in both countries. Government schools were run by area councils in both countries predominantly for lower social class children (Jayasuriya, Undated; Liyanagamage et al, 1992; Sumathipala, 1968).

In Sri Lanka, state schools continued to be classified into three groups: English medium schools, mixed or Anglo-Vernacular and vernacular schools. Vernacular schools did not go beyond Grade 8 while English medium and Anglo-Vernacular schools were designed to prepare students for white collar jobs and clerical positions in the public service. Most of the private schools hired European and American teachers and principals to implement an English medium liberal curriculum in those schools. Some Buddhist private schools hired teachers from America while the Tamils and the Muslims did the same. Most of the Christian private schools employed European principals and teachers. Selection in some of the private schools was confined to the Anglo-Saxon students (Jayasuriya, Undated; Samaraweera, 1991; Sumathipala, 1968).

The curriculum in private schools was academic and copied the liberal curriculum implemented in England. The government schools too followed the liberal tradition as students could obtain lucrative white-collar jobs if they passed the examinations well. During this period, the aim of the colonial government was to prepare students from the upper class for the Cambridge Senior and the London Matriculation examinations for future leadership. The other English schools prepared students for clerical positions in the government service while the vernacular schools did not go beyond Grade 8 after which pupils were expected to return home to support their parents (De Silva, C.R.; Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

Ordinance No 01 of 1920 was important in this period. Under this Ordinance the following important educational developments were implemented: centralised control
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over education through a central Department of Education with legal status; compulsory schooling age was considered from 6 to 14 years of age (6 to 10 years in the case of Muslims and Tamil girls); the University College was founded in 1921; the controversial question of religion in government and assisted schools was addressed and a conscience clause was included and declared; school administration was decentralised, education districts and district committees were founded; the Tea, Rubber and Coconut Estate labourers’ children, who were mainly of Indian origin, were provided with two hours of schooling per day (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, 1969; Sumathipala, 1968).

In 1927, the Labour government in Britain appointed a commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Donoughmore to investigate and to make proposals for the revision of the constitution of Ceylon. In the 1920s, the ethnic minority groups had struggled for political power to enhance their membership ratio in the legislature Council. All ethnic groups complained to the British government regarding this membership ratio in the Legislative Council during the period 1918-1926 (De Silva, K.M., 1977; Liyanagamage et al, 1992; Samaraweera, 1991). When the Donoughmore Commission came to Ceylon in 1927, a Commission had already been appointed in 1926 by the Governor under the Chairmanship of the Director of Education in Ceylon, L. Macrae, to investigate the education system in the colony. This commission had recommended more facilities for children who studied in English, particularly for the Burgher community. The recommendations of the Macrae commission were studied by the Donoughmore Commission which did not totally accept or reject them. The Donoughmore Commission decided to give education authority to the local bodies. The decision was based on three factors: the Commission was influenced by the Bridge Report in 1912, the Ormsby Report in 1927, and Kilpatrick from the USA in 1927. The other influence was the necessity for the new constitutional changes in 1931 in relation to social and economic variables; for instance, as mentioned, the British Labour Party government had decided to give self-determination to the colonies because these were a burden to them during the period of the 1920s and 1930s. These factors, together with the constitutional issue of communal representation versus divisional representation in the Executive and in the Legislative Councils, indicated to the Donoughmore Commission that Macrae’s decisions were biased toward the English-educated population in Sri Lanka and also to the minority ethnic groups (Jayasuriya, Undated; Sumathipala, 1968).

According to the Ordinance of 1920, however, Macrae had the powers to implement his proposal as the Director of Education who was appointed by the Ceylon Board of
Education chaired by the Governor. The Donoughmore Commission did not seem to consider the power relationships between the Minister of Education and the Director. The Director of Education could act without the knowledge of the Minister of Education because the Director of Education was responsible only to the Governor under the 1920 Ordinance. Because of this situation, Kannangara, the first Minister of Education under the Donoughmore constitution came into conflict with the Director of Education and the Finance Secretary in the colony (Jayasuriya, 1969; Sumathipala, 1968).

Under the Donoughmore Commission recommendations, the local leader Dr. C.W.W. Kannangara became the first Minister of Education in 1931. However, Kannangara’s power as the Minister of Education was challenged by the Director of Education. When Kannangara could not obtain grants in time for his proposals, he sought to take some of the powers in relation to education legislation into his own hands from the Director. Under the Education Ordinance in 1939, Dr. Kannangara transferred responsibility for policy and education regulations from the Ceylon Board of Education to an Executive Committee of Education whose chairman was the Minister (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, 1969; Little, 1999; Sumathipala, 1968).

The first local Minister of Education, Dr. C.W.W. Kannangara contributed in several ways to change in education in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) between 1931 and 1948. First, the Rural Scheme of Education was developed with a new curriculum compatible with local conditions. At the beginning, only a few schools started the program but by 1939 the number had increased to 253. The Rural Area Development Program (RADP) was introduced by the Inspector of Schools, R. Patrick, in 1930. The program was a mixture of Dewey’s philosophy which was brought by Kilpatrick (USA philosopher) from the USA and Ghandi’s philosophy from India and East Africa which was introduced by R. Patrick (School Inspector) (Sumathipala, 1968).

From 1931-39 Dr. Kannangara implemented the following educational reforms: midday meals for rural area children; English taught from Year Three as a second language at all vernacular schools and vernacular languages taught at all English schools; new temple schools to address their earlier neglect; the reduction of district education committees; further support for the rural area school development scheme; direct payments of teachers’ salaries in assisted schools; and the reforms of the examination system (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, 1969; Little, 1999; Sumathipala, 1968).
After 1939 Dr. Kannangara introduced further major educational reforms including the provision of free education from the primary grades up to University from 1st October, 1945. This was a significant change which was criticised by denominational bodies, politicians and managers who had connection with private schools who were privileged by English education while supported by nationalist movements, vernacular language teachers, and indigenous doctors, etc. In 1940, a Central School program was introduced to benefit lower social class children, influenced by the British Haddow Report in 1926 'The Education of the Adolescent', the Spence Report in 1938 'Secondary Education', Gandhi's Vardha Education and Kilpatrick from the USA. This new system of central schools was founded for vocational education as a result of the success of the practical curricula in the RADP (Sumathipala, 1968). Scholarship examinations for year 5 and year 8 were introduced for entry to these central schools; these were granted for poor children who passed the selection examinations. They were able to access the English medium schools and, importantly, the British public school tradition including its games tradition. There was to be no fee, other than a games fee not exceeding six rupees (Rs 6.00) a year for each pupil, levied on any pupil attending government schools (Little, 1999; Sumathipala, 1968). It is interesting to note that on the one hand the government abolished the tuition fees in June, 1945 from the kindergarten to University but on the other hand they imposed a rule to levy fees for games from August, 1945. Without government grants or fees from children, the private public schools could not continue their British public school games traditions, therefore, they requested game fees.

Sinhalese and Tamil languages were established as medium of instruction in primary schools from October, 1945. In post-primary classes, the medium became vernacular languages or English. The schools which desired to use English in their post primary classes were allowed to continue in English since there were neither teachers to teach in vernacular languages nor text books in vernacular languages in all schools. Finally, vernacular schools continued their education in vernacular languages. The Anglo-vernacular primary schools increased vernacular teaching if they had teachers who were skilled in vernacular languages at the beginning of this period but later they reverted to English. English schools continued teaching in English. However, there was a significant change in the English medium schools as they started to teach vernacular languages as optional subjects and also in the vernacular schools where English was taught if there were English teachers. Under the Ceylon University Ordinance No. 20 of 1942, the University of Ceylon was founded on 1st July, 1942. It was established as a unitary, residential and autonomous institution (Jayasuriya, 1969; Little, 1999; Sumathipala, 1968).
Kannangara’s proposals did not meet unanimous support. The proposals to abolish denominational schools and free education from Kindergarten to University were opposed by local education leaders such as those in Christian missions, old students’ associations, Buddhist monks etc. who were unable to fulfil all their particular ambitions. D.S. Senanayake the leader of Kannangara’s Party, did not give his consent to the abolition of the denominational system nor for the proposal for free education. During his period in office, 1931-1948, Dr. Kannangara could not get legal approval for every student in an assisted school to be provided with instruction in the religion of his or her parents. As a result, children in denominational schools continued to receive religious instruction in the denomination of the school (Jayasuriya, 1969; Sumathipala, 1968).

There were other problems with the Kannangara reforms. Although Kannangara expected a vocational curriculum in the central schools, they adopted an academic curriculum like that in upper class town high schools (De Silva, C.R., 1977). Thus, practical aspects of curriculum failed repeatedly in the 1840s, 1880s, 1910s and in the 1940s. The academic curriculum continued as usual. Little (1999) explains the results of free education as follows:

The immediate consequence of the Free Education Act was that the well-to-do continued to send their children to good government and government aided schools without paying fees, while the masses continued to receive free the poor quality education that had all along been free to them. This continuing inequality was offset to a degree by a system of scholarships designed to help able rural children to study in the English medium central schools (Little, 1999, p. 91-92).

"In other words, from the point of view of quality, free education was more a mirage than a reality in so far as the masses were concerned" (Jayasuriya, Undated, p. 538)

2.5.2 Physical education in colonial Sri Lanka

2.5.2.1 Portuguese and Dutch influences

No specific written references to physical education were found for the periods of Portuguese and Dutch colonial rule in Sri Lanka. However, according to the historical evidence, although Europeans ruled the coastal areas, most of the Sinhalese who lived anywhere in the country considered that the Kandy King was their King. It is therefore reasonable to accept Deraniyagala’s (1959) suggestion that most traditional physical activities were still carried out except militaristic activities. Traditional militaristic
activities were discouraged by all Europeans as they threatened their security in the country.

2.5.2.2 British influences

Although few specific references to physical education in Sri Lankan schools during the period 1800-1900 were found, other sources of evidence suggest that some forms of physical education/training and sports were practised during the period. For instance, it is likely that the many teachers and principals from Britain and Europe working in government and private schools brought with them. The lecturers in the government Normal School founded in 1841, in mission Normal Schools founded in 1870, in the Government Teachers College founded in 1903 and in other private teachers colleges, taught in English medium and most were from Europe. After Colebrook’s recommendations in 1831, teachers were not appointed if they were not competent in English (Jayasuriya, Undated). Therefore, all teachers who worked in private or government schools, were fluent in English at that time. It is likely that in the absence of any Sri Lankan syllabi, these teachers used the British syllabi and kind of emphasis placed on physical education, exercise and health in the UK was likely to be reflected in English medium schools in Sri Lanka. On the other hand cultural and religious attitudes to physical activity and particularly the physical activity of girls were also likely to have an impact on how these syllabi were taken up.

Physical education and sports for the elite

The most obvious example of the British influence is in the adoption of the British games traditions in the government preparatory and Superior schools which were modeled of the British Public Schools and the introduction of British sports to Sri Lanka. Dent (1948) Goldlust (1987) and Mangan (1988) describe the public school traditions in Britain and this was carried into the Superior schools in Sri Lanka. An essential element of the public school traditions was that these schools were exclusive to the higher social class who could afford the large fees and to students who had successfully completed six years of education at affiliated preparatory schools. According to Goldlust (1987) and Mangan (1988) administrators in British private boys’ schools (public schools) institutionalised games for the development of gentlemen and to discipline the "riotous" sons of the elite class. Their purposes were to develop leadership and patriotism in upper class boys for future leaders in their colonies and in Britain. The student had to work for his house and the success of the house was focused on team effort. In these schools sports and athletics were compulsory. For example,
sporting events were organised under the house system which was central to the organisation of the schools. Cohesiveness and unity were built up through the house system and according to Mangan (1988) the public school tradition was one of the powerful influencing factors in the development of the British Empire.

**Leaders from the upper social class**

The British also aimed to prepare leaders through their games tradition by the introduction of specific games and sports to elite classes in the colonies. British games such as rugby football, rowing, cricket and athletics were compulsory in the Sri Lankan public schools. According to Sumathipala (1968) however, the British traditional games were implemented mainly for white children before 1890 in Sri Lankan Superior Schools.

There is more evidence on the introduction of specific games and sports in the country. Cricket, currently the most popular game in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), was first played by Sri Lankans in 1832 (Perkin, 1992). Perkin explains the establishment of Cricket in British colonies:

> The first English merchants and administrators in India had tended to 'go native', hunting tigers and playing polo with the Rajahs and taking Indian wives or mistresses, *but as their numbers grew and they brought their own womenfolk they began to import other European comforts, including cricket*. The Old Etonians in the East India Company played the local Parsies at cricket as early as 1784, and in 1792 the Calcutta Cricket Club was founded. Cricket was played in Barbados from 1806, in the Cape from 1808, *in Ceylon from 1832*, in Australia and New Zealand from the 1840s, in Hong Kong from 1851, in Fiji from the 1870s (1992, p. 215, bold and italics are not in original).

In the Indian empire, cricket was long dominated by Anglophile princes like Ranjitsinjhi and Maharajahs like Pataudi, Porbander, and Vizianagram, and in all four successor states, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Ceylon, remains a game of high social status, not readily open to the lower castes and poorer masses (1992, p. 218).

According to Perkin (1992), only Indian princes played cricket with Caucasians in the late 1700s. Until the end of the 19th century, public school games were mainly confined to Anglo males in the colonies. Although cricket was introduced to Sri Lanka in the 1830s, as was the case in other British colonies, cricket and other public school games were mainly confined to Anglo children. According to Sumathipala (1968), cricket was first played by local Sri Lankan children of the elite class only after 1890.
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In the 1930s, the Director of Education could report in the annual Administrative Reports that cricket and football (rugby union) were being played in the English Boys' Schools and netball which had been introduced by Jenny Green in 1921 (Gamage, 1992) in the girls' schools. These sports were confined to the elite class schools which had hostel facilities and where the resources were available.

Cricket and football continue to flourish in the larger English schools while the smaller schools are content with playing volleyball. The Girls' English schools are taking to netball. In the vernacular schools, the girls are still too shy to take part in such games (Macrae, 1932, p.31).

Athletics also has a long history of participation, indeed longer than cricket in Sri Lanka. Athletics was first started in Kandy in the 1860s by planters and Amateur Athletic Association meets began in the 1890s (Dhanawardene, 1992). In 1912, membership of the International Amateur Athletic Association (IAAAA) was obtained by the Ceylon Athletic Association (Dhanawardene, 1992). Since its inauguration, athletic meets of the IAAA branch in Sri Lanka have been held annually, except during the World Wars and the rebellion movements in 1971 and in the late 1980s (Dhanawardene, 1992).

Athletics was popular in the early 1900s in suburban schools near the main roads. There were Empire Day celebration at schools all over the country during the period 1900-1920 and athletic events were included in the proceedings (AR, 1900-1920). An Empire Day celebration at Mawanelle Government School located near the Kandy-Colombo main road in 1906 was reported in the Administration Report of 1906. Its program included British public schools athletic events:

The Ratemahathmaya and his headmen, who were in their native costume, gave an impressive appearance. At 1.00 P.M. all boys present marched past, saluting the flag, which was held by the assistant master of Mawanella school standing in a conspicuous place in the green. At 1.30 P.M. sports commenced. The following is the order of sports and the list of prizes:

1) Races (3 classes, 3 prizes each class), 9 prizes.
2) High jump (12 competitors), 3 prizes.
3) Pole jump (12 competitors), 3 prizes.
4) Obstacle race (24 competitors), 3 prizes.
5) Long jump (12 competitors), 3 prizes.
6) Three legged race (20 couples), 3 prizes.
7) Sack race (10 competitors), 2 prizes.
8) Greased pole, 3 prizes.
9) Tug of war (AR, 1906, p. 16, italics and bold are not in original)
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The first Public School athletic meet was held in 1924 and has continued to be held every two years (Dhanawardena, 1992). The popularity of athletics received a boost when a Sri Lankan athlete named Duncan White won a silver medal in 1948 in the London Olympic Games and a gold in the Empire Games in 1950 for the 400m hurdles event.

Several other games which were popular in British public schools were also introduced into elite class Sri Lankan schools (public schools) and to the Sri Lankan community during this colonial period. European merchants and planters did physical activities at their sport clubs with natives including cricket, swimming in 1930, hockey in 1933 and badminton in 1946, all of which were popular in British public schools (Rambadagalle, 1993; Weerasingha, 1992).

To fight on behalf of the Empire
The colonial government also wanted local officers and soldiers who would work together with the British officers and soldiers to protect the colony from the other powerful European and Asian nations such as Germany, the Netherlands and Japan. The colonial rulers always emphasised the importance of protecting the British Empire.

Not only is it necessary for the well-being of the Empire that its citizens should cherish these feelings of loyalty and love, but such feelings also have an ennobling influence on the minds of those individuals who cherish them. It is good that every one of you should learn not only to love his own village and the beautiful Island in which we live, but also to love and to be proud of that great British Empire, without whose aid we should be at the mercy of every enemy (Administration Report, 1904, p. 21).

School cadet platoons and military exercises were started in 1879 in elite schools in town areas and drill teachers were appointed to these schools. In all of the Administrative Reports issued by the Director of Education in this period, army cadet training and boxing training in boys’ schools were regularly mentioned. In English schools, scouting was done by both girls and boys in town schools but cadetting was done by boys only and also seemed to be limited to the upper class schools. To recruit for the armed forces, the colonial government wanted local youths who were enthusiastic, courageous, and aggressive; therefore, the government encouraged school cadetting and the sport of boxing.

Boxing has been taken up enthusiastically, and 1,750 pupils drawn from 63 schools are now under instruction and also many vernacular teachers receive courses of instruction in boxing...The larger secondary Boys’ schools contribute platoons (senior and junior) to the Ceylon Cadet Battalion, which maintains a high standard of efficiency (Macrae, 1930, p.27).
The annual meeting for the Stubbs Shield for secondary schools and the Stanley Cup for elementary schools are held yearly in Colombo. A successful boxing meet was held at Matale...English Secondary schools contributed both junior and senior platoons to the Ceylon Cadet Battalion (Macrae, 1931, p.32).

Physical education and sports for the working class

As was the case in Britain, the upper class did not allow the children of the lower social class to take part in their games. Following Britain, physical education for the children of the lower social classes in Sri Lanka took the form of physical training or 'drill' for health and moral development, and for the boys’ military preparedness.

There is evidence that British physical activities were used in Sri Lankan schools at the beginning of the 1900s and later the British Syllabuses of Physical Exercises of 1909, and 1919 and the 1933 Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools were also used in Sri Lanka. As explained in Chapter One, these syllabuses were mainly influenced by a medical definition of physical training concerned with developing the health of children of the working class in the government schools in Britain. According to Sumathipala (1968) schools in Ceylon had started a school medical service in 1919. In 1928, a scheme of studies and syllabuses for schools were issued by the Education Department and Physical Exercises was one of its main subjects. Jayasuriya outlines the syllabuses which were to be followed by all schools as follows:

1) Kindergarten: Language, Number, Physical Exercises, Drawing and Singing.
2) Standards 2,3 and 4: Language, Number, Physical Exercise, Drawing, Handwork, Singing, Needlework for girls.
3) Standard 5: Language, Number, Physical Exercises, Geography, drawing, Handwork, Singing, House craft including Needlework for girls.
4) Standards 6, 7 and 8: Compulsory - Language, Mathematics, Physical Exercises, House craft if not taken as an optional subject. Optional - one subject from each of the groups.
   A. History or Geography
   B. Elementary Science or Rural Science or House craft.
   C. Sinhalese or Tamil Literature or Music or Drawing.

(Undated, p. 436-437, bold and italics are not in original).

As in Britain, school syllabi were issued to government schools where working class children studied and the unstated aim was to prepare a healthy and compliant labour workforce from the working class in the colonies (Kirk, 1992). Even though the 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Training emphasised games in the physical education
classes, it was unlikely that games were taught in government vernacular schools in Sri Lanka. Rather than games, they taught military drills and physical training exercises.

The latest edition of the Syllabus of Physical Training has been translated into Sinhalese and Tamil and is being used in the vernacular schools. The system of having a senior boy as a trained class commander under the supervision of a teacher has produced good results. This system not only raises the standard of work but also trains the boy to be a leader (Robinson in AR, 1936, p.48).

The British Syllabuses were used in the colony some years later than in the UK. It is likely that the 1909 and 1919 syllabuses were used until 1936. The 1933 syllabus was the only text in physical education both before Independence in 1948 and also for many years after Independence in Sri Lankan schools.

In the ARs of the Director of Education during the period 1900-1948, physical education was referred to under the heading 'Physical and Moral Welfare'. In 1950 the title was changed to 'Physical Education'. Physical and moral welfare was described by the Director of Education in Ceylon until 1950 as follows:

Chapter VII - Physical and Moral Welfare.

The main activities under this heading are:

1) Health Work in Schools
   a. Medical Inspections
   b. The improvement of Sanitary Arrangements
   c. Sanitation Courses for Inspectors and Teachers
2) Games and Drills
3) Moral and Religious Instructions
4) Special Provisions for the Education of Defective and Delinquent Children
   (Robinson, 1935, p. 40)

The health situation in the country during the period 1900-1948 was unsatisfactory. The reports also indicate the concern with the physical health of the population. Schools and the teacher training institutions were the main site for addressing issues of physical health.

Balapitiya Mens' Teachers' School had to be closed for two months at the beginning of the year owing to an outbreak of enteric fever. Two students died during the year (Robinson, 1935, p. 37).

Exclusive of dental caries other defects of teeth and gums contributed the highest figure for physical defects of school children. Next to disease of teeth and gums hookworm infestation is the most common defect. Quinine is administered as a routine prophylactic in schools in hyperendemic areas. A total of 8,003 first doses and 6,969 second doses of Anti-typhoid Inoculation
were administered to school children during 1936 as against 5,182 first doses, and 4,526 second doses in 1935. A total of 2,854 school children were vaccinated against smallpox of which 2,392 were primary vaccinations and 462 secondary (Samarasingha, 1936, p. 47-48).

Hygiene was taught as a separate subject in government schools and Health Education was part of Physical Education. Hygiene continued to be taught in the schools, but the problem was the application of principles learned in practical life (Administration Reports, 1930-40).

Hygiene is a subject of the school curriculum and lessons are given by the teachers, by the medical officers, and by the school nurses who visits the homes as well as the schools (Macrae, 1931, p31).

An improvement in personal cleanliness was a noticeable feature in most schools, but some parents and teachers, both in Sinhalese and Tamil schools, have not realised this important feature of physical education (Robinson, 1938, p. 31).

As in Britain, while health education in Sri Lanka was being conducted through physical training, there had been school medical officers since 1919 (Sumathipala, 1968) and health education programs before 1919 for the development of school health education in the colony. Since 1930, school health inspection was considered an added duty of the Area Medical Officer of Health because a number of diseases such as malaria, hookworm, enlarged tonsils and adenoids, and dental caries were prevalent during the period 1900-1948. In the same period, latrines, drinking and toilet water, and malnutrition were major health problems in the country (Administration Reports, 1900-1948).

Physical education was not only expected to contribute to the improved physical health of the population but also to their moral development. As well as in Britain (Mangan, 1981) the moral character and behaviour of the poor was assumed to be at a low level. While religious training was looked to improve this, physical activities were also assumed to play a role as indicated in the following quotation.

The teachers have made a praiseworthy effort in this direction and have introduced several extra mural activities like boy scouting and boxing for this purpose. But this indirect moral training has not been found to be thoroughly successful and arrangements have been made, with the permission of the Director of Education, in several government schools for religious training to be given to the pupils before or after school hours by some ministers of religion (Robinson, 1936, p. 48).
While Christians were preparing Christian gentlemen, the Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims also followed the Christian Protestant tradition in their schools. K.M., De Silva (1977) talks about a New Buddhism as 'the Protestant Buddhism' that followed the important strong points of Protestant Christianity and this new trend in Buddhism used masculine sports in schools.

The Protestant Buddhism in doing this, imitated many of the norms, practices and organisational forms of Protestant Christianity (as revealed, for example, in the society for the Propagation of Buddhism, Young Men's Buddhist Association, Sunday Schools, Buddhist schools modeled on missionary schools, Buddhist catechisms, etc.) (De Silva, K.M., 1977, p. 386).

To correct the moral character of children in the colony, the colonial government used Christianity and other religions with school physical activities. However, the data reflect that authorities assumed that moral character could not be totally corrected by using physical activities alone. They also relied on direct religious instructions, the system of rewards and punishments in schools, etc. (Administration Reports, 1930-1940).

Physical education/training for the working class was also looked to for military preparedness and the production of those valued characteristics associated with military training. According to the Administration Reports, military drills were introduced to Sri Lankan schools in the 1870s (AR, 1879; NIE History Module No: 124, 1992) and from 1902 military drill was a compulsory activity in all government schools to prepare a docile work force as in other colonies seen in Chapter One.

Drill is compulsory in all Government schools, and a great deal more attention than formerly is paid to it at the annual examinations and visits without notice. I have no hesitation in saying that good results are already visible as regards briskness, prompt obedience, and upright bearing (AR, 1902, p. 6).

By 1948, military drills were introduced to most urban and suburban area schools and there were mass drill displays in the major towns.

Every province had circuit and divisional physical training competitions and sport meets at which, sometimes, a physical training table was demonstrated by massed squads numbering up to three thousand children (AR, 1946, p. 22).

While the traditional British sports were not encouraged in the non-elite schools, according to the ARs of the Director of Education other sports such as volleyball, elle and local games which did not cost much money were introduced into these schools. In 1900, 'elle', which is a modified version of baseball, was introduced to schools by a
Chapter Two: Physical Education Prior to Independence

British civil servant named Sectus (NIE PE History Module No: 124, 1992, p.36). Volleyball, which was first introduced into Sri Lanka by Walter Camac in 1916, was very popular in rural area schools.

Volleyball is the characteristic game of the vernacular boys’ schools. Not only does the equipment for volleyball cost little, but the lack of playing field accommodation in the majority of vernacular schools makes it the only possible game. It is interesting to note that many old boys of these schools continue to play, with the result that volleyball is fast reaching the national game (Macrae, 1930, p. 27).

According to Administration Reports (1900-1948), elle and volleyball were not popular in elite schools. It may be suggested that one of the reasons for the unpopularity of these two sports among elite schools was that they were not from British Public Schools and were American in origin.

Indigenous local games and dance were also considered as physical exercises in the physical education curriculum during the period 1930-1948 (Administration Reports, 1930-48). These were introduced for both boys and girls in vernacular schools and local dance was popular in girls’ schools.

Many schools have taken seriously to folk and Kandyan dancing and the standard of dancing reached in several circuit concerts was fairly high. In the Western, Central Southern and North Western Divisions instructional classes in dancing have been conducted for teachers. Seven schools of Kandyan Dancing were registered this year in the Central Division (Director of Education in Administration Report, 1944, p. 13).

Dance displays were organised as drill displays in the main towns. and thousands of children were involved in these country dance displays (Administration Report, 1948, p. 15).

Administration and teaching of physical education

School physical training and health education were the responsibility of the Chief Inspector of Physical Training under the management of the Director of Education. The Director of Education appointed the Inspector of Physical Training and his assistants. The Inspectors’ main duty was the inspection of the physical training and health practices in schools. There were no specialist physical education teachers until the 1950s however, and physical education was taught by general subject teachers and drill teachers.
Different types of teachers were employed for teaching physical training and health education in the colony. In the private upper class British public schools, Christian priests, European teachers and Sri Lankan teachers who had undergone physical training courses, taught physical training and health. In vernacular schools where lower social class children studied, trained and untrained teachers were employed. Non-commissioned retired army officers were also used as drills teachers at some government schools in Colombo and the other main towns as was the case in Britain (Fischer, 1999).

Physical education teacher training was conducted in government and assisted training colleges. Selected schools were also used as temporary training centers in the town areas. There were eighteen assisted or private and two government teacher training institutions in the country and physical education was one of the most popular subjects in their curriculum (Administration Reports, 1930-48). Two year teachers' colleges training was available for untrained teachers (monitors) and newcomers. There were also weekend training courses at temporary centers for all types of teachers who were already teaching in schools with or without professional training. Physical training classes for male teachers were organised by the Department of Education until 1944. After 1944, classes were conducted for both male and female teachers. A six month Physical Training Certificate was offered to the teachers who successfully completed the course. Health education training for teachers was also conducted under these two teacher training programs (Administration Reports, 1927-48).

Conceptual shifts in the term physical education

As Sri Lanka was a British colony, it is important to discuss the conceptual changes in physical education in Sri Lanka in relation to changes in the meaning of physical education in Britain. Changes in names (terms) represent a conceptual shift for physical education in England at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century and these changes were also reflected in Sri Lankan physical education for instance in shifts from the use of drill to physical exercises and from physical training to physical education. Beside the public school sports tradition, a different type of physical education grew up in England such as military drill, calisthenics, and gymnastics and these forms of physical education were adopted by public elementary schools at the end of the 19th century. In Sri Lankan government elementary schools there is evidence to indicate that military drill and calisthenics had been practiced in
Chapter Two: Physical Education Prior to Independence

some English medium secondary schools (see Administration Reports form the 1890s to 1940s). In England, two types of gymnastics were evident at the end of the 19th century—Ling's Swedish gymnastics, which was a system of exercises without large apparatus and the German oriented system with apparatus. Public elementary school physical education in England was called physical training but it was given a distinctly military bias and the Swedish system was also named as physical training and was officially accepted by the medical department of the Board of Education in England in the beginning of the 20th century as discussed in Chapter one. The public school system concentrated on character building for leadership purposes while the government system was concerned with discipline and the therapeutic effects of systematised exercise (McIntosh, 1968).

The Board of Education in England first officially accepted in 1910 that physical training such as Swedish gymnastics could have an educational value. As McIntosh (1968) indicates, it did however have trouble accepting the educational value of public school games which were considered recreational - an almost puritanical idea was commonly held that games were recreative, pleasurable and of less educational value than physical training (p. 13).

Despite efforts by Thomas Chesterton to introduce a local system or British system of physical training, the Swedish system had the support of influential individuals and groups including the Ling Association. Chesterton’s system did however reach Sri Lanka and is mentioned in the Director’s report of 1901.

We have gone on the lines that physical exercises are more important than mere drill; that both should be as much diversified and made as interesting as possible, so that they may give pleasure to the children instead of boring them; and that the time so spent forms a very important, and not a merely subsidiary part of the curriculum. The book used is a translation of Chesterton. (AR, 1901, p.15).

Physical training was not without its own influential opponents. In England, Baden-Powell, who gave up the Army in 1910 to take charge of Boy Scouts, thoroughly opposed drill as a form of physical training or education except as a final polish; instead he proposed his Boy Scouts program. Powell argued that drill "denied to boys the
opportunities to shoulder responsibilities, to tackle difficulties and dangers, to shift for themselves and to dare from a sense of duty (McIntosh, 1968, p.178). Powell's physical education programs consisted of troop games, physical fitness through camping, hiking, climbing and other natural activities, but he also included six systematic exercises in his programs (McIntosh, 1968). After the first World War, Powell's Boys Scout program, and its sister organization, the Girls Guides promoted the idea that both the Swedish system and organised games failed to meet physical needs of people in England, and opened the way for the outdoor movement. These conceptual shifts can also be seen in Sri Lanka.

The Boy Scout Movement has an important place in the activities of boys schools both English and vernacular The Girl Guide Movement has made much progress and is popular as the Boy Scout Movement is in Boys schools (AR, 1930, p. 27).

The Great War in 1914 and the Fisher Education Act in 1918 further impacted on the meanings and values associated with physical education. Following the effects of the war, Lord Hardman in 1916 pointed out that the British people would be better if they emphasised the physical side of education. He proposed, therefore, Boy Scouts for primary school, cadet training for secondary school, and officers training in connection with the universities. The Fisher Act in 1918 provided for facilities for physical education, including school camps. Through the Fisher Act, many people in the British Parliament wanted to impose military drills but it was opposed by female organisations and by social progressivists (Kirk, 1992). Having considered these arguments, Dr. Newman, in 1919 issued a new Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools in which physical training activities were supplemented by games, dancing, and swimming. The change of title from that of its predecessor, the Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Public Elementary Schools, was significant of a broader content and a wider application (McIntosh, 1968, p.196). However, by the 1930s, the 1919 Syllabus was also being criticised for its inability to tackle the growing conceptual changes in physical education in England (McIntosh, 1968).

In 1920, the value of physical education as a form of preventive medicine was impressed upon the local authorities by the chief medical officer of the London Board of Education. With the economic depression of 1920 in England there were fears that
with poverty and malnutrition would come idleness, mental and physical deterioration. The official physical education policy of the Board of Education in London was that physical education would help to remediate these deficiencies by developing children's physiological efficiency and character. To fulfill these ends, the Board of Education in London used non-gymnastic activities such as swimming, camping, in addition to those other activities already recommended by the 1919 syllabus. This broadening of physical education was paralleled in Sri Lankan schools, where, in addition to the normal drill teaching, games (cricket, volleyball, netball and local games), cadet platoons, athletics, Scout movement, and Girl Guides were also taught.

Physical exercises and games are provided in practically all schools. The work is hindered by the lack of good playgrounds, English secondary schools contribute both junior and senior platoons to the Ceylon Cadet Battalion, whilst the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement flourishes in schools of all types (AR, 1931, p.32).

The year has seen the introduction of a large number of national Games and Folk Dancing to schools. Cricket, Football, Volley Ball, and Net Ball continue to be played as keenly as in previous years (AR, 1934, p. 38).

The concept of physical education as preventive medicine was strengthened by two key figures in England whose ideas were taken up in the 1933 syllabus (McIntosh, 1968). The first of these was Sir Arthur Keith who delivered a lecture on the Evolution of Man's Posture in 1923. In 1932, the Board of Education in London took up Sir Arthur Keith's theme of posture and wrote in the preamble to the syllabus that "the successes of any physical training depend upon the carriage, mobility and equilibrium of the human body. If there is one test of the strength, tone and balance of the body it is posture, for this depends on the co-ordination of the muscles acting on the skeleton. Good posture indicates health and soundness, bad posture the reverse (McIntosh, 1968, p. 214). Researchers in England began surveying the posture of British children and found a large number of school children with foot and spine defects, which demanded treatment. The physical education profession took up the task of remedying these defects and news articles appeared in the professional journals in London on topics such as Posture and Keep Fit Exercises, Motor Driving and Posture, and Cycling and posture (Kirk, 1992; McIntosh, 1968). The second influential figure was the Danish physical educator, Niels Bukh's who also supported the concept that physical education was a preventive medicine. In his case it was a form of rhythmic gymnastics, which provided
the vehicle. His demonstrations delighted the British physical educators for its strenuousness, its continuity and rhythmic character and its emphasis on stretching and increasing mobility (Mcintosh, 1968). The Ling Association in England helped to popularise Bukh's system and the gymnastic side of physical education.

The two themes of posture and flexibility of muscles and joints were also visible in the Sri Lankan physical education context in the 1930s and 1940s. Attention was paid by the then Director of Education to these two concepts as is evident in his reports. For instance the following quote suggests that physical defects need to be identified and the school participate in their correction.

The Medical Department has, in co-operation with the Department of Education, attempted to create a citizenship enlightened in health matters by training the child on correct lines from the earliest and most impressionable years. The routine plan followed consists of:

i) Provision of satisfactory and sanitary surroundings for the school child while at school.

ii) Medical Inspection with the object of finding out physical defects for early correction.

iii) Correction of defects at school clinics, central clinics, at hospitals and at dispensaries soon after they have detected. (AR, 1944, p. 29).

In addition the Director of Education in Sri Lanka introduced daily fitness programs in 1937. This involved

A few schools which had two 30-minute periods per week have changed them to 15-minute periods daily. It is proposed to introduce this system of daily Physical Training into more schools in the near future (AR, 1937, p.53).

The study suggests that the program was parallel to the keep fit movement which organised mass participation in Britain in the 1930s. (McIntosh, 1968).

The term physical education appears to have been used for the first time in the 1930s. For example the Directors for Education between 1930 and 1948 used the term physical education under the broader heading of Physical and Moral Welfare and in 1950 the Director of Education used the term physical education in the heading Physical Education and School Meals Service. The name physical education first appeared as Physical and Moral Education in 1904 (AR, p.20). It changed to Physical Education and Hygiene in 1910 (AR, p.17). From 1930 to 1948 the name physical education was under
the heading of Physical and Moral Welfare. Under the influence of the Kannangara Reforms in the 1940s the name changed to Physical Education and the School Meals Service in 1950. The combining of physical education with other terms such as moral welfare, moral education, hygiene etc was dropped in Sri Lanka in 1954 since when the title Physical Education has stood alone. (AR, 1954, p.11).

### 2.6 Issues for physical education in colonial Sri Lanka

#### 2.6.1 Gender, culture and physical activity

Physical activities for girls in Sri Lankan schools in the colonial period were often different from those for boys. In English medium schools, where upper and middle class girls studied, netball and drill displays of folk dance were the main physical activities. The vernacular schools, where the majority of girls studied, did not do physical activities because of the Asian patriarchal culture which believed that girls should not do physical activities. Games such as cricket and football were not played even in upper class girls' schools. In general, it is evident that girls were excluded from masculine games and at the same time the majority of girls were totally marginalised from physical activities. In the Administrative Reports in the 1930s, however, the Director of Education says that he had taken several steps to overcome this constraint.

The noticeable feature of the year is that regular physical training has been introduced to girls' schools, and that the dislike for physical activities on the part of village girls and their parents is steadily disappearing (Macrea, 1930, p. 27).

However, some girls in the town area schools began to participate in physical training sessions (Female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview). After 1935, the Director of Education did not mention girls' participation in physical activities in the Administrative Reports until 1948.

In mission convents where a few Christian girls of the lower class could enrol, they may have played netball because there were European female teachers who knew Western physical activities. One of the major constraints to physical education in vernacular girls' schools was qualified teachers and the policy of male only teacher training in physical training. Evidence in relation to physical training of male teachers is provided by Circular Numbers of E 21(May 21 1928), 17 (24 June 1929), 45 (30 November 1934), 28 (06 September1937), and 44 (31 October 1938) respectively, which were
issued by the Director of Education in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). All used the same sentence about male teachers only for physical training classes.

Physical Training Classes for Vernacular Teachers.
Physical Training Classes for certificated vernacular male teachers of assisted and Government schools will be held on Fridays and Saturdays at the following centers at the times mentioned against each centre (Circulars of Director of Education in Ceylon, 1928-1938, bold is not in original).

2.6.2 Resources

One of the major obstacles to physical education/training was the limited resources. Playgrounds, sport equipment and physical education teachers were available to the upper and middle class schools whereas in schools where lower class students studied, including the remote area schools, such resources were far from adequate. However, volleyball was popular in the vernacular schools because it did not need a large space like public school games.

In the 1940s, World War II affected school physical education. After World War II, schools which had resources, were able to do physical education as usual. "With the disappearance of emergency and war conditions which deprived most schools of their playgrounds and periods for play, schools have begun to take more interest in physical training" (Director of Education in Administrative Report, 1945, p. 16). Though the Director of Education said that schools had started to be interested in physical education, in the remote areas and in most vernacular schools the resources issue continued to be significant with contrasting opportunities for physical education and sports in different schools.
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2.7 Conclusion

The British wanted to prepare a group of people in Sri Lanka to exploit the local resources and export the produce and profit to their home country. For this purpose, they used several strategies through education and religion in addition to their military power. One of these strategies was to provide selected groups of people with an English education to prepare them for leadership under the British. Another was the educational authority that was given to Christian missionaries. 

During the period 1796-1818, four Christian Missions came to the island. They and their successors were given the opportunity to conduct education on the island until Independence in 1948. The main task of these missions was to convert native people to Christianity because the colonial government thought that the support of native people could be obtained through a change of religion. Those who changed to Christianity were given government employment. Therefore, power was held by the Europeans and the native Christians until Independence in 1948.

Two levels of education existed on the island: education that was given to the majority of the people was vernacular in character while selected upper and middle social class were given an English education (Liyanagamage et al, 1992). Education of the majority was aligned to produce cheap, subordinate and subservient labour for the plantations, roadwork, building construction, forests and other relevant areas. In addition, as Mendis (1981) explains, education was planned to influence native people to abandon local customs. To fulfill the objectives of British rule, the middle and upper class children were selected and educated for leadership and the working class were trained to be good workers. As was the case in other colonies (Wright, 1996b), the colonial government wanted some young people from the colony who were physically fit, disciplined and obedient to recruit for military purposes.

School physical education was also used to maintain British power and tradition on the island. As Goodson (1990) and Kirk (1992) have pointed out, education in any society is influenced by political, social and economic factors. For instance, local and British elites shaped the physical education curriculum to maintain class differences; Christian missions used the physical education curriculum as a means of preparing a better Christian. The physical activities in schools for upper social class students included team games for physical fitness, leisure, and recreation. As many authors (Burrows, 1999; Kirk, 1992; Mendis, 1981; Wright, 1996b) have pointed out there were specifically scheduled activities in the curriculum to make leaders from the local upper
social class. In schools where working class students studied, physical education was a subject of physical training; students underwent drills not games; and physical training involved marching, drill and calisthenics in an effort to control and mould the behaviours of "undisciplined" boys and girls to inculcate habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness as in other British colonies (Burrows, 1999; Jayasuriya, 1969; Kirk, 1992; Mendis, 1981; Wright, 1996b).

In summary, the following factors were the main objectives of physical education in schools prior to Independence in Sri Lanka: the continuation of the colonial system through the preparation of local leaders from the upper social class; and physically fit disciplinable and obedience workers from the working class. Thus, through education and physical education, foreign powers influenced the social, religious, economic and cultural heritage of the Sri Lankan people.
Chapter Three: Physical Education in Sri Lanka, 1948-1970

3.1 The political, economic and cultural scene at Independence in 1948

Sri Lanka was granted Independence by the British in 1948. In early November 1947, three agreements were signed, namely the Defence, External Affairs and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Government Service agreement, by D. S. Senanayake on behalf of Sri Lanka and Governor Moor for Britain. According to these agreements, three major promises were made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon Mr. D.S. Seanayake. These were as follows: in wars, Ceylon would join with Britain and would allow British forces to use the necessary resources as required; Sri Lanka (Ceylon) would be a Commonwealth Country; and Sri Lanka would protect the rights of British civil servants and other officers who were in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, on 26th November 1947, the British government granted Independence to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) with Dominion status (Liyanagamage et al, 1992). "An Act, called the Ceylon Independence Act, was passed in the British Parliament extending to Sri Lanka the principles contained in the Statute of Westminster" (Jayasuriya, undated, p. 432). Accordingly, Sri Lanka became independent on 4th February, 1948 and a member of the Commonwealth Organisation, ensuring the continuation of a strong British influence (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

As a part of the agreement, some leaders in the Tamil nationalist parties requested equal (50-50) representation for majority Sinhalese and minorities in the Sri Lankan Parliament. The British Government rejected the Tamil proposal of 25% for Tamils, 25% for Muslims, Burgers and other groups in the Parliament. The British pointed out that the equal representation (50-50) proposal would result in an unstable government in the future and also they said that they would not weaken the majority Sinhalese forcibly (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

As a national leader, D.S. Senanayaka was forced to listen to the different communities in 1948 and the masses. He had the difficult task of uniting the ethnic groups and was responsible for demonstrating neutrality in relation to equal opportunities for all groups. In addition, D.S. Senanayake had to be responsive to the Sinhalese Nationalistic movements as he represented the Sinhalese majority. Not to do so would have cut him off from his own community and considerably shortened his political career.

Kannangara, who had been a member of the Sinhalese National Union and the Minister of Education for sixteen years and who was also a member of the UNP, was defeated in
the 1947 election as a result of a combined attack organised by the people who opposed the free education movement, including the leader of the UNP. "I received very little party support. In fact the leader D. S. Senanayake failed to appear on any of my election platforms" (1965 interview with Kannangara quoted in Sumathipala, 1968, p.125).

By 1948, society in Sri Lanka was very diverse in religion and culture. The introduction of Christianity was partly beneficial and partly harmful in relation to ethnic pluralism in Sri Lanka. By the year 1948, the Christian community included Sinhalese, Tamils, Burgers and Europeans. This part of the society was integrated by the common bond of the Christian religion. On the other hand, Christianity caused significant divisions. The majority of the Sinhalese and the Tamil people were Buddhists and Hindus and they were separated from the Christian Sinhalese and Tamils. In this sense, according to K.M., De Silva (1977) Christianisation was harmful to the Sri Lankan society. Government positions and University entrance were biased toward the Christian community. This caused resentment in the other groups. The Christian community and a certain part of the English educated community who belonged to other religions respected Western culture and considered Eastern culture to be inferior. English language, Western fashions, and Western customs embodied within Western religion and education were considered superior to the local customs; hence, the social gap between the English educated elite class and the lower social class masses increased (Liyanagamage et al, 1992).

The caste system in Sri Lankan society in the 1940s was also a considerable factor in relation to social division. Within the Christian community there was little caste prejudice, whereas in the Sinhalese and the Tamil culture the caste system caused stronger social divisions. Caste prejudice in the community of the Tamil Hindus was greater than in other ethnic groups. In the Tamil Hindu culture, there was an Untouchable group who were not permitted in the Hindu temples. The Estate Tamils, who were brought by the British from India as labourers in the Estate plantations, were descendants of low caste communities in India and were separated by caste, education, and wealth from the North and East Tamils in Sri Lanka (Little, 1999). As they were merchants, the Muslims maintained their traditional religion and culture. Although the Muslims were descendants of Arabs, they spoke in Tamil whether they lived in the Tamil areas or in the Sinhalese areas (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

Although the world was at war in the 1940s, just prior to Independence in 1948, the economic situation in Sri Lanka was strong. By 1948, Sri Lankan industries consisted primarily of traditional non-technological consumer industries, such as production of
tea, rubber, and coconut. There was a rapid expansion of population accompanied by increasing unemployment in countries like Sri Lanka during the 1940s. "The experience of many developing countries during the post-war period had been rapid population growth" (Samaraweera, 1991, p. 155).

The plantation sector in the economy was mainly owned and controlled by Europeans. As a result, a considerable portion of plantation income was not re-invested and could not be used for consumption at home. The economy of the country had been based on exchanging the products of its traditional agricultural economy for the manufactured goods of developed countries, mainly the UK. According to Samaraweera (1991) there was no relationship between the plantation sector which had European technology and the traditional agriculture sectors such as paddy cultivation. As a result, the main economic issue in the 20th century in Sri Lanka was insufficient food production for domestic consumption. Eighty-five percent of profits of the economy was spent on consumer goods in this period: "the expenditure had risen from Rs. 2.28 per head of the population in 1931 to Rs. 10.5 per head in 1947" (Samaraweera, 1991, p. 127).

In addition to European planters, there were local elite groups who controlled the local markets and politics, and held key posts in the government and private sectors. The local rich who controlled the economy consisted of two main groups: the family members, relations and friends of local planters; and other people who could obtain an English education. This upper class social layer enjoyed lucrative positions in the economic sector while people who studied in vernacular languages obtained lower-grade jobs.

The English educated elite, who belonged to all ethnic groups and religions, followed Western culture. Even though after about a hundred and fifty years of British rule, only a very small proportion (6%) of the population was literate in English, the official language of the country was English. As a result, by 1948 all the social and economic advantages went to the English speaking minority group. At Independence over two thirds of the male population (70.7%) and almost half of the female population (44.7%) were literate but the literacy rate in English was only 6% (Sumathipala, 1968).
3.2 The educational scene at Independence

At Independence in 1948, the country faced important educational issues. Educational inequalities were widespread though the Kannangara Reforms had attempted to address them in the 1940s. By 1948, five major areas of educational inequality were evident: management; language; urban and rural areas; curriculum; and school fees.

Schools were managed by different bodies, namely the government, denominational bodies and private individuals, and they acted according to their own agendas. Although Kannangara attempted to put all schools under government control, he failed because some members of the parliament and higher officers in the private and state sectors who were owners or had connections with denominational schools and private schools obstructed the proposal (Jayasuriya, 1969).

The second set of inequality issues arose from the medium of instruction. The great majority of children were taught in vernacular schools where Sinhalese or Tamil was the medium of instruction. Except for a few major English schools which also taught some classes at lower grades in Tamil and Sinhalese, most elite schools taught in the English medium. Only 6% of the school population were able to study in the English medium, yet English was required for all the better paid posts; it was the official language, and it was required for higher education (Jayasuriya, 1969).

The third inequality was in the difference in the quality of education provided in urban area and rural area schools. Free English education was available only in urban area high schools for the rich, whereas access to an English education was by and large denied to the mass of the rural population and the urban poor (Jayasuriya, 1969).

The fourth issue related to the curriculum: the curriculum in English schools and vernacular schools was academic in character. Furthermore, the syllabus content was not suited to the Sri Lankan situation; for instance, the curriculum put more emphasis on the history and geography of Britain than those of Sri Lanka. "In these schools, our children are made to believe that they are inferior beings belonging to an inferior race, speaking an inferior language and inheriting an inferior tradition and that all best things are elsewhere and not here in their own country" (Mettananda, 1939 cited in Sumathipala, 1968, p158).

The fifth issue related to tuition fees and grants to the assisted schools. Some English private schools were fee-levying and served the upper social classes, whereas assisted
English and vernacular schools were fee free and open to the masses. The assisted English schools received more grants than the vernacular assisted schools and the government spent more money on its own English schools than its vernacular schools (Jayasuriya, 1969 & Undated).

Before Independence, these educational inequalities were identified by Kannangara and motivated the introduction of the free education scheme. The scheme was however not implemented when independence was granted. Instead, by Independence, the free education scheme had become a specific gift to the upper class English schools. Students in these schools could obtain English medium education without school fees, whereas the lower social class masses still only had access to vernacular education, which had been free for them for many years (Little, 1999). Denominational schools continued to charge fees.

When the British handed over the country to the local leaders in 1948, these unsolved problems caused much acrimony between different religious, ethnic and social groups (Jayasuriya, Undated). The hundred and fifty years of British rule in Ceylon gave Sri Lanka a mixture of results according to Jayasuriya (Undated), some of which were socially progressive and integrative while others were harmful and socially disruptive.

### 3.3 Physical education at Independence in 1948

#### 3.3.1 Kannangara's free education scheme and physical education

With the free education scheme, Kannangara wanted to address major educational issues such as tuition fees from kindergarten to university, the limitations on better education, English as a medium of instruction to elite classes and the control of education by the private sector including the denominational bodies. Under these circumstances, physical education activities in schools were not a priority compared to other needs of the masses such as numeracy, literacy, academic qualifications to obtain jobs, vocational subjects to develop the economy and so forth. Some indication of these priorities is evident in the government decision to abandon school fees from kindergarten to university while at the same time proposing to charge fees for games. "No fees, other than a games fee not exceeding six rupees a year for each pupil, shall be levied from any pupil attending the school" (The 1945 Hansard cited in Sumathipala, p. 299).
When considering the government vernacular schools, it is clear that physical education was not a priority at Independence. In school time the only term for physical education was 'drill', while volleyball and other local games were played after school. Fischer (1999) comments:

Although the concept 'Education for all' was agreed to by the government at the time in 1948, Physical Education was not included in the program. Few schools were able to place Physical Education into their time table (p.8).

Fischer’s research (1999) provides us with evidence that there were insufficient resources. This is supported by the Director of Education at that time who commented that "the inadequacy of playgrounds, apparatus, and trained personnel and the malnutrition of children continue to be factors retarding physical education progress in schools" (Administration Report, 1948, p. 15).

However, as pointed out in Chapter Two, the Director of Education and his School Inspectors in Physical Training had taken steps to develop physical activities in schools since the 1900s. As a result, drills, volleyball and local games started to spread throughout the island. In the 1940s, however, these activities were mostly confined to the urban area vernacular schools, and primarily for boys. In the English schools, the British public school games tradition continued to be strong.

3.3.2 Physical education activities in schools in 1948

At Independence, all primary and junior secondary schools had to follow the 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Training, but in practice it was taught only in schools where qualified teachers were available. Physical Training Inspectors organised volleyball, boxing, athletics, cadetting camps and mass drill display competitions in their respective provinces.

In the 1948 Administration Report, the Director of Education reported the following physical education activities in schools and in the teachers colleges: physical training classes for school children and teachers; circuit, district and provincial athletic meets; mass physical training displays including 2000-3000 children in each display in every province; boxing practices and circuit, district and province level competitions; volleyball in most vernacular schools for boys while in few schools for girls; and interschool sport competitions (Administration Report, 1948, p. 15). Informants, who had been school students in 1948 in both urban area and rural area schools, say that except for volleyball for male students all other activities were mainly confined to urban area schools. The following quotes from a University lecturer and a retired physical
education teacher who attended an elite school in Colombo and a central college respectively, illustrate some activities in 1948:

We had hurdle, high jump, and all those sports and we had grand sports meet annually. The media used to give a lot of prominence to sports but you know only these leading girls’ and boys’ schools participated in these events not the village schools (University lecturer B, 1999, interview).


I studied at a central college between 1946-1955. We played rounders, netball, volleyball (passing here and there with one shot), and athletics. Our boys played soccer too, but they did not play cricket. In our village school where I got my primary education, there were no sports which we played at the central college (Retired female PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

3.3.3 Hygiene, health and physical education

As mentioned, an important aspect of the British tradition was the inclusion of physical education under health (hygiene) which was the major concern over this period.

Good health is largely dependent upon daily practice of a hygienic way of life. Physical training not only provides directly for one aspect of hygienic practice, but it indirectly encourages the establishment of good habits of hygiene in a wider connotation. In the schools there is fortunately a much greater appreciation than formerly of the educational value of practical hygiene, and this has probably come about largely through the influence exercised by physical training. (The Board of Education for England and Wales in 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Training, 1949, p. 21)

The physical education teacher or drill instructor was responsible for overall health supervision in the school in 1948. In addition, the subject Hygiene was taught as a separate subject. All class teachers checked daily students’ health habits such as combing hair, brushing teeth, and dress. For the working class, health was conceived in terms of order, cleanliness and neatness during this period in Commonwealth countries (Kirk, 1992).

Physical Training Inspectors organised the medical inspections in schools with the help of the medical authorities as usual. To enhance the school health situation, annual health competitions continued. The AR of 1948 reported the Director of Education’s appreciation of the Medical Department Officers.
3.3.4 Teacher training in physical education

A one year Diploma Course in physical education was held in Madras in India during the period 1948-1956. The course was followed by Sri Lankan students who were able to afford the expenses in India. Fischer (1999) describes the Diploma Course in Madras:

Sri Lankans were encouraged between the 1950s and 1969 to go overseas to Madras to study the subject at the YMCA College of Physical Education. It is interesting to note that during this time Physical Education students were already differently treated by the education authorities. They were the only students who did not receive any scholarship from the government. Students took it upon themselves to self-fund their study, because upon return, the graduates were immediately employed in grade one schools (p. 8).

Within Sri Lanka, the short duration courses in physical training for selected teachers of various subjects were continued as usual after Independence. The government was not interested in specialist physical education teacher training courses because physical education was taught in all non-graduate teacher training courses at teachers' colleges. Graduate teachers could obtain specialist physical education training from the short duration courses described above.

As was the case before Independence, two types of physical training teacher training were conducted by the Chief Inspector of Physical Training. One was an in-service program for teachers who taught physical training in schools - both those who had undergone professional training and those who were untrained teachers. The other program was the pre-service program conducted for prospective teachers at teachers' colleges (Administration Report, 1948).

3.3.5 Perennial issues in physical education by 1948

As described in Chapter Two, the following perennial issues continued to shape physical education following 1948: the British public school games tradition and maintenance of British social class distinctions; the status of physical education - that is, in low priority in comparison to the other educational issues such as literacy, numeracy, and the control of quality education by the denominational bodies; the low levels of girls' participation in physical education activities; insufficient physical and human resources in the vernacular schools and area diversity; and physical education teacher training.
3.4 The Political context, 1948-1970

Since Independence in 1948 two main political parties have ruled the country alternately: the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). Both parties have used education for economic development, to minimise the class, gender and equity gaps, and for the enhancement of nationalism (Jayasuriya, Undated). The UNP that was founded in the early 1940s has a tendency to favour Right wing politics. It formed governments between 1948-1956, 1965-1970 and 1977-1994. The SLFP founded in 1951 has a tendency to the Left and formed governments between 1956-1960, 1960-1965, 1970-1977 and 1994 onwards. However, both parties followed the capitalist system, as well as continuing to be profoundly influenced by Britain. According to the 1947 Independence agreement Sri Lanka was under the British Crown until Sri Lanka changed the 1947 constitution in 1972. Under the new constitution in 1972, Sri Lanka became a 'Socialist Democratic Republic' and declared itself to be a totally independent state from the UK; all bonds with the UK were broken. This led to changes, including changes in education and physical education.

The shifts between right and left wing politics have been major influences on education and the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. The Cold War between the USA and the former USSR also influenced Sri Lankan politics and education policies. In its early days, the SLFP tended to follow a middle pathway to maintain friendship with both right and left wing politics in the world and, in coalition with socialist parties, attempted to change the British conservative traditions in Sri Lanka. As a result of SLFP policies, children of the working class gained improved access to free education. The UNP was also forced to improve the condition of the working class as they wanted their goodwill but under the UNP government more benefits continued to go to the upper class. At the same time right wing members of the SLFP did not support radical changes. Thus, right wing politics arising from the British tradition remained the most important factor shaping education and the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka.

Different local and foreign social forces, which influenced the shape of education and physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka during the period 1948-1970, will be discussed in this chapter. The major foreign influence was the UK, but under the Cold War the USA and the communist block countries in Eastern Europe were also considerable influences on the shape of education and the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka during the period 1948-1970. The major local influences were party politics and the economic status of the country. South-East Asian culture, language, religion, social class, technologically developed media, gender, nationalism,
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and the bureaucracy in the Ministry of Education were also considerable issues during the period 1948-1970.

The UNP, 1948-1956

Having taken over from Britain in 1948, the UNP ruled the country for two terms until 1956, under three leaders. A main policy of the UNP was to maintain the British traditions in the country. To protect the agreements with Britain and address other challenges, as a leader who signed the agreements with Britain, Mr. D.S. Senanayaka maintained the British conservative policies which generally did not encourage state control of the economy or education and did not favor sudden changes. For instance, the UNP decided not to change the school system though Kannangara proposed to take it totally into state control (Jayasuriya, Undated). Though the Labour Party was in power in Britain and proposed a comprehensive school system to compensate the lower social classes through the Butler Act in 1944, Kannangara’s proposed school structure, which had parallels to comprehensive schools in Britain, was not implemented in Sri Lanka.

The SLFP coalition, 1956-1965 (The Era of Sinhalese Nationalism)

An SLFP coalition with nationalist movements and some left-wing parties (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna = MEP) won the 1956 general election and ruled the country until 1960. While the main policy of the MEP was empowerment through a return to local languages and Sri Lankan heritage, at the same time it maintained a mixed economic system and a political middle path. Through this policy, the MEP introduced a system of more emphasis on state control of the mercantile and production sectors. As a result, after 1956, there was a break with the previous economic doctrine of optimum opportunity for private commercial interests (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

After the assassination of the Prime Minister Mr. Bandaranayake on 26th September 1959, his widow Mrs. Sirima Bandaranayake led the SLFP to complete victory at the 1960 general election in July and ruled the country until 1965. She was the first woman Prime Minister in the world (After casting her vote at the general election on 9th of October 2000 for Parliament in Sri Lanka, she passed away). The SLFP government between 1960 and 1965 maintained the same policies as the former SLFP government and implemented a nationalisation (known in Sri Lanka as ‘peoplisation’) scheme which delighted the majority of people in the country. A famous Sinhalese novelist Martin Wickramasingha identified the 1956-1960 era as the collapse of the elite class ("Bamunu Kulaya Binda weteema"). The SLFP policies and their implementation during the period 1956-1965 challenged the British traditions of the UNP. As K.M. De Silva (1977) commented:
Thus the nationalisation of the port of Colombo and bus transport in 1958 by Bandaranayake’s MEP government, of petroleum and insurance by Mrs. Bandaranayake’s SLFP government and the dispossession of the schools of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant missions in 1960-61 endangered the very foundations of the UNP (p. 300).

While maintaining the British parliamentary Westminster traditions, the SLFP government between 1960-1965 strengthened political connections with the communist block countries. The communist block countries such as the USSR and China had started supporting Sri Lanka in a range of ways including education and physical education during the period 1956-1960 and this support increased during the period 1960-1965. However, during this period productivity and respect for the law declined in the country and there were many unemployed graduates who had studied in vernacular languages (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

The UNP, 1965-1970

The UNP regained power in 1965. Their major policies were to compromise with political parties of minority ethnic groups and to maintain the British Westminster Parliamentary system. To address the ethnic issue, especially the Tamil language issue, the UNP established a coalition with the Federal Party, which was a major Tamil Party, at the 1965 general election. The UNP government between 1965-1970 did not totally reject the former USSR or China but mainly strengthened connections with the UK (De Silva, K.M., 1977).

3.5 Educational context, 1948-1970

During the period 1948-1970, four major educational developments can be identified: the implementation of free education from kindergarten to university; the abolition of denominationalism in education, bringing it under state control; the introduction of national languages as the medium of instruction instead of English; and the introduction of science, mathematics and technological subjects into the curriculum to make the curriculum practical. However, the Acts, Reports, Commissions and educational research in the period 1948-1970 do not mention physical education. While the educational research literature in Sri Lanka neglected it, physical education was an important subject in the Administration Reports and Circulars of the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka.
3.5.1 Free education for all

In general, the first UNP government between 1947-1956 was not genuinely happy with the free education movement. D.S. Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka at Independence, did not agree with the 1945 "free education for all" concept. He argued that it should be provided only to selected sections of the poor and only up to primary school stage, because he was aware of the financial situation in the country (Jayasuriya, Undated). Following his election defeat in 1947, Kannangara was replaced by Nugawela as Minister of Education who continued until 1952 (Sumathipala, 1968). However, successors of Kannangara supported his proposals on free education because of the voting power of the masses who wanted to get the free education scheme implemented (Jayasuriya, 1969).

The further implementation of Kannangara's free education scheme and compulsory education were purposely delayed by the UNP rulers between 1948-1956. The appointment of the new Director of Education in 1949, the White Paper on Education in 1950, the Education (Amendment) Act No. 5 of 1951 and the Education (Amendment) Act No. 43 of 1953 delayed the Kannangara proposals in education under this UNP regime (Jayasuriya, 1969). To make the curriculum more vocational and practical, Kannangara had proposed practical schools but these were not established though they were in the 1951 Act. The major reason for this was that the government consisted of managers, relatives, friends and supporters of the denominational schools and private schools who influenced the government. On the other hand, the nationalist movements of the Sinhalese and the Tamils forced the implementation of vernacular languages as the medium of instruction and the government introduced vernacular languages as medium of instruction up to Year VIII in 1955. Native religious organisations such as Buddhist and Hindu organisations continued to oppose the Christian dominance of education.

Sumathipala (1968) claims that one of the major reasons for the delay of the free education scheme was that the new Director of Education was a Roman Catholic. As a result, the Roman Catholic church school system, which was the major opponent of Kannangara's policy, was supported over the other school systems. As Sumathipala (1968) explains:

The bitterest opponent of Kannangara and his education policy was the Roman Catholic Church. The new Director of Education (designation was not changed) H. W. Howes who assumed duties on December 19, 1949 was an ardent Roman Catholic. With the fate of free education scheme in the balance it looked as if the Roman Catholic reaction had ultimately won the war though it had earlier lost many battles (p. 394-395).
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The UNP retained those features of Kannangara’s free education scheme which had been implemented before 1948, yet the major benefits of the scheme were confined to the children of the elite class who studied in the English medium and some of the lower social class children who studied at central colleges in the English medium. There were no university courses in vernacular languages; hence, university education was limited to the affluent classes. Most vernacular schools did not go beyond Year Eight. As a result, the major objective of Kannangara’s reforms, to provide educational opportunities to the lower social class under the free education scheme, was not achieved (Jayasuriya, 1969). However, as the Ministry of Education provided financial aid to most private and denominational schools under the free education scheme, the Ministry could control the school system to a greater extent under the scheme. Because of several social forces, together with factors relating to the free education scheme, the UNP government was unable to face the challenge from the Buddhist and Hindu nationalist organisations and lost the 1956 general election.

In the SLFP period 1956-1965, Kannangara’s free education scheme was strengthen. This government was radical and took crucial decisions in relation to free education, vernacular languages and State control of education. The free education scheme and the adoption of Sinhalese as the official language were great defeats for the elite class who did everything in English and enjoyed privilege and power throughout the country. From 1957, vernacular languages became the medium of instruction at the Senior School Certificate (SSC) and High School Certificate (HSC) levels in government and private schools, two new Universities were established in 1959 in Sinhalese medium, and the University of Ceylon also started courses in vernacular languages after 1960. Furthermore, State control of the education system from 1962 opened opportunities for the children of the masses in the former prestigious private schools. Thus, between 1956 and 1965, the education monopoly of the denominational bodies and the elite class was lessened through the combined effect of free education, state control of education and vernacular languages as the medium of instruction. However, Arts graduates in vernacular languages who graduated from the newly established universities faced hardship in finding work as education in these universities was not properly planned to meet required job market skills in the society (Jayasuriya, 1969).

The UNP government of 1965-1970 attempted to maintain their former conservative tradition. Their main policies were based on goodwill with minorities, compromise with denominational bodies and acceptance of new private schools, continuing free education for the masses, and subservience to the Western world. In 1965, the UNP wanted the votes of the Christian community who were against the free education movement to win the 1965 general election. Therefore, the UNP gave a promise to the
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religious leaders that they would give permission to establish fee levying schools again if they came to power.

It was widely believed that the United National Party led by Mr. Dudley Senanayake made certain promises to the Roman Catholics regarding a new deal for denominational schools in order to win their support at the general election of March 1965. In a letter dated 8th July 1967 to His Eminence Thomas Cardinal Cooray, Archbishop of Colombo, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, Minister of State, conveyed the following assurance..."I have been requested by the Hon’ble Prime Minister and the Hon’ble Minister of Education to inform you that in the new Education Bill, it is proposed to give the Minister of Education the power to enact regulations to control and levy fees" (sic) (Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 62).

Through the 1966 and 1967 Education Bills, the UNP fulfilled the above election promises. Thus, the free education scheme was weakened between 1967-70.

3.5.2 Education structure

During the period 1948-70 there were several changes to the structure of education. The main purpose of these was to introduce a practical curriculum but it was not a success. Schools continued to be organised between 1948-56 as they were prior to Independence into primary school - Kindergarten to Grade 5, and secondary school - from Grade 6 to Grade 12. Secondary school was divided into three parts namely junior secondary (Grade 6-8), senior secondary (Grade 9-10) and colleges (Grade 11-12). At the end of primary school most children went to junior secondary school because post-primary practical schools had not been established all over the island, although Kannangara had proposed it. After that, at the end of the Grade 8 there was a selection test to go to the vocational school or senior secondary school. Most students could not find a vocational school as very few had been established. As a result, students who passed the Grade 8 test and had enough money to continue their education went to the senior secondary schools to obtain the Senior School Certificate (SSC) in the English medium which was offered by the Department of Examination while the majority of children did not continue in formal education. Some schools like the Royal College and the fifty-two Central Colleges held classes for the High School Certificate (HSC) for those students who had passed the SSC. The HSC was a qualification to enter the University (Howes, 1950).

This structure continued until it was changed by the 1966 White Paper proposal that after eight years of elementary education (14+) pupils were to be classified into the four
following categories on the basis of an assessment of their individual aptitudes, abilities and attainments:

i) pupils accepted for secondary education in a Local Practical School;

ii) pupils accepted for secondary education in a Junior Technical School (Agriculture and Fisheries);

iii) pupils accepted for secondary education in a Junior Technical School (Trade and Crafts);

iv) pupils accepted for secondary education in a Senior School. (Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 113).

If a student was not selected for a particular type of school, the student could remain in Grade 8 for a second year. This classification was a clear concession to the upper social classes because children of the lower social classes generally could not afford to maintain their children for an additional year in the hope of getting a specific classification (Jayasuriya, 1969).

Technical schools were also unsuccessful. This was because all private schools had to adopt the public education system until Grade 8, but there was no restriction on establishing new private schools after Grade 8. As a result, students who did not pass the test to follow the academic curriculum could go to a private school to follow it. The majority of students were not interested in technical education.

It was not stated anywhere in the White Paper that any new private school started for children above the compulsory age range (14+) would come within the provisions of the Ministry’s scheme of education and classification. (Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 114)

When this White Paper was debated in the Parliament in 1966, it was criticised not only by the members of the Opposition but also by members of the ruling party. As 14+ years old students could go to private schools, the critics pointed out that the upper social class would avoid the practical schools like Agriculture and Fisheries because of the lower status of those professions in the Sri Lankan society (Jayasuriya, 1969). As a consequence of the criticism by the Minister’s own party, the Bill was not debated in the Parliament until the next year (Jayasuriya, 1969).

In 1967, the Minister of Education again presented the 1966 Bill, with changes, as the Draft General and Technical Education Bill, 1967. According to this Bill, schools were categorised as follows:

i) Kindergarten to Grade 8: Junior School
ii) Grade 9 to Grade 10: Senior School

iii) Beyond Grade 10: High School and tertiary institutions

After Grade 8, there was selection for Senior School. In the Senior School, students were required to follow one of the selected courses such as arts, science, technical, aesthetic or other approved curricular stream of the General Certificate of Education (GCE, O/L). For education beyond Grade 10, there were five types of institution: Trades Schools; Junior Technical Institutes; Senior Technical Institutes; High School; and Colleges of Arts, Crafts, Music and Dancing. Jayasuriya (1969) criticises the Draft Bill:

The draft Bill was on the whole a very unsatisfactory piece of work. It did not say a great deal and chose to be silent on many issues, but the little it said was marred by the lack of an intelligent approach to educational problems. (p. 118)

The main reason for the Minister of Education's attempt to establish fee levying schools again was political in character - it was designed to win the elite class. By 1970, schools fell into three types: government, private and pirivena (temple schools). The government supported the establishment of new private schools. As a result, the private schools increased in number although the government did not provide funds. However, the government trained private school teachers in government teachers colleges without fees. Ultimately, private tuition classes "boomed" to coach students for the government exams and these were permitted to teach in English medium. In addition there were temple schools or pirivena which were aided by the state.

3.5.3 State control of education

The UNP in 1948-56 maintained goodwill with assisted denominational schools while the SLFP coalition promised to take them over. However, they were not taken under government control during the period 1956-60, although it was one of the major requests of the Buddhist Congress in Ceylon in 1956. Christian pressure was one of the major factors for the postponement of state control of assisted schools. As Sumathipala says:

As a preliminary step on 8th of May 1957, the government decided to stop registration of new schools started after that date as assisted schools, thus freezing the number of assisted schools. The question of government taking over of assisted schools, however was postponed indefinitely (Administration Report Director of Education p. 19 cited in Sumathipala, 1968, p. 404).
The Education Front (Adyapana Peramuna) was formed on 14th June 1957 in Kandy to force the government to accelerate the taking of assisted schools into state hands. The Front said that the prime duty of the government was to respond to the Buddhist Congress Report. The Front organised public rallies, speeches and leaflets regarding the issue of assisted schools (Sumathipala, 1968). Thus, the government of MEP between 1956 and 1960 was in trouble because it had to listen to two parties - the masses and the assisted schools.

Differing from its predecessors, the SLFP between 1960 and 1965 placed denominational schools under government control by the Assisted Schools and the Training College (Special Provisions) Act No. 05 of 1960 and the Assisted Schools and Training College (Supplementary Provisions) Act No. 8 of 1961, thereby fulfilling Kannangara's idea of State control of education by 1962. The decision was based on their election manifesto. "The SLFP which came to power in July 1960 had pledged to establish a unified system of schools under the direct state control during the election" (SLFP Election Manifesto, 1960, cited in Sumathipala, 1968, p. 408). The domination of education by Christian and private public schools was thus lessened. The take-over of private schools brought 95% of schools under state control (De Silva, C.R., 1977). As a result, working class Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim girls and boys were able to enrol in these schools. At the same time the denominational schools, which were private schools, were forced to teach students religion - Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, because religion was made a compulsory subject for the government examination at the end of the general education.

They are not legally obliged to provide religious instruction, but many of them are forced to do so, as religion is a compulsory examination subject at the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) examination. On the whole, the issue of religious instruction may be considered to have been finally settled by the legislation of 1960 on a basis that offers absolute equality to all religions (Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 126).

3.5.4 Medium of instruction

In 1952, the Sinhalese and Tamil nationalistic movements were won over by promises that free education would continue and that national languages would be the medium of instruction for secondary education. The Ministry of Education issued a Circular to the effect that the medium of instruction in Grade 6 in 1953, Grade 7 in 1954, and Grade 8 in 1955 would be the mother tongue (Sumathipala, 1968, p. 398-399). In addition to the vernacular languages in junior schools, the government subsidised the masses by providing free food in schools.
After their re-election in 1952, in March 1953 the Minister of Education appointed a committee to examine the situation of national languages as the medium of instruction in Grade 7 and 8, with particular reference to the subjects of science and mathematics. The committee recommended that all schools should teach all subjects including mathematics and science in the national languages. As well, the Committee suggested that the English knowledge of school students should be the standard of comprehension in English sufficient to enable them to understand English books suitable to meet their needs and interests. The committee further suggested that an official glossary of scientific and technical terms suitable for teaching mathematics and science in Grade 6, 7 and 8 should be made available to teachers, pupils and prospective authors (Sumathipala, 1968, p. 399-400). The recommendations of the committee were implemented in the government schools but private schools continued to use English as the medium of instruction.

The government wanted to make the national languages the medium of instruction for higher grades. In 1953, a full-fledged Commission on Higher Education was appointed to investigate the possibility of implementing the National Languages. It issued an Interim Report in October 1954 which proposed that the national languages should be introduced in higher grades also. In 1955, the government laid down a policy that instruction should be given through the medium of Sinhalese and Tamil in all subjects except Science, Mathematics and Western languages in Pre-SSC (Grade 9) classes from January, 1956 and in the SSC (Grade 10) classes from January, 1957 (Sumathipala, 1968, p. 401).

In the crucial year of 1956, the Commission on Higher Education, which was appointed in 1953 and had published their Interim Report in 1954, published its Final Report. Although three members out of seven of the commission did not sign the report and said that they could not agree with it, most of its recommendation were implemented. The main recommendations of this Higher Education Commission related to the issue of medium of instruction at university and at earlier stages in the national education system.

The SLFP government in 1956 carefully studied the situation and acted to obtain political advantage. The government implemented most recommendations of the higher education commission because the recommendations were in line with mass demands and the Buddhist Report in 1956. As a result, Sinhalese and Tamil languages had been the medium of instruction in the SSC class since 1957 (Sumathipala, 1968; Jayasuriya, 1969).
Two major Buddhist institutions, the Vidyodaya Pirivena and the Vidyalankara Pirivena, which had been established in 1873, were upgraded to university status in 1958 under the Act No. 45 of 1958. As a result, students who studied in indigenous languages were able to obtain university degrees in Sinhalese, but Tamil medium students were not provided with a separate university during this period.

3.5.5 The practical curriculum

Kannangara's attempt to make the curriculum practical or vocational in the 1947 Ordinance was repeated through the 1951 Act by the UNP but it too failed as had earlier attempts since the 1840s. To implement the vocational schools of the Kannangara Reforms, the 1951 Act proposed vocational schools after Grade 8 whereas Kannangara had proposed it after Grade 5. Vocational schools were not established and the practical aspect of curriculum again failed while the academic curriculum continued as usual (Jayasuriya, 1969).

As part of the move to make curriculum more practical, several steps were taken to introduce Science, Mathematics and Technical Education to vernacular medium schools (Swabhasa schools) by the 1956-60 government. In 1957, General Science was introduced as a subject into the Tamil and Sinhalese medium schools. A special course for secondary trained teachers who were specialised in science was started at the Ceylon Technical College in 1958. These teachers were assigned to teach science up to HSC classes in local languages (Sumathipala, 1968).

During the period 1960-1965, the Ministry of Education took further steps to change the academic-oriented curriculum to a more practical approach. Specific course guides and students' text books were published for mathematics and science subjects in Sinhalese and Tamil so that, children who studied in local languages, could read and study science, mathematics and technical subjects with little support from their teachers. "Despite some shortcomings it was primarily responsible for maintaining the standard of science teaching despite a shortage of qualified teachers" (De Silva, C.R, 1977, p. 415).

The teaching of vocational subjects in schools was emphasised by the Jayasuriya Commission in 1962. The commission recommended that Woodwork or Metalwork should be provided for boys and Home Science for girls and that these subjects should be taught through work experience in a practical setting for much as, forty to forty-five minute periods per day working in the school garden or paddy field or practicing at school a cottage industry prevalent in that area (Jayasuriya, 1969).
However, teaching of science, mathematics, and vocational/technological subjects were limited to the teaching of theory in the classroom in most schools (De Silva, C.R., 1977). One reason for the failure of the practical curriculum was the lack of necessary resources. The central colleges and some of the big schools in the main towns who had laboratories and other resources taught the vocational and scientific curricula to some extent. However, there was still a tendency to teach theory (Jayasuriya, 1969). In addition, the people of Sri Lanka wanted to obtain certificates for their children to find government jobs; so parents and students were not interested in more practical subjects and they continued to expect certificates and an examination oriented curriculum (Little, 1999).

3.5.6. Higher education

After the University of Ceylon was established on 1st July 1942 under the Ceylon University Ordinance No. 20 of 1942, it continued its courses in the English medium in four faculties: the Faculty of Oriental Studies, the Faculty of Arts, the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Medicine (Jayasuriya, 1969). It was clear that the opportunity to enter the University was available only to the children of the affluent class and selected children of the lower social class who had studied in the Central Colleges (Jayasuriya, Undated).

To fulfill the election promises in relation to free education and vernacular language policies two universities were established in 1959. According to the University Commission Report in 1963, these were established without proper planning.

Our analysis of the Pirivena Universities Act has given us the impression that practically every person associated with the framing of that Act and its working has shown a somewhat regrettable lack of responsibility. (University Commission Report in 1963 cited in Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 167)

The D.C.R. Gunawardene University Commission of 1963 therefore recommended that the Act establishing two universities should be repealed.

In June 1945, the State Council recommended that the University of Ceylon should confer external degrees but no action was taken by the University until the decision of the Needham University Commission in 1959. The Commission made the following recommendation:

That while the commission is conscious of all the benefits obtained by internal courses of study, it nevertheless recommends that external degrees be awarded by the University of Ceylon. It is considered that the external degree should be exactly the same standard as the internal degree (The 1959 University Commission cited in Jayasuriya, 1969, p. 164).
Under Act No. 12 of 1962 the universities were empowered to hold external examinations and external degrees were awarded for the first time in 1965 (Jayasuriya, 1969). Thousands of students who could not enter the university were able to obtain university degrees from the external branch of the University of Ceylon.

In August 1966, the National Council for Higher Education Bill was introduced by the Minister of Education. Under this Bill, the Vice-Chancellors and the Registrars were appointed under the Minister’s nomination and universities were empowered to charge fees for courses of studies. Although education in the universities was free at that time, fees could be charged according to the new Bill but Universities themselves decided not to charge fees. Furthermore, the Minister of Education established Junior Universities in 1969 to compete with the main universities. As a result, many graduates and University Dons were critical of the Minister of Education during the period 1965-1970 (Jayasuriya, 1969).

3.5.7 Teacher education

Most teachers were trained by the teachers’ colleges. For non-graduate teachers, two year courses in vocational training, mathematics, science and agriculture were started during the period 1948-56 to support a more practical curriculum. Jayasuriya (1969) describes these training courses:

It was not until 1948 that arrangements were made to train teachers of vocational subjects. A two year course in vocational training for 60 men and women teachers started at the Ceylon Technical College...A two year course of training in arts and crafts was also started at the Government School of Arts and Crafts... In 1953, ... In order to train more teachers for science a two year course for teachers of science was started at the Government training College at Maharagama...In 1954, the two training colleges at Mirigama and Palaly re-named 'National Training Colleges' and re-organized to provide 'a six months' course of practical training for male trainees ... A course for training teachers of mathematics was started at the government Training College, Maharagama in 1955, and this was followed in 1957 with a course for training specialist teachers of English (pp. 139-141).

There were several other changes in teacher education in both teachers’ colleges and the University between 1960 and 1965. Under the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Act No. 5 of 1960, the private teachers’ colleges which were under the denominational bodies came under the control of the Director of Education. This allowed an increase in the number of teachers enrolled (Sumathipala, 1968). The University of Ceylon introduced a new curriculum for the Graduate Diploma in
Education course in 1960 while Bachelor of Education (B. Ed) degree courses were started in 1963.

During the period 1965-70 teacher education at certificate levels in the teachers’ colleges were continued and diploma level programs in the junior universities were established while the B. Ed degree programs in the universities were discouraged. The Ministry of Education did not recruit graduates including, B. Ed graduates, as teachers during the period 1965-1970 (Jayasuriya, 1969). Instead, the Ministry of Education established a Pupil Teachers scheme. Under the scheme, "pupil teachers" who had a SSC certificate, were recruited as school teachers. After a year’s teaching experience in schools, they were to be called for training at the teachers’ colleges but there were not enough teachers’ colleges to take them. Eventually all the pupil teachers did enter teachers’ colleges but the scheme was closed down in 1970 by the SLFP government. In 1970, junior universities were closed and students in the teacher training programs were sent to the teachers’ colleges by the SLFP government (Jayasuriya, 1969).

3.6 Physical education 1948-1970

Physical Education in Sri Lanka from Independence in 1948 to 1970 was mainly shaped by British colonial influences while the USA, the communist bloc countries and India were other foreign influences, in addition to the local social context. The major British influences were from the 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Exercises and the British public school games tradition. However, when other countries such as communist block countries and the USA initiated relationships with Sri Lanka as an independent state, the British influence gradually weakened. This was particularly the case when the SLFP was in power between 1956 and 1965 and the communist block countries influenced the shape of the entire education system including physical education. Party politics, nationalism, social class distinctions, the free education scheme, and the economic situation in the country were the major local influences to shape physical education during the period while South Asian cultures, gender, and religion were also considerable factors which impacted on physical education during this period.

Under the influence of local and foreign social forces, there were several sequential shifts in Sri Lankan physical education in the period 1948-70. Under the influences of the communist bloc countries and the nationalist movements physical activities gradually spread to the remote areas in the country. At the same time, children of the elite class were able to maintain their public school games tradition. Increasingly however, some of the children of the lower social class who went to the urban area
Chapter Three: Physical Education in Sri Lanka, 1948-1970

Central schools were able to take part in organised sports such as cricket, athletics, volleyball, netball, soccer, house meets and recreation activities. Between 1956 and 1970, children of the middle class and to some extent the lower social class were able to access British type sports opportunities through the free education scheme, state control of education and the introduction of vernacular languages as medium of instruction in urban and suburban area schools because teachers who had studied at central schools started to teach in these schools in vernacular languages. However, for the majority of children in rural and poorer schools, physical exercise or drill as prescribed in the 1933 syllabus was still the main form of physical education and often in practice the physical education period was simply a free play period.

During the period the medico-health rationale for physical education was challenged by a broader notion of physical education, derived from North America, as contributing to the emotional and social development of children. However, until Dr. H.S.R. Goonawardane left the Ministry of Education in 1968, an "education through the physical" approach gained influence especially in physical education teacher training.

There were a number of ongoing issues in relation to physical education curriculum during the period 1948-70. First, the status of physical education was low because teachers did not teach it, although it was a core subject in the primary and secondary curriculum, because it was not in the list of the examinable subjects for GCE O/L. Second, there were not enough professionally qualified teachers and experts in the discipline because there were no Sri Lankan institutions offering the subject at tertiary level. Third, the Ministry of Education emphasised the spread of school sports to all to meet the demands of the nationalist movements and as a result the teaching of physical activities at the primary and junior secondary levels were neglected. Fourth, the public school sports associations continued to discourage the participation of children of the masses in their programs. Fifth, there were not enough resources to teach the subject in schools. Sixth, there was a low level of girls' participation in physical education owing to South Asian cultures, religions and attitudes of parents. Lastly, parents, teachers, principals, bureaucrats and politicians held physical education in low esteem, particularly in the context of the competitive academic curriculum.

3.6.1 Physical education 1948-1956: continuation of the colonial system

The health benefits of physical exercise continued to be the main rationale for physical education in primary and secondary schools. In addition to the 1933 British Syllabus, the appointment of an Officer of the Medical Department, Dr. H.S.R. Gunawardene, in
charge of physical education in schools in the Department of Education in 1950 (Administration Report, 1950) ensured that the British tradition of physical exercise for health continued much as it was prior to Independence. "An officer of the Medical Department, Dr. H.S.R. Gunawarena was seconded for service as an Education Officer in charge of this work from February 1, 1950" (Howes, 1950, p. 8).

The 1950 Administration Report describes the physical education staff, and activities in the Ministry of Education in Ceylon.

The staff consists of an education officer, a Chief Inspector, and 13 Inspectors and Inspectresses, and its main concern has been to encourage every form of activity conducive to health. Sports meets, physical training, netball, volleyball, and boxing competitions have been the principal activities (Administration Report, 1950, p. 8).

Although the language of the Report describes that "its main concern has been to encourage every form of activity conducive to health" (Administration Report, 1950, p. 8), in practice, the dominant activities were sports meets and competitions.

The Olympic and Commonwealth Games success shaped school physical education through a sense of national identity. Sri Lankan star athlete, Duncan White, in the late 1940s and early 1950s won a silver medal in the men's 400m hurdles in the 1948 London Olympics and a gold medal in the 1950 Commonwealth Games for the same event. Nationalism and enthusiasm for sport were also fostered by the media, especially the radio and newspapers which constantly reported sporting activities (female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview). Administration Reports after 1950 indicate that Duncan White was employed as an athletic coach in the Department of Education in addition to his national coach position. In addition Sri Lankan boxers successfully participated in boxing events in the Commonwealth Games and Olympics. These boxers were also appointed as instructors in government schools (Administration Reports, 1948-56). Athletics and boxing success were primarily the results of the British physical education programs, and sports clubs such as AAA for the local and European planters and business people who studied in Sri Lankan elite schools. The Administration Reports between 1948 and 1960 noted that the Ministry of Education had been attempting to spread athletics and boxing programs all over the Island (Administration Reports, 1948-56).

There were other major developments in relation to physical education during the period 1948-56. Several physical education teachers who trained in Madras in India started to work in schools in Sri Lanka and new local teacher training programs in physical education for general teachers were started in the country; for instance,
weekdays and vacation courses. There was also a move to teach physical education in the vernacular languages parallel to teaching general subjects in these vernacular languages. However, though Administration Reports say that the Ministry of Education had taken steps to introduce physical education activities to rural areas (ARs, 1956-60), they did not spread to schools in rural areas owing to shortages of professionally qualified teachers and other resources. Physical education began to spread from the main cities to small towns under the pressure of the nationalist movements (retired female Education Officer, 1999, Interview).

Physical education continued to be designed and resourced to accommodate the needs of boys. South Asian cultural expectations were that girls should dress modestly, not do vigorous and competitive physical activities to protect their virginity until they married, especially during puberty. In the early 1950s, most people believed that virginity could be broken by vigorous and competitive physical activities. As South Asian cultures influenced girls' physical activities, the government ignored to provide more facilities for girls' activities and continued to favour boys (female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

3.6.2 Physical education, 1956-1970 - sports for all

The SLFP governments between 1956 and 1960 and 1960 and 1965 made policy decisions for education including physical education in response to the demands of the nationalist movements. For the nationalists, physical education and sports were important as they contributed to the health of the population and to the prestige of the nation. They wanted sporting success for several reasons such as prestige to the nation and to develop health of the masses. During the SLFP period 1956-60, more sporting opportunities were provided for children of the masses and between 1960 and 1965, these developments continued and were strengthened.

Nevertheless physical education had low priority and little attention was paid during the period 1956-65. Physical exercise as prescribed in the 1933 British syllabus and the related activities such as sports competitions, cadetting and scouting continued in elite schools and central colleges. Under the SLFP the social class gap was gradually reduced and this was reflected in school physical education activities. Although it was only a partial shift, the nationalist movements had catalysed participation in organised games and sports in the vernacular schools. The take-over of most of the schools by the state in 1961 further motivated nationalist movements to act on behalf of masses. Under these circumstances, children of the lower social class were able to access more physical education opportunities.
Elite schools and central schools on the other hand continued to maintain the British traditions. All Island athletic and games championship meets for elite public schools continued to be held annually. The urban public schools and central schools continued to organise public school athletic meets, played games, taught in English medium, and provided better educational facilities. However, state control of education challenged the opportunities of the affluent class on the island during this period. For instance, teachers from the Maharagama teachers’ college and graduates educated in the central schools introduced cricket, soccer, swimming and netball to rural area schools (De Silva, C.R., 1977). Other major shifts were the inclusion of physical education as a core subject in the primary and junior secondary school curriculum from 1956 and more sports and medico-scientific oriented local and foreign teacher training schemes after 1959.

In 1965, the UNP was once more elected into government and their main physical education policy was to maintain the British traditions, but they also retained the physical education policies of the previous government. They did this for a number of reasons. The newly elected government wanted to keep connections with the Western world so they maintained the policy of protecting the British physical education traditions. On the other hand, they had to maintain the physical education policies of the previous government which protected the opportunities of the children of the masses as they needed to obtain the votes of their parents.

There were four major developments during the period 1965-70: the reduction of three weekly periods of physical education to two in the junior secondary curriculum after 1967; the organisation of an All Island athletic meet after 1968 for children of primary and junior secondary schools and rural area senior high schools; the establishment of the Ministry of Sports; and the change from medico-health approach to physical education teacher training to a broader educational approach with the establishment of a physical education teacher training two-year Diploma Course at the Kuliyapitiya Junior University in 1969.

3.6.3 School physical education curriculum in practice

The Administration Reports of the Ministry of Education indicated that the Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools in 1933, which was issued by the Board of Education for England and Wales, continued to be used during the period 1948-1956. It is likely that the activities in the 1933 Syllabus of Physical Training were taught in primary and junior secondary schools within the school timetable. In response to the nationalist movements which had emerged in the period 1948-56, some parts of the syllabus were
translated into vernacular languages. The Director of Education reported in his Administration Report 1950 that:

The Handbook of Physical Training issued by the Board of Education (English) is being followed in the Primary Schools. The Sinhalese and Tamil translations of this syllabus are in process of revision (p. 8).

One of the informants for this study, a male College of Education physical education lecturer, commented positively on the translated syllabus. He said that there were many games such as Rat and Mouse, Fire on the Mountain etc. in the syllabus. As the syllabus was in vernacular languages, it was easily followed by more teachers.

Mama oya kiyana syllabus eka kiyawala tiyenawa mehe uganwanna. A wagema ahala tiyenawa samahara puhunu guruwaru me kriyakarakam hondin a kale kala kiyala Oke kriyakarakam 400-500 gananak tiyenawa lamayinda. Mata hitenne danata wada hondata oya pratamika pantiwala PE uganwana ati A dawaswala me syllabus eka diha balapuwama. (COE primary PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview)

I have read this syllabus as a reference for teaching in my college and I have heard that some trained teachers had taught these activities very well. In the syllabus, there are about 400-500 activities for primary students. Having seen the syllabus, I felt that PE seemed to be taught during that period better than that of today (COE primary PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The 1933 Syllabus continued to be the main curriculum document during the period 1956-70. Although the ARs suggest that enough copies of the newly translated Sinhalese version of the 1933 syllabus were distributed to schools (Goonawardene in ARs, 1963-64), according to this study’s informants, in practice adequate copies were not distributed (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999 Interview). It is likely then that the 1933 syllabus was not used as intended nor the activities described in the ARs and the Circulars indicative of physical education practice in many schools.

The ARs and circulars provide evidence of the nature of the primary and secondary physical education curriculum during the period. They describe physical training; games and eurhythms for primary schools; hygiene and health education for both primary and secondary schools; Organised games, Competitions, and Sports for urban area secondary schools; and the British public school games tradition in elite schools. Time allocations for physical education per week were different for different classes in the primary school: for Grade 1 to Grade 3, there were ten periods per week, and for Grade 4 and 5, its were five periods per week (De Silva, S.F., 1956, p. 11-14). For upper grades, from Grade 6, physical education was mainly conducted as competitions in organised sports for which students were coached during the allocated physical
education periods and which were mainly played after schools in most urban areas as a co-curricular activity (COE primary PE female lecturer C, 1999, Interview).

Despite curriculum/syllabus provisions in primary and secondary schools, physical education was often nothing more than a play period. Health/hygiene lessons were mainly taught in the classroom while in Physical Training (PT) periods, students played their own games. Most of the informants, who were school students in the 1950s and 1960s, commented that in a few urban area convents, boys' and mixed schools where there were interested teachers, drills, physical training, and games in the physical education (PT) period were taught but in most schools it was a free play period.

I studied at a convent in the late 1950s and in the 1960s. In PT period, we were taught drills and games, but I have heard that in other schools it was a free play period when we were schooling (COE primary PE female lecturer C, 1999, Interview).

I went to school in the late 1950s and in the 1960s. When we went to the playground in the PT period, any teacher came to the ground and asked us to do anything. We were not taught any PE activities which are taught at present by our PE student in teaching practice (COE male lecturer other than PE B, 1999, Interview).

Physical education was not an examinable subject for the GCE O/L during the period. It was still known only as physical training (Saramba) and the physical education periods in the general timetable were mainly used to teach health or hygiene in Grade 9 and in Grade 10 in the classrooms. As one informant commented:

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In the 1960s, I went to my native village school which was situated in a very remote area in the Nuwara Eliya District. In our class timetable, the name of the PE period was Physical Training (Saramba). If we did not have any work, we were sent to the playground by our teachers. Playing in the ground was called dancing (doing a useless thing) by our teachers. They asked from us "did you dance in the play ground?" Its meaning was that we had done useless activities there. Its hidden idea was that sporting or students' play activities were useless (COE LCO and lecturer in PE A, 1999, Interview).

Sometimes, one period out of the two periods allocated to PE was used to teach hygiene in the lower grades also. However, this was decided by the class teacher. As a general practice, the class teacher taught almost all subjects for their class in the period 1956-1970 in most junior schools. Hence, the teacher had a busy timetable. As a result, the PE period was used to relax while the students enjoyed themselves in the playing field (COE LCO and lecturer in PE A, 1999, Interview).

This was not the case in schools where there were specialist teachers. The teachers who underwent the physical training teacher training programs and who obtained their professional qualifications in physical education from Madras, or from elsewhere in the world, taught drills, minor games, hygiene and activities which were in the 1933 syllabus. For instance, a female lecturer in primary physical education at a COE (1999, Interview) commented:

Mama convent ekaka primary class wala igeneganna kale ape teachers la pittaniyata apiwa aran gihin drill igennuwa PE period ekedi. Api ihala pantiwala igenaganna kale apiwa netball walata toragatta. Sawas kale apita netball training kala. (COE female primary PE lecturer C, 1999, Interview)

When I was studying at a convent in primary grades we were taken into the play ground by our class teachers who taught us drills during the PE periods. When we were in the higher grades, we were selected for netball competitions and we were coached by our teachers after school (COE female primary PE lecturer C, 1999, Interview).

Reduction of time for the physical education curriculum after 1965

Under the UNP 1965-70, there were no changes to primary physical education, however for junior secondary level and above the time allocation for it was reduced to two periods instead of three. In Circular No. 48 dated 3rd December 1967, the Director General of Education, Perera, advised all heads of schools to use the following curriculum for grade 6 from 1st January 1968 in Sri Lankan schools. Course guides in these subjects were supplied.
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Table 3: Curriculum and time allocation for subjects in Grade 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Periods per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhala/Tamil</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (Second Language)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Mathematics</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Science</td>
<td>3 (with one double period)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies; i. History, ii. Geography</td>
<td>4 (2 periods per subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical Education</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic Education (Art, Music, Dancing)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Work Experience in Agriculture/Fisheries</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicraft (for boys: Woodwork or Metalwork or two cottage craft; for girls, Needlework is compulsory, and Home Science or one craft)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Perera, 1967, Circular No. 48 dated 3rd of December 1967, bold is not in original)

According to informants here, the two periods allocated to physical education in the table were used separately for health and physical training (PT). 'In that health period we were
taught Hygiene. The PE period in the secondary schools was just a play period’ (Ape PE period eka a kale namkale saramba kiyala. Apita soukya period ekak wenama tibuna. Saramba period eke api sellam kala) (COE LCO and specific PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview). Teaching processes in the hygiene period were focused from Grad 6 on the SSC examination and health practices, first aid, nutrition, diseases, germs and prevention, and different organ systems in the human body.

3.6.4 Health education

Health education was continued as a separate subject in 1948. Health education activities included hygiene, providing of mid-day meals, the school medical service and physical training. In 1948, there was another heading mentioned in Administration Report, 'Health Work in Schools'. Under this heading, there were two major topics: Mid-day Meals to School Children and Physical Training which included the school medical service. The topic 'Mid-day Meal' explained how meals were organised and provided to schools. Under the topic 'Physical Training' the Director of Education explained how he had organised and implemented the school medical service:

Medical inspections of schools have been regularly conducted by the medical authorities. Attention has been paid to defects reported and corrective measures have been adopted. The Medical Department has been ever ready to co-operate with the school authorities in the improvement of the health of the school children and their co-operation is appreciated (Director of Education in AR, 1948, p. 14).

By 1956, the provision of the school mid-day meal was discontinued and the heading of 'physical education and school meal service' in the Administration Report was changed to 'physical education'. The role and functions of the school medical service were discussed under the topic of physical education (De Silva, S.F., 1956).

One of the specific features which continued during the period 1948-1960 was the school health competition, which had been organised well prior to Independence to maintain the health standards in schools. Every year, the Director of Education issued a circular indicating criteria in the annual school health competition. The Circular No. 5 of 1952 dated 21st of January 1952 explains health education procedures in the competition as follows:

(v) Health Education Procedure.

Daily morning inspection, scoring of health habit booklet weighing and measuring maintenance of class charts, proper use of handkerchief, proper storage of
drinking water, use of individual drinking cups, mid-day meals, first aid outfit, health log book, health clubs, proper storage and disposal of refuse, organised play and games, pupils' participation in morning inspection, maintenance of latrines and urinals, boiling and storage of drinking water, preparation and serving of mid-day meals, cleaning of buildings, furniture of surroundings, disposal of refuse, parent teacher associations, parent days' school health demonstrations, health museums (Director of Education; Circular No. 5 of 1952; 21.01.1952, Education Office, Colombo, bold is not in original).

Hygienic practices such as brushing teeth, cutting nails, combing hair, doing exercises, washing face, cleaning own body and surroundings, and organising medical examination and seminars with the support of the Health Department, were considered as health education and conducted with physical education. For Grade 9 and 10 (SSC), Hygiene was an examinable subject and most schools used the physical training period to teach Hygiene in these classes. The Director of Education continued to include Health Education under the topic of Physical Education during the period 1956-1960. Priority was also given to Health as a major concern and physical education continued to be primarily taught in terms of its contribution to health. School Health Education programs were conducted with a close association with health authorities.

This Department is working in close collaboration with the Department of Health Services as regards Health Education in Schools and Training Colleges. Medical Officers and Health Educators from the Health Department visited the Training Colleges and delivered lectures and conducted field visits (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 105).

Health aspects in the physical education section were further strengthened by the appointment of a foreign expert. In addition to Dr. H.S.R. Goonawardene who had been the head of the physical education section since 1950, Mr. Philip Riley, who was a health expert from the USA, was appointed to the physical education section as an advisor in 1958. According to the Director of Education: "He conducted a very useful Residential Course for lecturers from the Training Colleges. An attempt is being made to re-organise the program of Health Education in schools and Training Colleges and more emphasis will be given to Health Education in the future" (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 105).

In 1960, the emphasis on health over physical education in the physical education period was criticised. This was reflected in the Administration Reports.

Mr. P. L. Riley, our health expert, has taken a very active share in organising these refresher courses because it was felt that our teachers should understand the purpose of physical education. There has been a tendency for certain persons to
think of physical education on somewhat narrow lines and physical education as being or less (sic) physical training (De Silva, S.F., 1960, p. 122).

Whereas the Administration Reports in 1958, 1959 and 1960 mention health education, between 1960 and 1965 school health activities are not mentioned in the context of physical education by the Director of Education. In the Administration Report of 1964-65, the topic was 'Physical and Health Education' but in all other Reports between 1960-1964, the heading was only 'Physical Education (Administration Reports; 1960-1961, p. 7; 1962-63, p. 144; 1963-64, p. 113 and 1964-65, p. 112). This suggests that the health emphasis in physical education declined after 1960.

3.6.5 School Sports

Match play (team games), coaching and competitions (athletics, boxing) were specific features of all schools in urban and suburban areas during the period 1948-56. These events were recommended by the 1933 British Syllabus of Physical Training but with limitations. The 1933 syllabus did not recommend coaching, match play and competitions during the physical education period. For instance, it says that such activities hinder an equal share of play for younger players and handicapped children according to their physical performances. It further recommends that coaching, match play and competitions should be done after school and during the holidays. The harmful and beneficial effects of these matches and competitions are explained in the 1933 British syllabus, which was published in 1949 as follows:

It should hardly be necessary to remark that all children should have an equal share of play, practice and coaching during the games period. Undue concentration on special teams or special players is unsound from an educational standpoint and is unfair to the weaker players. The legitimate time for coaching of representative teams is after school hours. Any tendency to employ adult methods of competition and to adopt adult systems of awards regardless of the effect they may have on a child's immature mind and personality must be avoided. The existence of school teams, it is true, raises the standard of play, increases interest and promotes esprit de corps. But, if matches or outside contests loom too large in a school program there is the danger that the needs of the average or weaker player may be sacrificed to the interest of those who may "win the cup". With the increase of opportunities in recent years for taking part in outside competitions as well as school events, the exploitation of a few individually good players (boys probably more so than girls) is undoubtedly growing. Those in authority are advised to keep a careful watch on the amount of strenuous competitive exercise gifted young players of either sex may be asked to perform (The Board of

Following the guidance of the syllabus and departmental policy, organised sports, competitions, and matches were held after school and at weekends and considered as an extra-curricular activity in the school program (Director of Education in Administration Reports, 1948-70).

3.6.5.1 The British public school games traditions in Sri Lanka

The British public school tradition continued in elite private schools (in Sri Lanka, elite class private and urban area large government schools were called public schools) and selected government schools. The boys in public schools continued to play British public school games such as cricket and rugby football while the girls' schools had netball and athletics. In addition to elite schools, British public school sports and physical education activities were enjoyed by students who studied under government scholarships at newly established central colleges. British style inter-schools athletics and games competitions were held at Island level by the different athletics and games federations. The boys in senior schools in urban and rural areas continued to participate in volleyball and drills while the girls mainly did only drills but a few were able to do athletics and volleyball. Physical education activities in vernacular primary and junior secondary schools were limited to drills, local games and participation in annual athletic circuit meets.

During this period cricket and rugby football continued to be played mostly by boys in public schools (elite class private and government schools) and in some central colleges (COE specific PE male lecture B, 1999, Interview). Some of the principals and teachers at central colleges, who had studied at public schools and had played cricket and football, introduced these sports into central colleges. Most of these central schools were away from Colombo. Retired training college male lecturer 'A', who went to a school in Trincomalle city during this period, commented that he had participated in competitive sporting activities:

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I studied at Hindu College in Trincomalee. Though it was a Tamil denominational school, children of all ethnic groups studied there. In that school, we could play any sport. Our PE teacher was a Madras trained teacher in PE. He did not teach us PE owing to two reasons: hot temperature in the area and he had to teach English as English teacher shortage was an issue. However, he organised sports competitions for all sports. Football was the most favorite game of this school; therefore, I also played football. We were members of the city football clubs; hence, our school teams were trained by the clubs. The training which we got from the clubs, practised at school. After the circuit, district and province levels, we came to Colombo for All-Island matches (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

The Administration Reports did not report on public school cricket or rugby football after 1948. The major reason was that cricket requires finance to buy equipment for the schools of the masses and this money had to be collected by schools themselves. To play rugby football tournaments also required considerable funds. As a result, from 1945 the government had allowed the public schools to charge game fees to continue their traditions. Rural area schools could not afford such expensive sports; and so, cricket and rugby football were not popular in the rural areas.

Netball was popular in the urban area girls' public schools and central schools during this period. Inter-school netball matches were organised on an All-Island basis and the final matches were played in Colombo every year. One of the informants here reported that the All-Island Netball Cup had always gone to a famous central college at Ibbagamuwa, a rural area mixed central college near to Kurunegala (Female University lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

Only thing that I could remember was this famous one which had netball and sort of things. That was Ibbagamuwa central college and always they carried the shield. We had district levels but you know All-Island championship always went to Ibbagamuwa (Female University lecturer B, 1999, Interview)

3.6.5.2 Athletics

Compared to rugby football and cricket, athletics was relatively inexpensive and so spread all over the island. The Public School Athletic Association (PSAA) did not invite normal
schools to participate in their public school athletic meets. These were only open to elite class public schools and selected central colleges where principals or physical education teachers were old boys of public schools. The Department of Education organised circuit, district and provincial athletic meets separately for rural area schools and some schools in urban areas. The Director of Education in 1954 reports:

The Public School Athletic Association continues to hold championship meets for the collegiate schools and these schools do not take part in the provincial meets organised by the Department (Administration Report, 1954, p. 12).

The winning of the 1948 Olympic and 1950 Commonwealth Games silver and gold medals respectively further motivated athletics in schools, mainly in public schools and central schools. The All-Island Public School Athletic Senior and Junior National Meets which were started in 1924 and the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) Junior National Athletic Meet of Ceylon which had been founded in 1934 (Dhanawandene, 1992, p. 34), were organised for boys and girls in public schools and central colleges, while other schools did not go beyond provincial level athletics. Director of Education, Howes (1951) reported:

Athletics is becoming increasingly popular. The Ceylon A.A.A. and the Public Schools' Sports Association hold Championship Meets every year. The Ceylon A.A.A. holds the Junior Championship Meet for boys and girls under 19 years of age irrespective of their attendance at school while the Public School Meets cater for those schools - mainly the collegiate schools - affiliated to the Association...The Education Department holds 9 Provincial Athletic Meets at which the best athletes from some 106 school circuits take part. These meets are intended for schools that are not affiliated to the Public Schools' Sports Association, viz., the smaller English schools and the national schools. The number of schools that take part is steadily increasing (p. 14).

The various meets described above were very popular in Sri Lanka during the period 1948-1970. One of the major reasons for that popularity was the increased coverage by the newspapers and radio. For instance, one of the informants who first enrolled in a school near Colombo in 1951 did not participate in the meet in 1951 as it was her first year in the school, but she did listen to the radio broadcast of the AAA Junior National Meet. In 1952, the lecturer participated in the meet.

We used to take part in this AAA meet and the meet used to be given on the radio broadcasting also. In my first year that was 1951 at that school, I did not participate in the relay but we used to pack round to the radio in the hostel to listen what was happening to our team. From next year, I represented the school and our
team won hurdles, long jump and relays (Female university lecturer B, 1999, interview).

Different types of athletics competitions, coaching camps and activities were organised for different schools after 1956. The Deputy Director of Education for Physical Education Goonewardene (1960) categorised these athletic meets under the Circular No.PHE/A 602 dated 8th of January 1960 as follows.

**Group I: Junior Schools or National Schools' Provincial Championships Meet for girls and boys.**

This meet was open to junior schools. No school of central or senior grade status was eligible to participate in this group. Schools in this group did not go beyond the provincial level.

**Group II: All Island Inter-Central Schools and Senior Schools Meet for Senior Schools.**

An Inter-Central and Senior School Athletics Meet was first started in 1957 for schools where children of lower social classes studied. This meet was started for two reasons: 1) to meet the government policy requirements of vernacular languages as medium of instruction because all Central and Senior schools started instruction in vernacular languages after 1957; and 2) to provide opportunities to students in Senior and Central Schools who would have been excluded from the AAA Junior Championship Meet and the Public School Athletic Meets. The Director of Education in various Administration Reports (1958-65) during this period highlights the progress of the inter-central and senior school athletic meet.

This Department has now organized several coaching centres throughout the Island. Some of these are conducted by past athletes. Mr. Duncan White visited a number of these centres and carried out extensive coaching. This scheme is already showing good results because it was observed that standards had definitely improved at the last All-Ceylon Inter-Central and Senior School Meet where nearly 1,000 athletes participated (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 104).

In athletics alone, nearly 198 meets were held with 109,713 boys and 16,424 girls from schools participating. It is heartening to note that the number of boys and girls from rural schools participating in the various tournaments organised by the Education Department is on the increase from year to year...This scheme is already showing good results as seen in the improved standards at the last All-Ceylon Central and Senior Schools’ Sports Meet at which nearly 1,500 athletes participated (De Silva, S.F., 1959, p. 167).
The standard of athletics is gradually improving but the far more important feature is the large number of children who are actually interested in and participate in games and athletics (De Silva, S.F., 1960, p. 122).

The interest shown regarding this sphere of activities especially by rural school is continuing to be keen. The All-Ceylon Inter-Central and Senior School Athletic and Physical Training competitions were held at Kurunegala, and the All-Ceylon Schools volleyball and netball competitions were held in Jaffna. The total number of schools participating in these competitions was 4,716. The total number of male competitors were 44,057 and the total number of female competitors were 39,192 (Director of Education in Administration Report, 1964-65, p. 112).

In 1957, the Ministry of Education introduced a 500 general area scholarship scheme for children who passed the year 5 and 8 scholarship examinations. In line with this program, an extra ten scholarships were awarded to athletes who had shown outstanding performance in the Inter-Central Athletic Meet. The athletes were given free food and lodging near Colombo and Jaffna and provided with expert coaching facilities in athletics. The Administration Report explained:

In order to encourage rural athletes who show promise 10 scholarships have been awarded, as in the previous year, to boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 14. Nine of these athletes have been granted free board and lodging at a Madya Maha Vidyalaya close to Colombo and the other at a Central school at Jaffna. They are being coached by the departmental athletic coach (De Silva, S.F., 1959, p. 167).

Group III: Girls Schools Athletic Championships

The meet was open for girls' schools and the girls' section of mixed schools who did not participate in other athletic meets. Schools which were members of this group could not participate in the meets organised for groups I and II.

Group IV: All Island Public School Championships

This meet was open only to member schools of the Ceylon Public Schools' Athletic Sports Association and also only to boys. However, girls were permitted to compete in relay events. Qualifying meets which were known as group meets, were held at various centres for elite schools. The final meet was held annually in Colombo. Schools which were members of this association could not participate in the meets organised for groups I and II. As one informant commented:

Me tarange sanvidanaya kale rajaye pasal wala aya newei. Oya St Thomas, Royal wage poudgalika iskolawala ugannapu Oya Mr. Nugegodalage father la wage aya
The meet was organised by private school teachers who taught at big schools such as St. Thomas and Royal College. One of the organisers was Mr. Nugegoda’s father. They had enough resources and organising ability. The main organising body was in Colombo while eight provinces were divided into eight groups. Once I have been selected to come to Colombo for the final meet from our group, Trincomalee. The final Meet was ceremonially held annually in Colombo (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

To encourage children from beyond the urban areas, additional programs and resources were developed. For instance, an All-Island Athletic Meet was first held in 1966 for rural area school children who did not go beyond the provincial level athletics. The Administration Report remarked on the event: ‘here too the standard of performance was high’ (Perera, in Administration Report, 1965-66, p. 156).

In addition to government support, the business people and planters who studied in public schools in Britain and in Ceylon started different sports clubs such as athletics, football, boxing, cricket, hockey and other sports. The Ministry of Education encouraged school students to obtain memberships of these clubs (Administration Reports, 1948-1970). These were established around the cities by the business people and by the planters in the vicinity of their estates and elite school children at HSC level were able and encouraged to join these clubs. Cricket, athletics and football clubs were confined to main towns such as Kandy, Galle, Jaffna and Colombo where public schools were located (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

3.6.5.3 Sports for the masses: volleyball, boxing, and wrestling

Most of the Administration Reports between 1948-70 mention volleyball, boxing, and wrestling in addition to athletics in the majority of secondary schools. While cricket, and rugby football were popular in the public schools, the Department of Education continued to encourage volleyball, wrestling and boxing, which had been introduced during the colonial period for boys in the majority of senior secondary schools. Volleyball was mostly played by boys in rural area schools and in a few urban schools located away from Colombo, and by some girls in central schools. Annual All-Island volleyball tournaments were held for boys only by the Education Department (Administration Reports, 1948-1956).
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The Department of Education attempted to popularise boxing as a school sport but it was popular only in a few provinces. Most Administration Reports through the 1900s had commented on school boxing. The Ceylon Boxing Association sent teams to the Olympics in 1948, 1952 and 1956. The Ministry could not popularise it in every school because the Buddhist Sinhalese discouraged the program. "Boxing is less popular in some of the schools; boxing matches were held only in the Western, Northern and Central Provinces" (Administration Report, 1954, p. 12). In addition to boxing, wrestling and swimming were also introduced to schools and teachers' colleges:

With the introduction of wrestling in some of the men's training colleges, there is a considerable increase in the number of Swabasha (sic) (vernacular) schools that have introduced wrestling. Mr. Lankatilake continues to render honorary service as an instructor in wrestling at the training colleges...Swimming is a new activity that has been started. Classes for boys were held at Negombo, Kalutara and Ratnapura. Provision has been made at the Maharagama Training College for swimming classes (Administration Report, 1954, p. 12).

In keeping with its policy of 'social equity' the SLFP was interested in providing opportunities to the children of the masses. Bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education encouraged school sports as valuable extra-curricular activities after school.

I wish to invite your attention once more to my circular GEM 4968 relating to the educational importance of extra-curricular activities. Games, Scouting and Guiding, school concerts and drama are indispensable activities for the education of pupils and it is, therefore, the duty of all teachers to take their share in the development of these quite as much as in work in classrooms (De Silva, S.F., 1958, Circular No. 37 of 1958).

To fulfil the objectives of the organised sports and games, different types of activities were organised by the Director of Education; for instance, local and European games and sports coaching camps. The sporting coaching camps were organised by different experts: volleyball- national player Senarathna; athletics - former Olympian Duncan White; Netball- Sri Lankan Netball Association; Wrestling- national players Rodrigo and Lankatilake (De Silva, S.F., 1958). Athletics and volleyball were already started and popular but gymnastics, scouting, girl guiding, and cadetting were introduced in 1958 and continued to be popular in senior secondary schools in urban and semi-urban areas (De Silva, S.F., in Administration Reports, 1956-1963).
3.6.5.4 Indigenous Games

Indigenous nationalistic movements also influenced physical education activities during the period 1956-1965. For instance, the Director of Education reported in the Administration Report in 1958 that the Director had prepared a Booklet on Indigenous Games:

"This Department has now prepared a Booklet containing a number of Indigenous Games of Ceylon. This Booklet will be printed and distributed to schools as early as possible. More schools especially in the rural areas have now taken to Indigenous Games and Competitions in them will be organized early." (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 105)

In 1963, a Circular on the rules and regulations of the game of elle, a local game which is like baseball but uses local bamboo bats and tennis balls or tennis ball size rubber balls, was distributed to government schools where working class children studied (Goonawardene, Circular No. 13 dated 4th October, 1963). Elle was increasingly popular in rural areas and was introduced to the universities by the students who were interested in the game. As one College of Education male lecturer who was a student at the Peradeniya University in 1964 explains:

"Elle apine Peradeniye aramba kale 1964 Meeriyagolle mahathmayage pradanathwayen. Oya Peradeniye wena deseeya kreeda mokakwath tibune nehe oya kale (COE male lecturer other than PE A, 1999, Interview)"

"In 1964, we introduced Elle to the Peradeniya University under the leadership of Mr. Meeriyagolle. When I was studying at the Peradeniya, no one played any other indigenous games (COE male lecturer other than PE A, 1999, Interview)"

3.6.5.5 Sport participation and rivalries in vernacular schools

When vernacular schools started to play inter school competitions, which were part of the public school games tradition, rivalries and conflicts developed among schools and communities. As part of government policy to provide more facilities for the masses, the Director of Education encouraged inter-school competitions as extra-curricular activities among government schools. However, the competitions created conflicts between schools and even among communities, ethnic, religious, and caste groups. For instance, when a school competition was organised, both sides attempted to win the match at all costs because they were not ready to lose to another ethnic, religious or caste group. At times, the events ended with riots. To avoid these conflicts, the Director of Education issued an
instruction via Circular No. 37 dated 21 of October 1958, to all schools. The ethics of the public school games tradition is very evident in the language used about the children of the masses playing games and sports. It said:

As you are aware, pupils and even adults who are not familiar with such activities as inter-school competitions and games, are very often carried away by a desire to win at all costs. Feelings, therefore, run high and a very unhealthy spirit of rivalry often comes into play marring completely the educational value of such inter school activities. The importance to the pupils of interschool competitions is, however very great and it is our duty to face these dangers and overcome them. We have to train our pupils to understand that in an inter school competition what is worthwhile is the effort made by one team or the other, to achieve victory. We have to teach pupils that they must not only rejoice in their own victory but learn to congratulate those whom they have defeated and in no way insult them (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 4).

Though the Director of Education explained the value of the participation in sports theoretically, the misconduct of school children who participated in sporting activities, was not addressed. The Director considered that it was the school principal’s responsibility to stop such behavior. As working class children continued to be involved in riots at the sporting events, the Director asked school principals to stand surety for each participant’s character before they were nominated for a sport. This was made clear in the following circular from the Director of Education:

**Rules governing the conduct of students taking part in sports competitions**

In future no student from a school will be permitted to take part in a sports or athletic event unless the Principal of his or her school certifies in writing that the student’s conduct has been excellent. Mere proficiency in a particular field of sport or in athletics will not therefore automatically entitle a student to participation in sports and athletics.

Principals/Head Masters/Head Mistress of schools should immediately bring this to the notice of pupils in their schools and furnish the requisite statement in respect of each student who is chosen to participate in some item or sports (De Silva, S.F, 1959, Circular No. 5/59 dated 30th of January 1959).

Social class distinctions were continued in school sports. In the period 1956-65, most urban area schools and central colleges continued to play public school games such as cricket and rugby football. Students in rural area schools, including high schools (in Sri Lanka known as Maha Vidyalaya) did not play these games. Athletics, volleyball and Elle were the principal sports in these areas.
Elle and volleyball continued to spread to rural areas. By 1970, athletics had spread to senior secondary schools which were situated in the semi-urban areas while games like volleyball and elle were the major sporting activities in the rural areas. A College of Education President who was born in a very remote area and has taught in the same area commented on how the above sports had spread to remote areas by 1970:


By 1970, Volleyball and Elle were popular among our native village school children and among our village youths. My native village is situated about 30-40 miles away from Anuradhapura. Next, I got my first teaching appointment at Padaviya in 1970. In that school also we did elle and volleyball but cricket and soccer were not there (COE President, 1999, Interview).

When the Ministry of Sports was established in 1968 (Dhanawardene, 1992), it impacted on physical education in Sri Lanka. H.S.R. Goonawardene, who was the Deputy Director of Education, was appointed as the Secretary of the Ministry of Sports (retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview). Despite the conservative policies of the UNP, the communist block countries, especially the GDR, started to offer sports and PE scholarships for study in their countries to sports officers in the Ministry of Sports in Sri Lanka. Upon their return, these officers helped to coach school students in Sri Lanka (Director Institute of Sports Science, Ministry of Sports, 1999, Interview).

3.6.5.6 Scouting, Cadetting and Sports Clubs

Scouting and cadetting had been confined to public schools, but during the period 1956-1965 they were also introduced to other schools. The Director of Education commented on the development of the scout and girl guide movements in all the Administration Reports between 1956-1965. Some examples are as follows:

Teachers are taking a keen interest in scouting and it has been very popular in our schools. This Department works in close collaboration with the Scout Association in their scheme of work. This year Scouting was introduced into 36 Central Schools, 80 Senior Schools, 318 Sinhalese Schools, 67 Training Schools (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 104).
Another sphere of physical education to which special attention has been given is the development of the scout movement and girls' guide movement in the rural schools. This year, 1,893 teachers completed training as scout masters. There are today 680 schools which have scout troops. 437 of this number are all schools in rural areas (De Silva, S.F., 1960, p. 122).

A request was made to the Inspecting Officers to create an interest in the Principals to start scout troops in almost every school (Director of Education, 1964-65, p. 112).

Cadet Corps was established in the rural area schools. The school Cadet program had been originally introduced to prepare military leaders and soldiers from the upper class and middle class during the colonial and post-colonial periods. However, in the period 1956-1970, the cadet program was also introduced to rural schools. Like scout programs, the cadet program was also given specific mentions in every Administration Report.

This Department gave its full support to the Ceylon Cadet Corps. A number of new Junior platoons were formed. A training camp for Cadet Officers was also held (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 104).

The Ceylon Cadet Corps now consists of 4 Battalions. The 4th Battalion was formed this year (Director of Education in the Administration Report, 1964-65, p. 112).

Cadeting, Scouting and Guiding, became increasingly popular. The rural schools showed a special interest in this field (Director of Education in the Administration Report, 1965-66, p. 156).

3.6.6 Girls in physical education and culture

Girls' participation in physical education varied according to their social class and rural-urban locations. Public school girls in urban areas participated in athletics, netball and other physical activities while middle-grade town area girls participated in volleyball, drill and some netball. The girls in the rural area primary and junior secondary schools did drills, some volleyball, local games, and running in the annual circuit athletic meets. However, girls' participation in sports in rural area schools depended on teachers' and parents' attitudes to physical activities. As one female informant commented:

Girls were not always allowed to participate in sports. For instance, when I was in the village school from 1942 to 1951, my father did not like me to take part in sports. When I came to a school near to Colombo he had no control. Of course, though they were educated they were rigid. He did not allow me to take part even in drama and all sorts of things but after coming to Colombo school I did my own
selecting. In urban area schools, Buddhist and Hindu girls see Catholic girls doing sporting activities wearing shorts and very short divided skirts. We also wore some short divided skirts but not as short as our present athletic stars who wear very short running costumes. Of course, even now, people expect that our girls should not be so western. In the 1950s, the situation was highly cultural biased in the rural areas in the country (Female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

Some parents and teachers respected the South Asian culture which discouraged girls from participating in sporting activities. These attitudes were related to their native religions, Buddhism and Hinduism.

All the informants here agreed that girls’ participation in physical education activities during the period 1956-1970 had increased compared to earlier periods, although they all suggested that it was still less than 10% of school girls who participated in sporting activities. Little (1999) suggests that physical education teachers were employed only in urban area elite schools. The girls in these elite schools and some of the other high schools were able to play netball and to do athletics. Even in these schools, most girls did not do physical activities. In 90% of schools the majority of girls did not participate in netball and volleyball competitions. A small percentage of girls ran for annual athletic circuits or district and provincial meets (Female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

All female and male informants agreed that girls’ participation in physical activity in Sri Lankan schools was marginalised by the South-East Asian cultural expectation, which was intertwined with indigenous religions. As one female informant who studied at a Superior Girls’ School in Colombo Commented:


In 1965, I attended to the Devi Balika Vidyalaya in Colombo. Yet, I did not participate in running and jumping events; instead I did drills because my father was not happy for me to do so, though he was a school principal. Those days, they thought that running and jumping events were not suitable to girls. Even at present, those attitudes still prevail in our society as they were intertwined by our culture and religion (Training College female lecturer in English A, 1999, Interview).
3.6.7 The role of the media and physical education

The media, especially the radio and the newspapers, constantly reported sporting activities during this period (Female university lecturer B, 1999, Interview). According to an informant who was a sports writer, national newspapers in the 1960s played a major role in convincing the Sri Lankan public that girls' participation in physical activity was not harmful to Sri Lankan cultures.


In the late 1950s, the Great Buddhist priests in Sri Lanka said that physical activities such as running and jumping were not suitable to Sri Lankan girls. Then, the Ministry of Education started to hold girls' athletic meets separately in 1960/61. The Lankadeepa News Paper argued against the Buddhist priests' notion of girls' participation in physical activity. The newspaper pointed out that all women who were in Europe participated in physical activities; hence, they argued that why should it was not for our girls. The paper further clarified that physical education was taught all over the world; therefore, there was no reason to reject physical education for our boys and girls. Finally, the Ministry of Education held all competitions together. Thus, the Lankadeepa News Paper influenced and shaped school PE into the correct track in the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka (Male sport writer, 1999, Interview).

During the period 1956-1965, newspapers like the Lankadeepa newspaper also sponsored several sports which were popular in the rural areas; for instance, it sponsored volleyball in the 1960s. As one of the informants says:

Api Kuliyapitiya Central ekata 60 dasakaye iskole yanakota mata matakai 1962 Samasta Lanka Lankadeepa Volleyball Sooratawa dinuwe ape oya iskole pirimi team eka. Central Eke office eke onna tawath photo eka tiyenawa. A kale pattarawalin ovata honda sahayogayak dunna (School teacher A other than PE-mathematics and a prefect of games, 1999 Interview).

When I was schooling to Kuliyapitiya Central College during in the 1960s, I have remembered that our school boys' volleyball team won the All-Island Lankadeepa
Challenge Cup in 1962. The photograph of the winning team of 1962 volleyball cup is still on the principal’s office wall. Sporting activities in schools were very well supported by newspapers those days (School teacher A other than PE-mathematics and a prefect of games, 1999, Interview).

3.6.8 Resources, area diversity and school physical education

Human and physical resources were the major obstacles to school physical education during the 1950s. ‘One of the difficulties encountered was the lack of trained personnel on the staff of schools’ (Howes, 1951, p14). The situation was critical in the remote areas, where there were no playgrounds to do physical activities in school. The Director of Education in the Administration Report (1954) discussed the situation:

The main handicap is the lack of playgrounds in many of the rural area schools; in such cases minor games such as tenniquoits, badminton, table tennis have been introduced. Indigenous games are being taught at all the physical education classes for teachers. The Department proposed to published the rules for such games after collecting available literature (p. 12).

By 1956, there were fewer than ten qualified physical education teachers in Sri Lanka. These had trained in Madras and European countries. The teacher shortages were filled from retired Army Officers who had been trained in military drills in Singapore during World War II (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview). However, rural area schools were not even given military trained drill teachers (retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999 Interview; Little, 1999).

Human and physical resources continued to be issues for school physical education during the 1960s. During the SLFP first term of office; 1956-60, the Director of Education was concerned to provide a playground for each circuit (known as education administration area) because there was not even a single playground per circuit to hold meets. The following statements of the Director of Education indicate that facilities in schools in rural areas was seen as an issue:

Almost all the circuits in the Island have now been provided with play grounds. These playgrounds will be supplied with essential athletics equipment as early as possible. A physical Training Instructor for each circuit will be appointed early. He will assist the Circuit Inspector and the Inspector of Physical education in the various Physical Education activities in the circuit. Nearly 120 schools were provided with playgrounds this year and more schools will be provided with playgrounds from year to year (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 104).
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Special attention was paid to the provision of playgrounds for schools and training colleges. Sports materials to the value of Rs. 100,000 were supplied to schools...If it is possible to supply much needed playgrounds to the rural schools, the remoter areas of the country will show greater progress in the field of sports (De Silva, S.F., 1962-63, p. 144).

During the second term of office of the SLFP (1960-65), the Director took steps to construct playgrounds and to provide equipment to schools.

The construction of 68 playgrounds was completed and 97 new playgrounds are under construction (Director of Education in Administration Report, 1963-64, p. 112).

The number of playgrounds constructed during the year was 77. Work is under progress in 89 others. Work in many of these was done through Shramadana. The interest shown in this connection by P.T, AA, and principals is praiseworthy (Director of Education in Administration Report, 1964-65, p. 112).

The termination of both Madras and local specific physical education teacher training in 1961 (see below) was a great problem because there were no specialist PE teachers at schools to teach physical education. There were fewer than 300 physical education teachers (Physical Training Instructors) who trained in Madras or European countries in the country; therefore a teacher shortage continued in the country. Insufficient human and physical resources continued to be a problem for physical education in schools.

3.6.9 Teacher training in physical education 1948-1970

The physical education teacher shortage in the country at Independence was aggravated by the spread of free and compulsory education. During the period 1956-65 the teacher shortage in physical education continued. Physical education was mainly taught by teachers of other subjects. It was clear that training of teachers to teach physical education in schools was a prime need. The subject physical education was taught by general teachers, drill masters who were retired army officers and physical training instructors (PTI) trained in Madras. The process of physical education in schools was inspected by the Physical Training Inspectors in the Ministry of Education. During the period 1948-70, local level teacher training in physical education was also organised by the Deputy Director of Education in physical education, Chief Physical Training Inspector and his other officials under the guidance of the Director of Education in the Ministry of Education. However, the Department of Education in Sri Lanka did not introduce specific two-year physical education teacher training in the country until the late 1960s. In 1961, a three-month
specific physical education teacher training course was started at the Maharagama teachers’ college but it was limited to one cohort. The establishment of a two-year Diploma in Physical Education teacher training course at the Kuliapitiya Junior University in 1969 was a landmark in the history of physical education teacher training in the country.

Private persons were encouraged to go to Madras in India to follow one-year physical education teacher training courses to become specialist physical education teachers during the 1950s and they were generally taught by lecturers from North America. The influence of North American developments in physical education also reached Sri Lanka through the attendance of physical education officials at foreign courses and seminars in the late 1950s. In the meantime, the physical education officials in the Ministry of Education followed foreign courses and participated in foreign seminars in physical education in the late 1950s. The Administration Reports explain:

Ceylon was represented at the following international conferences by the Deputy Director of Education (Physical Education); a scout conference in Manila, the Physical Education Conference held in Barry, Wales and London; a School Feeding Seminar held in Tokyo. At all these conferences the representatives from Ceylon gained useful knowledge. Reports containing various recommendations have been submitted (De Silva, S.F., 1958, p. 105).

Dr. H.S.R. Goonawardene, Deputy Director of Education (Physical Education) visited the USA in September 1959 to observe methods of Physical and Health Education in that country. Mr. R. M. B. Naranpanawa, who was understudy to Mr. Riley, has been sent to the USA for a course in Health Education. Mr. Duncan White, National Athletic Coach, spent 3 months in the USA studying coaching methods. All these courses were arranged under the I.C.A. programme of assistance (De Silva, S.F., 1959, p. 169).

The emphasis on health practice in teacher training process in the late 1950s was gradually lessened. The domination of the health experts as heads of the physical education section in the Ministry of Education in the late 1950s stressed health education areas specially hygiene, over other areas in the physical education teacher training programs. The teachers and officers who had undergone foreign physical education training and were able to gain new knowledge, criticised the health emphasis in the curriculum and pointed out the importance of organized sports which develop both mental and physical health. As a result, the dominance of physical health in the physical education curriculum was gradually reduced in the 1960s.
As physical education was not an examinable subject, specifically trained physical education teachers were not seen as necessary. Physical education activities such as drills, exercises, organised games, hygiene or health and sports which were proposed in the 1933 syllabus for primary and junior secondary schools, were taught and organised by general teachers to their particular classes during the whole year. In addition, from Grade 9 onwards, physical education/school sports was an extracurricular activity. Sports as an extracurricular activity was handled by different teachers who had undergone short duration physical education teacher training courses, organised by the Department of Education. The teacher training in physical education during the period was mainly focused on sports coaching, drill practices and health education (Administration Reports, 1956-65).

**Physical education teacher training for generalist teachers**

During the period 1948-70, generalist teachers continued to be trained in physical education by the teacher training college system and in-service mode during weekdays or in the holidays. Local physical education teacher training was organised by the Department of Education for teachers' college student teachers and generalist teachers either untrained or professionally qualified. In 1954, there were four types of teacher training programs in physical education for generalist teachers in the Department of Education: Saturday classes for teachers; residential vacation courses at the Maharagama Training College for teachers; courses at the Training Colleges for prospective teachers; and training of teachers on weekdays (Administration Report, 1954, p12).

The teacher training programs on weekends which had been continued since the 1900s, were conducted through two courses. They were Saturday classes and residential vacation courses.

One of the difficulties encountered was the lack of trained personnel on the staffs of schools. To remedy this defect a six-week residential course for English teachers was held at the government training college, Maharagama during the April and August vacations. The course included lectures on Psychology, Anatomy, Nutrition, Physiology, Principles of Physical Education and Methods of Teaching besides practical work in Physical Training, Games, Athletics, Coaching, Organisation and conduct of sport meets, &c. This course is the forerunner of similar courses and it is expected that in a few years a large number of young teachers in all types of schools will receive the benefits of such training courses (Administration Report, 1951, p. 14).
Chapter Three: Physical Education in Sri Lanka, 1948-1970

The residential vacation course was terminated in 1953 while the residential weekend, the Saturday course, was continued.

a) Saturday classes for teachers.

Each course consists of 24 lessons, and a test (written and practical) is held at the end of the course. Twenty-one such courses were held and 1,410 teachers received Certificate of Proficiency in Physical Education.

b) Residential Vacation course at the Maharagama Training College.

The second part of the course started in 1953 was held last year. No new courses were held during the year (Administration Report, 1954, p. 12).

As reported in the Administration Report in 1954, physical education was a compulsory subject for all types of teacher training in the country. To encourage student teachers in the colleges in physical education, the first inter-training Colleges’ Sport Meet was held in 1954. Until 1954, teachers’ college students were also given physical training courses at the weekends but this was changed in 1954 to weekdays and made compulsory (Administration Report, 1954).

Physical Education is a compulsory subject in all training colleges for both men and women. Regular visits are paid to these colleges by the Inspectors of Physical Education who also conducted the test at the final examination. An inter-training college sports meet was held for the first time in addition to the usual sports meets held at these colleges. This will be an annual feature (Administration Report, 1954, p. 12).

The fourth type of physical education teacher education conducted by the government was a training course on weekdays for employed teachers. As a pilot study, the course was started in 1954. The course was held three days per week in the afternoon. As a pilot study it was successful and the program continued during the period 1954-56. "It would be possible by this means to train about 800 teachers in three months or three times the number trained by Saturday classes" (Administration Report, 1954, A12).

*Specialist physical education teacher training*

The three-month physical education teacher training program mentioned earlier at the Maharagama TC, was held only in 1961. The period 1965-1970 however, was a landmark for physical education teacher training in Sri Lanka, because in 1969 a two-year diploma course in physical education was started at the Kuliyapitiya Junior University. This event
can be considered as a victory for the physical education teachers who studied in Madras and in the USA because some of them wanted to establish a broader approach to physical education teacher training to challenge the domination of the physical education section by the health/medico experts (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview). These teachers and lecturers convinced the Ministry officials of the importance of the concept of "education through the physical" introduced by the American physical education expert J. F. Williams in the 1930s (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview). A retired Training College male PE lecturer who prepared the syllabuses for the two-year diploma in physical education course in 1970 at Kuliyapitiya described the background to this achievement.

By 1967, the PE section in the Department of Education was very powerful because there was only one Deputy Director of Education in the ministry and he was also head of our section. The name of this Deputy was H.S.R. Goonawardene and he was also a physician. Later, he became the Secretary of the Ministry of Sports 1968. In the meantime, Junior Universities were established in 1968 to provide middle grade employees. Two years Diploma Courses were started for different subjects and PE also was included into the programs at Kuliyapitiya in 1969. I was invited to prepare PE syllabus because the head of the Kuliyapitiya Junior University knew that I was a graduate by then. We had worked together as officers of the Ceylon Cadet Battalion; therefore, I was known well by him. Mrs. Savistri Chandrasena and I taught at Kuliyapitiya as she had a B.Sc. and M.Sc in PE from the USA (Retired Training College PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

In 1970, when the SLFP government came to power, the Kuliyapitiya course was moved to Maharagama. Thus, by 1970, teacher training in physical education was being delivered by one male lecturer who had studied in Madras in India and one female lecturer who had studied in the USA. The establishment of the physical education course at Kuliyapitiya in
1970, with the help of lecturers who studied in Madras, changed the notion of physical education from the medico-health approach to the broader view of education through the physical - i.e. physical education as contributing to cognitive, social, emotional as well as the physical development of the child. The establishment of a tertiary level physical education course at Kuliapitiya in 1970 was a great success continued at Maharagama as a two-year specific teacher training program in physical education (COE male lecturer A in primary course, 1999, Interview).

There were two types of foreign physical education and Health Education training courses. One of these was the self-funded Madras course in India and the other one was for Health and PE officials in the Ministry of Education, funded by the government, who went to developed countries including the USA, UK and Japan.

The Madras course was open to any person who had a Senior School Certificate, a sporting background and who could afford the expenses in India (Retired Training College male lecture A, 1999, Interview). Both male and female students who passed the Senior School Certificate and did public school sports went to the YMCA College of Physical Education in Madras to follow the PE course. Upon return they were able to find PE teaching appointments in government or private schools in Sri Lanka. The course was for one year full-time residential and was conducted in the English medium.

In 1952, the first batch who trained in YMCA, Madras, came to Sri Lanka. It was two or three people. In 1955, sixty one (61) went to Madras. I also was included in that 1955 batch. We had only the SSC certificate as entrance qualification. Our HSC was unsuccessful because we were distracted by sporting activities. The YMCA College in Madras have offered several certificate and degree courses such as lower grade, higher grade and post-graduate diploma in PE. Most of us went to follow the lower grade course. My father sold one of our lands and gave me money to go to India. The course in Madras rapidly gained popularity day by day (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).
A Health and Physical Education Teacher Training Certificate was awarded by the Madras College of Physical Education. The curriculum consisted of the following subjects: Health Education, Physical Elements, Theory of Physical Education, Practical, Recreation, Camping, First Aid, and Physiotherapy (Retired Training College PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

The Madras-trained teachers were able to find physical education teacher jobs in Sri Lankan schools easily because of three factors: the Madras course was a full-time professional course; there was no similar course in Sri Lanka; and to be considered as grade I school (high school with all facilities) the school had to employ a full-time physical education specialist teacher on the staff (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview; Little, 1999).

Several of the interviewees in this study indicated that most of the lecturers at the YMCA College of Physical Education in Madras were North Americans and most of the books in the library were also from North America (Directress of Sports, ME&HE; retired female physical education teacher A; Retired training college PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interviews).

The Syllabus in the YMCA in Madras was American. The reason for it was that the founder of the College was an American. The first Principal of the College was an American and the second was an Indian. Another example was that it had a library on the top floor and most books in it were also American. I have more examples; all Ph.D. holders of the college were graduates of American universities. Moreover, there were M. Sc. people as well (retired Training College PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

As a result of this course physical education in Sri Lankan schools began to be influenced by the USA in addition to Britain and India.

Amongst the informants who were interviewed for this study several were critical of the Madras-trained teachers. From their point of view, these teachers were elitist because they did not teach physical education and health in primary and junior secondary schools. Instead they worked in senior secondary and in public schools. These elitist organised sport
meets and competitions in schools where they worked and the circuit, and district in secondary schools around that schools. In addition they helped to organised the public school athletic meets and tournaments such as soccer, netball, volleyball and hockey. Some of the informants said that the Madras-trained teachers represented the upper social class as the course could only be followed by teachers who were able to afford the expenses in India; therefore, it was believed they did not want to teach physical education to children of the masses.

Some of the informant teachers further commented that Madras-trained teachers did not support physical education as an examinable subject in the curriculum until the 1972 Reforms introduced it. The informant teachers said that the Madras course teachers were appointed as Physical Training Instructors (PTI) and not physical education teachers. A physical education teacher of 27 years service and who was a schoolboy between 1956-1965 commented:


The Madras-trained people say that they were PE-trained. They did not teach us PE instead let us to play our own in the PT period. We haven’t seen their certificates; you see, they were given PTI appointment not PE. You see Drawing and Dancing were examinable subjects for SSC but Madras people did not make a voice to be included the subject PE into the curriculum. These people wanted to organise athletic meets and other tournaments to get attention from others and to act as higher people. I remember that some said, and I too have experience when one of these was our Director, general teachers like us could not go to meet him. He was a so high fellow. They lived in another world (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

This indicates that most of the Madras-trained teachers did not teach physical education in schools but they organised school sports and coached students for competitive sports. Some of them became good organisers and coaches in several sports in Sri Lanka. When the
Chapter Three: Physical Education in Sri Lanka, 1948-1970

Ministry of Sports was founded in 1968, some of the better Madras physical education teachers went to the Ministry as sports officers and others became training college lecturers. In general, most of the Madras-trained teachers came to hold higher positions in the field of sports and physical education in the country. For instance, they obtained posts such as the Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education, Youth Service Council, Sri Lanka Television Co-operation and in Universities. The Madras people who went to the Ministry of Education as teachers college lecturers argued against competitive sports in schools but they did not have the political power to implement this position in relation to school physical education (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Though the Madras teacher training course was popular in Sri Lanka, it was abandoned by the government in 1961 (Retired Training College male Lecturer A; Retired female PE teacher A, 1999, Interviews). One of the reasons for the termination of the Madras course seems to have been the criticism of the existing medico-health-oriented emphasis in physical education by Madras people and the other people who went abroad. Dr. Goonawardene and Dr. Riley were physicians and leaders of the physical education section at the Ministry of Education. As they were doctors, they emphasised the importance of physical exercises for the physical health and posture of school children. Physical education teachers who had trained in India and in other countries argued that physical education was not merely Physical Training. They seemed to be arguing for a broader more holistic notion of health. Their argument was that body and mind needed to be developed together. The Director of Education continued the argument against the approach of "education through the physical" in the Administration Report.

There has been a tendency for certain persons to think of physical education on somewhat narrow lines and physical education as being more or less physical training. This is altogether wrong. Physical education is another aspect of general science and it is this aspect that has been emphasised in the refresher courses. As with handicrafts the field has been not that of storing knowledge in the mind but of using that knowledge for our benefit (De Silva, S.F., 1960, p. 122).

It is likely that the Madras course was also discontinued because a physical education training course had been started in Sri Lanka. As one informant commented:

In 1961, the Madras course was abandoned. PE teacher training was taken over by our people (Duncan White). It was started under the leadership of Duncan White. After a three month course in USA, Duncan White returned and started a three months PE teacher training course at Maharagama Teachers' College (TC) in 1961. He took up the post of Senior Lecturer at the Maharagama TC. This three month course which was started by Duncan White in 1961, was also limited to one batch, then it was stopped (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999 Interview).

The third reason for discontinuation of the Madras course was related to foreign exchange. As it was a foreign course, it consumed a large amount of local currency, and so it was discontinued to stop the flow of foreign currency to India (Retired female PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

Madras-educated teachers became Physical Training Instructors in all the teachers colleges in Sri Lanka by 1970. However, they were not called lecturers and their position was Physical Training Instructor (PTI). In Sinhala it was 'Abyasacharya'. Its meaning was exercise teacher or PTI. The title of Madras people who went to the universities was Physical Education Instructor and the highest position they held was the Director of Physical Education. However, academic teaching was not included for these Instructors or Directors because physical education had not been a degree subject. Instead they organised recreational sporting activities for the university students. These physical education professionals also faced the status issue discussed in Chapters One and Two (COE LCO and specialist PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

3.7 Conclusion

The Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka continued to follow the British medico-health model in physical education in elementary/primary schools after Independence in 1948. Lack of human and material resources was the major problem for physical education in most schools during this period. British traditions were continued by appointing a physician as the head of the physical education section in the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka in 1950. This physician followed the British colonial medico-health model according to the 1933 syllabus without any challenge until the government was changed in 1956. The British model was challenged in different ways in the schools through the influence of the communist model and nationalist movements.
After 1956, more physical educational opportunities as extra-curricular activities were obtained by children in the rural and poorer areas to develop their physical health, through socialist nationalist influences and as a result of Cold War conditions. To face this challenge, an American, Dr. Riley, was appointed as health consultant in the Ministry of Education in 1958. At the same time, the British model was challenged in the teachers' colleges by the American "education through the physical" which reached its high point after 1969 because the teacher training syllabus in Sri Lanka was mainly written by the lecturers who studied the American model in Madras and in the USA.

There were important forces for change during the period 1948-70. Party politics played an important part in determining which activities should be included in the curriculum and was related to social class divisions. Sports were supported, but physical education as a component of the syllabus struggled in schools and in teacher training. Media support for sports was also important during the period; for instance, the newspapers sponsored both public school athletic meets for children of the upper class and volleyball tournaments for children of the masses during the period as well as supporting girls' participation in sporting activities in the late 1950s. The Olympic and Commonwealth Games successes in 1948 and 1950 respectively enhanced sport participation in schools mainly for athletics and volleyball in secondary schools. As new programs, different local teacher training systems in physical education for general teachers were introduced by the Ministry of Education; for instance, weekdays and vacation courses. The inclusion of physical training in teacher training courses as a compulsory subject since 1954 was also an important development. Some cohorts of physical education teachers trained in Madras in India started to work in schools from 1956. Unfortunately the three-month specific teacher training course at Maharagama was terminated in 1961 after less than a year but the establishment of two-year diploma course in physical education at the Kuliapitiya Junior University in 1969 and its continuation after the 1970s at Maharagama was a significant step forwarded in teacher education in physical education. There was a tendency to teach physical education in vernacular languages parallel to general subjects after 1956 and this was beneficial to the children of the masses. The establishment of athletic meets for senior schools with central colleges in 1957 and the primary and for junior schools in 1968 were also significant changes that challenged the athletic domination of the elite schools during the period.

There were perennial and enduring issues for physical education during the period 1948-70. As it was not an examinable subject in the GCE O/L examination and beyond, physical
education was considered to be a non-academic subject. The time allocation for physical education was less than for other subjects in the curriculum. The officials in the Ministry of Education who had studied in elite schools continued to obstruct the provision of resources such as specialist teachers, equipment, grants and other facilities to the schools of the masses. To study new theories such as broader educational views, scientific functionalism etc. and the development of the subject, teachers needed tertiary level institutions in physical education but such institutions were not founded in the country until 1969. As a result, the status of physical education remained at a low level in the country. The public school games tradition continued to exclude the participation of children of the masses in their school programs. The other major issues were: lack of girls' participation in physical education owing to South Asian cultures; continued designation and resource to accommodate the needs of boys; religious attitudes; area diversity and resources; and negative attitudes towards physical education of parents, teachers, principals, bureaucrats and politicians.

The Ministry of Education included physical education in their primary and junior secondary schools curriculum but in practice, in most schools, physical education periods were simply a free play period without instruction for school children. Teachers did not take seriously the teaching of physical education because they considered that physical education was a useless non-examinable subject at the school leaving certificate level (SSC) while most teachers were not professionally qualified to teach the subject. Athletics, sports coaching and competitions were the major physical education activities in this period.

It can be concluded that by 1970 physical education was a subject without academic significance or status, mainly conducted as sports competitions where the students were coached during the allocated physical education periods when specialist teachers were available. In urban areas sports were played primarily after school as a co-curricular activity and for the majority of children physical education was simply a free play period without instruction.

This chapter presents data related to physical education developments in Sri Lanka between 1970 and 2000. It examines physical education curriculum with educational policy, structure, teacher education, general curriculum, and higher education developments and reforms in the context of social, political and cultural developments in the period 1970-2000.

4.1 Political and economic situation at the beginning of the 1970s

Most reform programs introduced by different governments between 1948-1970 were unsuccessful in Sri Lanka in relation to economic development. For instance, the introduction of a free education scheme in vernacular languages enhanced the educational opportunities in the country by 1970 but, as identified previously, it was implemented through an academic curriculum in the education system. As a result, the number of unemployed high school and university graduates increased substantially. They entered society without job market skills but with academic qualifications which did not meet the job market demands for practical skills (Samaraweera, 1991). As Little (1999) explains:

The 1960s saw the emergence of an unemployment problem among youth educated through Sinhala or Tamil. The problem was commonly misattributed to the fact of language. It was more likely the result of imbalance between the output of a high-growth secondary education cycle, the jobs available in a slow-growth economy, the growth in the population, and an increasing dependency ratio (p. 94).

By 1970, the popularity of the UNP government had lessened owing to the reduction of the rice subsidy and the high youth unemployment rate. The SLFP coalition with left-wing parties (United Front = UF) promised the masses that they would solve these problems. Expenditure on social services had increased gradually since Independence to about 35 per cent of total government expenditure by 1970 (Wilson, 1977). This included food subsidies, education, public health, transport on buses and railway, housing and poor relief. The UNP government wanted to reduce these social expenditures but the UF made an election promise not to reduce them. At the same time, the Tamil Parties had given up their relationship with the UNP, saying that the UNP was unable to fulfill their requirements.

By 1970, youth unrest had increased owing to unemployment and was supported by a rebel leader who studied in the former USSR. The leader of the extreme left wing
movement, Rohana Wijeweera, convinced his supporters that the traditional left would not find any solutions for the problems in Sri Lanka. He was sent home from the USSR because he had criticised the USSR government and communism when he was studying there. He formed the Peoples’ Liberation Front (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna = JVP) which mainly consisted of the younger generation - the 16-25 age group from the higher grades in senior secondary schools and universities plus a large number of the disadvantaged such as unemployed school leavers and low caste youths (Wilson, 1977).

At the same time, the SLFP coalition with two traditional left-wing parties also organised against the 1965-70 UNP government saying that if they came to power they would address the economic and social issues in proper ways. Ultimately the SLFP coalition gave promises to all affected groups that they would solve all the problems which prevailed in the country so that the youth movement also supported them at the 1970 general election (Wilson, 1977).

4.1.1 The UF government 1970-1977

Under the leadership of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranayake the SLFP coalition with the two traditional left-wing parties (UF) won the 1970 general election. The JVP supported the SLFP coalition government (UF) but later launched the rebellion movement. The youth movement realised that they were not being led to their target by the UF government. They turned against the government in 1971 but the movement was crushed by the SLFP government in 1971 with help from the UK, the former USSR, the USA, Yugoslavia and neighboring India and Pakistan and the SLFP continued their rule until 1977 (Wilson, 1977).

The government addressed the issues raised by the youth movement by introducing two major reforms. One was the famous Educational Reforms in 1972 that related to equal educational opportunities and the other was state control of the economy and price
control systems which attempted to provide equal economic opportunities. Both were introduced under the influence of the communist bloc countries (Wilson, 1977).

4.1.2 The UNP 1977-1994

Under the leadership of J.R. Jayawardena, the UNP came to power easily in the 1977 general election as the SLFP United Front was split and had a general inability to distribute resources across the mass of the rural population (Samaraweera, 1991). The general policy of the UNP governments between 1977-1994 was economic liberalisation and re-establishment of political links with right wing countries in the West. They abolished most of the economic policies and some education policies of the former UF government and their open market policy created several social changes in the country. The UNP remained in power through three further elections, until 1994.

With the introduction of the free market and economic liberalisation, the economy in Sri Lanka developed during the period 1977-1982, but declined from 1983 (Samaraweera, 1991). The economic growth during 1977-82 can be attributed to two main factors: employment created in the Free Trade Zone; and significant migration, especially to the Middle-East. However, this economic growth was short lived and the number of unemployed increased after 1982, to around 17% in 1986/87 (Samaraweera, 1991). The JVP, which organised the 1971 rebellion movement, started another underground campaign in 1983. The JVP was forced underground when the UNP government banned public politics because of JVP criticism of the UNP economic policies which had increased unemployment among young people.

According to Samaraweera (1991) the political philosophy of the UNP between 1977 and 1988 brought about a state of anarchy in the late 1980s. For instance, the UNP government banned the late Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranayake’s democratic politics before the 1982 presidential election to prevent her contesting in the election. They also banned the JVP in 1983. In addition, government jobs were confined to the "Job Bank" holders who were supporters of the UNP and whose applications were the only ones banked as a waiting list for government job vacancies. Increasing unemployment among the youths who did not belong to the UNP, "caused frustration and unrest and culminated in widespread violence, destruction of property and loss of human life. In the late 1980s, the youth who revolted, sought to wrest political power by force and terrorism, and brought about a state of anarchy" (Samaraweera, 1991, p. 161).
In this state of anarchy and violence, the successor to Mr. J.R. Jayawardene, Mr. R. Premadasa led the UNP to victory again in the 1989 presidential election and crushed the 1988-89 JVP rebellion movement by 1990. President Premadasa appointed a Commission on youth discontent and unrest in October 1989 and the commission found deficiencies in the educational structure (Samaraweera, 1991).

Tamil youths intensified their armed struggle during the period 1983-1994. Even though it has been claimed that the Tamil youth conflict is primarily political, it appears that both Sinhalese and Tamil youth conflicts had links with economic factors (Samaraweera, 1991). Resources which could have been used for economic and educational development for instance, had to be spent on defence. The youth revolts led to a total breakdown in law and order and to a state of political crisis. The Tamil youth movement, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ellam (LTTE), was also responsible for killing some of the UNP leaders in the early 1990s. The mismatch between education and employment and the gradual decline in avenues of employment caused chronic unemployment among the young, both the Sinhalese and the Tamils (Samaraweera, 1991).

However, according to Samaraweera (1991), the brutal series of political assassinations by the UNP during the late 1980s and in the final phase of the UNP itself were the major reasons for the political transfer from the UNP to the People Alliance (PA) in 1994. To stay in power, the UNP government assassinated thousands of JVP carders because the JVP also had massacred UNP and other families in the late 1980s. In the conflict thousands of innocent people were killed by unidentified gunmen during the late 1980s. In April 1993, Lalith Athulathmudali, leader of the opposition Democratic United National Front (DUNF), was assassinated at a political rally. Just a week later, President Premadasa was assassinated in the midst of preparations for the annual May-Day rally and in October 1994, Gamini Dissanayake, who by this stage had re-joined the UNP and become their presidential candidate, was assassinated at a campaign rally (Little, 1999). As a result, there was no powerful leadership in the UNP and also the brutal assassination of some UNP leaders led to a decline in its popularity.

4.1.3 The People Alliance (PA) Government after 1994

The People Alliance (PA), an alliance of the left-of-centre Sri Lanka Freedom Party with other smaller parties, was led to victory by Chandrika Kumaranatunga, daughter of former prime ministers, S.W.R.D. and Sirimavo Bandaranayake. The PA promised that they would not change the economic liberalisation policy and Sri Lanka’s increasingly
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globalised economy. 'Its manifesto was for peace' (Little, 1999, p. 249). The UNP lost both the Parliamentary election in August 1994 and the Presidential election three months later to the PA. The PA again won the 1999 presidential and the 2000 parliamentary elections respectively for another six-year period. The PA had promised that they would continue their policies of open market and education for peace.

4.2 Education policy developments 1970-2000

4.2.1 Education development under the UF Government 1970-1977

The major education policy of the United Front (UF), the SLFP coalition between 1970 and 1977, under the influence of the left wing political parties, was to provide equal educational opportunities to all citizens. Foreign experts were invited to find solutions to youth unrest via educational developments. The government invited an economics professor, Dudley Sias of London University, to investigate the situation in 1971. Professor Sias found that there were several weaknesses in the systems of schools and universities: the existing curriculum was not able to satisfy the job market demand; the major educational aim was to obtain a certificate to find a white collar job; and one third of students dropped out by Grade 4.

Professor Sias suggested specific developments in the system of education in 1971. These included: improvement of facilities in the primary school system; the employment of different teaching methods; the introduction of new subjects between years six and nine to produce skillful citizens with job market skills; university entrance based on the results of an aptitude test; the introduction of general certificate of education based on an exam which could be passed by the majority of children; vocational training to be counted for tertiary entrance; the direction of the majority of school leavers towards vocational and technical areas; and the integration of non-formal education into the formal school system (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga Reforms, 1972).

The government gave responsibility to two Sri Lankan university lecturers, the Secretary of the Ministry and the Additional Secretary of the Ministry of Education, to find solutions via educational reforms. Under government guidance, these two lecturers as policy makers designed the 1972 Reforms. Two of the informants here suggested that this work was influenced by a communist ideology as well as by the Dudley Sias Report (COE male president; COE male lecturer A other than PE, 1999, Interview).
4.2.1.2 Education reform proposals in 1972 and their implementation

The Ministry of Education gave five reasons for their 1972 Reforms.

i) Though the government had provided schools, 10% children who were non starters and drop outs, were in the compulsory age limit 5-16 years old; hence, necessary actions needed to be taken to motivate them back to school.

ii) To minimise the 1/3 of drop out rate in primary education.

iii) To equalise the educational opportunities before the first government exam.

iv) To provide a better general education before the first government exam.

v) To minimise the gap between the academic world and the world of work in the country (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, pp. 1-6).

School structure

The school entrance age of three to five years was raised to six. Children aged between three and six years, were proposed to send to pre-schools. However, some parents wanted to send their children to formal school before six; hence, they were upset. On the other hand, there were not enough pre-schools. The Ministry of Education proposed that pre-schools should be conducted by the Department of Social Services (Ministry of Education, 1972, p. 23). This feature was also a common one in the communist bloc countries (COE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview). The Department of Social Services was unable to establish pre-schools though the Ministry of Education requested them.

School education structure was changed as follows:

i) primary school: Grade 1-5;

ii) junior secondary school: Grade 6-9;


The children who entered year one at the age of six needed to continue until Grade 5 in which repeating was not expected. This was also the period of compulsory schooling.

School curriculum in the 1972 reforms

The primary curriculum

The primary education curriculum of seven subjects including Physical and Aesthetic Education was not changed by the 1972 reforms, but they did propose more student-centred activity-based teaching approaches (Ministry of Education, 1972). The Ministry of Education (1972) explains these:

Activity-based teaching techniques should mostly be used instead of the old oral presentation methods. For this purpose, we need specifically trained active teachers. We do have active qualified teachers, but for primary teaching, we do have handful of them. To train this type of teachers, the Ministry of Education will take necessary steps next year (p. 7).

One of the informants who was a lecturer at a teachers college and who taught prospective primary teachers at the time the 1972 reforms were being implemented, said that they were not given any instruction in primary teacher training until 1974. She further commented that in practice the Ministry of Education did not pay any attention to teachers’ skills in the primary school. In general, she accepted that the curriculum was acceptable on the basis of psychological principles, but she said that the implementation was not well planned (1999 Interview).

The junior secondary curriculum

From Grade 6 to Grade 9, the Ministry of Education proposed a prescribed common practical curriculum which consisted of ten compulsory subjects including physical education as an examinable subject for National Certificate of General Education (NCGE) at the end of Grade 9. In the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O/L) classes, there had been about fifty-four subjects under different streams such as Science, Arts and Commerce, but in the NCGE there were only ten compulsory subjects and no streams. The ten subjects which were included in the NCGE were Mother Tongue, Second Language, Mathematics, Science, Health and Physical Education, Aesthetic Education, Religion, Social Studies, Pre-vocational Subject I and Pre-vocational Subject II (Ministry of Education, 1972, p. 24). According to the Ministry of Education, the reason for this prescription was to provide all children with common positive attitudes towards society, and for the children themselves, general academic knowledge and vocational skills.

Mehidee lamayage bhasa nipunathwaya, soundaryathmaka kala sambawana shaktiya, ganitha sankalpa, boutika parisaraya awaboda karaganeeme vidyathmaka daneema ha A anuwa jeevitya hada gasa ganeemata upakarawana akalpa, soukya raksanaye wedagathkama, sareerika sanwardanaya sandaha awasya wana palapurudu, samajika parisaraya awaboda karaganeeme vidyathmaka daneema ha A anuwa jeevitya hada gasa ganeemata upakarewana akalpa, manusika gunadarma ha adineda jeevitayedeeda, rakiyawaka yedeemedeeda poduwasayen prayojanawath wana kousalya sanwardanaya kere (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p.24).
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In this curriculum, children’s following competencies are expected to be developed: language excellency, classical affective and creative skills in aesthetic education, mathematics concepts, scientific knowledge which will help to understand the physical world and to lead own life styles accordingly, the importance of the healthy life style, the habits of physical development, scientific knowledge to identify social environment and to develop positive attitudes to lead life styles according with human virtuous conducts, and in general, general skills which are needed to lead a better social life during day today activities and at work (Ministry of Education, 1972, p. 24).

The most significant features of the 1972 Junior Secondary curriculum reforms were: the reduction of Junior Secondary education duration by one year; the commencement of integrated subjects such as Science and Social Studies; the termination of teaching of specific subjects such as Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geography, Civics etc.; teaching of Science and Mathematics subjects to all junior secondary children; pre-vocational subjects to obtain work experience and the introduction of new subjects such as Health and Physical Education. There were teacher shortages in most subjects. Though teachers were recruited to teach mathematics and science, there were not enough laboratories and equipment in schools and to remedy that defect, equipment boxes were distributed among schools with help from UNESCO. The syllabuses were written to suit the equipment kit. According to the Ministry of Education, students were led to appreciate their own skills and abilities (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972).

The pre-vocational subjects and practical aspects of other subjects reduced to some extent the dominance of the academic curriculum which had been in place since British rule (Female University lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

Though the above curriculum prescription was educationally important as an attempt to introduce a practical curriculum, there were major problems with its implementation. The major criticism was of the NCGE exam. At first, the Ministry said that they wanted to stop failures in the NCGE process but in the first NCGE exam in 1975 more than 75% candidates were unable to pass the exam (COE male lecturer other than PE, 1999, Interview). Then the Ministry of Education reduced the pass mark; as a result, more candidates obtained distinction passes. In addition, the number of attempts was marked on the certificate.

The bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education used this to reduce the power and privileges of the elite private schools as they had in the 1961 Education Acts. Under the 1972 Reforms, the NCGE examination was limited to government and registered schools and private candidates were not allowed to sit again after two attempts. This
excluded those students who had formerly taken the examination several times (De Silva, C. R., 1977).

According to C.R. De Silva (1977) and A.W. Little (1999), in addition to the criticism of the NCGE exam, there was also considerable criticism by parents and teachers of the pre-vocational subjects I and II. The aim of the subject was 'to shift labor from its present aimless search for non-existent white collar occupations to economic activities which increase the income of the country' (Ministry of Planning and Employment in 1971 cited in Little, 1999, p. 95). As Goodson has argued (1990), without providing basic necessities, curriculum as a prescription was unlikely to be a success. Under Pre-vocational subject I, one subject had to be selected from Agriculture, Commerce, Home Economics, Woodwork, Metal Work, and Clay Work according to the availability of teachers. However, it introduced these subjects without training the necessary teachers. The Ministry itself said that 'there were limited teachers to teach these subjects' (Danata guruwarun seha sahita sankyawak atteda me visaya sandaha pamani) (Ministry of Education, 1972, p12). As a result, teachers were very critical of Pre-vocational Subject I as they were unable to teach the subjects. Under Pre-vocational Subject II, a regional or cottage industry was to be taught. Electronics, Motor Mechanics, or other technical subjects were studied by urban area children whereas children from rural areas studied cottage industries. This subject was criticised by both parents and teachers. As Little (1999) explains:

Middle class parents were concerned about the value of vocational skills which, they claimed, did not prepare their children for urban-sector jobs. Rural parents were concerned that the vocational skills being taught by teachers were taught better by rural parents (Lewin and Little in 1984 cited in Little, 1999, p. 95).

**Senior secondary curriculum in the 1972 reforms**

The senior secondary school/High School (HSC) curriculum was also a practical one for Grade 10 and Grade 11. The curriculum consisted of five streams: Science; Commerce; Social Sciences; Language; Humanities and Health; and mixed streams. The science stream was divided into three groups: physical, biological, and technological sciences which students permitted to select one of them. The mixed stream was also divided into three groups: Home Science, Agriculture and Oceanic Science. For all streams, there were compulsory subjects: Mother Tongue, Second Language, Cultural Heritage, Projects and Statistics (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972). According to one informant (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview), the Ministry of Education had planned to include Physical
Education for HSC level in the Humanities and Health stream after 1977 but before the introduction the government changed.

**Vocational curriculum in the 1972 Reforms**

As alternatives to senior secondary level, the 1972 reforms proposed that children who were not selected for senior secondary school education were to be sent to follow two major practical programs in two institutions. One program was implemented in the junior technical, commerce or aesthetic schools; the other one was a national service camp (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972). Education in these institutions was directly focused on job market demand. The curriculum in the first category was two-year but in national service camp it was a one-year practical curriculum. The Certificate of National Diploma in Technology, Commerce or Aesthetics was planned to be awarded at the end of the courses in Junior Technical, Commerce or Aesthetic schools respectively. Youths who followed the national service practical curriculum were encouraged to find work or those who successfully completed it were able to follow non-formal and continuous education courses and higher diploma courses to join the university (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972). In practice, few of these institutions were established so that the program was not successful.

**The place of language**

The 1972 Reforms determined that the medium of instruction at all levels would be mother tongue, Sinhala, Tamil or English (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p10). In the course of time, English as a medium which operated in some schools was to be discontinued (Ministry of Education, 1972). As a second language, students were given freedom to select Sinhalese, Tamil or English according to their preference. In practice, most Tamil and Sinhalese children selected English as the second language. Though the Ministry said that the teaching of English as a second language was important, in practice, insufficient English teachers were trained to teach in all schools; instead untrained teachers were appointed to teach the subject. As a result, school children became uninterested in English as a subject (Female University lecturer B, 1999 Interview).

One of the specific features of these reforms was the introduction of a third language, French, German or Russian. These languages were taught in elite schools in Colombo. The Ministry of Education said that these languages were important because children could find new knowledge in science and technology via these media. The policy was criticised by the masses who said that the ruling class wanted to teach these languages
to send their sons and daughters to Germany, France and to Russia for further study (Female University lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

4.2.2 Education developments under the UNP, 1977-1994

Education policy of the UNP government between 1977-94 was parallel to their policies of political and economic liberalisation. The policy of educational democratisation was shaped by two factors: the voting power of the masses and the economic power of the elite class. Hence, as a policy, the important changes in the 1972 reforms which were related to the majority of the population remained unchanged, but parts of the 1972 reforms which had been criticised by the elite class were modified. Little (1999) explains as follows:

Committed to a return to educational standards which were internationally comparable, the government re-introduced the GCE O-Level and A-Level examinations, but retained many of the curriculum reforms introduced in the 1972-7 period. A common curriculum for all students up to the end of Year 11 was maintained but the controversial subject, pre-vocational studies, was dropped as a compulsory, examinable subject. The school-entry age was lowered to five years (p. 186).

Health & Physical Education was also dropped from this curriculum. To further address the demands of the elite class, the government encouraged English language education. A system of international schools, which was private and also followed a foreign curriculum in the English medium, were also encouraged (Little, 1999). As mentioned above, the socio-economic situation was effected by the lack of coordination between education and employment; hence, the Ministry of Education decided to change the education system in the country through the 1981 White Paper Proposals.

4.2.2.1 White Paper proposals in 1981

Primary and junior secondary curriculum

The primary school curriculum was not changed in the 1981 reforms but the junior secondary curriculum was changed to a partly school based model. The curriculum at Junior Secondary Stage consisted of the subjects, First Language, Mathematics, Religion, English, Science, Social Studies, Aesthetic Studies, Life Skills and Health and Physical Education. After eight years of Primary and Junior Secondary education, at the end of Grade 8, there was an examination at school cluster level except for Mathematics and First Language where the 1981 reforms suggested question papers at the national level (Ministry of Education, 1981).
This system included continuous assessment. It involved the inclusion of marks given by subject teachers at school level but it was resisted by teachers because of their lack of preparation and also by parents because of their mistrust of teachers' judgments (Little, 1999). As a result, Grade 8 examination proposed at cluster level was given up and instead the GCE (O/L) was held at the end of the Grade 11 at national level.

The subject "Life Skills" was introduced to make the curriculum practical. The subject replaced technical subjects such as Woodwork, Metalwork, Agriculture and Home Science. In addition to these subjects, other new skills such as use of electrical equipment, printing, and agricultural tools were taught.

The main aims of teaching this new subject were: to introduce the child to the 'world of work' and inculcate a positive attitude towards the world of work; to provide for domestic skills graded as appropriate for the age group to help the pupil acquire some familiarity and proficiency in the use of common tools and appliances; to provide for certain pre-vocational skills and to give proficiency in simple skills relevant to a cluster of vocations; to provide for an activity-based subject to give the non-academically oriented pupil meaningful learning activities in which he can excel (Ministry of Education, 1981, p. iii).

The senior secondary curriculum also included two types of assessment for nine subjects. The subjects, First Language, Mathematics, English, Science, and Social Studies were tested at national level in the GCE examination at the end of the year 11, while Religion, Aesthetics, Life Skills and Physical Education were to be assessed at the school level. This curriculum also included school-based continuous assessment procedures. It lasted for only a few years because it was rejected for the same reason as the Junior Secondary assessment procedures by parents and the JVP (Little, 1999).

At the Collegiate level (Grade 12-13), there were two curricular streams, arts and science. The curriculum consisted of two parts: a common core of subjects and three main subjects according to the streams. The common core section did not take more than one fourth of the teaching time for all courses. The common core subjects were the Cultural Heritage and Socio-economic Environment of Sri Lanka, the First Language, English and Work Experience through community-oriented projects.

**Vocational curriculum in the 1981 White Paper**

As an outcome of the 1981 white paper proposals, the Technical Education Authority (TEA) was set up for the purpose of undertaking, expanding, diversifying and coordinating the different vocational programs that operated outside the Universities and the school system. Its function was to plan and conduct or sponsor technical and
vocational education programs at all levels, and to carry out relevant testing and award certificates.

An interesting feature of the TEA was that it proposed a Technical Stream for GCE O/L at schools and Physical Education was one of its examinable subjects. The 1981 White Paper Proposals explains it as follows:

T.E.A will organise a 3 year course for G.C.E Technical stream, which will run parallel to Grade 9, 10, and 11 of the normal G.C.E courses conducted in schools. The curriculum will have 8 subjects as follows: First Language, English, Mathematics, Physical Education and 4 subjects under a vocational group. Relevant work experience activities will form a part of the course some vocational groups suggested are as follows: Mechanical Technology, Electrical Mechanics, Building Technology, Automobile Mechanics, Home Economics, Agriculture, Fisheries, Commerce, Vocational English (Ministry of Education in the White Paper, 1981, p. 19).

These vocational subjects were rejected by the JVP and the parents because they wanted their children to study an academic curriculum. One of the weak points in this proposal was the intention to implement the vocational stream in schools. In schools, the name "vocational" was perceived as low status by the parents and by the Peoples’ Liberation Front (in Sinhalese: Janata Vimukthi Peramuna = JVP). In addition, there were no facilities to conduct engineering subjects in the schools where children of the masses studied. As a result, the proposal to establish a vocational stream failed.

**Education structure in 1981 White Paper**

The 1981 White Paper changed the school structure to the following:

i) Primary school, Grade 1-5  
ii) Junior secondary school, Grade 6-8  
iii) Senior secondary school, Grade 9-11  

In the 1981 reforms, there were specific features relating school clusters, private schools, remote area schools and unitary schools.

**School clusters**

There were about 10,000 schools in 1981 and they were grouped into about 1,000 school clusters. Each cluster had a pupil enrolment of about 3,000 pupils in about 10 schools. One of these was a core school, with a core principal whose responsibilities included developing all schools within the cluster and sharing resources between them.
The core principal supervised all schools in the cluster and this system replaced the earlier circuit education officer system. In practice, although clusters were established with great enthusiasm in a number of areas, the scheme was never implemented fully nor the problem resolved (MOE 1984 cited in Little, 1999, p. 191).

**Private schools**
The 1981 White Paper proposals encouraged the continuation of private schools under a legal provision similar to that applicable to public companies. 'Schools which remain as private institutions outside the State system have a role to play in the educational development of the country. These will be assisted and encouraged to make a contribution to education within the framework of national policy' (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposals, 1981, p. 11). For extra private tuition children enrolled in both systems simultaneously (Little, 1999).

**Unitary schools**
Some of the larger schools were left out of the school cluster scheme because of their size and the resources they possessed. The White Paper proposals in 1981 considered that these schools were too large already to be grouped with other schools into clusters. They were also rich in resources and could manage their affairs with much less state aid than the normal schools and such schools were given an opportunity to become more and more self-reliant. The Ministry of Education expected that they would continue to comply and to follow government guidance in the matter of school admissions, as well as many other policy issues. Since these schools already had large numbers of pupils no further expansions were allowed and pupil numbers were to be kept constant at the 1981 level. It was planned to reduce them if necessary but in practice this did not happen. To invest state funds in schools in the clusters, these big schools were not allocated state funds for physical resources (Ministry of Education in White Paper, 1981; Little, 1999).

These schools were given permission to raise funds but soliciting of donations for admission to the school was not permitted. Unitary schools received grants from the state to cover the salary payments of the school staff computed on the basis of pupil numbers. Each unitary school had a board of management including representatives from the Ministry of Education and the School Development Council while the Principal of the school became the chairman. The Principals of these schools received donations without any limitation. Little (1999) says that most principals of this type of schools conducted their own private school after retirement or a change of government.
Schools in remote areas which were isolated were kept as separate units. The proposal planned to provide specific facilities to these schools. For instance, according to an informant (COE specific PE male lecturer D, 1999, Interview), at the beginning of the 1980s, some schools were given televisions, radio sets, toilet facilities, quarters for teachers and a number of other facilities for propaganda purposes but the policy was not implemented for all schools.

**Free textbooks, uniform materials, midday meals and education expenditure**

Between 1970-94, the allocation for education as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) dropped significantly. As a proportion of GNP, government education expenditure averaged 3.5 per cent over the period 1980-94. This was higher than during the period 1970-1980 but lower than the average of 4.7 per cent in the 1960s (National Education Commission, 1992, p68). Educational expenditures as a proportion of GNP in other countries were as follows: developed countries 5.8%, developing countries 4.0%, Asia 4.4%, Arab States 6.7%, India 3.4%, Malaysia 7.9% and Sri Lanka 3.5% (National Education Commission, 1992; Little, 1999). The NEC report states that these figures show that a reversal of this trend was imperative if educational development in Sri Lanka was to be effectively managed in the next decade (National Education Commission, 1992, p68).

Despite increases in defence expenditure, the government increased educational expenditure for direct subsidies to parents for textbooks, uniforms and midday meals (Little, 1999). In 1981, the UNP government started a free textbook distribution scheme and it was followed by free midday meals in the late 1980s and free school uniform materials in the early 1990s without increases to the national income and total education expenditure in the country. These subsidy schemes still continue with the present government which has also provided important resources to poorer children in remote areas. Little (1999) explains:

Teachers distribute free textbooks to children at the beginning of each school year. The scheme has been very successful in ensuring that all children have a basic minimum set of texts. In addition, in some subjects such as primary mathematics, children in the lowest grades receive workbooks. The free textbook scheme, introduced in 1981, was an extension of a long tradition of free government school education which had begun in the village areas in the 1870s (p. 196-197).
Chapter Four: Physical Education in Sri Lanka 1970-2000

All-Island level education organisations and political

Under the 1981 White Paper proposals, most of the powers of the Director General of Education were transferred to the regional Directors. The Secretary to the Ministry was responsible for enforcing the Education, Law and Government policy under the general direction of the Minister of Education. Each of the twenty-four administrative districts in the country had a Department of Education headed by a Director of Education. According to the 1981 White Paper, as the district Departments had functioned as full-fledged Departments, the 1981 White Paper proposals considered that there was no need for a post of Director General of Education in the Ministry. The next level of planning, development and management was the school cluster (Ministry of Education in 1981 White Paper, p. 23).

In 1984, a comprehensive set of reforms of the educational administrative system was implemented. Some administrative districts were separated into two or more sub-education district each headed by a chief education officer who was under the main district Director of Education mentioned above. For each of these sub divisions, different education officers were appointed including those for physical education. Most of these appointments were recommended by area members of the government (MPs). The provincial/area level physical education officer posts for instance went to physical education teachers who had connections with area Members of Parliament who belonged to the UNP. Few places were filled as a result of competitive examinations during this period. According to one informant, between 1977 and 1990, most appointments such as principal, education officer, and lecturer posts including physical education were given to the members of the teachers union of the UNP the Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya and teachers including physical education teachers who had connections with bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education (Retired female physical education teacher A, 1999, Interview). "With the devolution of power to the provincial level, much of the political interference at the national ministry level disappeared, only to reappear in augmented form at the provincial and divisional level" (Little, 1999, p. 192).

When the system of provincial council government was introduced in 1988 some powers in relation to education were transferred to provincial Ministers of Education, but the Directors of Education worked under the Secretary of Education in the central Government. In this regard, the devolution of power was mentioned in the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka. As far as education was concerned it covered a very wide area including provision of facilities to all schools other than specified schools, the appointment and transfer of principals, the preparation of plans in
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respect of educational development and their implementation, and the appraisal of the performance of principals, teachers, education officers (National Education Commission First Report, 1992, p. 108). Under the power devolution process, the Ministry of Education kept major schools under their control so that for instance, by the late 1980s, the central colleges which were established in the 1940s, were re-named National Schools and directly controlled by the central government (Little, 1999).

The National Education Council was one of the important proposals in the 1981 White Paper. It was the advisory body to the government pertaining to innovation, co-ordination, and rationalisation of education policies.

It has to be recognised that education is a sector of national activity in which stability arising from general consensus in regard to policies is of great importance. The council will advise the government on matters referred to it and also offer advice on its own initiative. The members of the council will be appointed by the president (Ministry of Education in Reforms, 1981, p. vi).

In addition, the 1981 reforms proposed an Education Advisory Board and its main duty was to establish education policies as well as their implementation and review. Under the recommendation of the National Education Council, the National Institute of Education (NIE) was also established in 1986.

In 1991, following the Youth Commission Report, the National Education Council was replaced by the National Education Commission (NEC). According to the Commission on Youth Discontent and Unrest in October 1989, "the Parliament passed the National Education Commission (NEC) Act, No. 19 of 1991 in early 1991" (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 1) to prepare a national education policy on reforms for implementation. The Commission held sixteen meetings and a number of working sessions to discuss the existing education system and the work of the Commission. Public hearings in Colombo and the outstations, including representatives of political parties and about 400 witnesses who made their oral submissions, provided for a wide spectrum of opinion. The Commission also gathered data from field studies, discussions and interviews with school principals, teachers and students. These studies were focused on management, the classroom and extra mural activities. In addition, the University community, government and private sector including the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and the NIE were also consulted (NEC First Report, 1992). The NEC published its first report in May 1992 and it has been responsible for shaping the education policy of the country since 1993.
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As a national policy, the Commission proposed nine National Educational Aims. They were:

i) The achievement of national cohesion, national integrity and national unity.

ii) The establishment of a pervasive pattern of social justice.

iii) The evolution of a sustainable pattern of living - a sustainable life style which is vital for the year 2000 and beyond, when, for the first time in the history of mankind even air and water cannot be taken for granted.

iv) The generation of work opportunities that are, at one and the same time, dignified, satisfying and self-fulfilling.

v) In the above framework, the institution of a variety of possibilities for all to participate in human resource development, leading to cumulative structures of growth for the nation.

vi) The active partnership in nation building activities should ensure the nurturing of a continuous sense of deep and abiding concern for one another.

vii) In a rapidly changing world, such we live in today, it is imperative to cultivate and evolve elements of adaptability to change - learn to adapt to changing situations. This must be coupled with the competencies to guide change for the betterment of oneself and of others.

viii) The cultivation of a capacity to cope with the complex and the unforeseen, achieving a sense of security and stability.

ix) The development of those competencies linked to securing an honorable place in the international community (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 6).

The Commission said that to attain the above nine goals there should be a basic foundation provided by the achievement of five broad competencies. They were:

i) competencies in communication;

ii) competencies relating to the environment;

iii) competencies relating to ethics and religion;

iv) competencies in play and the use of leisure;


The Commission presented its first draft report to the President of Sri Lanka in May 1992 and the final report was published on 1st March 1993. Before implementing the proposals the President was assassinated on 1st May 1993 and the following UNP government did not consider the proposals before it lost power in 1994.
4.2.3 Education under the People Alliance Government, 1994-2000

After coming to power in 1994, the People Alliance (PA) began to implement the decisions of the 1992 NEC Report. The PA government said that their education policy would be based on the recommendations of the NEC and it would be a National Education Policy which related to education for peace. The NEC was asked to provide education reforms for implementation by the PA government in 1994 and the NEC handed over a policy document on general education to the President of Sri Lanka in 1995 (NEC, 1997). The President established the Presidential Task Force (PTF) in 1996 and published their general education reforms in 1997 (PTF, 1997).

4.2.3.1 Presidential Task Force (PTF) and General Education Reforms in 1997

Reasons for reforms

Although Sri Lanka has a literacy rate of about 90% as a result of 50 years of free education, according to the PTF the existing education system was unable to produce higher standard professionals than it had produced during the early decades of Independence.

During the first few decades, after we gained independence, universities, technical colleges and other tertiary education institutions provided for the training of a wide variety of professionals and semi-professional personnel. During this period we produced many scholars, scientists, administrators and national figures of great ability and high distinction. In recent decades the picture has changed. There has been a sharp decline in the standard and quality of education at all levels. The reading habit and the use of libraries in the learning process have almost disappeared from our education culture (PTF, 1997, p. 1).

The PTF identified serious shortcomings at every level of the education system. For instance:

approximately 14% of children in the compulsory school-going age (5-14 Years) do not attend school. Recent studies show that only about a fifth of grade five children attain mastery levels in writing and even less in mathematics and health. At GCE Ordinary Level in 1995, the failure rate in all subjects was one in ten. At GCE Advanced Level, one in eleven failed in all four subjects offered (PTF, 1997, p. 1).

The PTF also argued that the education system in the country was unable to produce pupils with knowledge and understanding, skills, and attitudes appropriate for successful living. Sri Lankans were said to be lacking in creativity, initiative, discipline, team spirit, respect and tolerance for other people and other cultures (PTF, 1997).
Although physical infrastructure and resources in all provinces and districts were not equally provided, people who lived in these areas were willing to study. In summary, the PTF pointed out that non-participation rates, public demand, school drop-out, unemployment and poor performance at examinations were indicative of the need for reforms. On the other hand, civil strife, high crime rates and high suicide rates were also indicators of poor performance as a nation (PTF, 1997).

When preparing reforms, the PTF accepted the nine goals and five competencies specified earlier by the NEC. The PTF added another "five honored goals": being knowledgeable and well informed, practically skilled, disciplined, refined, and able to speak well (PTF, 1997).

In 1997, the PTF changed the school structure to a two-tier system (PTF, 1997, p. 28).

i) Junior schools were divided into two parts -  
   a) Primary Section (Grade 1-5 classes)  
   b) Junior Section (Grade 6-9 classes)

ii) Senior Schools were comprised of Grade 10-13.

Under the 1997 PTF Reforms, each class would be referred to by Grade and not by Year.

**School curriculum 1994-2000**

**Primary school**

From 1998, an integrated curriculum has been used which incorporates the mother tongue, religion, mathematics and environment related activities. The integrated curriculum describes guided play, activities and desk-work as teaching methodologies. This integrated curriculum is implemented in three stages: Key Stage One - Grades 1 and 2, Key Stage Two - Grade 3 and 4 and Key Stage Three - Grade 5.

Concepts relating to stabilisation of morals, inculcation of values, development of tolerance, appreciation of other social groups and cultures and living in harmony will run as unifying threads, through all three Key Stages (PTF, 1997, p. 11).

English will be used as a means of communication from Grade I, while the formal teaching of English will commence at Grade 3. Children will be encouraged also to use the other national languages, in addition to their own (PTF, 1997, p. 10).

An unfortunate feature of this reform was that Health and Physical education, which had been one of the key learning areas since the colonial period in the primary
curriculum, was omitted. Although Health and Physical education was not considered as one of the key learning areas, fifteen minutes per day was allocated for physical training/conditioning exercises in the primary school timetable. The NEC, ME&HE, and NIE (1998, p. 9) displayed the time allocation per week for primary schools in the booklet for guidance for school principals and teachers about primary curriculum from 1999 as follows.
Table 4: Primary school curriculum and time allocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject area/Subject</th>
<th>Stage I time per week - hours and minutes</th>
<th>Stage II time per week - hours and minutes</th>
<th>Stage III time per week - hours and minutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother Tongue</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second national</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities related to</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>environment</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-curricular</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Optional activities</td>
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<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total teaching</td>
<td>16.15</td>
<td>22.30</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>learning time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Races</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morning Assembly</td>
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<td>1.15</td>
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<td>and Religious</td>
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<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Training/</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditioning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total School Time</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>27.30</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(NEC, ME&HE, & NIE, 1998, p. 9)

An important feature of these 1998 reform proposals for primary schools was that before implementation throughout the island, they were piloted in 1998 in the Gampaha District where the current President of Sri Lanka was born. As the leader of the Presidential Task Force (PTF), the President of Sri Lanka was personally involved in this pilot study. As a result, all the personnel such as primary school teachers, principals, education officers and the officials in the ME&HE who were involved in the process, enthusiastically supported the study. The Director of Primary Education in the NIE issued a booklet named "Gampaha Experiences in 1998: New Educational
Reforms-Grade I" in 1999 in which the Director described the program as successful (Siyambalagoda, 1999).

In order to implement the new integrated curriculum and its new teaching/learning approaches for all Sri Lanka beginning in 1999, the PTF set in train a series of supportive measures. These included a revision of the syllabus, the writing and production of text books, work books and supplementary materials; pre-service and in-service teacher training; classroom-based assessment procedures; development activities of primary school environment and basic infra-structure; school-based management procedures; and the monitoring and supervision of the implementation of the reforms (PTF, 1997).

**Junior school (Grades 6-9) curriculum**

In the junior school, the PTF proposed a subject based curriculum including Health and Physical Education. The PTF explained that "in the primary stage the child would have been taught an integrated curriculum. In this stage he (sic) will begin to learn through a subject-based curriculum. Therefore, Grade 6 will be used as a bridging year to facilitate the transition from one type of syllabus to the other" (PTF, 1997, p. 14). The subject-based curriculum included the following subjects: First Language, English, Mathematics, Science and Technology, Social Studies, Life Competencies, Religion, Aesthetics, Health and Physical Education.

A new important feature of this reform was that teaching and learning experiences were to take place via practical work, for example, work on small group projects. An activity room was established in each junior school in 1999. In this room students were given the freedom to do things by themselves, using simple tools to learn simple technical skills. An informant here said that school children started to do projects in groups and produced good results. He also suggested that physical education could also be effective using groups (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

The prescriptions in the 1997 PTF proposals were similar to those in the Kannangara Reforms of the 1940s, the Nawamaga Reforms of 1972, and the 1981 White Paper Proposals to make the curriculum practical and vocational. The implementation of these proposals in the past had failed because the necessary facilities were not provided and the reforms were unpopular with teachers and parents. At the end of Grade 9 a school-based proficiency examination was held and children were counseled to select either academic or vocational senior stage education. A certificate was issued at the end of the
Chapter Four: Physical Education in Sri Lanka 1970-2000

Grade 9 and children could move to general academic education or into vocational and technical education.

At the end of Grade IX, there will be a school based proficiency examination. A certificate will be issued to all pupils who sit this examination. The results of this examination will be useful to career guidance and counseling staff, teachers and parents in guiding the children into avenues most suited to their capabilities (PTF, 1997, p. 14).

It is not known whether the ME&HE provided technical and vocational education facilities for more children who chose vocational path, nor how many students and which students chose this route.

**Senior school (Grade 10-13) curriculum**

The reforms at this stage suggested a two year period for GCE O/L studies in Grades 10 and 11 instead of the former three years in Grades, 9, 10 and 11. The PTF criticised the former three-year course as follows:

Pupils have to appear for a single examination that covers three years of work. Such a situation is educationally unsound and places too great a strain on the pupils. Further, teaching methodology has been teacher-centered and little emphasis has been given to practical aspects and relevance to societal needs (PTF, 1997, p. 16).

Health and Physical education was not a core compulsory subject but was an optional subject in this new curriculum. The new Grade X was introduced in 2000 and will continue into Grade XI in 2001. The syllabus included subjects under two categories: core subjects and optional subjects. The eight compulsory core subjects were First Language, English, Mathematics, Science and Technology, Social Studies and History, Religion, Aesthetic Studies (Literature was an option within this group) and Technical Subjects. The seven optional subjects included Health and Physical education but students needed to select only two from the same. Children were encouraged to participate in as many extra-curricular activities as possible and the schools were also encouraged to provide facilities for a range of such activities. Two levels of papers were presented on the mathematics syllabus and the science syllabus with the GCE O/L examination in 1999. The lower level paper was set for pupils who would not continue these subjects further.

To introduce the GCE O/L examination in 2000 the PTF produced syllabuses, teachers' guides and required resource materials (COE male President, 1999, Interview). In-service training was conducted for teachers to handle the new subjects and the student-
centered teaching approach recommended. After the GCE O/L examination at the end of the year 2000, the children were counseled to select academic or vocational/technical curriculum in the Advanced Level (A/L) class or to enter the world of work (PTF, 1997; COE male president, 1999, Interview).

Before it presented the reforms in the GCE A/L curriculum in 1997, the PTF explained the weaknesses in the existing curriculum. The existing GCE A/L curriculum was mainly focused on preparation for university courses. Students were forced to select them, even though universities could enrol less than 12,000 per year out of 180,000 students who sat the GCE A/L Examination. The rest were frustrated because the subjects which they selected for GCE A/L were often of little relevance to potential employment or further education. Furthermore, the existing GCE A/L examination had a dual purpose: it was an attainment examination as well as a selection examination for university entry. "Using a single examination for both these purposes is contrary to accepted educational norms" (PTF, 1997, p. 18).

On the basis of these concerns, the PTF proposed reforms to the GCE A/L curriculum. These changes were implemented beginning with Grade XII in September 1998 and the first A/L examination under the reforms was held in August 2000. The proposed major changes were: the number of subjects to be undertaken by a candidate was reduced from four to three; candidates seeking university entrance were to be required to select subject combinations as set by the particular universities, while the universities were required to reduce pre-requisites; candidates seeking university admission were required to appear for a common general test which was designed to assess intellectual attributes; to qualify for entry a candidate had to pass the common general paper and obtain a minimum subject aggregate of 140 marks for three subjects; qualified candidates were to be selected on the basis of rank order in the aggregate marks scored and the existing district quota system was not to change; practical work was to be considered compulsory for subjects such as Agriculture, Biology, Chemistry, Home science, and Physics and for other subjects, assignments and project reports were to be considered as practical; candidates had to obtain 80% marks for practical works to be able to submit an application for the A/L examination; and school-based assessment was to be held for practical, assignments, and projects (PTF, 1997).

Vocational and activity-based curriculum in the 1997 PTF reforms
Again, as mentioned above mere prescriptions were included in the 1997 PTF proposals similar to previous proposals since the colonial period to make the curriculum practical and vocational.
Links will be developed between the school system and the vocational training system and opportunities will be developed for pupils to move upwards in the general education system or laterally into vocational and technical education. Career guidance and counseling will be introduced into the school system in order to give advice to pupils and their parents, as and when necessary.

It is not known whether the ME&HE has provided technical and vocational education facilities children who wish to follow the same after Grade 9. Unlike the 1972 and 1981 reforms, the PTF did not talk directly about vocational curriculum outside the school system but attempted to established the vocational stream at the HSC level (p. 23). In addition, this was to be extended over the primary and secondary curriculum. The PTF recommended that vocational and practical skills be developed from the early stages of the education system. The PTF recommended the following actions:

i) Activity learning is being introduced as an important part of primary education. Pupils will be encouraged to do things and learn by practical experience. They will make use of materials, simple tools and measuring devices and also learn to work together as teams.

ii) In Junior Secondary schools practical skills will be developed in relation to food, clothing, shelter, health, organisation, information and communication. These activities will be supported by the establishment of activity rooms in each school, provided with appropriate basic equipment and tools.

iii) At the GCE O-L science and technology will be taught on a revised and modified syllabus.

iv) At the GCE A/L a new technology stream will be introduced with bias towards Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Services and Professional fields.

v) Practical work and project work will be introduced as these activities will contribute greatly to the development of technical capability (PTF, 1997, p. 23).
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4.2.4 Teacher Education

4.2.4.1 Teacher education developments 1970-1994

Three types of teacher training programs were proposed and implemented under the 1972 reforms: teachers' college training, a university B. Ed course and in-service training at divisional level by the divisional education offices. Teachers' college training was of two types: primary teacher training and secondary teacher training in specific subjects in the secondary curriculum. Under these secondary teacher training initiatives, a two-year training course to train specialist physical education teachers was established in the Katukurunda teachers' college in 1975. This meant that the Maharagama specialist physical education course which was founded in 1971 was transferred to Katukurunda (Retired Training College male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

For teachers who were already teaching, in-service weekend and weekday seminars were organised for specific subjects in the secondary curriculum. Most teachers who taught specific subjects could not enter the teachers' colleges because there were not enough teachers' colleges to train the thousands of teachers who were recruited without training to teach new subjects such as Science, Mathematics, Agriculture and Physical Education.

The specific feature of the proposals in relation to teacher training was the assumption that different subject graduates who did not have the Diploma in Education, needed no further training.. The Faculty of Education was established in Colombo University in 1974 and offered B.Ed degree courses. At the same time, the Departments of Education in four universities were closed. The Department of Education in these universities had awarded Post-Graduate Diplomas in Education about 600 graduates annually and had also offered some B.Ed courses. The Bachelor of Education course was offered in Colombo only. It focused on training teachers to teach any subject at all levels: primary, and secondary (Female University lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The 1981 reforms proposed a new kind of teachers colleges called Colleges of Education (COE) which awarded Diplomas in Teaching. This system was to replace the existing training college system which offered three-year teaching certificates. The present three-year course will be changed to a two-year institutional course, followed by a year of internship in selected schools, taking into account that the minimum qualifications for recruitment to the teaching profession will be three passes in the
university entrance examination’ (Ministry of Education in the White Paper, 1981, p26). A Diploma in Teaching was to be awarded at the end of the three years.

The general components of all courses in the curriculum formed part of a national curriculum and therefore were identical in every COE. The White Paper in 1981 proposed a course-unit system for curriculum.

Each course will be designed on the course-unit system. The course will be divided into units. Some units will pertain to the core - e.g., principles of education, education psychology, curriculum development, evaluation, teaching practice. There will be optional units from which trainees will select an appropriate number of those pertaining to the major and minor courses for specialisation i.e. Science, Mathematics, First Language, Social Studies, Technical Subjects. In addition, there will be co-curricular subjects such as Scouting, Cadetting, and Community-oriented Project Work (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposals, 1981, p.26).

The curriculum consisted of two major parts, namely subjects and teacher competencies. There were three major subject areas: professional, general and special education and five teacher competency areas: teaching practicum, co-curricular activities, critical essay, personality, and internship (Ministry of Education, 1985).

As professional subjects, the following four courses/subjects were offered: education psychology; sociological and philosophical foundations of education; educational test and measurements; and three subjects in one course: school and community, guidance and counseling, and trends in education. The specialist area also consisted of four courses but they differed from course to course; for instance, the primary specialist course offered subjects such as Mother Tongue for primary class, Primary Mathematics, Environment, Beginning Science, and Principles of Primary Education, Creative Activities, Aesthetic Education (art, music, and dance), and Physical and Health Education (this physical education subject was abolished after 1999).

Between 1986 and 1994 ten colleges were established across the country and they were able to form an elite layer of the teacher education system. Six colleges, namely Nilwala, Uva, Mahaweli, Siyane, Hapitigam, and Sariputta, taught in Sinhalese medium. One English medium college was established at Pasdunrata, and two dual medium Sinhalese and Tamil at Siripada and Vauniya. According to the informants of this study these colleges have enjoyed a good reputation. Little (1999) says that these colleges were seen as a way of upgrading a younger generation of teachers.
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The replacement of Teachers Colleges by COEs resulted in teachers colleges being marginalised. For instance, five prestigious Teachers Colleges at Nittambuwa, Mirigama, Pattalagedara, Bandarawela and Polgolla were replaced by five Colleges of Education and they were enriched with numerous resources while the other teachers colleges were neglected. Until the COEs were founded in 1985, the teacher training colleges, 16 in number, had been the dominant route for teacher training. Teachers who were untrained entered the teachers colleges annually for different subjects including physical education. For instance, the Health and Physical Education (H/PE) teacher training course at Maharagama teachers college lasted until midst of the 1990s. The H/PE courses in Sinhalese medium were sent to Balapitiya and Anuradhapura training colleges in 1995 (1999, Interview).

In addition to COEs and Teacher Training Colleges, two types of teacher education were conducted: teacher education at the NIE and in universities. After the establishment of the NIE in 1986, the Department of Post Graduate Teacher Education and Distance Education at the NIE conducted teacher education programs. The Department of Post Graduate Teacher Education conducted B.Ed degree programs and Post Graduate teacher education programs while the Department of Distance Education at the NIE organised teacher training certificate level courses. The Department of Distance Education at the NIE conducted a teacher training certificate course in physical education from 1991. The Department of Post Graduate Teacher Education at NIE started a B.Ed degree course in physical education for physical education teachers, education officers, and lecturers at COE and teachers colleges in 1997 because Sri Lankan Universities did not offer Bachelors’ programs in H/PE (Fischer, 1999). The 1981 reforms proposed two types of teacher education courses to function at universities: post graduate teacher education similar to the existing Post Graduate Diploma in Education for graduates and the Bachelor of Education course at the undergraduate level courses. The operations of the Open University which was founded according to the 1981 White Paper proposals, were significantly different from those of other universities. It provided opportunities for those in employment and others who could not devote their full time to study to re-enter the education system. It concentrated on courses in mathematics, science, management and technology but later expanded to several other courses. The Open University in Sri Lanka also offered courses in the Post Graduate Diploma in Education, Masters and above but they did not offer any kind of program relating to physical education.

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4.2.4.2 Teacher Education, 1994-2000

As explained in Chapter One, the government established the National Authority of Teacher Education (NATE) to upgrade teacher education in the country in 1996. There was no consensus among educational institutions that provided teacher education when the present government came to power in 1994. To minimise these differences, the NATE has planned to review the entire teacher education system. As a result, local and foreign teacher training was started in 1997 by the NATE. The NATE was to be responsible for policy development, monitoring and accreditation of an integrated national teacher education system (The World Bank in Staff Appraisal Report, 1996).

Teacher training was conducted by different institutions under the umbrella of the NATE. The pre-service teacher education was carried out by National Colleges of Education (NCOE), and by universities. Universities conducted B.Ed degree courses and the Graduate Diploma in Education course while the NCOEs conducted three-year Diploma in Teaching courses. Teacher centers were used to re-train teachers. The number of Colleges of Education was increased to fourteen by 2000 in order to provide more teachers who have pre-service training.

The PTF recommended the following reforms which were also proposed by the NATE.

i) All untrained teachers in the system will be trained, as early as possible, using the expanded and improved facilities of the training system.

ii) In future the Ministry of Education and Higher Education will employ only teachers who have received training in a teacher training institution.

iii) All teachers undergoing training now and in the future, will have to follow a two year course in English, in addition to the special area of training for which they have been selected. It will be necessary for all trainees to attain proficiency in English in order to pass the training college examination.

iv) A Teacher educators Service comprising academically and professionally qualified personnel was established in 1999 to fill the posts of lecturers and administrators. This will help to attract and retain high quality staff for the teacher training programs.

v) Special attention will be paid to the training of English, at all levels, from primary onwards.

vi) A special training program will be established at a selected College of Education in order to train a cadre of teachers to teach the new technology subjects (PTF, 1997, p. 33).
At present, under the leadership of the NATE, several teacher education development projects are being conducted in the country.

4.2.5 Higher Education

Higher education in the 1972 reforms

Three types of higher educational institutions were proposed in the 1972 Reforms for students who completed senior secondary level education: universities and equivalent institutions; higher technology, vocational and aesthetic institutions; further, continuous, and non-formal education institutions for children who were unable to enroll above two systems but to enter them (to higher education) step-by-step.

An interesting feature of this proposal was that students who were not selected for the Higher National Certificate of Education (HNCE) plus year twelve 'university base' year class, would be able to enter the University step-by-step via their best results in technical, vocational, further, continuous, and non-formal education. Students who passed HNCE were to be permitted to take the university-based year 12 class in which they learned skills suited to their particular university courses, and a second language which was mainly English.

The following three categories of students were permitted to enter the higher technology, vocational and aesthetic institutions: a) students who successfully completed the Junior National Technology, Commerce and Aesthetic Certificate from the junior technical, commerce and aesthetic schools; b) students who successfully completed the Certificate of National Service and Vocational courses; c) students who could not obtain enough score at the HNCE to enter the year 12 university base year class. The 1972 reforms suggested that students who successfully completed the national services and vocational courses were able to enter the institutions of further, continuous, and non-formal education.

According to the White Paper in 1981, there was a fall in academic standards in the university system. The White Paper further pointed out the reasons that contributed to the fall in academic standards of the universities. "The expansion of facilities lags far behind the increase in enrolments; the loss resulting from the withdrawal of English is debilitating; the paucity of research work and the small numbers undertaking post graduate studies are some of the factors responsible for the absence of an academically-stimulating climate" (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposals, 1981, p. 15). The 1981 White Paper further explained that the economy in the country found it difficult
to absorb the universities’ output as the demands of the expanding sectors of the economy were mostly for middle-management personnel.

The non-expansion of the universities was compensated for by the establishment of professional colleges in 1985 to meet the trained people-power needs of the country’s development programs. These were tertiary level institutions of higher education with a status comparable to the universities, providing specialised training for established professions. These institutions provided courses to produce graduates equipped to make a significant contribution in the areas of commerce, manufacturing industry, service sector, public services, creative arts, etc. (Ministry of Education in the White Paper, 1981).

The NEC Report in 1992 also suggested that there was a fall in academic standards in the university system. The NEC noted that there were no foreign demands for our universities’ graduates owing to low academic levels in prestigious subjects such as medicine, engineering. Therefore, they proposed private universities in English medium compatible with international standards.

Our universities have a small number of foreign students who have enrolled either to follow degree courses or to do specific programs connected with courses in their home countries. Such students can be accommodated in faculties where courses are conducted in English medium. It has been demonstrated that privately owned higher education institutions for conducting degree level courses in professional areas such as Medicine and Technology can generate a demand (NEC, 1992 First Report, p. 81).

However, responsive to social justice issues the NEC, reminded that the youth rebellion movement in the late 1980s was supported by the medical students, parents and school students of the masses to oppose the establishment of private medical colleges in the 1980s

Considering the highly competitive nature of passage through school of the students who enter the national universities and that the parents of most of them cannot afford the fees levied by the private institutions, questions of social justice and equity loom large (NEC, 1992 First Report, p. 81).

In 1997, the NEC had published a newspaper article (The Silumina Newspaper, 17.08.1997, p. 12) on their reforms. In that article, the NEC said that the Ministry of Education and Higher Education had taken several steps to develop university education including the establishment of three new universities in Sri Lanka. The practices of the PTF, ME&HE and the NEC are not known and need to be examined.
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Route to Tamil conflict via university admission

Under the 1972 reforms, the SLFP government introduced a University entrance system of subject and language medium standardisation whereby students were selected according to the ratio of the number of students who passed the examination for a particular subject in different languages. For instance, for physical science, places were allocated according to the language ratio of Sinhalese to Tamil students who passed the examination from 1974. According to Little (1999), the major reason for the standardisation was:

Science courses became highly prized and were followed disproportionately by Tamil students. With the change in the medium of instruction to either Sinhala or Tamil, claims were being made by Sinhalese that Tamil examiners were over-marking the A-level scripts of Tamil students (p. 97).

In addition to the subject and language medium standardisation, a district population quota allocation was also implemented. "In 1976 the admission procedure was: 70 per cent of places allocated on the basis of an order of merit on an all-Island basis based on standardised marks; 30 per cent of places allocated on a district basis, half of which were reserved specifically for students from underprivileged districts" (University Grant Commission 1987 cited in Little, 1999, pp. 97).

This university entrance procedure was one of the main reasons for the Tamil separatist movement in Sri Lanka. The Tamil share of the highly prized Medicine and Engineering courses admissions fell from about 50% in the 1960s, to about 16% in 1974. "A sense of grievance and discrimination on the part of Sri Lankan Tamils intensified" (Little, 1999, p. 97-98).

In 1978, the UNP government changed the controversial language-based standardisation of GCE A-level marks for University entrance. The new procedure introduced 30 per cent of places on merit marks, 55 per cent for district population quota, and 15 per cent on a quota for educationally disadvantage districts. As a result, the overall percentage of Sinhalese student representation in the University was increased but the Tamils from the East and the North (not the estate Tamils) continued to be over-represented in prestige subjects including Engineering, Physical Sciences, Mathematics, Statistics, Dental and Veterinary Science. The Muslims and the Burgers were under-represented in many courses (Little, 1999).

After 1985, the university admission quotas were reviewed and revised several times. For instance, the district population quota was changed to 65% and the underprivileged district quota to 5%; it again changed to 40% merit, 55% district population and 5% for
underprivileged district. However, the Tamils in North and East were unhappy with this admission system as their quota was reduced (Little, 1999).


This section discusses physical education curriculum reforms of three governments: the SLFP, 1970-1977; the UNP, 1977-1994; and the SLFP, again 1994-2000. As mentioned previously, these three regimes introduced three major education reforms in which physical education was included. In addition, in 1999, under a NATE request, the Fischer Report was submitted to the Ministry of Education on 19th July 1999 and this will also be reflected in this chapter.

4.3.1 Physical education under the SLFP, 1970-1977

Physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka has been shaped by a range of social forces and informed by discourses which have also affected other countries, as discussed in Chapter One. For instance, like many Western countries, the physical education curriculum during the period 1970-1977 was shaped by the dominant discourse of fitness and health. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, in Australia and in other developed countries, the health promoting benefits of exercise have been a regular and significant inclusion in the objectives of physical education because of a developing concern with the increase of sedentary related diseases or cardio-vascular diseases (CVD) associated with affluence (Tinning et al, 2000). Although the communist bloc countries which influenced the Sri Lankan government during this period fostered high performance sports for nationalism purposes, in general, sports development did not have a high priority for the government of Sri Lanka during the period 1970-1977. However, there were developments in public school (elite school) athletic meets, Armed Forces and AAA meets during the period 1965-77. As a result, Sri Lankan men athletes won gold medals with records for 400m relay and individual, 5000m and 10,000m events in the 1970 and 1974 Asian Games (Dhanawardana, 1992).

In 1972, under the SLFP United Front (UF) there was continued negotiation between the two major political forces of the left and the right in Sri Lanaka. Physical education policy was shaped by these two factors and was of two types: one for the masses, and one for the elite class. For the masses, following communist policy, there was scientific-based physical education designed to develop physical fitness and health and monitored
by the measurements of physical outcomes. At the same time, the government allowed the public school associations to continue their game traditions in elite schools.

The place of physical education in the 1972 Nawamaga Education Reforms was shaped by the education and physical education policies of the former USSR. The purpose of physical education in the former USSR at the time was to develop physical fitness, prepare a better work force and a population which was obedient and respectful of the government law, and to develop nationalism through international sports to obtain the attention of powerful nations (Riordon, 1978). From the communist point of view:

Physical education is an integral part of education and serves to ensure the all-round development of the physical and moral qualities of school children, to prepare them for life, labour and defense of their country. More specifically, physical education should strengthen health, develop physical skills, the functional potential of the organism and motor skills, and inculcate moral qualities such as patriotism, internationalism, team-work, boldness, purposefulness, perseverance and self-assurance (Riordon, 1978, p. 38).

This is reflected in the physical education aims in the First Term Syllabus of Physical Education for Grade 6, where the Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Mr. Udagama, pointed out that the major objective of education was to prepare better citizens who have developed productivity, discipline and mental skills. In addition the aim of physical education is described in these reforms as being to "prepare better and healthy citizens who have developed their organs, mind, character, and productivity" (Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre in Year Six First Term Syllabus, 1972, p. 6). As one of the informants here explains:


The 1972 Reforms were mainly shaped by education in the former USSR because Dr. Udagama the Secretary to the Ministry of Education followed the policies of the former USSR. The nine years polytechnic system in the USSR was introduced in Sri Lanka. In this nine years process, children's performances were continuously measured. Next, in the B/G form, it was said what physical qualities of Boys and Girls were to be measured. After that, PE practical was made compulsory (Retired Training College female PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).
In addition to the USSR influences, the GDR also shaped physical education aims in Sri Lanka. The Ministry of Education appointed Dr. A.A.D. Perera who had graduated in the GDR as national consultant in physical education in the Ministry of Education from 1st June 1973. The appointment was confirmed in 1973 by the Secretary of Education Dr. Udugama in the letter no: Sapa/1/6 and dated 2nd August 1973.

Though specific attention was paid to introducing scientific-based physical education through the 1972 reforms, there is evidence in the data collected for this thesis that physical education teachers, lecturers and officials continued the previous practices of physical education. However, the Secretary of Education (Udagama, 1976) emphasised that health for all was the major aim of physical education in the 1972 reforms.

In order to improve the Health of school children it is not sufficient to organise sports competitions for those outstanding children only. The programme should involve the whole school going population. Details on these aspects will be sent later (Udagama, 1976 Circular No. SO 16/452 dated 20th September, 1976).

Physical education in the 1972 reforms was implemented without proper professional training of the officials, lecturers, teachers in physical education in the Ministry of Education. However, physical education curriculum was introduced with more status than in the previous periods because it was an examinable subject in the main curriculum as well as being an extra-curricular activity.

**Physical education subject in primary curriculum**

As seen earlier in this chapter, physical education was included as one of the seven components in the primary school curriculum (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p. 6). Under the subject of physical and aesthetic activities different subjects were taught. For instance, Health Habits, Health Talks, Arts of Movement, Singing, Playing of Musical Instruments and Plays were taught under Health Education heading (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p. 6). In keeping with general education policy of integration and thematic teaching identified earlier in this chapter, the Ministry of Education wanted to integrate physical education in the primary program with other subjects. For instance, under the topic of the Sinhalese and the Tamil New Year, students had to learn health habits, games, sports and health talks in relation to the topic (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972).

In practice, most primary schools did the same thing for physical education that they had done previously. The Ministry of Education also said that they would not change the existing primary curriculum totally except for a few changes where it was necessary.
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(Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p. 7). As had been the case for previous governments, there were few teachers to implement the proposed curriculum integration (Ministry of Education, in Nawamaga, 1972, p. 7). One of the informants described the situation as one where physical education was taught, if there were qualified and quality teachers at schools who were willing to teach it according to the proposals; but most often in practice, according to the informant, physical education was just a play period, a hygiene period or used to teach another subject because most teachers did not know how to teach physical education according to the proposals (COE male lecturer A other than PE, 1999, Interview).

**Physical education in secondary curriculum**

With the 1972 reforms, Health and Physical Education was a compulsory and an examinable subject in the junior secondary school curriculum. The inclusion of physical education in the curriculum to develop measurable physical outcomes such as body strength, flexibility, speed, coordination, and endurance was legitimised by the Ministry of Education in 1972. In the Nawamaga Booklet in 1972, the Ministry of Education explained their aims and the reasons for the inclusion of physical education in the secondary school curriculum as follows:


When a child's power of expression, criticism and affective are developed in a well planned education system, it can not neglect the child's physical strength. Therefore, Health and Physical Education has an important place in this curriculum. Three periods per week have been allocated for this subject: one is to teach theories of hygiene such as physical development, cleanliness of surrounding and the protection of diseases; the other two periods are for physical education such as exercises and sports (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972, p. 12).

One of the major changes under the SLFP was an improvement in the status of physical education through its introduction as an examinable subject. In the NCGE examination for physical education, students had to pass both theoretical and practical components. From Grade 6 to Grade 9, practical and theoretical subject outlines were gradually increased: theories of human physical development, hygiene and their practices were taught in the class room from Grade 6 to 9; for the practical component, basic
movement skills and rules and regulation of different sports were taught in the playgrounds and spaces, where available. In addition, children’s different motor skills were measured throughout the year and over time from Grade 6 to 9 using the B/G (Boys and Girls) Forms in which particular activities were to be measured for prescribed skills. These prescribed skills in the B/G forms included flexibility, strength, coordination, speed and endurance. In the Year Six First Term Syllabus of Physical Education in 1972, the Secretary of Education Dr. Udagama provided the following advice:

Palamu waraya sandaha toragena ati weda akakayan mulu awurudda sandaha yojana kara tibena kriyarakam walin toragath awaya...sama pasalakama, ida pahasu ati kreeda pitiyak natuwa uwada, mada idak ati pasal midul wala, panti kamara saha sala tula, me padam sartaka lesa igenweemata kriyaseele guru bawatata prasnayak nowana bawa atdakeem magin kiwa haka (Udagama in Grade 6 First Term Syllabus, 1972, p. 5).

Activities proposed for the first term, are selected from the activities that are proposed for the whole year...Though every school does not have a spacious play ground, an active teacher can teach this without any question in school compound or where small space is available such as in class rooms and in halls (Udagama in Grade 6 First Term Syllabus, 1972, p. 5).

The above statement signals that most activities undertaken in the physical education period in the class room were not derived from the public school games because they needed more space. All these USSR type activities were mainly scheduled for the development of discipline, obedience, and physical fitness for children of the working class in Sri Lankan schools. The personal experience of the writer indicates that at this time most teachers did not know what to do because they were not given adequate training in relation to these fitness programs. Most activities were derived from the 1933 British syllabus which was still being used even during this period; for instance, minor games and group exercises in the 1933 syllabus were included in the syllabus at this time (Udagama in Year Six First Term PE Syllabus, 1972).

The Boys’ and Girls’ (B/G) Form

To prepare healthy and physically fit citizens, children’s motor abilities were continuously measured using the B/G Forms. Motor skills, physical development and all round sport performance of different sports for boys and girls were assessed by using the B/G Forms. Most class teachers measured their children’s performance over the year. These measurements were very popular during the period. Experimental outcomes of the tests were explained in the First Term Year Six PE Syllabus:
Ehi arambayedi pawatwana sareerikatwaya mineem ha daksatawayan ha hakiyawan satahan kara ganeemen, awasanayedi pawathwana praweena pareeksanayedeey, padam puhunuweemen pasu laba tibena sareeriwadeema ha daksatawayange diyunuwa gana guru bawatata dana gata hakiya (Udagama in Year Six First PE Term Syllabus, 1972, p. 5).

The teacher can compare the physical and performance development measurements which were taken at the beginning with the measurements that would be taken after the implementation of the lesson plans (Udagama in Year Six First Term PE Syllabus, 1972, p. 5).

In the NCGE examination, a separate practical test was also held in addition to B/G form scores. Mean scores of the practical test and the B/G form assessment decided the pass mark in the NCGE exam. One of the informants who was an examiner of the practical test during the period 1975-77 commented:

I think the most important changes were the 1972 changes because there were school-based assessments as well as a practical test which was done by outsiders. The Department of Examination appointed a panel of examiners to examine 100-150 students per day during the period 75-77. We tested basic skills such as running start, baton changes, volleyball passes etc. However, these tests and the NCGE were abolished in 1977. In that period, there was good motivation; students were asked to do; it was a must; they all tried to do. I think the main reason for this motivation was the consideration of PE as an examinable subject (Specialist PE COE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

There were however problems as a result of a shortage of qualified teachers to administer the tests. An informant commented that some 'lazy' teachers who were not qualified in the field, were caught entering false scores in the B/G forms in some schools:

Oya 75-77 kale hari wada una. Samahara teachersla mewa gana hondata danne neti aya 100m diveema wardanaya hitala dala tibuna. Awurudda muladi 100m tatpara 15n duwapu lamaya awurudda awasaneta tatpara 10n duwapu widiyata dala tibuna (male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview)

There were interesting stories during the period 1975-77 when the PE tests were employed. Some teachers, who did not know about PE practical, had put 100m sprint times without measuring. The student who had run 100m in 15 seconds at the beginning of the year, had run under 10 seconds at the end of the year (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

Most of the informants who were school teachers during the period said that the status of physical education as an examinable subject helped to popularise the subject of physical education all over the island. Furthermore, it helped to maintain the status of
Health education

A specific feature under this reform was that Hygiene which had been an examinable subject in the GCE (O/L) examination for years was joined with physical education to form the new examinable subject, Health and Physical Education. In the NCGE examination hygiene and physical education theory marks were assessed together with physical education practical marks. The final grade for health and physical education in the NCGE was 1:1:2 ratio for hygiene theory: physical education theory: practical respectively. Therefore, 1/4 of the weighting was given to Health Education in the NCGE examination.

Children’s health habits were checked by teachers, and health education seminars which had been organised with the help of the Department of Health for school children, teachers and parents, were continued as usual. The teachers who taught physical education were mainly responsible for inspecting children’s health habits such as cutting nails, combing hair, washing clothes, and cleanliness of the body (bathing); class teachers and the principal also checked these as usual (male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

Sports and other extra-curricular activities

As a policy the Ministry of Education continued the extra-curricular physical activities discussed in early chapters but, in practice, they were generally discouraged. After 1972, the government stopped importing most food which could be grown locally because of their policy of import supplement/substitution. School children were forced to cultivate locally grown food such as yams, sweet potatoes, vegetables and others on school premises. Extra time which could have been used for physical activities was used for the "battle of cultivation" (Waga Sangramaya). For instance in the following statement the Ministry of Education complains that the implementation of new reforms has been hindered by the extra-curricular activities.

Pasal sisunata tama uparima kalaya adyapana katayutuwalata ha danata apa pasal wala aramba ati ahara nispadana katayutu walata da yedaweemata hakiwanu pinisa, siyaluma sanwidanakaree pasal taranga ha warshika utsawa adiya nawata danwanaturu wahama kriyathmaka wana se athitaweemata teeranaya kara ata. Tawada, mandalika, distrikka ha samasta lanka mattamwalata ayath vivida taranga hetuwen pasal weda katayutu adapana wenawa pamanak nowa, 1972 warshaye sita aramba kara ati nawa adyapana pratisanskara ya yate kriyathmaka kerena weda satahanata hani siduwee ati bawa danagannata tibe (Udagama, the Secretary of Education, 1973 Cirular No.405).
All types of organised sport competitions and annual festivals are hereby canceled to take effect immediately until further notice so that school children are able to employ their maximum effort on educational purposes and food production activities which should have commenced by now. Furthermore, different competitions such as circuit, district, and all -Island meets not only destroy day-to-day school activities but also I came to know that they have obstructed the 1972 education reforms which have been implemented (Udagama, the Secretary of Education, 1973 Circular No. 405).

Some informants said that as a result of such directions, several school playgrounds in remote areas were used to cultivate crops and different yams like manioc (PE male teacher A; Specialist PE COE male lecturer A, 1999, Interviews). However, urban area schools and particularly the elite schools continued their organised sports and other extra-curricular activities as usual. The following statement shows that the Ministry of Education did not force restrictions on urban area elite schools:

Mema chakraleka upades cricket, papandu, dalpandu, elle, volleyball adi sanvidita kreeda ha samanya wasayen pawathwanu labana antar patasaleeya taranga sandaha bala nopawetwe. Aheth ema taranga da hakitak awama pramanayen kireemath, a sandaha senasurada saha irida yoda ganeemath yogya wanneya (Udagama, the Secretary of Education, 1973 Cirular No.405).

This circular will not affect organised sports like cricket, soccer, netball, elle, and volleyball and other inter-school competitions which are organised as general activities. However, to do these activities at a minimum level, it is advisable to organise them during the weekends (Udagama the Secretary of Education, 1973 Circular No.405).

In practice, students in junior secondary schools where children of the masses studied did not go to inter-school competitions because of the Ministry advice; they participated in activities in the B/G forms because it was a compulsory part of the curriculum. However, in 1975, the Circular No. 405 was canceled and sports as extracurricular activities were started again (Male school teacher B other than PE, 1999, Interview).

The students who performed well in sporting events as extra-curricular activities were given scholarships. To study at central colleges and to enhance their sport performance, 25 scholarships were awarded annually for children who displayed outstanding sporting performance. These children were selected from the district, province and all-Island level athletic meets. They came from poor families whose economic status was calculated according to the annual income rates of the families, and from Grades 8, 9 and 10 (Weerawardene, Circular No. 388, 12th of July 1973).
Although the elite schools continued their games traditions, they were also forced to follow the new 1972 curriculum reforms because physical education was an examinable subject at the first government examination, the NCGE, at the end of junior secondary education in Grade 9 (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga, 1972).

In theory, the government policy was to provide physical education opportunities to all schools equally but in practice, despite the egalitarian position of the leftists in the government, the elite schools were able to protect their games tradition which consumed more facilities than the schools of masses. According to one informant, "the bitter truth was that the elite class who had power continued to encourage public school cricket, soccer, rugby football and other related activities" (Specialist PE COE male lecturer A; 1999, Interview).

4.3.2 Physical education under the UNP, 1977-1994

Between 1977 and 1983, policy was shaped by the general policy of economic liberalisation and the relationships with Western countries. In 1977, the UNP Minister of Education, Mr. Nissanka Wijerathne, who was a Buddhist devotee, wanted to introduce the holistic approach to physical education to develop mind and the body simultaneously according to Indian Yoga techniques. As a result, in 1979, he changed the name of the subject to Hygiene, Physical Education, Yoga and Mental Health (Ministry of Education in Syllabi, 1979, p. 1, 44-55).

The above Yoga and mental health policy did not continue after 1983 as a result of the appointment of an East German-educated Assistant Director of Sports in 1983 by the new Minister of Education, Mr. Ranil Wickramasingha. Minister Wickramasingha was keen on sports as he was an old boy of the Royal College Colombo and also held the portfolio of Youth Affairs in addition to the Ministry of Education. The Director of Sports introduced sports-oriented physical education following the model in communist countries, although the government in its other policies followed the capitalist countries in the Western World. The communist countries like the former USSR (Riordan, 1978), the GDR (Childs, 1978), Cuba (Pickering, 1978) and China (Davis, 1997) encouraged mass participation in competitive sports, increasing the potential for identifying Olympic athletes. International competitions were used to gain international attention for the superiority of their communist ideology over others. The director copied the system and organised the mass-participation national school games in 1984. The UNP government was happy with this organisation because the system satisfied the nationalist traditions in the UNP. Finally, the Director of Sports was promoted to the
post of the Director General of Sports and his policy of sports-oriented physical education was continued (Specialist PE COE male lecturer B, 1999, Interviews).

4.3.2.1 Physical education curriculum in the secondary school 1977 to 1983

The major recollection of change in the period 1977-94 for most informants here was the cancellation of physical education as an examinable subject at the GCE O/L examination after 1977 (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview). Others pointed out that the cancellation of physical education as an examinable subject served to undermine its status as a school subject. As one specialist physical education lecturer said:


The new government in 1977 said PE is not suitable to consider as a compulsory subject and it was only considered as an optional subject. Then, students said they did not need optional subjects and paid their attention to compulsory subjects. There were two periods per week for PE those days, but only 10 out of 40 students from a class came to the ground willingly. The remaining 30 were under the trees or somewhere else. However, as a young teacher I would force them to the playground. They came to the class but not willingly (COE specialist PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

The evidence is confusing as to why physical education was dropped as an examinable subject. After assuming duties in 1977, the new Minister of Education of the UNP Government advised authorities to replace the controversial NCGE examination and the pre-vocational subject with the former GCE O/L examination. Under the Circular No: 141/77, My No. SO 6/298 and dated 22.11.1977, the Ministry of Education specifically terminated the NCGE examination in 1977 with Health and Physical education as an examinable subject and it was not included in the re-introduced GCE O/L examination in 1978.

The point here seems to be that because it was not examinable, students chose not to do it. For instance, as one informant suggests, that in 1977-83 the subject physical education was not canceled from the curriculum but was made an optional subject.
Students were reluctant to participate in practical physical education and instead took other core subjects (COE specialist PE male lecture A, 1999, Interview).

On the other hand the Ministry of Education regarded physical education as a core subject to be examined internally under the health subject. The Ministry of Education issued syllabi for every subject for GCE O/L in 1979. These were to be used by Year 9 classes from 1979 and Year 10 classes from 1980. In these syllabi physical education subjects were also included for GCE O/L classes (Ministry of Education in Syllabi for Year 9 & 10, 1979, p. 1, 46-55). The name of the subject however, was changed to Health Education, Physical Education, Yoga and Mental Health (Ministry of Education in Syllabi for Grade 9 & 10, 1979, p. 1, 46-55). However in circular No. 143/77 dated 12.12.1977 which advised that health education was included at the GCE O/L examination from 1979, physical education was omitted.

There is further evidence that the UNP government wanted to keep physical education as a core subject in the curriculum and proposed this in the 1981 White Paper on pages No. 3, 4 and 5 for their primary, junior secondary and senior secondary curriculum. The White Paper further says that "the Health and Physical Education subject will be tested at cluster level" (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposals, 1981, p. 5). In addition, sports and athletics were considered co-curricular activities (Ministry of Education in the White Paper, 1981).

There is further evidence that the UNP needed to retain physical education in the curriculum but not as an examinable subject. Periods were allocated in November 1986 for Grades 9-11 classes by the Circular No. 1986/13, Mage Anka: 2/Pasa/2/271 of the Secretary of Education. The Circular clearly allocates periods for health and physical education as follows: two periods per week for physical education in primary school (Grades 3-4), two health period for Grades 6-8, and one period per week for Physical Education in Grades 6-11. A specific feature of this circular was that periods were not allocated for health education for Grades 9-11 because it was added to the science subject (Ministry of Education in Circular No. 1986/13, p. 1-3).

4.3.2.2 Sports for all 1983-1994

In this period, there was not much talk about mental or physical health but the main interest seems to have been in sports. The Director of Sports implemented a program of sports for all to select elite athletes, rather than for elite students only, using scientific methods of coaching and competitions modeled from the GDR. Proposal No. 39 in the
1981 reforms was related to co-curricular activities such as sports, games and other kind of activities (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposals, 1981, p. 7). These activities are described in the 1981 proposals as follows:

Co-curricular activities are those that form part of the school program although they are not listed as stipulated subjects with prescribed syllabi. However, they cater to very important aspects of education. Some co-curricular activities may have a greater and more lasting influence than the regular subjects in enriching the child’s experience and providing him (sic) with opportunities to discover his aptitudes. If the value of co-curricular activities is unreservedly recognised it will be necessary to make it possible for larger numbers of pupils to participate in such activities than at present. However, co-curricular activities are mainly confined to the larger schools. Therefore, while action will be taken to encourage co-curricular activities care will also be taken to ensure greater participation of the pupil population (Ministry of Education in White Paper Proposal, 1981, p. 7).

For the purpose of organisation and development, the co-curricular activities were categorised into three sections: sports and athletics; cadetting, scouting; and hobbies clubs/projects (Ministry of Education, 1981, p. 7). The aims of these co-curricular activities were stated in the 1981 White Paper as follows:

Activities in the first category perform an important physical training function besides helping to inculcate values associated with team sports and athletics. The major role of the second category is to prepare a child for disciplined service outdoors. Activities in the third category help children gain specialised knowledge skills through recreational interests. They may lead to developments which could determine a child’s career or help him in make a valuable contribution to the community (Ministry of Education, 1981, p. 7).

In accordance with the 1981 White Paper, the Minister of Education and Youth Affairs Mr. Ranil Wickramasingha appointed as the Assistant Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education, Sunil Jayaweera, in 1983 (Administrative Report, 1983, p. 49). Jayaweera worked as an Assistant Director, Director and Director General of Sports in the Ministry of Education from 1983 to 1998. The Administration Report of the Ministry of Education in 1983 reports on the Director’s initiatives as follows:

i) Two conferences of Physical Education Officers were held at the Ministry of Education to plan and design the organisation of the sports activities for the year 1984.

ii) In 1983, sports equipment to the value of Rs. 1,232,000/= was distributed through the Ministry of Education Services. Gymnastic and weight Lifting equipment and ancillary items to the value of Rs. 532,000/= were purchased.

iii) Physical education facilities were provided for newly recruited teachers during their pre-service training at 11 centers. 92
trainers were employed to train approximately 1800 Physical Education and Sports teachers.

iv) All-Island competitions in physical training were held in Galle, while those in athletics, volleyball, netball and football were canceled due to disturbances in July, 1983.

v) Intensified efforts were made to train 30 district representatives, one from each district, at a national coaching camp. Subsequently, these representatives trained selected teachers in each district so that approximately 2700 competent coaches were finally trained.

vi) iv. All-Island training program in swimming was conducted for 50 teachers. Feasibility of providing low cost swimming pools in suitable locations in rivers, waterways and lagoons for use by school children was being studied.

vii) For the first time, 3000 school children and 3000 youths from the National Youth Councils participated in a 10,000 meter road race. The race was run from Mt.Lavinia to Galle Face.

viii) 10 minutes of physical training everyday for school children in all secondary schools was made compulsory by Circular instructions. This daily program included sets of exercises to suit the age and maturity of the pupils (Ministry of Education, Administration Report, 1983, p. 49).

One informant commented on Sunil Jayaweera’s appointment:


Having seen Mr. Jayaweera’s competencies in sport meet organisation, he was appointed as an Assistant Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education by the Minister of Education Mr. Ranil Wickramasingha in 1983. In these scenarios, they had close relationships. The Director introduced several sport programs; for instance, teachers were trained as specific coaches and well organised; all-island competitions were held for all schools annually. More than 1500 national level athletes were recruited as PE teachers after a short term training period and the College of Physical Education was established at Bandarawela. After training those teachers went all over the island, and they started to train rural area children. We can see now; our present star athletes such as Dharsa, Sugath and Kulawansa are from remote areas; I can say that Mr. Jayaweera’s programs helped them to come forward (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).
Under Sunil Jayaweera’s leadership, about 1500 national level athletes were recruited as physical education teachers and physical education teachers were given refresher courses in several areas. Some informants regarded Jayaweera’s efforts as praiseworthy in relation to the development of sports as co-curricular activity (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

During the period when Mr. Jayaweera was Director of Sports, he re-trained PE teachers; previously no re-training had been given to those teachers. However, in the new reforms under the present government, there are plans to re-train our teacher educators and teachers in PE (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

I would like to tell it frankly that the appointment of Mr. Jayaweera as Director of Sports in 1983 enhanced sports activities all over the island; especially for all social classes, it was opened. Competitive sports developed rapidly in schools (retired female Education Officer in PE, 1999, Interview).

As a result of the introduction of the co-curricular activities, the subject Health and Physical Education in the normal timetable was marginalised. For instance, the post of Director of Physical Education in the Ministry of Education was not filled; instead, the Director of Sports handled both school physical education and co-curricular activities. Most informants said that the appointment of Mr. Jayaweera as the Director of Sports and keeping vacant the post of Director of Physical Education until 1997 caused a decline in the standard of normal timetable physical education in schools in the country (Retired female Education Officer in PE, 1999, Interview). However, throughout primary and post-primary grades, Aesthetic, Religious and Extra-Curricula Activities were emphasized more than they had been prior to Jayaweera’s appointment (Little, 1999).

4.3.2.3 The National School Games (NSG)

One of the specific change points in relation to school sports in Sri Lanka was the 1984 National School Games (NSG) (NSG Sinhalese: Jatika Pasal Kreeda). The new Assistant Director of Sports organised this event for most sports which were conducted in Sri Lankan schools, such as athletics, volleyball, netball, elle, and cricket (tennisball cricket). In addition, sports such as soccer, badminton, table tennis, weight lifting, gymnastics, swimming, and wrestling, which were limited to urban area schools, were also included into the NSG program. For the first time, these events was held as they were in the Olympic Games; for instance, all competitors who were selected for the all-Island level were brought to Colombo, provided with accommodation and food in Colombo area schools, and these events were completed within about 10 days. The
opening ceremony, closing ceremony and a number of and variety of shows were also organised to keep students entertained. In the following year, it was held at Matara and called the All Island School Games (AISG in Sinhalese: Samasta Lanka Pasal Kreeda). Since then, the event has been in two parts, the National School Games held in Colombo and the All Island School Games held at a selected place in a province outside the city of Colombo. These two Games continue to this day. In addition, sport schools for competent school athletes, teacher recruitment programs, coaching camps for teachers and students and a number of other activities were organised during the period that Jayaweera was Director. These events continue to the present day (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The National School Games program created negative and positive impacts on the physical education curriculum. First, the Ministry of Education imposed limitations on the participation of school athletes in competitions which were organised by sporting bodies outside of schools. The Ministry of Education issued Circular No. 1982/1 dated 23rd Feb 1982 under My No. 2/SECA/214 advising as follows:

A student should not be permitted to be a member of a sports club outside the school and participate in its activities unless with the written permission of the principal. Violation of this rule will be sternly dealt with. Students can participate in sports competitions organised by registered sports bodies only, as representatives of the school, with the permission of the Principal (Ministry of Education, Circular No. 1982/1, 1982).

Second, the power of the public school athletic meets which were organised by the elite private schools was challenged but not discontinued by the Assistant Director. To limit elite school children’s participation in public school games and to motivate them to participate in the NSG program, the participation of school athletes in the public school meet was discouraged via elite school principals, physical education teachers and area education officers in physical education using Jayaweera’s political power (COE specialist PE male lecturer D, 1999, Interview).

Although, the Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education placed several constraints on public school athletic meets, the situation was not changed for other games. In 1994, the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka classified their school sports competition as follows:

Compulsory Games: Athletics (Boys/Girls), Volleyball(Boys), Netball(Girls), Football (Soccer).
Optional Games: Volleyball (Girls), Elle(Boys/Girls), Physical Training (Boys/Girls), Gymnastics (Boys/Girls), Badminton (Boys/Girls), Table Tennis
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(Boys/Girls), Basketball (Boys/Girls), Hockey (Boys/Girls), Swimming (Boys/Girls), Softball Cricket (Boys), Boxing (Boys), Cycling Competition (Boys/Girls), Body Building Competition (Boys), Tennis (Boys/Girls), Wrestling (Boys), Chess (Boys/Girls) (Circulars No. 94/01 ME&HE, 03.01.1994, p. 2).

In the same Circulars No. 94/01 the ME&HE Sri Lanka introduced limitations for provincial participation in the National School Games teams which were popular in most of the schools in the island while at the same time encouraging more sport teams which were difficult to conduct in the lower social class schools, but popular in upper social class schools.

Teams which secure first, second and third places in the following events at Provincial Level shall be made (sic) to participate at the National Level competitions - Volleyball (Boys/Girls), Netball (Girls), Football (Boys), Elle (Boys/Girls), Softball Cricket (Boys), Physical Training (Boys/Girls). Any number of teams from a province may be made (sic) to participate in the following events at National Level - Gymnastics (Boys/Girls), Badminton (Boys/Girls), Table Tennis (Boys/Girls), Basketball (Boys/Girls), Hockey (Boys/Girls), Swimming (Boys/Girls), Boxing (Boys), Tennis (Boys/Girls), Wrestling (Boys), Chess (Boys/Girls) (Circulars No. 94/01, 1994, p. 3).

The Director did not mention the major public school games, namely cricket and rugby football. These two sports had been confined to the elite schools and not included in the list. The organisers of these two sports had connection with key politicians so the Director was unable to impose restrictions.

However, when the Director implemented policy which constrained public school athletics, proponents of the system criticised the Director of Sports for destroying school physical education. One of the male sport writers who was a former public school athlete, national champion in several athletic events and also a member of several non-school sports organisations commented:

During the period, the Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education banned school athletes’ participation in meets which were organised by the clubs outside of schools. At that time, newspapers voiced unanimously that the decision was unjust. But, no-one wrote against it, saying that school PE was going to be put into a big precipice. There was a reason for that. It was the fear of that educational autocrat. When one of our former star athletes criticised the decision, he was forced to lose his job by this autocratic politician. Some people who criticised the decision, had to quit their jobs. When there was such a scenario who would come to criticise that type of decision (Male sports writer, 1999, Interview).

However, other informants suggested that the National School Games program opened the gate for rural area children to compete with big schools in urban areas. The informants also pointed out that the children of the lower social class and from remote areas were able to participate in sporting activities in general much more than in the previous periods and children from the remote areas in particular, the majority of whom were also children of lower social class, benefited particularly (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

The other group of critics were physical educators who followed William’s broader education through the physical approach. They were unhappy with the sports-oriented physical education in schools and the replacement of teacher training by coach educators:


The arrival of Sunil Jayaweera decreased PE while the area of sports has been developed. Its severe danger situation was evident in that PE totally disappeared as three months sports teacher training was taken into their hands. People who were not professionally qualified, were given teaching appointments. These people did not teach at schools properly because they did not know what to do (Retired training college male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Some informants here said that the Director of Sports encouraged sport practice during the normal school physical education period to the detriment of participation in physical activity for the majority of children. Other informants said that incentives such as the success of sporting teams gained a reputation for their schools, themselves and the children. The widespread occurrence of sports practice in physical education time is
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evidenced by a circular advising teachers to stop practice during the normal school time. That a circular was required would seem to indicate that the practice was fairly widespread. The circular advised as follows:

Sama sareerika adyapana guruwarayekma satiyakata paya 20k awama wasayen sareerika adyapana visaya igenviya yutu atara, ema kalachcheda, visaya nirdasaye atulath kriyakarakam saha kreedawanhi moolika daksata igenweema sandahama yoda gata yutuya. Vivida kreeda pilibandawa vidyaleeya kandayam pahunukireema wani katayutu pasal kalasatahanata atulath kalachcheda tuladee nokala yutu atara a sandaha sawas kalaya yoda gata yutuya. Sawas kalaye sidu keren a pahunuweem katayutuwala yedena kalaya anumata kalasatahanata atulath kala hakiya (Peris in Circular No.1993/07, 1993)

Every physical education teacher in schools needs to teach physical education for minimum of 20 hours per week. These periods must be used to teach activities and basic skills in sports according to the syllabus provided. School sporting teams and cadet platoons should not be trained during the normal school timetable. They can be arranged after school. Time which is used for such training after school can be included into the teacher’s timetable (Peris in Circular No. 1993/07, 1993).

It is very difficult to determine whether the physical education teachers taught whole-class or selected members of sporting teams in their physical education period. The teachers and principals who were interviewed suggested that physical education teachers taught basic skills and sports skills to all the students in their classes, while informants who were parents commented that physical education teachers taught only the children selected for sporting teams.

Mage iskole inna PE guruwarayanam visaya nirdesayata ha time table ekata anuwa lamayinda igenweem katayutu hondin karanawa. Mama me shetryata asa nisa itin hondin hoyala balanawa. Mama danna PE teachers la me iskolawala wateta inna aya hemoma niyama vidiyata karanawa kiyana ekai mage viswase (School principal male A, 1999, Interview)

The PE teacher in my school teaches according to the syllabus and the timetable. As I am interested in PE, I supervise what my PE teacher does for PE. According to my knowledge, I think PE teachers who work around this area teach according to the syllabus and timetable (School principal male A, 1999, Interview).

Mama me shetryata sambanda nisa mage daruwo iskole gihin monawada kreeda walata karanne kiyale mama ahanawa. Atakota ayala kiyanne mokawatham karanne nehe kiyana ekai. Misla apita bola deela sellam karanda kiyala pattakatawela balana innawa kiyala tamai kiyanne. Eta amatarawa mandalika taranga wage kaleta team training karana eka tamalu teachers la karanne. Mama me kreeda shetryata sambanda nisa oya anith ayagenuth ahala
As I have relationships with this subject area, I generally ask from my children what do their PE teachers teach for PE at their school. Their reply was that they are taught nothing; instead PE teachers give them balls to play any thing they wish while PE teachers are looking at standing beside. In addition, students say that PE teachers coach sporting teams during the circuit meet season in day-to-day timetable time. As I am interested in sports, I generally ask from others about school PE. They also say that most PE teachers follow the same (Female sports writer, 1999 Interview).

4.3.2.4 Sport schools

As in many other countries, such as GDR (Childs, 1978), USSR (Riodran, 1978), Cuba (Pickering, 1978), Australia (Hardman, 1992), USA (Krotee, 1992), UK (Gillever, 1995), and China (Davis, 1997), a system of sport schools was established in Sri Lanka to develop sports in the country. Sri Lanka followed the communist model of establishing specialist sports schools. From the beginning of the 1990s, the Ministry of Education started a sports school program under the leadership of Sunil Jayaweera, the Director of Sports at the time (Sports Ministry official male A, 1999, Interview). Although the UNP established the sports school system, the present People Alliance (PA) government has continued it. By the year 2000, sports schools were established in most of the Districts around the country. Secondary school children were selected to these schools after a skill fitness test and according to the District and Provincial sporting performances (male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview). The schools were started as separate sections of old Central Schools where hostel facilities were available. Athletes have been provided with free accommodation and other facilities and school physical education teachers have been seconded as coaches. Though there have been shortcomings, these sport schools currently offer a major challenge to urban area schools in the national level competitions (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

At the time of writing this thesis, Sunil Jayaweera, the Director of Sports was not working at the Ministry of Education for personal reasons. The post of the Director of Sport was given to a female officer in 1991 when Sunil Jayaweera was promoted to the post of Director General of Sports. The Ministry of Education filled the post of the Director of Physical Education after the PA government came to power in 1994 and the posts of the Director and Director General of Sports were continued. By 2000, the post of the Director of Physical Education was also vacant because of the retirement of the newly appointed Director of Physical Education. At the time of writing this thesis, the
Director of Sports was in charge of both physical education and sports in the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka.

4.3.3 Physical Education under PA, 1994-2000

The major physical education policy of the government between 1994-2000 was physical education for peace, mental and physical health following the NEC report in 1992 and its revisions after 1994. As one of the major policies of the government after 1994 has been peace through education, the sport-oriented physical education curriculum has survived in the Ministry of Education. In the meantime physical education was offered as an examinable technical subject in 1998 by the NIE. After the Presidential Task Force (PTF) started its duties, the NIE has prepared another curriculum in 1999 for mental and physical health of children in Sri Lankan schools, named Health and Physical Education (H/PE). The shift from "sports for all" to mental and physical health as an umbrella term, as has been the case in some developed countries, came as a result of over concerns with health-related risk factors. Health as an umbrella theme was presented to the government by the National Education Commission (NEC) in 1995.

According to the PTF reforms after 2000, physical education was continued as an examinable subject for GCE O/L examination but it was not a core subject or technical subject. It became an optional subject and was re-named as Health and Physical Education. The new health-oriented subject was offered for the GCE O/L in 2000. Even in this new reform, H/PE is not a GCE A/L subject and universities do not offer it as a degree subject. The National Colleges of Education have not changed the name to H/PE and continue their course name, "Physical Education".

4.3.3.1 The importance of physical education according to the NEC

The 1992 NEC Report and its revisions after 1994 were very influential in relation to the physical education curriculum. The NEC presented considerable support from research and education theory that physical education had a major role to play in education. The NEC described its goal No. 8. as 'the cultivation of a capacity to cope with the complex and unforeseen, achieving a sense of security and stability' (1992, p. 9). It explains how physical education contributes to attaining this goal:

In order to strike a balance and achieve security and stability, both internal and external beneficial forces have to be harnessed to the full. This requires a dynamic approach on the part of the individual. This dynamism should be reflected firstly by sound mental and physical health. One should have the
ability to resist externalities which can put one off balance. On the mental side, the capacity to think clearly, think analytically as well as holistically, and to arrive at viable conclusions is a key factor. Meanwhile, on the physical side, one must develop a healthy body with the necessary strength to resist not only disease and ill health, but also stress, strain and trauma (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 9).

Five sets of competencies the NEC identified to reach their goals; the fourth is directly concerned with "play and the use of leisure". The NEC explains its importance as follows:

This fourth set of competencies links up with pleasure, joy and such human motivations. These find expression in play, sports, athletics and leisure pursuits of many types. These are essential for realising mental and physical well being. These also link up with such values as cooperation, team work, healthy competition in life and work (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 15).

The NEC again emphasised the importance of physical education in Chapter Three of its report, "Linkages between the Education System and the Other Major Sectors", explaining the relationship between education and physical education:

Education is also required to promote the physical, moral, spiritual and cultural life of the people through physical, moral, religious, cultural and aesthetic education. All these may be part of general education or specialised education, but in whatever form it is education which improves the quality of human life. "Mens sana in corpore sano", is a vital principal of life and education, at all times (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 20).

The NEC was clearly convinced that the major concerns in physical education were mental and physical health in ways which draw on the "education through the physical" approach. "The separation of education from the development of mental and physical health is both artificial and undesirable. The confining of school activities to the mere learning of subject-matter and the development of a limited number of specific skills may be leaving a large part of a growing child's upbringing and education unattended" (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 116).

The NEC (First Draft, 1992, p. 98) acknowledge that "not all issues and problems can be dealt with straightway due to practical limitations. Hence a prioritization is necessary" (NEC First Report, 1992, p98). So saying the NEC categorised five lists of priorities: Category I for immediate effect, Category II for early implementation, and the rest for further research and then for implementation. "Co-curricular activities" were included into the immediate action category, the first category, while "mental and
physical health* was included into the early implementation category (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 98-99).

The NEC (First Report, 1992) made proposals in relation to co-curricular activities but without providing any suggestions as to what these co-curricular activities might be:

Co-curricular Activities
A common period of two hours per week should be set apart for co-curricular activities of the entire school. It should be made compulsory for teachers to guide and assist in the organisation of the activities. The activities in which a teacher has taken active interest should be an aspect included in the teacher’s half-yearly report, and on which he should be evaluated. Every child should be encouraged to take an active, consistent and steady interest in at least one co-curricular activity throughout his school career. A statement for his development through such an activity should be treated as an integral part of his school record (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 107).

The NEC was critical of the lack of attention to physical activity in schools. It pointed to its importance in developing the health of body and mind and to a system of balanced education.

A well balanced program of learning cannot be imparted through merely the transfer of verbal information and the drilling in skills connected with 'paper work'. These have their place. But developing specific interests and special aptitudes of pupils, stimulating activities which promote physical growth, regular and systematic exercise, the nurturing of a variety of bodily skills are created for, but only marginally in schools (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 88, italics and bold are not in original).

The NEC (First Report, 1992) was also critical the sport-oriented physical education program in schools. The NEC defined the purpose of school physical education as being: to exercise children’s bodies and to develop physical skills systematically and regularly during school time. In addition, it was to teach them how to take care of the body.(NEC in First Report, 1992).

There seems to be a mistaken notion that physical education is the same as coaching and getting children to take part in sports, games and competitions for the purpose of winning awards. In the process of promoting and organising of sports meets, inter-school matches, etc. where only team members, winners, coaches and organisers get prominence and publicity, the routine activity of getting every child to systematically and regularly exercise his body and develop physical skills gets totally neglected (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 116).
However, it also argued for a physical education based on sports training for winning games and competitions. The NEC did not disagree with the importance of competitive sports to national identity and to gain the attention of powerful nations but argued that it should happen through broad based programs for all schools. The Commission recommended how this should be done:

Even if the aim of the school is to cultivate a group of high class sports persons who will bring credit to the school and country, the process should start with all the school children of the tender age of around 10 to 12 years. They should all be developed physically by a regime of physical culture suited to their age, physique, climatic conditions and other relevant considerations. Subsequently, based on their interest, trainability and potential, children should be selected for specialised training and nurturing to become athletes, sports persons, etc. (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 117).

The Commission was interested to see better physical education programs in Sri Lankan schools but they clearly had reservations about the suitability of activities for physical education in developed countries for Sri Lanka. They further pointed out that whether sports training may be part of school physical education curriculum in developed countries or not, our children need guidance and resources for a form of physical education which is suitable for them. According to the Commission, the kind of physical education required needs to exercise children's bodies for physical health as well as providing activities for mental health. In addition, the Commission emphasised the importance of health education and the inclusion of local activities and practices in the curriculum.

As they grow older they should be also introduced systematically to health care and nutritional practices relevant to our country. In this regard the bodies of knowledge, and codes and practice of indigenous system of health care and nutrition needs heavy emphasis. Disappearance of these practices would put the younger generation into states where they could be easily manipulated and exploited by commercial interests in matters regarding health and medication. This will be clearly detrimental to nation building (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 117).

The Commission argue for research relevant to the conduct of school physical education as existing activities that are used in Sri Lankan education system to develop physical and mental health are not suitable. Because of these mismatched activities in the physical education curriculum, they say students engage in bullying (ragging) and delinquent behaviors. To face these challenges, the NEC proposed that it is necessary to research our physical education curriculum.

School activities for promoting mental and physical health have to be done on the basis of research and development work done in our country in relation to
our children. They should not be borrowed from other countries, particularly
the developed countries, in which the physical characteristics of children,
nutritional practices, cultural, social and economic conditions are significantly
different from our own (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 117).

4.3.3.2 The marginalisation of physical education in primary school

The implementation of the NEC proposals was undertaken by the Presidential Task
Force (PTF) in 1996 which started its work in collaboration with the NEC, NIE and the
ME&HE in 1997 (PTF, 1997). Having argued for theoretical clarification of the
important place of physical education in the school curriculum and having criticised the
weaknesses in the existing physical education programs, the NEC omitted physical
education as a key learning area from the primary school curriculum for the first time in
history (NEC, ME&HE and NIE, 1998). This marginalisation of physical education by
the NEC in primary schools was accepted by the Ministry of Education, the Presidential
Task Force (PTF), and the National Institute of Education (NIE) (1998).

As mentioned above, an integrated curriculum was planned to be used in three key
stages: Key Stage One - Grades 1 and 2; Key Stage Two - Grades 3 and 4; Key Stage
Three - Grade 5. The curriculum consists of four subjects: Mother Tongue, Religion,
Mathematics, and Environment Related Activities. An interesting feature of this
curriculum innovation was that "Guided Play, Activity and Desk Work" were planned
to be used as methods in the teaching learning process (PTF, 1997; NEC, ME&HE and
NIE, 1998).

Though the policy makers, curriculum innovators and higher officials in the PTF,
ME&HE and NIE were reluctant to include the subject name of Health and Physical
Education in the curriculum, these guided play and activity elements were related to
physical activities which directly combined with health and physical education. For
instance, the use of fundamental motor skills was encouraged in activities to teach the
four subjects included in the curriculum (NEC, ME&HE and NIE, 1998). However, the
authorities did not allocate any periods to teach fundamental motor skills for physical
education. In addition, the fourth category of competencies, the use of leisure for
enjoyment and recreation, was also related to the physical education curriculum. One
hour and fifteen minutes, that is fifteen minutes per day, were allocated in the timetable
(NEC, ME&HE, and NIE, 1998, p. 9) for daily physical conditioning (Sareera Suwata)
but it is difficult to understand why the name of physical education was not mentioned
in the curriculum.
Most informants who were physical educators pointed out that bureaucrats who worked as curriculum innovators, policy makers and decision makers in Sri Lanka were not supporters of physical education. The informants suggested that the major reason for this situation was because they were influenced by the academic curriculum (COE specialist PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview). As one informant commented:

For this Grade I syllabus under the new reforms after 1997, they have introduced some competitions as guided play where they select losers and winners. So I talked highly against it from my point of view. Some curriculum developers do not know what games and sports are and also what H/PE is but they are the curriculum developers and teacher educators of our country (COE primary PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Most bureaucrats in Sri Lanka perhaps represent the traditional prejudice for academic subjects, arguing as in many other countries (Kirk, 1992) that subjects related to the human body and its physical activities are inferior to the academic subjects. This prejudice is perhaps greater in Sri Lanka because of particular cultural attitudes to the body. From the point of view of one informant decision-makers are likely to have not done practical subjects like physical education but have been high achievers in academic subjects. The informants suggested that in practical situations and in practical work most of them are likely to experience problems.


Next problem is that the bureaucrats emerged from the examination-oriented education system. People who hold big positions in our government institutions have not attended physical activities in the PE class and have not got the mental stimulation and the motivation from it. Most of them are sons of sedentary activities, books and pens. They do not have any practical experience in relation to physical activities. If somebody neglects sports, health and physical education and pays his all attention for mere academic studies, his practical field would be unsuccessful when he/she becomes big figures. A number of degrees can be obtained that way, but with a weakness in practical situations. This sort of bureaucrats need only graduates of academic subject experts and the ultimate result of this process would be unhealthy citizens (Male sports writer, 1999, Interview).
While this might be stereotyping it continues to be difficult to understand how and why physical education would have been disappeared from the primary curriculum. Most of the developed countries - Australia (Board of Education, NSW, 1991), UK (Kirk, 1992), China (Davis, 1997), USA (Krotee, 1992), former USSR (Riordan, 1978), and in the former GDR - (Childs, 1992) physical education is at least part of core subject.

4.3.3.3 Physical education in the junior school curriculum

The time allocation per week for physical education at present in Sri Lankan junior secondary schools is four periods (forty minutes) for Grade 6 and two period for Grades 7-9 (NEC, NIE & ME&HE, 1999) and daily fifteen minutes fitness exercise programs for all children in schools in the time table in secondary schools (NIE in Syllabi, 1999-2000). In addition school sports are extra curricular activities for all of them as usual which are also related to NSG, elite school athletics and cricket programs. At present subject name is Health and Physical Education. However, from Grade 6 to Grade 9 physical education is a core subject in the program.

Physical education was included in the junior secondary curriculum as part of an integrated Health and Physical Education (H/PE) key learning area in 1998. The junior stage included Grades 6-9 and introduced a subject-based curriculum. As was the case for the 1981 White Paper proposals, physical education was one of nine key learning area subjects in the PTF Reforms in 1997. At the end of Grade 9, a School-Based Proficiency Examination was introduced as proposed in the 1981 White Paper at the cluster level. But in the 1997 Reforms, practical work and work on small written projects such as collecting information for group projects in relation to games such as the history of volleyball, present champions, physical and mental requirements for better performance, and the future of the sports’ performance, was included. In keeping with the project orientation, students in health and physical education were expected to write projects. An informant who was a specialist physical education teacher commented positively about it as follows:

Balanna dan me lamayinta issara wage nemeine. Hariyata project karanna ona hoyanna ona. Utsaha gannawa mahansi wenawa hoyanna mama hitanne meka honda laksanayak. Aluth adyapana kramayata anuwa lamai vivida deval hoyagena yanawa. Kaya vehesala wada karanawa. Aluth adyapana kramaya yatete lamai ibetama kriyakarakam walata PE walata yomu weegena yanawa. Dan lamai magen bolayak illalagena me project karapu kanndayam wala weda karapu lamai kandayam hangeemen weda karanawa bola gahanawa. Ape assembly ekak gathoth lamai 10k 15k watenawa pana natuwa. Namuth aluth adyapana kramaya yatate me nohekiyawa mata hitenne wenaswevi mokada
You see, now for our children, it is not like earlier. They need to do more projects and also they need to find more information for their projects. I think this is a good characteristic because attempts are being made to search information. According to the new reforms, children search different things. Under the new reforms, children are automatically involved in physical activities. Now, you see, children who do projects together, come to me and request a ball together and play together as a group and they develop unity, team spirit, and so forth. When there is an assembly in the school hall in the morning, ten or fifteen children generally fall owing to their lack of fitness. Under this new reform, this would disappear because students could gradually understand on their own the importance of the fitness and health via projects (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

Although the NEC proposed the reforms in 1995 and the PTF started its work in 1997, the National Institute of Education (NIE) started syllabus writing in 1998 because the PTF wanted to pilot study the reforms. As a result, the NIE delayed their implementation. Under the new reforms, the NIE issued the syllabuses separately for Grade VI, Grade VII and VIII, and for Grade IX in 1999. As discussed earlier, the reforms were piloted in the President’s home district of Gampaha in 1998 and implemented throughout the country in 1999.

Under the new reforms, the NIE wanted to integrate health education and physical education. The introductory chapter of the Grade VI - IX syllabuses presents two controversial ideas in relation to the aims of physical education. First the syllabus identifies its major aims as being to develop mental, physical and social fitness and well-being. Second, the syllabus points out that the selection of subject content was based on the need to provide opportunities for educational experiences related to health habits. The NIE presents these two ideas as follows:

i. Soukya ha sareerka adyapanaya visayan dekak lesa salakeemata api metek puruduwee sitimu. Eheth nawa visaya mala sansodanaya anuwaeya ekama visayav lesa salake. Mema visayav kayika, manasika, samajika yogyatawa saha yaha pawathma ilakka kara atinisa ayata anukoolawa visaya pilibanda chintanayak gurumarayata ati kara ganeema atyawasyaya (NIE in H/PE Syllabus VI, 1999a, p. 1).

i) We have been accustomed to use health and physical education as separate subjects, but according to new syllabus reforms, it will be a single subject. As the aims of this syllabus are focused on developing mental physical and social fitness and well being, the teacher is essential to conceive an agreeable mental
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framework with the above aims of this subject (NIE in H/PE Syllabus VI, 1999a, p. 1).

ii) 6 wana sraniye visaya antargataya tora ganeemedee moolika awadanaya yomuwee atte hudu danum shatraya pulul kireema kerehi nowa soukyata hitakara purudu atikara ganeemata upakareewana igenum atdakeem labadeema kerehiya (NIE in H/PE Syllabus VI, 1999a, p. 1).

iii) When selecting syllabus content for the Grade VI, basic attention must be paid to select learning experiences which grow health habits but not to explain mere theories in relation to the cognitive domain (NIE in H/PE Syllabus VI, 1999a, p. 1).

According to the above explanation, the physical education section is only represented nominally in the syllabus; it seems physical education was going to be hidden under the health umbrella. Therefore, the syllabus tallies with the major aims of the NEC in relation to physical education: health and fitness. The NEC wanted to run school physical education in line with health and fitness but not with sports.

The NEC (1992), and the NIE (in Teachers' handbook for Grade 6, 1999, p 1) state that the existing sports-oriented physical education program in schools was no longer suitable. The major concerns in school physical education were to be mental and physical health, fitness and motor skill development of all students in the school, rather than training only selected children for sporting competitions, as had been the practice.

There seems to be a mistaken notion that Physical Education is the same as coaching and getting children to take part in sports, games and competitions for the purpose of winning awards. In the process of promoting and organising sports meets, inter-school matches, etc. where only team members, winners, coaches, and organizers get prominence and publicity, the routine activity of getting every child to systematically and regularly exercise his (sic) body and develop physical skills gets totally neglected (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 116).

Shajayen vivida kreeda hakiya uruma karagath sisunge kreeda hakiya diyunu kara ganeemata udawu deema pamanak nowa saama sisyakugema kayika, manasika ha samajayeeya daksata vadi diyunu wana paridi sareerika adyapana kriyakarakam wala niratha weewe me astawada salasa deema atyawasyaya (NIE in Teachers' Handbook for Grade VI, 1999e, p. 1).

It is very important not only to provide opportunities to help children who are born with talent but also to provide physical education opportunities to enhance physical, mental and social skills of all children (NIE in Teachers’ Handbook for Grade VI, 1999e, p. 1).
The position of providing physical education opportunities to enhance physical, mental and social skills of all children was not always popular with those working in the area. For instance, some of the teacher educators and teachers interviewed for this study argued that teachers were not wrong in the way they taught physical education. Physical education teachers and other teachers who wished to see their children successful and wished to use their valuable time for training in the afternoon or during the week ends and holidays selected students from the physical education class or during the free periods or holidays. They said that teachers gave up these practices after this NEC criticism (COE specialist PE male lecturer A; PE male teacher A, 1999, Interviews).

The new syllabi emphasised the health purpose of physical education but in doing so the health experts in the NIE contributed to marginalising an important part of physical education, school sports. The syllabi presented aims, objectives, assessment procedures, health and physical education teaching methods, school policies in relation to health and physical education etc. The health and physical education aims (long term goals) and objectives (short term goals) of the NIE were compatible with the health-related aims of the NEC. The aims of the three syllabi are as follows, and it is clear that they highlight health concerns rather than school sports.

1) Grade 6
   i) Necessary habits and life styles for health and happy life styles.
   ii) Ability to involve in activities alone and in groups.
   iii) Ability to act upon on health of own, friends, family members and the community (NIE in Grade 6 Syllabus, 1999a, p. 5).

2) Grades 7 and 8
   i) Development of good life styles and better social relations.
   ii) Development of physical fitness and productive movements.
   iii) Making and implementation of necessary decisions for better life styles (NIE in Grades 7 &8 Syllabus, 1999b, p. 4).

3) Grade 9
   i) Better life styles, self esteem and development of social responsibility.
   ii) Development of physical fitness and productive movements.
   iii) To make comprehensive and responsible decisions which help to maintain a better life style, and implement them (NIE in Grade 9 Syllabus, 1999c, p. 7).

The general objectives (short term goals) of these syllabi are also primarily biased toward health education (NIE in Grade 6, 1999a, p. 5; Grades 7-8, 1999b, p. 4-5; Grade 9, 1999c, p. 8). The NIE also specify teaching methodologies which were mainly used in classroom teaching in other subjects. For instance, the methods for Grades 6, 7 and 8 in the NIE syllabi were role playing, discussions, news studies, field tours, practical activities, group activities, assignments, projects, self studies, sports, exhibitions,
physical exercises, and association with source objects. In addition, the NIE proposed the following teaching methods for Grade 9 - brain-storming, data collection, discussions with field officers, discoveries, camps and external lectures (NIE in Grade 6, 1999a, p. 6; Grades 7-8, 1999b, p. 5; Grade 9, 1999c, p. 9). During her consultancy, Fischer (1999) gathered general feedback from subject teachers on the Grades 6 and 9 health and physical education syllabi. She found that there was consensus amongst teachers that the health education part was well developed and well set out and easy to follow. However she noted that they also retained their old teaching methods.

Little interaction takes place in class; no continuous assessment is initiated. In other words, teachers remain unaware whether learning had taken place in their classrooms. Upon inquiry, the physical education staff voiced their concern that they do not know how to teach in an interactive, student-centered classroom (Fischer, 1999, p. 19).

Fischer also commented however, in relation to the teaching of physical education, that "there is a far greater awareness that the teaching style currently in use is inadequate for the practical nature of the subject" (Fischer, 1999, p. 19). Fischer recommended that teachers be provided with an extended resource book which depicts exercise sequences teachers could follow. "As the new physical education syllabus recommends to teachers to introduce their students to a variety of activities and games, the revised resource book would need to cover all the recommended sports and activities" (Fischer, 1999, p. 19).

When presenting school policy and programs for health and physical education the NIE ignored their earlier position that "under the new reforms Health and Physical Education was a united subject". In the policy section, the NIE says that they have two programs: the first, in the Circular No. 1996/04 which spells out health policy and programs; the second, the Circular No. 1995/18 which details physical education policy and programs. They further advised that they have prepared these health and physical education syllabi not only for classroom teaching but also to implement a successful school physical education program.

i) The Circular No. 1996/04 which was issued by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education for a health program and school policy, emphasised the following four factors in the program:
*To provide health advice (To use morning assembly, lunch time and other recess times in addition to classroom timetable).
* To establish a socially and physically beneficial school environment.
* To provide school-based health services (e.g., clinics)
*For the community, organising of health programs with support from them (lectures, rendering free service) (Circular No. 1996/04 of ME&HE in NIE, 1999c Grade 9 Syllabus, p. 10).
ii) The Circular No. 1995/18 which was issued by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education for a physical education and school policy, emphasised the following five activities in the PE program:

- Fifteen minutes physical training/conditioning exercises per every day.
- After school activities.
- Outdoor camps, hiking, walking, cycle tours and outdoor activities for Grades 10 and 11 (During the vacations or weekends).
- School House Meet (NIE in Grade 9, 1999c, p. 10).

It is evident from this document that the NIE as advisors were not describing an integrated H/PE program for schools in the policy and school program section (Fischer, 1999).

However, at the end of the section in the syllabus emphasising the NIE policy of separate health and physical education programs, he NIE advised health and physical education teachers to conduct these programs with the help of Grade 9 children as in the "sport education model". The students and health and physical education teachers were advised to share the experience with the people who conduct health programs such as "children doctors", "health societies", "health friends" to conduct activities in the programs including annual sports meet and other sporting activities. This evidence suggests that there was a health domination in the NIE when these health and physical education syllabi were being written (COE Lecturer CO and specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

From Grades 6 to Grade 11, the NIE proposed the following assessment procedures for health and physical education.

1) Assessment of daily routine records and physical skill development records.
2) Maintaining diaries and field notes.
3) Assessment of activities and projects which developed in relation to the subject area.
4) Evaluation of active participation in the school health and physical education program in which the basis of exhibition of several criteria such as identification of problems, proposing of resolutions, transfer of solutions to active plans, leadership, involvement and communication.
5) Attitude assessment tests - i. discussions, ii. rating scales.
6) It is expected to evaluate under the school based assessment procedures which prepared by the evaluation section of the NIE.
7) Year end written tests and physical fitness tests (NIE in Grades 6-11, H/PE Syllabi, 1999a-c).

Although the NIE did not provide examples in teachers’ handbooks and class texts in relation to assessments for the subject Health and Physical Education,
they proposed assessments of the following domains: skills, affective, cognitive and social (NIE in Grade 6-9 H/PE Syllabus, 1999). To employ the proposed assessment instruments required a certain level of professional knowledge and experience. There is little evidence to suggest that training in these methods was intended or being conducted by the NIE (COE Lecturer CO and specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The number of units and time allocation for topics in the health and physical education syllabus in Grade 6 also seem biased toward health education. For instance, two periods have been allocated for unit number one entirely devoted to health education one; ten periods for unit number two which is also health; ten periods for unit three which has a few physical education components; seven periods for unit four which is health and physical education; ten periods for unit four which is entirely devoted to health; six periods for unit six which is also entirely devoted to health; units number seven and nine have 10 and 25 periods respectively which are all physical education; and units number eight has ten periods which is balanced between health and physical education. Thus, the syllabus has nine units and ninety periods per year. Time allocation for health and physical education is the same but more health units are in it.

Table 5: Units and time allocation for Grade Six Syllabus in 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Unit Name</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Do better chores</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Be happy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>About the body</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>We have grown and changed</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Our needs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Improving body appearance</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Run, jump and throw</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(NIE in Grade 6 H/PE Syllabus, 1999a, p. 12)

Fischer (1999) argues that the children in Grade 6 were not prepared for the physical activities proposed in the Grade Six Syllabus because they had not been taught fundamental motor skills by their primary teachers. She points out that teachers in
primary schools had no preparation in their own pre-service teaching to do this. As a result, the children in the junior school were likely to have developed haphazard movement patterns and possibly an anxiety regarding the subject (Fischer, 1999).

When the syllabuses from Grades 7 to Grade 9 were examined, they were also biased toward health. For instance, the Grades 7 and 8 syllabuses have nine units with six allocated for health and the rest for physical education. However, in terms of time allocation, 50 periods were allocated to physical education while 55 periods were for health aspects. Again, the health aspects were well planned in the context of details in the syllabus: flow of the lesson plan, subject matter organisation etc. but the physical education section was not; for instance, more than eighteen pages were allocated to health units in the Grades 7 and 8 syllabuses and only four pages to physical education (NIE in Grade 7 and 8 Syllabi, 1999b).

The Grade 9 syllabus is even more biased toward health education than the previous years with ten units for health and only three units and thirty-five periods out of 90 for physical education. Topics and time allocation for Grade 9 health and physical education syllabus are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Unit Name</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Health and Development</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Beauty of the body</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Changes in human body</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Fulfilment of needs and life routine</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Challenges and safety</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>Posture and physical fitness</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>Athletics and games</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>Readiness for life</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(NIE in Grade 9 H/PE Syllabus, 1999c, p. 12)

Readiness for life is only introduced in Grade 9. The unit consists of five sub-topics as follows: adolescence, reproduction system and its functions, responsible sex behaviours and life routines, responsible life styles within the family, sex behaviors and diseases
related to reproduction system. These units were well set out as a separate health subject but were not integrated with physical education aspects (NIE in Grade 9 H/PE Syllabus, 1999c, p. 22).

Another important feature of the syllabuses from Grades 6 to 9 is that the physical education topics are similar to those conducted during the colonial period and onwards up to 1970 - health as hygiene aspects and education through the physical. For instance, in all syllabuses, the topics of rhythmic exercises, posture and physical fitness, and athletics and organised sports are included as topics number 7, 8 and 9 (NIE in Grade 6-9 Syllabuses, 1999a-c). This situation seemed to be a clear victory for physical educators in Sri Lanka who emphasised a broader view of physical education in the 1950s, 60s and 70s - "education through the physical approach"

The Fischer consultancy (1999) agreed that to integrate health with physical education, the two subjects needed to be taught within the same syllabus. Fischer (1999) commented that the physical education theory and practical were not integrated:

Yet, within the physical education sections, theory and practice are kept apart. The value of true integration is that theory offers the scientific knowledge and understanding which underpins the process of learning, while practice provides a reason for theory to be observed and safety issues put into place. If the aim of the new education policy is to encourage the integration approach by insisting on varied teaching methodologies, then the new physical education curriculum does not reflect this potential. On the other hand, it is the intention of this Teacher Education and Teacher Deployment Project to design a curriculum for future NCOE educators in Physical Education to equip them with the skills of theory and practice integration. It may become one of the first objectives of the 'new generation' Physical Education specialists to review the 1997/1998 syllabus and place it into a integrated mode (p. 19).

Fischer (1999) also suggested that the choice of themes and level of knowledge expected from the children in Grade 6 was not compatible with the age group.

It appears from the preliminary study of the syllabus, that there is an enormous expectation put onto the young students, considering their ignorance of any skill level and theoretical base. To teach complex theoretical concepts without age-specific textbooks and practical skill development tasks is an impossible situation. Teachers and students could easily feel frustrated by the curriculum (p. 19).

4.3.3.4 Physical education curriculum in the senior stage of education

The time allocation per week for physical education at present in Sri Lankan senior secondary schools is two periods (forty minutes) of optional time for Grades 9-11, no
more periods for Grade 12-13 (NEC, NIE & ME&HE, 1999) and fifteen minutes daily fitness exercise programs for all children in schools in the timetable in secondary schools (NIE in Syllabi, 1999-2000). In addition school sports are extra curricular activities for all of them as usual which are also related to NSG, elite school athletics and cricket programs. At present subject name is Health and Physical Education which is an optional examinable subject for GCE O/L examination.

For the 1998 GCE O/L examination, physical education was offered as a technical subject as had been proposed in the 1981 White Paper by the 1977-94 government. This followed a request by the Director General of Sports in 1997 and other officials in the NIE to the Minister of Education to include physical education as an examinable subject in the GCE O/L. In 1997, the Minister of Education advised the NIE to prepare a physical education syllabus for the GCE O/L exam. Using a proposal in the 1981 White Paper that physical education could be included in the GCE O/L exam as a technical/vocational subject requiring specific competencies, the NIE prepared a syllabus in 1997 for the examination in 1998 (NIE female Project Officer in PE, 1999, Interview; Conversation with former Director General of Sports in 1999).

One specific feature of this new technical subject was that the health education sections were excluded from the GCE physical education and included under science. The physical education technical subject continued to be based on sport-oriented scientific knowledge. The theory content of this new technical physical education subject was divided into eight units and the practical into five as follows:

A Theory:
1) Principles of physical education (PE) - a) the need of PE, and b) the basis of why PE is needed.
2) Management of physical education- a) the identification of the needs of planning of sports and PE programs, b) motivation in sports, c) leadership in sports.
3) Sports physiology and biomechanics- a) the effect of exercises on human organ systems, b) physical fitness and changes in the body, c) temperature and its effect on physical activity, d) the importance of center of gravity in sporting activities, e) body balance in sports, f) human body as a lever system, and g) factors influencing sports performance.
4) Athletics- a) principles of athletic techniques, b) theoretical knowledge in athletics, c) running drills, d) baton changing in relay running, e) theoretical knowledge in jumping events, f) techniques training in jumping events, g) techniques training in throwing vents, and h) rules and regulations in athletics.
5) Organised sports- a) netball, b) volleyball, c) soccer, d) elle, e) f) badminton, g) basketball, h) table tennis, i) hockey, j) cricket, k) swimming, l) gymnastics, m) marching.
6) Outdoor education- a) geographical locations, b) camping, c) jungle hike, and d) map reading and road signals.
7) Hygiene of the sportsman.
8) Tests and measurements of physical qualities.

B. Practical:
1) Athletics, 2) Organised sports, 3) Outdoor education, 4) Hygiene of the sportsman, and 5) Tests and measurements of physical qualities (NIE in Teachers' Handbook in PE for Year 11, 1997a).

Fischer (1999) investigated physical education teachers' perceptions of physical education as an examinable technical subject. Their comments were explained by Fischer as follows:

Although this is only a small beginning, physical education teachers see the establishment of a formal examination in Health and Physical Education as a step towards the professionalisation of the discipline and an attempt to model the subject against overseas trends (Fischer, 1999, p. 18).

Although being examined at the GCE O/L physical education student teachers, physical education teachers and other personnel in sport also pointed out that students who followed physical education for GCE O/L, had no opportunities to follow more detailed courses beyond GCE O/L. Fischer observed that the subject Health and Physical Education was not offered in the GCE A/L because the students did not like to do physical activities. However she pointed out that:

The introduction of Physical Education at senior secondary level would open up the opportunity to students to express their interest in studying Sport/Health Sciences or Human Movement at university level. The universities so far have not accepted a recommendation to introduce such a course in Sri Lanka. It is seen as advisable to encourage university senior administrators to establish a course model around Sri Lankan demands and conditions (Fischer, 1999, p. 19).

Physical Education as a single subject did not last long. It was examined as GCE O/L subject for two years only, in 1998 and 1999. The NIE published a new Grade 10 and 11 Health and Physical Education Syllabus for Year 2000 as an optional subject.

In 1999, the Presidential Task Force (PTF) proposed Health and Physical Education as an optional examinable subject in the GCE O/L instead of the technical subject in 1998 as has been mentioned above. Several factors influenced this change of policy: the Department of Health and Physical Education in the NIE continued to be dominated by health experts who did not have physical education qualifications (COE specific PE male lecturer E; COE male LCO and specialist PE lecturer B, 1999, Interview); the
position of the Director General of Sports in the Ministry of Education was abandoned by the Ministry of Education in 1998; as a result, there was no a person with power to look after the sport and physical education interest specifically (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview); the Department of Health and Physical Education in NIE kept connections with physical education resource persons who are not interested in scientific basis sports-oriented physical education curriculum (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview); the NEC (1992) and PTF (1997) proposals for courses in mental and physical health for all children in schools and their criticism of the existing sports-oriented physical education programs for selected elites (NEC First Report, 1992; PTF Report, 1997).

The health lobby in the NIE remained so that the health-oriented physical education position prevailed over one which included sports. By December 1999, all documents were ready the examination to be held in December 2000 as an integrated subject, Health and Physical Education rather than simply for the physical education as a technical subject which had been the case in the 1998 and 1999 exams (NIE female Project Officer in PE, 1999, Interview; conversation with former Director General of Sports, 1999).

In the new H/PE GCE O/L proposed for 2000, the integrated Health and Physical Education Syllabus for Grades 10 and 11, was included. This syllabus had two aims, twenty separate objectives and one specific aim in the introduction. These aims and objectives were also biased toward health. First, in the introduction, the NIE says that the health and physical education syllabus for Grades 6-9 have already provided opportunities to gain knowledge, skills and attitudes to lead a healthy life. Second, they present their two aims of the Grades 10 and 11 Syllabus:

1) Pudgalayakuge soukyata bada paminena jeewana rata handunagena awa magaharawa ganeema sandaha gatayutu kriya marga pilibanda danuma, akalpa ha awa kriyatmaka kireemata awasya kusalata labagena a tulin jeewaye gunathmaka bawa wedi karagenemata yomu weema (The NIE in Grade 10 & 11 PE Syllabus, 2000, p. 5).

2) Identification of bad habits which impact negatively on a person’s health and to obtain knowledge, attitudes and to gain skills to apply them for the purpose of prevention and to motivate to improve the quality of life (The NIE in Grade 10 & 11 PE Syllabus, 2000, p. 5).

3) Soukya ha sareerika adyapanayata adala wurteeya awasta pilibanda danuwathwee a pilibanda danathmaka akalpa atikara ganeema ha a sandaha moorika sudusukam labaganeema (The NIE in Grade 10 & 11 PE Syllabus, 2000, p. 5).
4) Be informed about career opportunities in relation to health and physical education and to gain positive attitudes for it and to gain necessary basic qualifications for above professions (The NIE in Grade 10 & 11 PE Syllabus, 2000, p. 5).

However, a basic question arises in terms of promoting "positive attitudes" towards career opportunities in the field. The GCE O/L health and physical education qualifications are not sufficient to be selected for such work in the field. As pointed out by the Fischer Report (1999) physical education students who follow physical education for GCE O/L, have no opportunities to go into more detailed courses beyond GCE O/L. Since the subject is not at GCE A/L there is no incentive to do health and physical education for career purposes.

The NIE lists twenty objectives, and content which are mostly identical to those in the syllabuses of Grades 6-9. Among the twenty objectives, twelve concern health while the remaining eight relate to physical education. Teaching methods described in the Grade IX syllabus are also proposed for use in the GCE O/L classes. The assessment procedures proposed for Grades 6-9 are also identical to Grade 10 and 11, except for the practical and written examination is to be held by the Department of Examination at the end of Grade 11.

However, the proposal in relation to school health and physical education programs in GCE O/L classes was controversial. The NIE proposed implementing the school policy, health and physical education program using Grade 9 children who were studying in the school where GCE O/L classes were also conducted. For instance, it was intended that housemeet organisation, guest talks in relation to physical education and health, could be organised by the Grade 9 children under the guidance of their teachers. It is hard to imagine that children in Grades 10, 11 and A/L classes would agree to work under the leadership of children in Grade 9.

Physical and health education for Grade 10 consists of 14 units and has been allocated 60 hours for the whole year, while for Grade 11, consists of 13 units also with 60 hours per year. The units and the time allocation in the Grade 10 syllabus to physical education and health are equal. Although the number of health units (6) in the Grade 11 syllabus is less than physical education units (seven), thirty periods have been allocated for both subjects.

The Grade 11 syllabus repeats much of what is specific in Grades 6-10. For instance, it includes two first aid parts in the syllabus, for health and sports injuries and first aid for
physical education as well as eight and four periods for them respectively. Next, the health units have connected with the same topics in the previous years and these topics are in the science subject. The case is the same as in physical education. It is difficult to see gradual content development relationships with previous years’ content; for instance, although the same athletic events and sports have been taught during the period of six years from Grades 6 to 11, there is no mention in the syllabuses about previous work.

Another specific feature in the physical education section is the inclusion of the topic "management". It seems as if, to maintain the status of the subject, experts in physical education in the NIE want to show that physical education is a subject of management.

Informants here expressed different opinions about health and physical education as an examinable subject in the GCE O/L examination as a technical and optional subject. One suggestion from the health and physical education teachers was that physical education teachers like to teach theoretical parts in both physical education and health sections in the classroom but they neglect the practical sections in the playground (Official Ministry of Sports, 1999, Interview).

As H/PE is an examinable subject for GCE O/L, teachers do not find any time to teach outside the classroom. My wife is a PE teacher in a secondary school and a male PE teacher also works with her in this school. The male PE teacher teaches the GCE O/L class children who take up the examination at the end of the year. This male teacher does not find any time to go to the playground for practical teaching. To teach PE as an examinable subject, it needs more teachers (Sports Ministry Official male B, 1999, Interview).

The continuous assessment procedures which were proposed for Grades 6-9, were identical for Grade 10 and 11 except for the practical and written examination. The NIE did not explain how to examine the practical part of the 2000 GCE O/L in the 2000 Grades 10-11 syllabus, however it is likely that they would use earlier practical testing procedures designed for the assessment of physical education as a technical subject; that is students who passed the theoretical section will be called for the following components in the practical examination: athletics, organised sports, outdoor education,
hygiene of the sportsman, and tests and measurements of physical qualities (NIE in Teachers’ Handbook in PE for Grade 11, 1997a).

One of the informants who teaches the specialist physical education course and is also head of physical education section in a College of Education commented that although he teaches physical education specialist student teachers who will become secondary school teachers in future and also will be expected to teach the GCE O/L physical education subject, he was not officially provided with information about the GCE O/L Examination by the NIE.


For the purpose of the implementation of the school H/PE curriculum, there is not a direct connection between the NIE and us. However, we have indirect connection in relation to the curriculum process. For instance, some of our lecturers participate in the process of syllabus writing in H/PE but in the college premises, they do not tell us anything about the H/PE syllabus so far. Lecturers who participate in curriculum innovation in the NIE, do it personally but not in the knowledge of college level (COE specialist PE lecturer male C, 1999 Interview).

4.3.3.5 School sports as a co-curricular activity

The PTF has accepted that, as a policy, schools in Sri Lanka need to organise co-curricular activities including sporting activities. "These activities will form an essential part of the policies and programs of all schools" (PTF, 1997, p. 24). As a part of this policy, the PTF proposed annual sports meets and organised sports in every school:

At present most schools conduct sports meets, prize days and contests of various sorts. This must become standard practice in all schools and there should be a year-round range of activities from amongst which pupils may choose. The school should provide as many games as possible and encourage student participation...Inter-class, intra-age group, inter-school contests, involving physical and /or intellectual pursuits should be developed (PTF, 1997, p. 24).

As has been the case in the past, there has been a problem in the Ministry of Education in implementing school sporting activities because there is no separate Director to do so. Although there were criticisms, most informants agreed that the former Director
General of Sports had been effective in organising sporting activities for schools until his position was terminated in the late 1990s (Retired Education Officer female A, 1999, Interview).

4.3.4 Physical education teacher education 1970-2000

Significant changes occurred during the period 1970-2000 in teacher education in physical education in Sri Lanka. The establishment of a broader notion of a physical education two-year teacher training certificate course at Maharagama in 1971 was a landmark in the history of physical education teacher training in Sri Lanka. It was followed by the establishment of separate training colleges for physical education at other locations. The next steps were the establishment of certificate level teacher training following the scientific approach: three-month intensive courses for national level athletes before they were appointed to schools as physical education teachers after 1984; the establishment of the College of Physical Education at Bandarawela in 1985; and a distance mode three-year teacher training certificate course after 1992 at the NIE. Finally, the establishment of a scientific-based Bachelor of Sports and Physical Education course for physical educators at the National Institute of Education at Maharagama in 1997 was also an important change.

As identified earlier in this chapter, for the first time in the history of teacher education in Sri Lanka, a secondary teacher training course for specialist physical education teachers in a teachers' college, which was more than three months duration, was established at Maharagama Teachers' College in 1971. The physical education course was originally introduced for students who were sent from Junior Universities which were closed by the SLFP government after the 1970 general election. The physical education course began as a one-year course for students who had completed several parts of the physical education syllabus when they were at the Kuliyapitiya Junior University. In keeping with the 1972 reforms to teach physical education as an examinable specific core subject at schools, the course was continued as a two-years specific secondary physical education teacher training certificate course at Maharagama Teachers' College (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

After 1976 two separate teachers' colleges for physical education were established by the Ministry of Education under the leadership of the national consultant for physical education, Dr. A.A.D. Perera. The Katukurunda Teachers' College was nominated in 1976 for specialist secondary physical education teacher training in the Sinhalese
medium and Palalai in Jaffna in the Tamil medium (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Originally, teachers who taught physical education at schools and had sporting backgrounds were enrolled at the Katukurunda and Palalai Training Colleges as physical education specialist prospective teachers. As part of the 1972 reforms, it was originally planned to enrol candidates who had passed the first Higher National Certificate of Education (HNCE) in 1977 and who were not admitted to universities. Until the first HNCE results were used in 1977 to select candidates for teacher training, shortage of teachers to teach physical education, and particularly physical education in NCGE, was an issue. To address the physical education teacher shortage, teachers who had specialist teaching appointments in other subjects such as Woodwork, Clay work, English, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies started to enroll in the course at Katukurunda and Palalai from 1976.

In 1979, the physical education specialist course at Katukurunda moved to Maharagama as a result of internal problems between lecturers and the principal. The senior lecturers who came from the Colombo area wanted to bring the physical education course back to Maharagama where it was situated more conveniently to their homes. In addition, there was a conflict between the lecturers and the principal. From the interviews with key informants and my own personal experience as a student teacher during the period, it emerged that the conflict between the lecturers and the principal was likely to be in terms of ideological position. The senior lecturers, who studied the broad education through physical approach in India and USA, were not ready to work with the principal who obtained a Ph.D. in GDR and who supported a fitness-oriented approach. As one lecturer commented from his own experience:


As the course was moved to Katukurunda, I was forced to stay there for three years. There were conflicts between principal and academic staff because the principal was not good at administration. As a result, education in the course declined. At the same time, the government established a police unit called STF and the college was taken to train their officers. Next, the principal tried
to move the course to Balapitiya teachers' college, but I and another lecturer of our staff worked against the attempt and we wanted to move the course to Maharagama. We won the battle and the course was moved to Maharagama in January 1979 (Retired Training College male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

The implementation of health and physical education curriculum at Katukurunda Training College between 1976 and 1979 was praised by informants who were student teachers during that period, although they were aware of the disputes between the principal and the lecturers. They enjoyed both boarding life and studies at Katukurunda Training College. As an informant who had been a student during the period commented:


When I was at Katukurunda Teachers' College during the period 1977/78, we were taught well. Lecturers who taught practical subjects worked from 6.00 am to 10.00 am, then senior lecturers continued their teaching until 3.30 pm. We played our own sports after 4.00 pm and continued until 6.00 pm or 7.00 pm. Sometimes, better coaches were invited to coach us in major sports such as athletics, and volleyball; these coaching sessions were organised by our lecturers who did practical subjects. As we were provided accommodation, we could participate in them all well; I can say that my teachers' college life was very interesting (COE LCO and specialist PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

The physical education secondary teacher training courses at Katukurunda and Palalai were two-year courses which followed the same integrated curriculum. The curriculum consisted of three major components including Physical Education Practical Studies and Teaching Practicum. The three major areas were General Studies, Specialist Physical Education and Professional Subjects. Major components covered in general studies were: Project in relation to practical studies, Religion, Teaching Practicum and English language. Specialist areas in health and Physical Education included Theory of Physical Education, Physical Education Practical, Sports Biology and Movement Science, and Health Education. The third component covered Professional/Foundation of Education: Science of Education and Problems of Education in Sri Lanka (Director of Teacher Education in Teacher Training Certificate No. 0304/79/236, 30th of October 1983).
At Katukurunda training college, physical education theory and practical were taught by different teachers, but for the teaching practicum the lecturers worked together. Most theoretical subjects were taught by senior lecturers who had degree qualifications while most practical studies were conducted by assistant lecturers (Abyasacharya) who had teacher training certificates and Madras training certificates only. These Abyasacharya or trainers were seconded from schools. Skills were taught for different sports and games together with their practical application to physical education classes in the school context. Teaching practicum blocks were organised every term and student teachers were sent to nearby schools where lecturers and Abyasacharyas were appointed for supervision (LCO and specialist PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Since the introduction of the broad-based physical education curriculum in 1969 at Kuliyapitiya Junior University, it has been used without any changes at Maharagama between 1970 and 76, 1979 and 1995, and at Katukurunda between 1976 and 1979, and at Balapitiya and Anuradhapura teachers' colleges from 1995 onwards. One of the informants involved in setting question papers for the teachers' colleges final examination in 1999 explains:

You see, last month I was called for question paper settings for the final year examination of teachers' colleges PE special course. The Department of Examination gave me the syllabus which has been used since the 1970s when it was first introduced. They have not changed it yet. Yet, at the end of this year, the College of Education which started in 1985, will review its PE specialist curriculum for the third time (COE specialist PE male lecturer E, 1999, Interview).

The content suggests that there was little supervision by and accountability to higher officials. The officials in the Ministry of Education did not supervise what happened at the teachers' colleges. On the other hand, according to the informant from the Training College, the lecturers were not very interested in change themselves (Training College female lecturer in English A, 1999, Interview).

In response to the White Paper Proposals in 1981, the Ministry of Education established the College of Physical Education at Bandarawela in October 1985 as one of the five Colleges of Education established at that time. For the establishment of a College of Education for physical education among the high status areas - mathematics and science, English, Buddhism and primary education - three specific factors were influential. First, as described above, the White paper proposals in 1981 suggested that specific attention needed to be paid to sports as an extra-curricular activity in Sri Lankan schools. Next, Sunil Jayaweera as the Director of Sports personally proposed to
Ranil Wichramasingha, who was the Minister of Education at that time, that a college for the subject of physical education be established. Thirdly, the Deputy Director General of Education Gunapala Wichramarathna, who was the Head of the Colleges of Education, was also interested in sports as a co-curricular activity because he was also a commissioned officer in the Ceylon Cadet Corps. He was also known to the Minister of Education, Mr. Ranil Wickramasingha, as Wickramarathna was a teacher at the Royal College in Colombo when Wickramasingha was a student there. Finally, Wickramarathna was the head of the Junior University in 1969 when the physical education diploma course first started at Kuliyaapitiya. According to an informant from a College of Education (Specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview), it was these circumstances which lead to Gunapala Wickramarathna’s agreement with the Minister’s suggestion.

When the idea of a College of Education was being processed, the necessity of a college for PE was first put into the Minister’s head by Mr. Jayaweera and he catalysed the idea as well. If it were not, do you think that bureaucrats in the Department of Education would agree to establish a college for PE? On the other hand, former Commissioner of Education was also a friend of the Minister of Education and also he was a cadet officer. When the Minister proposed the idea, it was accepted by the Commissioner at once (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The Assistant Director of Sports, Mr. Jayaweera, who had followed a GDR course, was involved in the curriculum prescription, process and practices at Bandarawela. Most of the lecturers in physical education were appointed to the colleges of education under the recommendation of the Assistant Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education. Mr. Jayaweera was also involved in the process of subject selection in the curriculum for specialist physical education subjects. For instance, a revised syllabus for the Bandarawela specialist physical education course was prepared under the leadership of the Assistant Director of Sports and this revised syllabus was handed over to the Chief Commissioner, College of Education by the supervision officer with a covering letter dated 9th July 1987 and No. 2/Kriviba/2/78-1. In addition, the Director of Sports visited Bandarawela in 1986 and gave lectures on General Theory and Methods of Sports.
Training based on his study in GDR (COE specialist PE male lecturer D, 1999, Interview).


In 1990, the Sri Lanka College of Physical Education at Bandarawela lost its identity as a specialist physical education institution and was converted to a general COE with a primary education course. The name of the College was also changed. According to one informant this change could be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, Ranil Wickramasingha was replaced as the Minister of Education after the general election in 1989 by Wijamu Lokubandara who was from the locality where the College of Physical Education was situated. The new Minister of Education wanted to change the College name to the province name of "Uva" where his electorate was situated. Secondly, one of the non-physical education lecturers at the college who was a schoolmate of the new Minister of Education, and was also from the same locality, became the head of the College in 1989. He had been unhappy with the college name as College of Physical Education since it was found in 1985 and so he encouraged his friend, the new Minister, to reduce the status of the physical education course. Third, the lecturers in physical education at the college were not united in working to preserve the college name and status. As a result, in 1990 Lokubandara, the Minister of Education, changed the name to Uva COE (COE specialist PE male lecturer D, 1999, Interview).

Half of the physical education student intake space at Bandarawela was given to primary education while the rest of the physical education students were sent to Nilwala College of Education. Since then, scientific-based physical education teacher training in the Sinhalese medium has been conducted at Uva College of Education at Bandarawela and Nilwala College of Education at Wilpita, Akurressa. When two colleges of education were established at Vaunia and Addalachchanai in 1994, physical education courses in Tamil medium were introduced there as well. The new courses at Nilwala,
Vaunia and Addalachenai all followed the scientific approach begun at Bandarawela (COE specialist PE male lecturer D, 1999, Interview; Fischer, 1999).

Physical education had been offered as a subject in two strands at National Colleges of Education by 1999, the general strand and the specific strand. The general strand is followed by student teachers who undertake specific areas other than physical education; for instance, Mathematics, Science, Primary Education, and Home Science. For the primary course physical education is a compulsory examinable subject but for other courses, for instance Mathematics, Physical Education is an optional subject. In the primary course, two physical education periods per week were allocated in which the content was primarily practice based with theoretical explanations in relation to historical information, and rules and regulations (Fischer, 1999). According to Fischer (1999), students did not take part in practical sessions seriously because the marking of the unit was based on the examination results. As a result, the compulsory units had a very low status. For other secondary courses like Mathematics and Science, physical education is offered in the first year for one period per week, but in the second year it is an optional co-curricular activity like sports. College sports are popular among all kinds of college students and so most students select sports as a co-curricular activity. For the physical education specific strand (PE specialist teacher training), college entry is very competitive for several reasons; for instance, college students will get teaching appointments definitely after their training and COE teachers generally have higher status in Sri Lanka (Fischer, 1999).

According to the Fischer Report (1999), the scientific-based sport-oriented physical education teacher education curriculum in Colleges of Education was changed to a broader educational, social, and emotional view of health in 1997 in line with PTF proposals. It is reflected in vision statement of the curriculum as follows:

Student teachers have to be trained to develop the capacity to conduct physical activities which are physically wholesome, mentally stimulating and satisfying, and socially sound (NCOE PE curriculum in Fischer Report, 1999, p. 28-29).

One lecturer in specialist physical education said that they have been teaching at COE according to these changes since 1997 (COE specialist PE male lecturer, 1999, Interview). However, the Fischer Report (1999) proposed to change this curriculum again into the scientific-based curriculum: "The proposed curriculum underwent a complete structural change compared to the one currently in operation. The draft, together with sample units, were presented and explained to the workshop/resources personnel on 28 March 1999. The proposals were received with enthusiasm" (p33).
Alongside the specialist three-year course offered at COEs the Ministry of Education also conducted three-month intensive pre-service teacher training courses. These were introduced to address the physical education teacher shortage in the country. To teach sports as a co-curricular activity according to the White Paper Proposals in 1981 there were not enough physical education teachers so that the Ministry of Education recruited several cohorts of national level athletes as physical education teachers to teach sports at schools beginning in 1984. They were provided with three-month intensive training by the Director of Sports. According to retired training college male lecturer A, there was some criticism of this training course.

In 1984, 1986 and 1988 three cohorts of athletes were recruited as health and physical education teachers under this program, but, until 1994, they were un-trained beyond the three months. This meant that they were unable to obtain the two-year teacher training certificate from the Ministry. This was important because without it the teachers could not receive their salary increments. Fortunately, the NIE started a distance mode training course for these teachers in 1992 (Little, 1999).

**Distance mode PE teacher training from the NIE after 1992**

In 1991-1992, the NIE introduced distance education as a further strategy to address the teacher shortage. The NIE began a teacher training system by distance parallel to the two-year teachers' college course to train teachers who were recruited on a large scale in 1990-1991. Physical education was also included as one of the programs. Little (1999) explains the system generally as follows:

> It proved widely popular and is now an integral part of teacher education provision. The distance education courses are based on a comprehensive package of course materials, supplemented by correspondence and face-to-face sessions for practical work (Little, 1999, p. 214).

This allowed teachers who had been appointed as physical education teachers under the elite athlete recruitment scheme from 1984 (about 1000) and under the 25,000 practice teachers recruitment scheme in 1990-91 (about 2000) to undertake the NIE three years teacher training distance program from 1992. By 2000, they had completed their programs and obtained the teachers’ training certificate.

The curriculum in this program was also based around a core of scientific-oriented subjects. The department of distance education at the NIE prepared a series of modules in 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1994 as course guides. The scientific basis subjects in this course and their guides were: Theory of Training (Siripala, 1992), Anatomy,
Physiology and Health Education (Wijerathna, 1993), Biomechanics (Samson, 1992), Sports Psychology (Rambadagalla, 1992), and Exercise Physiology (Dissanayake & Wijerathna, 1993).

In 1997, the Department of Post Graduate Teacher Education in the NIE (DPGTE in NIE) established the Bachelor of Education in Physical Education and Sports. "As the terminology indicates, it is an amalgamation of two related areas, namely school physical education and general methods of training in sports. The duration of the course is three years consisting of 550 hours of work" (Department of Post Graduate Teacher Education, NIE, Undated, p. 2).

The B.Ed. in Physical Education and Sports Training is a professional program confined to professionals in the Department of Education. It is only open to educational professionals such as PE teachers, education officers, and lecturers in Colleges of Education and Teachers Colleges. All physical education lecturers at Colleges of Education are encouraged to enrol in the above B.Ed. program and attendance at weekends is a pre-requisite for all degree candidates (Fischer, 1999). Entry requirements are a teacher training certificate from a College of Education or a teachers' college and three years of service as a teacher, lecturer or an education officer. The course is limited to 50 and there is a competitive entry examination because there have been too many physical education teacher applicants. However, COE lecturers have been exempted from the entry examination to encourage them to continue their education (Little, 1999).

The curriculum of the B.Ed. program in physical education at the NIE is predominantly sports-oriented; based on human movement science and taught only in the Sinhalese language. The core component of the syllabus comprises the following subject areas: Sports Psychology and Sports Sociology, Methodology in Physical Education and Sports, Management in Physical Education and Sports, Physiology of Exercise, Biomechanics in Sports, and Sports Medicine (DPGTE in NIE, undated). The NIE explains the aims of the B.Ed. in PE course in their establishment booklet as follows:

Firstly, it satisfies the need of personal development of the Physical Education cadres trained at Teachers Colleges and Institutes of Education in Sri Lanka. It can be opined that due to the absence of such Degree Courses in Universities and other institutes of higher education in Sri Lanka, the trained teachers in Physical Education languished to a very great degree in a so called sealed compartment. A course of this nature will motivate them to attempt further learning in their discipline and in increasing and manifesting the quality. This
in turn would help to develop and enrich the on-going physical education program.

Secondly, it satisfies the need of developing the discipline itself and reaping its benefit which factor has taken giant strides in the west. New trends of physical education have appeared due to scientific research in different disciplines. Modern technology has given a new face-lift to the subject. Training methods in sports have indeed acquired a scientific basis. This new knowledge, skills and attitudes will now reach the Sri Lankan physical educator and sports coach to develop their skills scientifically and enable them to display their talents in sports on a national level (DPGTE in NIE, Undated, p. 2).

The assessment procedures in the course are comprehensive. The teaching practicum is not considered necessary because all students would already be professionally qualified teachers, lecturers and education officers in the field (COE specialist PE male lecturer E, 1999, Interview). "The evaluation of all subjects follows a regular mode. Each subject has a final test paper of three hours duration - 70 marks are allotted for the final written test. Two assignments have to be submitted for each subject before a specific date, during the course of study. 30 marks are set apart for the two assignments" (DPGTE in NIE, Undated, p. 3).

The NATE and teacher education after 1996

Physical education teacher education has been identified as one of the major curriculum areas to be re-designed and updated by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (ME&HE) since the NATE was established in 1996. The new policy of the ME&HE is to bring the physical education teacher education curriculum into line with international practice. But, in practice, the bureaucrats who are involved in planning future physical education teacher requirements have planned to reduce pre-service recruitment number (Fischer, 1999).

Although the NATE has planned to establish five new NCOEs for pre-service teacher training, physical education will not be part of this initiative. According to the new plan, the four NCOEs Uva, Vavuniya, Addalachenai and Nilwala where a physical education specialist course is offered, will be reduced to two, Nilwala and Addalachenai; with the task of training physical education teachers for all future requirements. The number in Nilwala will remain constant and Addalachenai will recruit ten more students annually (The World Bank, 1996). However, according to one COE informant a physical education specialist course is planned for introduction in Galle NCOE from the Year 2000 (Specialist PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview). "It is not clear from the documentation in hand whether the additional places are being available to students
seeking specialisation in physical education, or whether these are shared amongst all departments ... Physical education, viewed from the current perspective, is not going to be part of the strengthening of the infrastructure and will not meet the demand for adequately trained teachers" (Fischer, 1999, p. 22).

The NATE with NEC and PTF have developed proposals to train teachers to meet its major objectives. Their aims are to meet the needs for competent and committed teachers for the school system, to assist the professional and personal developments of teachers, and to facilitate the professional development of teachers to enhance the value system of individuals in nation building, community development and in functioning as change agents in education and in society (PTF, 1997). However, according to Fischer (1999) physical education teachers are not included in these proposals. She is very critical of this state of affairs.

Yet, according to ministerial advice, there are no continuing education courses planned for physical education teachers. It may have been an oversight, since the brief given for the new teacher training curriculum design is to concentrate, amongst other things, on the sociological aspect of Physical Education as a nation building, peace education and peaceful competition agent at its centre. If there are no continuing education courses made available for Physical Education teachers with certificates and diplomas gained before the introduction of reforms, then, considering the low number of students being trained with greater academic vigor and in the new approach, the majority of Sri Lankan students will never experience physical activity as a highly skilled social agent (Fischer, 1999, p. 22).

Although the NEC has planned standardised activities coordinated and monitored in all teacher education subject areas through the NATE, there will be no professional development programs available for physical education. Fischer (1999) says that "teachers' specialisation in this curriculum area will be excluded from the Ministry's responsibility to upgrade teaching staff" (p. 23). As a result, the three types of physical education teachers - College of Education diploma holders, teachers colleges and NIE trained certificate holders, and teachers who have undergone specific foreign or local courses in addition to the above two certificates courses - remain with unequal levels of preparation.

4.4 Conclusion

Physical education continues to have different meaning and take a different form for different social groups. During the period 1970-2000, the fitness, labour and sports-oriented communist model of physical education reached its high point, while the
health-based British colonial model remained influential and health-based and the broader educational curriculum model, the American "education through the physical" model, is confined to the Teachers' Colleges. Although the 1972 reforms introduced the USSR communist model, it was seen that the Ministry of education in Sri Lanka led the elite schools to continue the British public school games traditions. At the same time, the American "education through the physical" position was continued at the Teachers' Colleges at Maharagama and Katukurunda. In contrast to the capitalist policies of the UNP government, the Director of Sports, who had studied in the GDR, introduced the fitness and sports-oriented communist model in 1983. Until the Director of Sports was terminated in 1998, the PA government that came to power in 1994 led the Director to continue his sports-oriented communist model even though the PA government also followed the previous government's open-market economic policies in the capitalist political system. In the meantime, in 1985, the sport-oriented scientific model of physical education teacher training was introduced to the curriculum at the Colleges of Education while the American model was confined to teachers' colleges without any identity. However, with the termination of the Director of Sports in 1998, the American "education through the physical" model again emerged via the NEC, PTF and the NIE in the school physical education syllabuses from Grade VI to Grade XI.

As all important commissions, reforms and reports - the 1972 reforms, 1981 White Paper, 1992 NEC report, 1997 PTF and 1999 Fischer consultancy - specifically mentioned the importance of physical education in the school curriculum, the period 1970-2000 is very important to the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. Although this has been a time when attention was paid to physical education in documents, and when a consultancy from Australia was engaged to propose suitable recommendations for the development of physical education teacher education curriculum in 1999, physical education continues to struggle. The fortunes of physical education fluctuated with government changes as well as interest from political and administrative figures. For instance, between 1972 and 1977 when physical education was an examinable subject under the 1972 reforms, the status of physical education was high. From 1977 to 1981 when the UNP was in power, with a new Minister of Education, the status of physical education changed because of its omission as an examinable subject. However, with the sport-interested Minister of Education and the Director of Sports between 1981 and 1998 a kind of sports-oriented communist model was introduced with the intention of enhancing both performance and participation as had been included in the 1981 White Paper proposals.
The highlighting of the subject of Physical Education was continued in the syllabi but it was limited to the curriculum documents after 1992. As Mr. Sunil Jayaweera, was the Director of Sports (He became the Director General after 1991) in the Ministry of Education, the sporting model was continued. This sporting model was criticised by the NEC (1992) which pointed out that it excluded many children from full participation in the physical activity. At the same time the NEC (1992) questioned the existing programs, said it was an imported model from the developed countries and proposed research based on local knowledge as the basis for physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. All these positions in relation to the physical education curriculum were accepted by the PTF (1997). Having accepted the guidance of the NEC (1992) and the PTF (1997), the NIE integrated health education with physical education in the syllabi from Grade 6 to Grade 11 and has been taking steps to implement these syllabi from 1998. The Fischer report (1999) and the informants in this study were highly critical of the syllabi integration in 1998 by the NIE. Fischer (1999) further says that the NATE and its program of upgrading teacher education from 1996 in Sri Lanka is excluding physical education teachers. These criticisms and acceptances will be detailed in the next chapter.
Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This thesis has attempted, using the social constructionist's theoretical framework, to examine the historical development of the physical education curriculum in the context of the many different foreign and local social, political, economic and educational forces which have impacted on physical education in Sri Lanka. Three major research questions are addressed: How has Physical Education in Sri Lanka been shaped as a school subject by foreign and local influences after Independence in 1948? What are the major issues in Physical Education in Sri Lanka? How can knowledge of the construction of Physical Education Curriculum in Sri Lanka inform future directions for curriculum developments?

The major purpose of this chapter is to discuss factors related to the third research question. In this discussion, I will re-visit some of the major contextual factors and issues that have been examined in depth in previous chapters. In the discussion references will also be made to the ways in which the findings of the study exemplify a social constructionist model of curriculum. In this chapter, I want to develop the argument that physical education has had a low priority and examine why this might be. I will discuss the enduring contemporary issues which have shaped physical education in Sri Lanka. As the previous chapters have demonstrated current physical education curriculum policy, process and practices can be understood in the context of two major themes: health and sports. I want to discuss why these two are important to Sri Lanka. Finally, I will propose a physical education curriculum model relevant to contemporary Sri Lanka and make recommendations for the development of the future of physical education using the knowledge developed through this investigation.

5.2 The Physical education context in Sri Lanka - enduring issues.

As Sri Lanka is an island situated in the Indian Ocean separated from the south east coast of India by about 40 miles, it has been an important strategic place for international relations, trade and military purposes. As a result, Sri Lanka has been invaded by, traded with, and supported by different nations from early times. Physical education in Sri Lanka has also been shaped by a range of forces, some foreign and some local and by the interaction of the two. This has influenced what kind of physical activities have been valued and what forms of physical education have been promoted and for whom.
Prior to European colonisation, North Indian migrants were the main influence in shaping physical activities in the ancient period, together with influences from the Middle East and the Chinese. Physical activity in the pre-colonial period primarily took the form of physical training and sports for military fitness, and sports and games as the leisure activities of the affluent class. It is evident that even in the early period the hegemonic groups have shaped physical activities in the country.

When the Europeans from Portugal (1505), Holland (1656) and Britain (1796) invaded Sri Lanka, they brought with them their systems of governance including education and physical education. While the Portuguese and the Dutch had little direct influence on physical activities, the invasion and colonisation by the British had a profound effect. In general, traditional life styles were changed by these European nations. The British political, economic, social, cultural and educational systems profoundly influenced Sri Lanka including its physical education both during and beyond the colonial period. These pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial influences on physical education have been intertwined with enduring political, economic and cultural issues such as the need for a well-developed work force, social class distinction, the policies of political parties, the role of physical activity and the body according to different religious, and cultural beliefs and the place of women in Sri Lankan society.

5.2.1 Physical education and military preparedness

Historically, physical activities were used for fitness in military preparedness as was demonstrated in Chapter One through administrative reports and other documents in Sri Lanka. There has, in many countries from past to present, been a strong link between forms of physical training/education and military preparedness (Hardman, 2000; Kirk, 1992). As identified in the Second Chapter, vigorous military physical activities such as fights on horse and elephant, combat with swords, swimming competitions with weighted armor, combat against animals, archery, wrestling, javelin, and several other related activities were mainly confined to royalty, nobles, and military personal who belonged to the upper social class (Deraniyagala, 1959). With British rule militaristic activities in general were suppressed with the exception of western style militaristic activities such as cadetting and boxing which were introduced after 1870 in the education system when the British rule was well established.

When British imperial power was challenged and began to decline from the end of the 19th century, its falling economic situation directly affected education and physical education in its colonies. To maintain economic development and the military power of the Empire, the British looked to the colonies for a docile work force for labor and fit young soldiers to protect the Empire. To fulfil their major aims for the preparation of a
fit, docile working and fighting force the British Syllabuses of Physical Exercises in 1909, 1919 and the Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools 1933 used in government schools in Britain, were followed in the colonies including Sri Lanka. The British continued to emphasise military preparedness through school cadet platoon practices and it was highlighted in every administration report from the 1900s during the colonial period.

Following Independence military preparedness continued to be an important aspect of physical education. As seen in Chapter Three, after the 1960s, most schools in urban areas where children of the lower social class studied were also given permission to operate such platoons. After the early 1980s, the government interest in this regard was increased in the southern areas of the country because they needed to recruit young men to the defence institutions: police, army, navy and air force. Most boys who were enthusiastic in sports automatically tended towards these platoons and later became officers in the defence institutions (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview). With the increase in the North Area War situation in the country the government wanted more soldiers and the cadet platoons were not enough; young men who were keen on sports were encouraged to join the armed forces. The government could easily recruit more youths from the lower social class because many were unemployed. As a consequence, school cadet platoons and sports as an area of physical activity were very popular among children of the lower social class (Male mathematics teacher A & B, 1999, Interview).

5.2.2 Physical education and social class

Social class distinctions via the caste system have had a strong influence on the shape of the physical education curriculum throughout Sri Lankan history, but have been less rigidly applied than in India (De Silva, K.M., 1977). In pre-colonial Sri Lanka, the lower social class/caste rarely took part in physical activities except during the leisure and festival seasons. They were generally excluded from organised physical activities such as water games, park festivals and so on by the upper classes and the exclusion continued until the British invasion. On the other hand, any person who wanted to join the army was given the opportunity to participate, but in general social life, the lower caste were not allowed to participate with the higher caste. Whether high caste or low caste, the skilled were rewarded for military purposes with positions in the army by the King (Deraniyagala, 1959).

As a result of the British influence, the newly emerged upper class in Sri Lanka maintained social distinctions through the school system. As discussed in Chapter Two, the English medium boys' and girls' elite schools were designed to produce leaders from the upper class while the richest strata were educated in the British Public Schools and retained local leadership in their hands. The British public school games tradition contributed to this class division.

**The British public school games tradition in Sri Lankan schools**

The British were also responsible, through their games tradition, for the introduction of specific games and sports to the elite classes in the colonies, to develop qualities of leadership and to "civilise" the native population (Mangan, 1988). Games such as cricket and rugby football were confined to the elite class boys' schools where resources were available. After the 1920s netball and athletics gradually spread to the elite class girls' schools. According to Sumathipala (1968) cricket was not played by local children until the 1890s. The confinement of British public school games such as cricket, rugby football and netball to the upper class children was maintained by elite schools in Sri Lanka throughout the colonial period and beyond.

However, with the influence of the nationalist movements after 1956, some sports - for instance, athletics which was popular in public schools - began to be introduced to the children of lower social class in Sri Lanka both with and without government support. During the period of the SLFP between 1956 and 1965, athletic meets were started to parallel the public school athletic meets; for instance, the inter-central and senior school athletic meets discussed in Chapter Four. Even in the 1980s and 1990s when the UNP was in power, athletics continued to be open to the children of the masses. With the introduction of National School Games (NSG) in 1984, children from elite and government schools competed together and athletics became very popular among children of all classes (COE specialist PE male lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

Although the Director of Sports was able to force the elite schools to participate in the NSG athletic meets between 1983 and 1998, he was not able to change the situation for
other British public school games. The Circulars of the ME&HE in Sri Lanka indicated that the major public school games, cricket and rugby football, were still confined to the elite schools, in part at least because the classification of school sports list did not mention these games.

However, most of the teachers and lecturers interviewed in this study agreed that cricket, in terms of inter-school competitions, was being widely played in remote area schools. It was however being played in rather different ways. For instance, children of these schools did not have leather balls, pads, valuable bats and big playgrounds or seasonal tournaments; instead they used locally made bats, tennis balls, and any spaces that they found, even on the road (COE male president, 1999, Interview). This led Fischer (1999) to propose that if low-priced equipment and trained teachers could be provided, children of the masses could achieve better results. However, as Gooson (1990) and Tinning et al (2000) pointed out as noted in the theoretical framework, powerful groups/upper class in Sri Lankan society would not allow children of the masses to play leather cricket.

Despite criticisms, it is clear that the public school tradition has been important in building Sri Lankan nationalism and Sri Lankan profile. Most male and female athletes, who have won international athletic competitions in the recent past, were coached by former public school athletes who became national athletic coaches. In addition, the NSG athletic organisations, modeled on the GDR system, also influenced contemporary athletic successes because they encouraged talented children from the government schools. For instance, it is common practice for remote area children who perform well at the NSG to be enrolled in elite schools in Colombo with scholarships. The NSG system also provided resources to some extent for the rural area schools. The sporting events of both the NSG and the elite schools are very popular across Sri Lanka because they are widely covered on TV and reported in newspapers.
5.2.3 Academic knowledge and the place of the physical/body in Sri Lankan society

As social constructionist argue, the hegemonic religious beliefs of the majority in Sri Lankan society have also influenced the shape of the physical education curriculum. According to Buddhist teaching, until a creature - including human beings - achieves 'Nibbana' or enlightenment, it circulates in the prolongation or re-birth cycle (Sanskara Chakra). In this re-birth cycle/process, the creature automatically receives a different body in a different life after death, according to his/her lifestyle (sins and merits). If an animal sins in a particular life, it will get a new body and mind which are inferior to the former. In this teaching, the new mind received by the animal is not totally different from the previous life, however, the body is new. Hence, the body that an animal receives will be a temporary one which will be constantly changing during the particular life and also in the prolongation. The major point here is that, according to Sri Lankan Buddhist beliefs, mind is more important than body because the mind is important in case of new life while the former body decays. As a result, activities related to the human body have a lower priority for Buddhists than activities which involve the mind. In Hinduism, a belief in re-birth after death is also accepted, and so the mind/soul is again privileged over the body. At the same time, the majority of people in Western societies also considered that knowledge gained via religions was superior to the scientific or other knowledge sources and as practical.

The religious beliefs of the majority along with the power of the colonial masters have strongly shaped the physical activities in the curriculum. Thus, the British view of academic knowledge, transferred easily to Sri Lankan society. The British implemented their academic curriculum in the English medium in most colonies but scientific and technological aspects of the curriculum were ignored (De Silva, C.R., 1977; Jayasuriya, 1969; Samaraweera, 1991). The major reason for this position was that the British wanted a market for their industrial produces in the colonies and needed only raw materials from them. The NEC (1992) pointed out the colonial position:

During colonial times, the need to train youth in scientific and technological pursuits was either ignored or absent. Agriculture was restricted to peasant holdings and plantations, whilst natural resources were transferred for processing and value addition elsewhere. A white collar work-force was considered sufficient (p. 19).

Traditional academic subjects such as Mathematics, English Language, Literature, European History and Geography were the priority subjects, whereas Agriculture, Technology, and the Vocational part of the curriculum were considered as low status subjects and were discouraged. In other words, the British reinforced the existing cultural perception that practical subjects, those not associated with a liberal academic curriculum, were associated with the working/peasant class. White collar jobs, mainly
in the government sector, were only available via English medium academic curriculum. Interview data, primary sources, secondary materials and the other sources of information in this research indicate that the low status accorded practical subjects including physical education in the colonies continued in Sri Lankan society after Independence in 1948.

5.2.4 The influences from Cold War


However, the British colonial power continued to be a dominant influence, hence it was still a powerful factor in determining the physical education curriculum. Though the Director of Education mentioned the scientific approach that was being promoted in the USA at the time, there is little evidence from circulars, syllabus documents or reports from informants to suggest that a 'scientific' approach or 'education through the physical' approach was actually implemented. In practice, the physical education authorities in the Ministry of Education continued to support physical education on the basis of its contribution to the former narrow medico-health outcomes. They continued to implement short-term teacher training programs and to organise sport meets. For instance, as shown in Chapter Three, the officials in the Ministry of Education did not continue the three-month specialist physical education teacher training course which was established in 1961 and the scientific approach did not at this point take off in Sri Lanka. The lack of change was due to several factors: the people who went to the USA under government scholarships were not aware of the scientific approach; there were no higher education institutions to discuss new trends; scientific physical education was
confined to developed countries; and the officials in the Ministry of Education were reluctant to give up the therapeutic notion of physical education.

Despite the resistance to change in school physical education, teacher education at Kuliyapitiya, Maharagama and Katukurunda was conducted by lecturers influenced by the American approach of "education through the physical". One lecturer informant here, who set out the physical education teacher education curriculum for Kuliyapitiya Junior University, had studied in Madras in India while the other lecturer involved had studied in the USA. The USSR and the communist bloc countries were more directly influential through the nationalist movement for "education for all" between 1956 and 1965. Through socialist and nationalist influences, more educational opportunities including physical education, were available to children from the lower social strata. In 1961, with backup from the communist bloc countries under Cold War influences, under the SLFP government, denominational schools were taken under state control. As a result, children of the lower social class who studied in these schools were exposed to more physical education opportunities in the 1960s. However, in practice physical education in elementary schools was rarely taught because there were no teachers to teach it. As demonstrated in Chapter three, physical education in most primary schools was little more than a play period.

The USA and the communist block countries continued to influence physical education after 1968. Owing to the Cold War the communist block countries, particularly the former GDR, offered scholarships to Sport Officers after the establishment of the Ministry of Sports in 1968. Sport Officers who trained in the former GDR coached government school sporting teams in Sri Lanka until 1983 (Sports Ministry official A, 1999, Interview).

When the SLFP was re-elected to government as the UF in 1970, it made further radical changes in line with socialist principles. It changed the constitution, abolished relationships with the British Crown and developed close bonds with the communist bloc. In keeping with constitutional changes, the United Front introduced the 1972 education reforms which paralleled the communist model. As a result, physical education for "defence and labor" and the communist model of scientific-based physical education curriculum continued from 1972 to 1977 with physical education as an examinable subject for the NCGE examination. Physical outcomes such as body strength, flexibility, speed, co-ordination, and endurance as practical components were measured as part of the NCGE examination during this period, and physical education was included as one of the seven components in the primary school curriculum
(Ministry of Education, 1972 Nawamaga, p. 6). However, in practice most primary schools continued as they had always done, omitting physical education altogether or using it as a play period.

When the UNP replaced the UF government in 1977, it implemented capitalist-influenced open market economic policies. However, the Director of Sports who had studied in the former GDR continued to develop policies which were beneficial to children of all social strata. He established a school sport system in 1983 which has continued to the year 2000. This school sport system had many parallel features with the GDR "Spartakiads" (Childs, 1978; Naul, 1992) a common model across other communist countries (Davis, 1997; Hardman, 1992; Pickering, 1978; Riordan, 1978).

5.2.5 Physical education and national identity

Following Independence, Sri Lanka competed as an independent nation in the Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games, and international test cricket tournaments. Success in these events, such as the Olympic and Commonwealth success of Duncan White in 1948 and 1950 respectively, promoted nationalist feeling in the country and enhanced school sports in the 1950s. Further successful performances in Olympic athletics during the past decades including Susanthika’s silver medal in the AAA World Championship and bronze in Sydney Olympics in 2000 help Sri Lanka to earn international fame. In addition, Sri Lankan athletes have been winning Asian Games athletic events since the 1950s and South Asian Region Games since the 1980s. Furthermore, Sri Lankan performance in international cricket, including the 1995 One Day Wills Cup win, has also helped to enhance Sri Lanka’s international sporting reputation. Validating the social constructionist view, all these successes have developed and helped to legitimize school sports in physical education.

INTERNATIONAL SPORTING BODIES AND OTHER FOREIGN SPORTING INSTITUTIONS HAVE ALSO SUPPORTED AND/OR SPONSORED TRAINING ACTIVITIES AND SEMINARS. UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH SPORTS PROGRAMS, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT TRAINING ACTIVITIES AND SEMINARS WERE CONDUCTED FOR SRI LANKAN COACHES, ATHLETES AND OFFICIALS. SOME PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS, TEACHER EDUCATORS, AND SPORT OFFICERS HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SHORT DURATION DIPLOMA COURSES AND SEMINARS IN AUSTRALIA, INDIA, CANADA AND BRITAIN IN ADDITION TO LOCAL TRAINING PROGRAMS. FOR INSTANCE, IN 1995 I WAS ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATIONAL SPORTS CONGRESS OF SRI LANKA IN COLOMBO WHICH WAS FUNDED BY THE CANADIAN SPORT COUNCIL. SINCE INDEPENDENCE, SPORTING INFLUENCES EXTENDED BEYOND BRITAIN TO THE COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES AND COMMUNIST BLOC COUNTRIES WHICH BROUGHT NEW OUTLOOKS ON SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION TO SRI LANKA.
5.2.6 Religion, culture and gender

As discussed above hegemonous religious beliefs have influenced the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. In general, school physical activity is supported by Christianity and Hinduism but some activities are discouraged by Buddhism and Islam. These beliefs and practices have a profound influence on physical education practices in Sri Lanka. For instance, the Hindus offer dancing to honor their gods while the Buddhists think dancing encourages greediness which causes prolongation at the re-birth cycle, which is a fundamental concept of Buddhist teaching. According to Buddhism in Sri Lanka, vigorous physical activities such as dancing, sporting and warfare activities were generally inferior or had low status compared to activities such as meditation, preaching, Dhamma talks, alms giving etc. This has contributed to the low status of physical education. However, yoga exercises are approved by Buddhism. Muslim girls are not allowed to do certain physical activities whereas in Christian schools, physical activities can be conducted without any constraints. These complex ideologies have profound influence on school physical education in Sri Lanka.

Supporting the social constructionist claim in the theoretical framework, cultural beliefs in the society are also a contributing factor for the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka. The marginalisation of female students in physical education is widespread internationally (Behbehani, 1992; O’Donoghue, 1992; Ndee, 1996; Rashid, 1994 in Hardman, 2000) and has been strong throughout Sri Lankan history. In ancient Sri Lanka, female citizens were excluded from public physical activities. Traditional dancing as a physical activity was confined to males and females of a particular caste in the King period and they performed at dancing events at temples in Perahera (a traditional Buddhist socio-cultural marching event) and to please nobles at their house compounds. On some occasions upper class females were involved in swimming festivals but there were continuous restrictions on physical activities for females (The NIE in PE History Module, 1992). The Anglo-model of physical education and the British sporting tradition spread British attitudes to female and physical activity throughout the Western world including their colonies (Burrows, 1999; Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996a).

Female influence on the physical education curriculum has been minimal. Gamage (1992) says that even the affluent class girls had not played games like netball until 1921 when Jenny Green first introduced netball to the Girls’ High School in Kandy. The Administrative Reports of the Director of Education in Ceylon in the 1930s reported that vernacular girls’ schools did not do physical training until the 1930s. Circulars between 1928 and 1938 made no references to female participation in physical training classes of teachers. The same sentence was used in each Circular from 1928-1938.
Physical Training Classes for Vernacular Teachers

Physical Training Classes for certificate vernacular male teachers of assisted and Government schools will be held on Fridays and Saturdays at the following centres at the times mentioned against each centre (Circulars of Director of Education in Ceylon, 1928-1938; bold is not in the original).

In addition, girls' participation in physical education was differentiated according to their social class and rural-urban location in post-Independent Sri Lanka. In addition, girls' participation in sports in rural area schools depended on teachers' roles and on parents' attitudes. Some parents and teachers respected the South Asian cultural and religious practices which discouraged girls from participating in sporting activities. Even today, female physical education teachers wear saris in the school playground to teach physical education because they think that if they wear track pants they would be ostracised by other teachers (Female TC English lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Moreover, some religious beliefs suppressed physical activities of female in the curriculum. Sporting participation of Muslim girls is often discouraged by parents. In general, after puberty Muslim girls are discouraged from participating in games and events such as long jump, running and sports which need jumping skills by teachers, parents and their communities (Male Muslim teacher in English, 1999, Interview). This however is not necessarily universal. As one informant suggested, when Muslim girls study at Sinhalese schools, they do physical activities with the majority of Sinhalese children. In that scenario the Muslim community seems less concerned.

Until the 1980s, only girls who were in elite schools, and central and suburban area schools were able to participate in netball and athletics. Even in these schools, most girls did little physical activity. Some informants including Retired female education officer in physical education A and Training College female English lecturer A suggested that the majority of schoolgirls in Sri Lanka were excluded from sporting activities. Since 1984, however, girls' participation in physical activity has been increasing compared to other countries in the region owing to the National School Games (NSG) program mentioned in Chapter Four (Little, 1999; Retired female Physical education Officer A, 1999, Interview).

5.2.7 Physical education and politics

In line with the social constructionist reasoning in the theoretical framework, political divisions based on social class distinctions, ethnicity, caste, religion, gender and area diversity helped to shape what physical activities should be promoted and by whom. In
addition, the status and fortunes of physical education have fluctuated with the
government in power and have been profoundly influenced by politics. This has been
related to government imperatives but also to the interest and enthusiasms of particular
politicians and bureaucrats. The status of physical education shifted in post-
Independence Sri Lanka depending on the interests of key political figures. Some
politicians have perceived physical education as an important core subject in the school
curriculum while others have had more traditional attitudes to physical education. For
instance, the Minister of Sports, Mr. S. B. Dissanayake, between 1994-2000 was keen
on school sports and physical education but the Minister of Education during the same
period did not take up the proposal. The Minister of Sports in 1999 was a national
championship sprinter on several occasions when he was a University student and was
keen in sports (COE specialist PE male lecturer E, 1999, Interview).

Political influences have directly affected the physical education curriculum in Sri
Lanka. Under the 1972 reforms, the Minister of Education introduced physical
education as a core compulsory examinable subject based on the USSR model. This
improved the status of physical education during the period 1972-77. However, as
identified in Chapter Four, the good fortune of physical education was not to last long.
When the UNP came to power in 1977, the Department of Examination dropped
physical education examinations from their GCE O/L. Instead, an approach to physical
education based on Buddhist practices was encouraged with the introduction of Yoga to
the curriculum.

Between 1981 and 1989, the Minister of Education encouraged the development of
school sports, thereby enhancing the status of sport during the period. The minister
appointed an athletic coach who had studied in the former GDR as an Additional
Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education in 1983. He introduced "Daily Fitness
Program" and "National School Games" in 1983 and 1984 respectively following the
former GDR "Spartakiads" program (Childs, 1978; Nual, 1992). From his position in
the Ministry of Education, the Director of Sports used his political power to appoint
physical education professionals, introduced curriculum innovations including scientific
physical education teacher education, and organised sport meets (Retired training
college male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Under the PA government, the Minister of Education between 1994 and 1999 continued
the policies of the former government. The National School Games, daily physical
exercises and physical education curriculum innovations introduced by the Director
were continued. In addition, in 1998, physical education was offered as a technical subject by the NIE in line with the NEC's 1992 proposals.

The continuous war in the country has impacted on physical education. People who live in the Southern areas do not know what teachers and students do for physical education in the Northern areas where war prevails. Students do not like to stay for afternoon physical education programs because they prefer to go home as early as possible to avoid bomb blasts and other military actions. In addition, the government of Sri Lanka is forced to spend a significant proportion of national income on the unending war which otherwise could have been invested in social benefits such as education (COE Tamil medium male PE lecturer B, 1999, Interview).

The other negative impacts of this continuous war include teacher shortages and poor student discipline. Most of the physical education teachers and other subject teachers who were in charge of the school cadet platoons have become the volunteer force army officers. A commission in the defence forces as an officer earns social status and other benefits in Sri Lankan society. As a result, talented physical education teachers and other subject area teachers mobilise for defence duties and stay there for years. Principals and COE heads are unable to force them stay at schools because defence requests are given priority. This impacts on the quality of physical education and the school cadet platoons (Male physical education teacher A, 1999, Interview).

5.2.8 Media and Physical education

The role of the media has changed over time in its role as a further social determinant of the physical education curriculum. In the 1950s and 60s, the newspapers in Sri Lanka sponsored both public school athletic meets of children for the upper class and volleyball tournaments for children of the masses. In the 1960s, the national newspapers helped to convince Sri Lankans that girls' participation in physical activity was not harmful to Sri Lankan cultures. In the 1960s newspapers like the Lankadeepa newspaper sponsored several sports which were popular among the masses in the rural areas as identified earlier. In recent times, widespread coverage of cricket in the media has influenced school physical education. For instance, physical education teachers comment that it is very difficult to motivate students for activities other than cricket because students always see the cricket matches on TV and prefer to play cricket with the hope of becoming star cricketers and international players.
The National Education Commission (First Report, 1992) has identified that mass media have significant influence as a primary socialising agent. According to the NEC (1992), notwithstanding their responsibility, mass media such as radio, TV, newspapers and other modes of communication have been encouraging patterns of thinking what they direct for the development of commercial commodities and the benefits of the upper class. The NEC proposed that teachers and students consciously pay attention to what the media actually proposes for a generation of Sri Lankans. As Tinning et al (2000) also explain, the importance of guiding children about media is as follows: "It would seem important, then, to assist students to develop skills which will enable them to become critical 'readers' and 'watchers' of the print and electronic media. Being a critical reader means being able to recognise how language use and choices of visual images help to create particular sets of meanings which connect with values and beliefs that are important to the consumer" (p149). In her role as consultant, Fischer (1999) also commented on the lines of the Sri Lankan media in relation to physical activity:

The aim of the new education policy is to bring about equity and opportunity of access to staff and students. Interestingly, the media is by omission working against these goals. A research sample of newspaper (from 24th May to 9th July 1999) sport reporting revealed that 99.5% of articles and photos published covered male sports or males successful in sports. A biased representation of athletic/sport involvement leaned towards Cricket, Football, and Tennis at international, district and private school competition levels (p9).

According to Fischer (1999), if the Sri Lankan media only reports on upper class boys' school sporting activities, then it is likely that all other school children will feel excluded. If students can identify themselves and their talents in the media, they will feel far more encouraged to participate in and consider physical activity as part of their life style (Fischer, 1999).

5.3 Physical education theory, policy and practice developments

One of the main aims of this research is to clarify, in the Sri Lankan context, reasonable answers to the questions: Why physical education? What purpose has it (been seen to have) served and how has this changed over time? This section is about why physical education should be in the curriculum at all.

As seen in the global context in Chapter One, different governments, parents, scientists, the military and educators across different countries in the world have perceived the purpose of physical education differently. Physical education has earned its place in the school curriculum as it has contributed variously to the development of one or more of
the following qualities: healthy, disciplined, docile, fit, nationalistic, courageous, and/or active citizens. However, this research as a social constructionist historical investigation found that some of these features were given more prominence than others at various levels in Sri Lankan history and have been of different concern different strata in society (Tinning et al, 2000, p. 159). At the same time, however, according to Tinning et al (2000), the legitimation of physical education can be organised around two main focal areas: health and sports. In Anglo-models of physical education, health has traditionally and primarily been associated with women and the working class, and sport with the ruling class (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b). As the distinctions become more blurred, so have meanings around health and sport changed.

5.3.1 Physical education as contributing to health

Health as hygiene

In colonial Sri Lanka as in other British colonies (Burrows, 1999; Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996a), the major aim of school physical training was to develop hygienic habits and practices in children of the working class. The colonial masters believed that both physical health and the moral character of children of the working class were at low levels anywhere in the world (Kirk, 1992). For Sri Lankan schools, as in Britain, the colonial rulers as a powerful social group promoted their curriculum constructs and recommended the British Syllabuses of Physical Training 1909, 1919 and 1933 which proposed physical training as one of the main tools in developing, monitoring, and directing health practices of children of the working class. Physical training was also promoted as improving posture and curing deformities of the body. To achieve these therapeutic health/hygiene aims, the 1933 Syllabus proposed two contradictory theories: (a) the extensive surveillance of posture and formal physical training exercises, and (b) enjoyable play through games and sports (Burrows, 1999; Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996a). The 1933 Syllabus further proposed that to achieve physical training aims five factors needed to be essentially fulfilled: (a) the child must be of good stock; (b) he/she must be carefully nurtured; (c) the laws of hygiene must be observed; (d) nutrition must be adequate; and (e) the environment must be satisfactory (The Board of Education for London and Wales in 1933 British Physical Training Syllabus, 1949).

AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN 1948, THE LOCAL RULERS, THE LOCAL UPPER CLASS WHO GAINED POWER FROM THE BRITISH, CONTINUED TO USE THE 1933 BRITISH SYLLABUS AS THE MAJOR CURRICULUM DOCUMENT. HEALTH EDUCATION WAS CONTINUED AS A SEPARATE SUBJECT AND INCLUDED HYGIENIC PRACTICES SUCH AS BRUSHING TEETH, CUTTING NAILS, COMBING HAIR, DOING EXERCISES, WASHING FACE, CLEANING OWN BODY, PROVIDING OF MID-DAY MEALS, SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE AND PHYSICAL TRAINING. THE SCHOOL HEALTH COMPETITION, WHICH HAD BEEN ORGANISED WELL PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE TO MAINTAIN THE HEALTH STANDARDS IN SCHOOLS, WAS CONTINUED. EVERY YEAR, THE DIRECTOR

As discussed in Chapter One, the therapeutic notion of health in the 1933 syllabus was challenged in the Western world by the end of the 1940s (Kirk, 1992). Social progressivists criticised the therapeutic notion of health saying that it had created social class distinctions. Whereas children of the masses who studied in government schools were asked to do drills to improve their health and prepare them for work, the children of the upper class played competitive sports to prepare them for positions of leadership and for leisure. This criticism was also reflected in the Administration Reports of the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka. Although by the end of the 1950s the emphasis of physical health was criticised in the context of a broader educational view of health and by moves to a more scientific-based physical education, the health experts in the physical education section were sufficiently powerful in the Ministry of Education to ensure the continuation of a therapeutic focus in physical education into the 1960s. Again this reflects the social constructionist claim that the power struggle among social groups determines what would be included in the curriculum.

During the period of 1950s and 1960s, health and hygiene were taught by primary class teachers, while physical education inspectors organised health clinics/seminars with the help of area medical officers. Class teachers checked students' health habits such as the brushing of teeth, washing face, cleanliness of cloths, trimmed finger nails and hair length daily. School health medical officer and the public health inspector came to school every year to give children medicine such as quinine and hookworm treatment. From 1948, health education was an examinable subject for the GCE (O/L) examination while physical education has only been examined for a short period of time (1972-1977).

"Education through the physical": a broader notion of health

As was seen in Chapter One, the notion of "education through the physical" was not only concerned with the physical health of children but also their social and emotional development in the context of physical education. This notion was taken up by most
Western world countries in the 1950s. It was argued that physical education should contribute to the total education of children and have as its medium physical activities such as a variety of sports and games, motor skills, recreational activities, movement education and dance (Wright, 1991).

The "education through the physical" approach was first taken up in the teacher education curriculum in 1969 in Sri Lanka. As seen in Chapter Three, there were two reasons for the change: criticism of a therapeutic approach to physical education from the beginning of the 1960s; and the transfer of the physical education head in the Education Ministry to the Ministry of Sports as the Secretary in 1969. As pointed out by an informant (Retired training college male physical education lecturer A), who prepared the syllabus for the 1969 junior university physical education course at Kuliyapitiya, it was accepted that for lecturers who prepared the curriculum the major aim was to establish 'the education through the physical' approach in the Kuliyapitiya physical education teacher training program. This was reflected in the syllabus used at Maharagama Teachers' College, where the Kuliyapitiya course was moved after the government change in 1970.

The hygiene/health subject, which had been examined as an optional subject for Grade 10 examination (SSC or GCE O/L) from Independence, was joined with physical education under the 1972 reforms as a core examinable subject (Ministry of Education in Nawamaga Reforms, 1972). As a result, fitness and skill levels were measured as outcomes of fitness exercises and different sporting activities following practice in the USSR. According to most informants, particularly the retired and in-service teacher educators, this stage was the "golden period" of physical education in Sri Lanka because participation rates in it increased with its status as a compulsory subject. There was still however, little relationship between what was happening in schools - the communist model - and what was happening in Teachers' Colleges - the education through the physical model.

After the government change in 1977, the school physical education curriculum was also influenced by the notion of Yoga exercises for spiritual and mental health, with the appointment of a Minister of Education who was a Buddhist devotee. As a result, hygiene/health education was again offered as a separate examinable subject by the Department of Examination from 1978 after the government change in 1977 under the Circulars No 141/77 and 143/77 in 1977 and this practice continued until 1986. However, in Circular No: 1986/13 Mage Anka: 2/Pasa/2/271 in November 1986, no periods were allocated for health education and in 1986 the health component was
integrated into the science subject. The physical education period again became simply a play period in most schools at all levels.

**Health, fitness and physical education**

Although the health benefits of physical activity that is primarily for prevention of cardio-vascular diseases were emphasised in the school syllabi in physical education in many Western countries in the late 1960s and 1970s, that was not the issue in Sri Lankan schools. This study found that reasons for not drawing on scientific-based health related curriculum until 1983 were that students’ fitness was not surveyed in Sri Lanka and cardiovascuar disease is not at the moment a major cause of death in Sri Lanka.

However, from 1983 the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka introduced a fifteen minute daily fitness exercise program in Sri Lankan schools to develop fitness for sport performance which was emphasised by the Director of Sports as discussed in Chapter Four (Circular No. 1983/12, Ministry of Education, 1983 October). In addition, from 1985 when the Colleges of Education were founded, a morning fitness exercise program from 6.00am to 7.00am was introduced by the Ministry of Education and it has been continued in every college. At the same time, the educated community in Sri Lanka has been exposed to information about the relationship between coronary heart diseases (CHD) and physical inactivity and some are starting to jog, do aerobics, include fiber in the diet, and stop smoking. However ‘lifestyle’ has not become a major topic in physical and health education in the Sri Lankan school curriculum in the way it has in developed countries.

**Physical education for peace, mental and physical health**

The NEC proposals in 1992 and 1995 for peace, mental and physical health were accepted by the PTF and the NIE after 1998. The NEC, PTF, and the NIE mainly promoted this notion in the curriculum in relation to the war which has prevailed in the North and the East in the country. Highlighting the social constructionist claim, the curriculum again reflects previous patterns of conflicts and power. Health concerns were the main emphasis under the new physical education curriculum in 1999 and physical education and health were integrated. From the year 2000, Health and Physical education became an examinable option and the subject name changed to Health and Physical education. As discussed in Chapter Four, this subject was not truly integrated, instead the health sections of the syllabus were written separately (Fischer, 1999).
As has been the case in other countries - for instance, as in the Australian national curriculum in 1989 - physical education in Sri Lanka has been marginalised under the health umbrella. For instance, as mentioned earlier, as the first step the physical education subject has been omitted from the primary curriculum in 1998; health sections of the syllabus were organised well and physical education sections were kept separately. Thus, physical education seems to be in grave danger of losing its identity to health under the new physical education curriculum reforms of 1999.

5.3.2 Sport orientation in physical education

As seen in Chapter One school-based sport has a prominent place in the physical education curriculum all over the world. Tinning et al (2000) suggest that two major discourses are influential in shaping curriculum in relation to sports: a "participation" discourse (sport for all vs. selected) and a "performance" discourse (how excellence can be improved). As social constructionists point out, any curriculum is determined at particular historical points on the basis of certain social and political priorities. The participation discourse is taken by education experts and sociologists who want to provide educational opportunities for all children while the performance discourse is mainly engaged by people who expect sport excellence.

As identified in Chapter Two, British public school sports were confined to Sri Lankan children of the upper class while children of the lower class were excluded from sports during the colonial period. With Independence, the Ministry of Education attempted to spread local games and athletics that did not consume much money amongst the children of the working class to address the issue of participation for all, emphasised by the nationalist movements. However, at the same time, it is clear from the evidence presented in previous chapters that the Ministry of Education permitted the elite class schools to continue the British public school games tradition. In addition, whether school sports were British or local, they have been continued as extra-curricular activities rather than being incorporated into the mainstream physical education curriculum in the school program at all levels of schooling and in all kinds of schools. Once more as Tinning et al (2000) quoted in Chapter One claim curriculum is a human made thing and Sri Lankan policy makers who won their agendas set what would be in the curriculum.
The emphasis on improving better sport performance in Sri Lankan schools is seen throughout this study. Olympic, Commonwealth and Asian Games successes of Sri Lankan athletes in the late 1940s and in the 1950s motivated school communities to improve children’s sport performance in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, athletics and local games, mainly volleyball, were spread across the country with the escalation of the nationalist movements in the 1950s. This process was also able to improve sport participation of children of the lower social strata because of increased enrolments in schools. Furthermore, parallel to the teaching of different subjects in the vernacular languages, sporting activities were also coached in the same. Interview data, primary sources and secondary sources in this investigation indicate that the government had attempted to minimise the participation gap between children of the elite class and the lower social class in the 1950s. The Ministry of Education was successful in spreading volleyball all over the island but only for boys. Athletics also spread all over the island but its main competitions were confined to the elite schools while the children of the masses participated in circuit meet selection at the circuit levels. However, a very small percentage of children went beyond the circuit-level athletic participation. Even though the nationalist movements had voiced concerns about the limited participation of the masses, netball, cricket, rugby union, athletic meets of Public School, Inter-Central and Senior School, and Girls’ Meets were confined to the urban area elite schools and central colleges during the period 1950-1972.

In the 1950s, 60s and 70s, boys’ sport performance and participation in athletics and volleyball in urban area secondary schools was increased. For instance, the Ministry of Education started a Junior School All-Island Athletic Meet in 1968. However, there was only nominal participation by rural area children because there were no qualified teachers or adequate resources to teach, learn, participate, and compete in the competitions at the level of the elite school standards. It was clear that the majority of children, specifically female students, were excluded. As well, this research reveals that girls’ participation in sporting events in Sri Lankan schools during the period 1948-72 was also low - about less than 10% across the country (Female Education Officer in PE, 1999, Interview).

Between 1983 and 1998, sport-oriented physical education was able to spread several games to children of the masses. Science and sport oriented physical education was established after 1983 with a GDR-trained Deputy Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education. Although the 1972 reforms had copied the communist model of physical education in which sport performance had a central place, no specific performance development program was implemented during the 1970s. The main reason for this was
the lack of interest among political figures and bureaucrats in the Ministry. But in the 1980s and 1990s, the performance discourse became influential in the practices of Sri Lankan schools. The Minister of Education Mr. Ranil Wickramasingha in the 1980s and the Minister of Sports Mr. S.B. Dissanayake in the 1990s together with Mr. Sunil Jayaweera, the former Director General of Sports in the Ministry of Education, were interested in the development of sport performance. An analysis of the Administration Reports, Circulars, and syllabuses after 1983 and interview data from informants indicate that there were several initiatives in relation to scientific physical education under the leadership of the Deputy Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education. These included providing equipment to coach children as elite athletes, training physical education teachers as coaches and the inclusion of physical education as a technical subject in the GCE O/L examination consisting of the scientific subjects, physiology and biomechanics. In addition, the implementation of a scientific-based curriculum in teacher training programs for elite athletes after 1984, the three-year diploma course at Bandarawela COE in 1985, the three year distance mode diploma course after 1992 at the NIE and the BEd degree course in 1997 were all, in part, outcomes of the importance placed on sports performance for the national good.

At the same time, people who were interested in sociological and educational aspects of "physical education for all" criticised the performance-oriented sport programs. Most informants of this research, for instance, specifically those from the Colleges of Education and Teachers' Colleges were critical of the emphasis on sport performance in the 1980s and 1990s. They argued that the majority of children were excluded by the NSG program as teachers had started to coach elite children during the physical education period and after school. This criticism of the sport domination of physical education curriculum in the 1980s and 1990s was accepted by the NEC, PTF and the NIE (NEC First Report, 1992; NIE, 1999 & 2000; PTF, 1997). As a result, health education was combined with the physical education curriculum from Grades Six to Eleven in 1998 and all physical education head teachers (Guru Upadesaka), and education officers were requested to discourage a sport orientation in physical education and to implement the new health and physical education curriculum (Female Project Officer in PE in the NIE, 1999, Interview).

From the point of view of most informants, sport participation of children of the masses was significantly increased by the 1972 reforms and the 1984 National School Games. On the other hand, the participation in elite school games of the children of the masses did not increase except for athletics after 1984. Again from the informants' point of view the participation of girls in athletics, volleyball, netball and elle was also increased
to some extent by the 1972 reforms and 1984 NSG. The inclusion of health and physical education as an examinable subject for the National Certificate of General Education (NCGE) according to the 1972 reforms was also seen as enhancing sports participation for all students because sport techniques were examined in the practical part of the examination. Students in both elite and government schools, both male and female, were forced to participate. However, some informants and the NEC (1992, First Draft) were critical of sporting activities during the period 1984-1998. They argued that in this period the NSG reduced children’s participation because teachers tended to coach selected children during physical education periods even though it was supposed to be an extra-curricular activity. In general, according to all sources of information drawn in this research, it can be concluded that participation in some sports such as athletics, volleyball, netball, tennisball cricket and elle increased rapidly during the period 1972-2000.
Sports orientation, science and physical education in Sri Lanka

Chapter One described the contribution of a scientific orientation with an emphasis on sports performance which has dominated physical education practices in the US and other Western countries from the 1950s to the present. To improve sporting excellence and the status of physical education, biomechanics, physiology, sports medicine and coaching principles were included in the syllabus in this period and the subject name was often changed to infer a scientific study of human movement in many educational institutions in the Western World. Scientific physical education had a strong relationship with the masculine tradition as it emphasized endurance and strength for better performance (Kirk, 1992; Wright, 1996b). Except for a few references in the Administration Report in 1959, there is no evidence that scientific physical education had been followed in Sri Lanka in the 1950s and 1960s. In the description of general education, it has been suggested that there was a move in the 1950s and 1960s to teach scientific subjects in schools. There is no evidence to argue that it affected physical education, except for a comment in 1960 by the Director of Education S.F. De Silva, when he was conducting seminars in physical education teacher training, that physical education was another aspect of general science (Administration Report, 1960). This did not lead to the implementation of scientific-based physical education because there were no qualified teachers and no institution to train them.

Though scientific physical education was introduced under the 1972 reforms, there were no qualified teachers and coaches to implement a scientific curriculum. In addition, the scientific subjects in physical education such as training/coaching theory, exercise physiology, biomechanics, and sports psychology were not taught in the teacher training programs in Sri Lanka until the establishment of the Bandarawela physical education course in 1985.

When the NIE integrated sport-oriented physical education with health in 1998, the integration affected the GCE O/L physical education technical subject which included the subjects, biomechanics, physiology and sport medicine. Most informants in this research prefer the "scientisation" of the physical education curriculum to the "healthisation" of physical education because they said that it helped to enhance the status of physical education as a scientific subject (COE PE lecturers; Retired female education officer A, 1999, Interview). They also supported the scientific physical education teacher training curriculum at Bandarawela, other colleges and at the NIE, and the introduction of a scientific technical subject in 1998 at the GCE O/L. Writers in Australia and the UK have pointed to problems in an emphasis on the scientific
approach in physical education. For instance, according to Kirk (1992), Wright (1996b) and Tinning et al (2000) the scientific approach in physical education has been associated with a masculine tradition in physical education curriculum programming and implementation. Macdonald (1995) and Tinning et al (2000) have also argued in relation to the Australian situation that the physical education HSC examination and the physical education teacher training curriculum have been overly theoretical and scientised. They argue that much of scientific and theoretical knowledge is not applicable or needed to teach in schools and that more emphasis should be placed on enhancing practical and/or professional skills. They suggest that the physical education subject is in danger of being subsumed by science or health.
5.4 Main issues facing physical education in Sri Lanka today

According to the discussion in the theoretical framework of this study, the historical context reflects previous patterns of conflict and power. The nature and the relationship of these constrains and contexts and their influence on the curriculum is understand in this study through an examination of historical changes in pedagogy, finance, resources, selection and the economy.

5.4.1 The status of physical education

Historically, physical education as a school subject concerned with the body in western countries and those countries following Western traditions has always struggled for recognition and a place in the curriculum - this moreso the case for physical education as compared to sports (Kirk, 1992; Reid, A., 2000). Several reasons have been advanced for this low status. The academic tradition in education in England and in the Western world defined knowledge in terms of abstractions and the mind. As a result, physical education was considered as a non-academic subject (Reid, 2000). In Britain and its colonies, white collar government and private sector jobs were assigned to people who had academic qualifications. For instance, head teachers in Kenya argued that there were no career opportunities in physical education; therefore, students followed courses supported by their parents and teachers that would help them to obtain 'white-collar' jobs or continuing education. Physical education was regarded as a subject without significance (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992). In the 1930s, in Britain, non-commissioned officers were given physical education teaching appointments to teach drills and this contributed to the low status of male physical education teachers. This low status continued even until 1960s when male physical education teachers in Britain were graduates (Kirk, 1992). Departments of Education in many countries do not pay attention to the recruitment or training of teachers of physical education at the tertiary level. In Papua New Guinea, O'Donoghue (1992) reported that many physical education teachers have given up teaching physical education because, if children get injured when doing physical education, schools or teachers follow the strong tradition of 'payback' and, if the injury was serious or so deforming as to result in a drop in the 'bride price' of a female student, the life of the teacher would be in serious danger.

These status characteristics have many parallels in Sri Lanka. The low status of physical education has emerged from this study as the major broad issue facing the development of the subject in Sri Lanka. While sports might be valued as physical education for several reasons such as international success and attention, a conflict free society, character and personality development, discipline, enjoyment, leisure and so on,
convincing the social constructionist argument, most people in Sri Lanka including the school community, bureaucrats and politicians have been influenced by the British tradition of the academic curriculum. In addition according to the Sri Lankan traditional view of knowledge, physical education has the same low status as bodily manual work (Reid, 2000; COE specialist PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview). As a consequence of all these trends and circumstances, physical education in Sri Lanka has continually had to struggle for respect and for a place in the school curriculum; for well-trained teachers, for resource funding and other forms of support.

Its low status is reflected in physical education’s low priority in the curriculum. This validates the reasoning of Goodson (1990), Kirk (1990) and Tinning et al (2000) quoted in the theoretical framework that any curriculum implementation occurs according to the social needs of the persons, in the place and during the time that they lived and the interest of the hegemonic have become privileged over other groups. Thus in the entire history of education in Sri Lanka, fewer periods have been allocated to physical education than to other subjects; physical education is not currently included in the compulsory subject list for the GCE O/L or A/L examinations. Physical education teaching positions have been given to less skilled, low academically qualified and inadequately trained personnel; physical education specialist student teacher enrolment in the COE was proposed to be reduced in 1996; there has been no interest or investment of money for research in physical education or professional discussion; and there have been and continue to be no relationship developed or planned between other physical education-related institutions such as the Ministry of Sports, Youth Service Council and Universities.

5.4.1.1. Low priority in the curriculum

Low priority has been an issue in the school curriculum from the colonial period and this has been continued after Independence. Even in the Kannangara reforms in the 1940s, physical education was not included in the curriculum as a school subject. The only form of organised physical education was participation in sports as an extra-curricular activity (Fischer, 1999).

At the primary level, although physical education has been a subject in primary teacher training programs, physical education was not taught in most schools. The Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka allocated periods for physical education from 1956 but in most primary schools these were just play periods. All reforms after Independence mentioned primary physical education but the Ministry of Education did not provide adequate primary trained physical education teachers. Although physical education has
been a subject in all reforms since independence, it has been excluded as a school subject in the primary curriculum from 1998 by the PTF, NEC and the NIE (PTF, 1997; NEC, ME&HE & NIE, 1998).

At the secondary level, physical education was not included in the curriculum as a core subject until 1972. Since Independence in 1948, it has only once been given a place on the compulsory examinable subject list of the Department of Examinations. That was in 1972 under the 1972 reforms. The bureaucrats who had been curriculum innovators in the Ministry of Education did not support the continuation of physical education as a core examinable subject in the senior secondary ordinary level curriculum after the government changed in 1977. As a result, in 1977, as seen in Chapter Four, under Circulars No: 141/77 and 141/77, the Ministry of Education canceled Health and Physical education as an examinable subject from the 1978 GCE O/L examination. Physical education has only recently (1998) been introduced as a GCE O/L technical subject and since 2000 it has been included as an optional integrated health and physical education subject. School sports have been included in the secondary curriculum but only as extra-curricular activities (Fischer, 1999; Administration Reports, 1930-72).

An important reason for the low priority given to physical education is that it is considered as a useless subject by many principals and teachers in the Sri Lankan school community. For instance, when children are playing games or doing any physical activities in the playground, some teachers and principals ask them: "Have you danced in the playground? If you dance always, you would fail the exams" (Pittaniye natuwada? Natalanam hariyanne nehe vibaga pass karaganna). According to Sinhalese language usage, the meaning of that sentence is that children are doing useless activities which can be a reason to fail their examinations (COE LCO and specialist PE lecturer A, 1999 Interview). As the discipline is not taught and studied at GCE Advanced level, students, parents and teachers are unlikely to take the subject seriously because within Sri Lankan culture, status comes from the university entrance cut-off index points (Fischer, 1999).

At the tertiary level, Sri Lankan universities do not offer physical education as a degree or post-degree subject. Until 1997, there were no opportunities to study the subject at the university level. In general, the status of a subject in Sri Lankan society is considered low or high by the academic rigor of qualifications the teacher of the subject holds (Fischer, 1999; COE specialist PE male lecturer A, 1999, Interview).
The relevant officials in the Ministry of Education have not tended to encourage Sri Lankan Universities to produce physical education graduates and university dons have not supported physical education degree courses because of traditional attitudes to knowledge. In addition, most of these decision-makers are likely not to have done practical subjects like physical education but are expert in academic subjects. The study suggests that in practical situations, and in practical work most of them are likely to experience management problems (Male sports writer, 1999, Interview). This traditional attitude of bureaucrats to the human body is antithesified to Gardner's multiple intelligence theory (Gardner, 1985; Female university lecturer A, 1999, Interview) and the Marxist teaching (Riordan, 1978) in which the human body is vital in relation to intelligence.

School physical education teachers, physical education lecturers at the Colleges of Education (COE) and Teachers' Colleges (TC) hold only diploma-level certificate in physical education or sports. Despite the introduction of the Bachelor of Education degree in sports and physical education by the NIE in 1997, it has been not continued for new intakes beyond 1999. For example, at the time of writing (July 2001) the NIE has not taken steps to enrol a new cohort of students for either 2000 or 2001 so that physical education training at tertiary level continues to be restricted to teacher training institutions. A major concern for college physical education lecturers is the lack of opportunity to upgrade their qualifications and bring them to a par with their counterparts working in other disciplines who hold Masters' degrees (Fischer, 1999).

The status of COE and TC physical education lecturers and school physical education teachers has been low as a result of these low-level academic qualifications. For instance, Madras-trained physical education lecturers at Teachers' Training Colleges were called "physical trainers" or "Abyasacharya," in Sinhalese, not lecturers until the establishment of COEs in 1985; physical education teachers were called "Physical Training Instructors (PTI)" but not teachers. Even today, physical education teachers are called PTI in the school community. Another good example is that the academics in the National Education Commission still think that physical education is 'physical framing' as was the case in the 1930s and the NEC used the name 'physical training' for physical education teachers in their report as follows:

For instance, a **Physical Training teacher** should not simply let the children under his charge stray about on the grounds or the gymnasium while he attends to his private work in the staff common room (First Report, 1992, p.27-28, emphasis added).
This quotation also illustrates the negative perception of the professionalism of physical education teachers which is widespread in Sri Lanka.

In the primary teacher training course, physical education has been a major subject but it was removed as a COE primary course core subject by the PTF, NEC and the NIE in 1999 (PTF, 1997; NEC, ME&HE & NIE, 1998). This step was taken in line with the removal of the subject as a core subject from the primary school curriculum in 1998. According to Fischer (1999) students did not take practical sessions seriously because the marking of the unit was based on the classroom comprehensive written examination results. As a result, compulsory practical units/themes have had a very low status. However, college sports have been popular among college students (Fischer, 1999).

In line with 1997 PTF proposals, face-to-face time allocation for COE specialist area physical education has been reduced from 50% to 23% (Fischer, 1999). The remaining is allocated for education (professional) and general teaching subjects. "The high component of 'general' and 'professional' education hours indicate a high emphasis on general education to the detriment of the specialist disciplines" (Fischer, 1999, p. 30).

In addition, from the year 2000, the Ministry of Education plans to reduce the prospective teacher intake in physical education for the Colleges of Education. The new policy of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (ME&HE) was to bring the physical education teacher education curriculum in line with international practice but, in fact, the Ministry of Education has planned to reduce pre-service recruitment numbers (The World Bank, 1996). The ME&HE has planned to re-train all kinds of teachers other than physical education teachers (Fischer, 1999). The three NEC (1997, p. 20) rhetoric objectives of teacher education - to meet the needs for competent and committed teachers in the schools system; to assist the professional and personal developments of teachers; and to facilitate the professional development of teachers to enhance the value system of individuals in nation building, community development and in functioning as change agents in education and in society - have not included physical education teachers (Fischer, 1999).

As is the case in many countries, other indicators of the low priority given to physical education include the use of the physical education period for other functions in schools and Colleges of Education. Some lecturers, heads of Colleges of Education, school teachers and principals think that physical activity is not an important area. For instance, when they want to hold an assembly to transmit some important information to students or to hold any type of meeting or function, they need physical education
time and generally ask from physical education teachers or lecturers "shall we take the physical education period or sports periods?" (Krotee, 1992; COE LCO and the Specific PE male lecturer B, 1999 Interview).

5.4.2 Resources for physical education

The physical education resource issue is a common factor for all countries; as it is related to the economies of particular countries as well as their priorities. Even in most developed countries, such as Australia (Senate Report, 1992; Tinning et al, 2000; Wright, 1996a), Britain (Hardman, 1992 & 2000), USA (Krotee, 1992), and Germany, resources are problematic. This is also a common problem for communist countries (Childs, 1978; Davis, 1997; Hardman, 1992 & 2000; Pickering, 1978; Riordan, 1978) and in the developing countries like Kenya (Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992), Tanzania (Ndee, 1996), and Papua New Guinea (O'Donoghue, 1992). In all countries, financial allocations for physical education resources are less than for other subject areas. In some developed countries, though they have enough finance, less money is invested on physical education but more for sports because of the low status of physical education and because money can be made from sports (Hardman, 2000; Krotee, 1992; Penney & Evans, 2000). For the countries in the developing world, both status and finance constraints are significant.

Sri Lanka has several economic problems which impact on physical education. One obvious issue is that of a population of 18,300,000 million people (1996) living in 65,610 sq. km with few natural resources. The other main problems are low economic productivity and internal conflicts. More than 70% of the population in the country receive government food subsidies (Samaraweera, 1991; URL: http://www.tcol.co.uk.srilanka/html- last updated: 16 February 1998). As consequence, students get less food compared to those in developed countries. After physical activities students need adequate nutrition food which cannot be provided in most cases. It is clear that in Sri Lanka national income and foreign subsidies go to basic needs such as food, clothes and medicine generally and defence or security purposes in the unending war. Consequently, money to schools and to physical education specifically is reduced.

*Human resources (teachers) for physical education*

As in the Fischer Report (1999), this study has found that staffing secondary schools with trained physical education teachers is an important problem in Sri Lanka. Although some schools have more than one specialist, many schools employ non-specialist
teachers who are interested in teaching physical education. In 1999, the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka employed only 2,500 specialist physical education teachers for 10,120 schools, 7,311 of which have secondary classes (Fischer, 1999). If one specialist physical education teacher is allocated for each school, there are only 34% of secondary schools which can offer physical education classes conducted by specialist trained staff (Fischer, 1999). As a result, less skilled and inadequately trained teachers are often appointed to teach and implement the subject. Principals and administrators often have to ask any willing staff member to teach the subject (Fischer, 1999). Training those teachers who wish to develop specialist skills is not an easy task when schools and area offices are located in remote areas.

A related issue is the assumption that any person who has one or two school level sporting certificates can teach physical education. In the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, many physical education teaching appointments were given to the supporters of the ruling party who only had GCE O/L certificates and no training and, in some cases, no interest or experience in sports or physical education (Little, 1999). For instance, the Ministry of Education appointed all-Island athletes who had only sporting backgrounds as physical education teachers from 1984 to 1990.

In the Estate schools conditions are even worse. At the time of this study, there were no physical education teachers for most schools in the Estate Sector where children of the Indian Origin Tamil labourers study (Little, 1999; COE Tamil male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview). Despite Tamil medium specialist physical education courses at Vavunia and Addalachchenai, the estate Tamils were not enrolled in the system. Only two specialist physical education teachers have been working in schools in Nuwara Eliya District where the estate population is high. According to an informant in this study, the Estate sector has a distance teacher training program for specialist physical education teachers but it is also not being conducted properly (COE Tamil male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

**Material resources to teach physical education in schools**

The next major problem for physical education in Sri Lankan schools is the lack of physical resources. All informants in this study commented that the absence of adequate resources for teaching physical education in Sri Lanka remain a major issue. Fischer (1999) explains the situation at the time of her consultancy:

> Observations at schools in Colombo, in the regional centers and the outstations revealed a stark contrast in opportunities for students. The small schools in the
very rural areas were the 'forgotten' schools in the system, where one Netball, Volleyball and one Cricket bat, to be shared amongst almost 500 students, represented total content of the 'sports store'. Larger national schools, in contrast, were relatively well stocked by current Sri Lankan standards. None of the schools had indoor facilities, some of the sports schools held gymnastics equipment and were coaching athletes in the sports (p. 21).

The remote area school principals and teachers were not happy with the process of equipment distribution by the Ministry of Education. They commented that when they were given sport equipment by the area education office, which was very rarely, the process was biased to big schools. According to the informants, ministry officials have special relationships and friendships with these big schools (Male school principals A & B, 1999, Interview). According to one of the informants, the estate schools do not have adequate equipment (COE Tamil male PE lecturer A, 1999, Interview).

Change-rooms and uniforms are also issues. The climate in Sri Lanka is hot and humid throughout the year, therefore physical activity is very exhausting. From my own experience as a physical education teacher and a lecturer, I am very aware that a full day's work in the hot sun makes physical education teachers very tired. At the end of the school day, students' clothing is dirty with dust and perspiration, and most students have to wear the same dress next day. As a result, female children avoid physical education. Sri Lankan schools do not have indoor gymnasiums and physical education teachers and students have no change-rooms and wash-rooms (COE male PE lecturer A in primary course and Retired female education officer A, 1999, Interview). In addition, more than 98% of schools in Sri Lanka recommend white uniforms for school children. This uniform gets stained very quickly when children have to do physical education in dusty play-grounds in the dry season and in muddy spaces during the rainy season (Sports Ministry Officials A, 1999, Interview).

Class sizes in most schools are very large. Semi-urban or urban area schools have classes of more than fifty students a class (NEC, 1992; male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview). In some big urban schools, more than two hundred and fifty students come to the playground for physical education at a time when one or two physical education teachers are employed in one school to teach the subject. As one informant pointed out, under these conditions, the playground can become a battlefield as teachers find it difficult to pay attention to all the children who are in the playground (Male PE teacher A, 1999, Interview).

Such conditions are in contrast to the urban elite (public) schools where the majority of students come from affluent families. These schools generally provide facilities for
sophisticated European sports. Because of inadequate funds, equipment, and playing spaces, as well as generally low socio-economic status of parents at schools in rural areas and in some urban areas where children of the lower social strata study, local games and less sophisticated sports such as athletics, volleyball and elle are taught. For instance, in urban areas, school students played cricket, rugby football and swimming whereas in village schools, the favorite games are volleyball, elle, and tennisball cricket (soft cricket) (Fischer, 1999).

5.4.3 Opportunities for research and professional discussions in physical education

Every developed country has a professional body of physical educators which provides a forum for discussions, negotiation and the dissemination of information for the development of the subject and the persons involved; for instance, the Australian Council for Health Physical Education and Recreation (ACHPER) in Australia and the American Association of Health Physical Education Recreation and Dance (AAHPERD). In addition, each such body has its own journal such as the British Journal of Physical Education in Britain, and the Journal of Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (JOPHERD). The main purpose of these professional organisations is to discuss, debate, contest, and publish new research on topics for the development of the field. There is no parallel professional body for the development of physical education in Sri Lanka.

In the absence of professional bodies and higher education research institutions for physical education, there is no culture of research in physical education in Sri Lanka. In developed countries, successful physical education and sporting programs and curriculum innovations have been carried out according to research findings (Hardman, 1992; Male sports writer, 1999, Interview; Riordan, 1978). This study found that no research has been done in Sri Lanka in relation to physical education and sports and it is clear that the Ministry of Education, Sports, and other institutions spend money on elite training but not on physical education research. Physical education and sports innovations were informed only from overseas, for instance, the Fischer Consultancy in 1999.

According to Kirk (1988) the term "curriculum" includes the 'characteristics of subject matter, the pedagogic interactions of teachers and learners, and the sociocultural milieu in which these interactions take place' (p9). These aspects of curriculum and physical education curriculum are not researched in the specific context of Sri Lanka. For example, the Ministry of Education has sport schools in most districts and selected
students are given full facilities for sport training but no research has been conducted for its development; the elite schools in major cities pump money into sport practices, particularly for cricket, and the Ministry of Sports spends considerable amount of money on sports training but only some of these programs are evaluated (Male and female sport writers, 1999, Interview).

5.4.4 Physical education planning and co-operation with other institutions

There is no co-operation between school physical education and other institutions where physical education-related activities are carried out. For instance, the Ministry of Sports has qualified sports officers as coaches but the Ministry of Education does not utilise their support for school sports coaching. The Youth Council and Universities are the other institutions where physical education-related activities are carried out but there are no interactions between school physical education and those institutions. Officials in the Ministry of Sports see that to plan programs with other institutions, the Ministry of Education should keep connections with them as in the 1970s (Ministry of Sports Official A, 1999, Interview).

Competitions in most popular school sports such as athletics and volleyball are held as extra-curricular physical education activities without proper training in most schools. For instance, school sports meets which consist of popular sports are held annually in most schools in the first term of the academic year (January-April) but in most schools there are no continuous sporting activities during the rest of the year. As a result, the students participate in competitions in the inter-house sport meets without proper training while sport training is not thought about by teachers again until the first term of the following year. In that year too, students play sports without training. For example, long distance and cross-country running events are sometimes held without a single day's practice. At the same time, for sport training, teachers take time from the general timetable during the house meet season in the first semester. As a result, subject teachers other than physical educators criticise sports programs as unplanned (COE male lecturer other than PE, 1999 Interview).

For the purpose of implementing the school health and physical education curriculum, there is no direct connection between the NIE and teacher training institutions. However, physical educators in these institutions have indirect connections with the NIE in relation to the curriculum process. Some physical education lecturers participate in the process of syllabus writing in physical education although when they
5.5 Why is physical education important to Sri Lanka?

If we accept that Sri Lanka needs citizens who are healthy, knowledgeable about their bodies, and skilled in a range of physical activities (sports and games) then it can be argued that physical education has an important place in the school curriculum. What form this should take and how best to achieve these outcomes are the subject of the discussions and recommendations in the following section. Three major curriculum models — a health-oriented, a sports-centered, and a mixed health/sports model — have been used by developed and developing countries in the world to address the specific needs of individuals, countries and issues in relation to physical activity.

5.5.1 A health-oriented curriculum

Health-oriented physical education curricula have taken different forms over time as they have emphasised hygiene and posture, health-related fitness, and a broader and more social view of health. Such curricula have traditionally tended to be more inclusive of students across social classes and of both female and male students. In contrast, in countries influenced by the British tradition of education, at least until the 1950s, the sports-oriented physical education curriculum has been used predominantly for the benefit of male members of the upper class. However the sports-oriented model also has advantages as it has contributed to the building of a national identity and as it has provided the intrinsic pleasures associated with playing games. A sports and fitness-oriented curriculum has been popular in communist countries for its contribution to labour and defence and in practice some variation on this model is used currently in many developed countries (e.g. Australia, Canada and the United States of America). Developing countries like Sri Lanka have followed one or more of these approaches depending on the ideology of particular political parties or interested figures in power and the location in which some of them have studied.

The education through the physical approach was introduced into Sri Lanka in the 1950s by people who had studied in Madras, India and USA and is still influential in the teachers colleges. This was an approach which took a broader more social view of health as its outcome. The advantages of health in 'education through physical' are its all round development of a person: cardio-vascular fitness, skills, social and emotional areas (Wright, 1991). With the introduction of this approach in the Teacher Training Colleges and Colleges of Education the terms physical education teacher (PET) and
physical education (PE) began to be used. The lecturers in these colleges argued that training was a matter of mastery of a particular limited area, whereas education related to using this obtained training for social wellbeing in any circumstance (Hurst & Peters, 1970). The lecturers in education emphasised that we needed to gain cognitive, affective and psychomotor domain outcomes from our classroom teaching (Bloom, et al, 1956). Lesson plans for physical education were written using Bloom's taxonomy.

In practice, it has not always been an easy task to implement this broader notion of health in physical education. It requires professionally qualified specialist teachers and this requires considerable resources — a major obstacle in countries such as Sri Lanka. In Australia, this notion of health is being implemented through active lifestyle, dance, games and sports, gymnastics, interpersonal relationships, personal health choice and safe living (Board of Studies NSW, 1991) but to organise this variety of activities teachers need time, professional skills, prior preparation, resources and dedication. For instance, in Australia, I saw that to participate in a variety of activities such as hiking, camping, sport carnivals and health lessons, some which are conducted outside the school organisation, children need money for travelling, equipment etc. The question is whether low-income people afford these expenses constantly.

Although the holistic notion of health in physical education is being implemented in many developed countries, it continues to raise issues in the physical education curriculum. In Australia, Wright (1996b) argued that many female students are still being excluded from the physical activities. Kirk (1997) pointed out that shrinking resources, high teacher attrition and growing uninterest on the part of the students are also Australian problems. In addition, the Australian Senate Report (1992) pointed to curriculum issues such as crowded curriculum, inclusion of physical education under the broad umbrella of health education, lack of coherent physical education policy in any state or territory, the devolution of decision-making to local school councils, a lack of defined and agreed outcomes for physical education courses compared to other areas of curriculum, reduction of special teachers (primary), lack of teacher supervisors, confusion between what is sport education and school sports and the inclusion of Aussie sports.

Not all Western countries and individual educators within these countries are convinced of the value of a health-oriented approach. According to Naul (1992), after the German unification on 3rd October 1990, Germany introduced fun-oriented physical education with open teaching strategies (student-centred) as part of a holistic notion of health following the West Germany model and rejected a performance-oriented approach.
which emphasised motor skill training and acquisition of techniques. According to Naul (1992), under these circumstances discipline and sport performances deteriorated in the former GDR schools and boys tended to show more aggressive behaviour than girls during practical classes. This led to Germans re-thinking the value of the former performance-oriented practices (Hardman, 2000). The UK has also shifted from a broader and inclusive notion of health-based physical education to a sport-oriented curriculum for performance development to maintain their international reputation (Penny & Evans, 2000). In Chapter One, it was seen that the USA (Krotee, 1992) also faces many curriculum issues though they are introducing holistic notion of health in their physical education curriculum.

As discussed early in this chapter, the NEC proposals in 1992 and 1995 recommended an approach to physical education which incorporated a broader social view of health with the caution that such an approach would need to take into account the Sri Lankan context. Thus, physical education for peace, mental and physical health was accepted by the PTF and the NIE after 1998. Because of the human and material resources constraints involved, this study does not totally recommend this holistic social view of health for Sri Lankan physical education curriculum but, as the NEC has suggested, some of the important aspects of this notion particularly as they relate to the local circumstances should be taken up.

5.5.2 A sports-oriented curriculum

THERE ARE SEVERAL ARGUMENTS THAT SPORTS ARE BENEFICIAL AS WELL AS HARMFUL AS A FOCUS OF THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM. IN GENERAL, SUCCESS IN SPORTS HAS BEEN IMPORTANT NATIONALLY, AND MANY INDIVIDUALS HAVE DERIVED A GREAT DEAL OF PLEASURE FROM PARTICIPATING IN AND WATCHING SPORTS. SPORTS CAN TRANSMIT CULTURALLY-VALUED ACTIVITIES TO THE NEXT GENERATION; FOR INSTANCE, THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES USE SPORTS TO TRANSMIT THEIR COMMUNIST VALUES TO PREPARE PEOPLE FOR LABOR AND DEFENCE. SPORTS CAN HELP TO DEVELOP CHARACTER THROUGH RESPECTING AND ACCEPTING OTHERS' SUCCESS AND DISCIPLINE FROM OBSERVING RULES AND REGULATIONS (KIRK, 1992). SPORT SUPPORTS SOCIAL COHESIVENESS THROUGH GROUP PLAYING, PHYSICAL FITNESS FROM VIGOROUS ACTIVITIES, PEACE THROUGH MEETINGS OF OPPOSITE GROUPS AND FRIENDLY PLAY (TINNING ET AL, 2000). BOTH COMMUNIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES HAVE USED SPORT PERFORMANCE TO SHOW THE SUPERIORITY OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES. THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES UTILISE SPORT TO EXHIBIT THEIR ECONOMIC POWER WHILE DEVELOPING NATIONS TAKE UP IT TO GAIN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ATTENTION FROM POWERFUL NATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MEDIA, TRADE WORLD, POLITICAL PARTIES, SCHOOLS ETC. USE SPORT PERFORMANCE FOR THEIR BENEFIT THROUGH PUBLICITY. THE PURSUIT OF SPORTING EXCELLENCE IN THE 1950S PRODUCED A NEED FOR NEW SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND THE CREATION OF SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS SUCH AS BIO-MECHANICS, SPORTS MEDICINE, SPORTS
On the other hand, a total sport orientation has its disadvantages. As discussed in Chapter One, arguments for the advantages of sports were mere by rhetorical and the values and beliefs which were transmitted by sports were often limiting and oppressive to specific groups of people whether it was a capitalist, a communist or a developing country (Tinning et al, 2000). Competitive team sports have dominated other traditions such as gymnastics in Europe, and traditional activities including games and dancing in developing countries (Wright, 1996b). A sport-dominated curriculum can exclude areas of physical activities such as dance and gymnastics which provide for interests and capabilities that may be totally different from those associated with sports (Wright, 1996a; Tinning et al, 2000). In addition, if the focus of sports is on the selection and training of elite athletes, the majority of children are marginalised. According to Tinning et al (2000) values associated with sports are questionable because these values can be used to marginalise, disgust, victimise, and terrorise people.

Specifically in Sri Lanka, there are "Big Match Traditions" in the elite boys' schools that create problems during the cricket season in main towns. For instance, there are annual dual cricket matches between elite schools in Colombo. On these days the boys decorate vehicles, organise marching parades across the city and exchange emotional words through posters on the walls. On some occasions they use loudspeakers and roam around the city. According to some newspapers, boys take drugs on these days and aggressive behaviors are common. This issue is not confined to elite schools but in rural areas also it emerges in other lines.

As discussed earlier in his chapter, most informants in this research, mainly the physical educators at the COEs, were critical of the sport orientation in physical education which dominated in the 1980s and 1990s in Sri Lankan schools, they pointed out that many children were excluded by the NSG program as teachers started to coach elite children during the physical education period and after school. The NEC (1992) was also critical that the NSG between 1984-98 reduced children's participation.

To overcome problems in sports orientation in physical education, there are several approaches in the world context which enhance participation and address issues of social responsibility in learning rather than limited elite performance. These include the "Sport Education" model developed by Siedentop (1982, 1994 & 2000) and the "Game Sense" approach by Thorpe & Bunker (1982). The sports education model provides specific sports and fitness activities which are tested and ready to use in classroom
settings (Siedentop, 1994). Furthermore, it illustrates how low-skilled children and those who tend not to participate in different sporting programs, become more active and valued team members; for instance, such children become actively involved in sporting activities such as managing, refereeing and scorekeeping. At the same time, all children in the classroom increase their skills in game setting, their enthusiasm, and their sense of fair play (Siedentop, 1994; Siedentop & Tannehil, 2000). Daryl Seidentop (1994) demonstrates the changing roles of the teachers, students, and community within the framework of Sport Education model in a elementary school as follows:

Sports and level: Soccer, volleyball, basketball, gymnastics, and track and field; upper elementary grades;  
Seasonal format: Three teams per class; stay together for school year;  
Competition formats: Modified games, tournaments, meets;  
Student roles: Performer, captain, referee, scorekeeper, judge;  
Performance records: Individual and team performance, managerial and instructional participation point system;  
Special features: sport award, multiple awards, student notebook, video-taping, performances at assemblies (Seidentop, 1994, p. 61).

According to Thorpe and Bunker (1982), the "game sense" model put children into a game situation where tactics, decision-making and problem solving are critical. The model does not totally reject traditional techniques-training in sports which is utilised when the children recognise the need for it. The steps in the model follow the following sequence:

1) Game.
2) Game appreciation. Students are given time to see what the game is all about and to make them aware of why they need rules for a good game.
3) Tactical awareness. Students are encouraged to solve problems faced during playing; they are motivated to adopt a problem-solving approach.
4) Decision making. Children are questioned on what to do and how to do it.
5) Skill execution.
6) Performance.

This model also emphasises skill execution and games performance, but only after children understand the need for a particular skill and performance level (Bunker and Thorpe, 1982).
5.6 Recommendations

All issues and problems cannot be dealt with straightaway due to practical limitations. This study clearly recognises that the physical education curriculum- the subject matter, the pedagogic interactions between teachers and learners and the socio-cultural milieu where these interactions take place (context) in Sri Lanka has been shaped/socially constructed by large number of social forces historically. Since the education system in Sri Lanka has been developing for several hundred years, the entire structure of the education curriculum that is as a prescription, process and a practice can only be modified as a part of a long term process of reform. Therefore, there is a need for prioritization. The recommendations for implementation are prioritized as immediate, short term and long term.

Before setting out the time-based categorization, I propose recommendations generally for physical education curriculum development in Sri Lanka. These recommendations will be presented as follows: firstly, a new curriculum model, then, recommendations for the primary school, thirdly, for the secondary school, fourthly, recommendations relating to number of general issues, fifthly, teacher education, sixthly, the future of physical education and finally, resources issues.

Several sources in Sri Lanka (NEC, 1992 & 1997; PTF, 1997; NIE, 1998-2000) and elsewhere (Board of Studies in NSW, 1999; Hardman, 2000; Krotee, 1992; Naul, 1992; Tinning et al, 2000) suggest that a broad social view of health is currently the preferred model of physical education. As discussed in Chapter One and early in this chapter, the major advantage of this is its integrated, broader nature including active lifestyle, dance, games and sports, gymnastics, interpersonal relationships, personal health choice and safe living (Board of Studies NSW, 1999). Although the model focuses on health, it includes games and sports. This model however, has its limitations; for example it requires more human and material resources, as has been discussed. In addition, a notion of health that is relevant to developed countries may ignore some of physical health issues of a developing country such as Sri Lanka, for example hygiene and discipline.

On the other hand, total sports orientation has its disadvantages because, as this study found, it excludes many children from physical activity. As Sri Lanka is a democratic country, the autocratic sports and fitness-oriented communist model is difficult to implement for the purpose of maximisation of participation and performance and therefore twice failed in Sri Lanka, between 1972 and 1977 and 1983 and 1998. In
addition, elements of the earlier British model still have a relevance for Sri Lanka as a developing country. Two models have failed from the colonial time to 1972: i) The colonial-model that is health as hygiene for the lower social class and sport for the upper class; and ii) A kind of mixed-model - that is a broader ‘education through the physical’ model combined with the colonial model after 1956. However, it is clear that parts of the colonial model such as public school cricket and athletics have earned prestige for the country. At the same time, its health practices improved the health situation in Sri Lanka. In addition, the NEC (1992) and the PTF (1997) have proposed some aspects of the broader social view of health through physical education. The following guidelines of the NEC (1992), already mentioned in Chapter Four need to be kept in mind when proposing a new model of physical education.

School activities for promoting mental and physical health have to be done on the basis of research and development work done in our country in relation to our children. They should not be borrowed from other countries, particularly the developed countries, in which the physical characteristics of children, nutritional practices, cultural, social and economic conditions are significantly different from our own (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 117).

But developing specific interests and special aptitudes of pupils, stimulating activities which promote physical growth, regular and systematic exercise, the nurturing of a variety of bodily skills are created for, but only marginally (sic) in schools (NEC First Report, 1992, p. 88, italics and bold are not in original).

There seems to be a mistaken notion that physical education is the same as coaching and getting children to take part in sports, games and competitions for the purpose of winning awards. In the process of promoting and organising of sports meets, inter-school matches, etc. where only team members, winners, coaches and organisers get prominence and publicity, the routine activity of getting every child to systematically and regularly exercise his (sic) body and develop physical skills gets totally neglected (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 116).

Even if the aim of the school is to cultivate a group of high class sports persons who will bring credit to the school and country, the process should start with all the school children of the tender age of around 10 to 12 years. They should all be developed physically by a regime of physical culture suited to their age, physique, climatic conditions and other relevant considerations. Subsequently, based on their interest, trainability and potential, children should be selected for specialised training and nurturing to become athletes, sports persons, etc. (NEC in First Report, 1992, p. 117).

These four guidelines are strongly supported by local, and international physical education literature and the factors involved in physical education in Sri Lanka reported
in Chapters One to Four of this thesis. Following the integrated account of these all factors, this research proposes some suitable aspects from the sport orientation and some from the health orientation, mainly the broader social view of health-oriented physical education curriculum be adopted as- "a mixed mode" - for Sri Lanka. In doing so, it is necessary to emphasise the benefits of physical education and to address the issues discussed in the early section of this chapter.

**Recommendation No 1**

*That a "mixed-mode" physical education curriculum be designed and implemented; that is a curriculum which combines the best elements of the sport/games-oriented curriculum with the health-oriented curriculum, mainly the broader social view of health-oriented curriculum.*

This study found that the following elements of existing programs are important to include in this "mixed-mode curriculum with some modifications: health inspections which are being carried out in many primary and secondary schools by class teachers, physical education teachers and principals; the existing daily fitness program which was introduced in 1983 in primary and secondary schools; the curriculum integration of health into physical education according to the NEC (1992) and PTF (1997) proposed by the NIE in 1998; scientific teacher training curriculum in the Colleges of Education and the B.Ed course in the NIE; public school athletic and cricket programs; and the National School Games (NSG) program and its intertwined coaching process in sport schools.

However, as has been pointed out in Chapter Four, most of the existing programs have been set out for the development of sporting excellence. It is a reasonable criticism that existing sporting programs are biased toward particular social groups, though their emphasis an elite sports is of the national good - that is their contribution to Sri Lanka’s international reputation. In other words, sporting excellence often excluded the majority of children from physical activity. Therefore, existing programs need modifications.

**Recommendation No 2**

*The existing physical education programs in health inspections, morning fitness exercises, health and physical education syllabus integration, the B.Ed degree course at the NIE, sports as extra-curricular activities with the NSG sport meets, and school cricket tournaments be continued with some modifications.*
5.6.1 Physical education in primary schools

To fulfil the aims of building a better nation (NEC, 1992 & 1997; PTF, 1997) a broader basis for the development of health, fitness, discipline, skills, and competencies needs to be established during the primary stage of schooling (NEC, 1992). To obtain benefits of physical activity through physical education in primary school physical education needs to be included in the primary program as a core subject. As was the case prior to 1998, primary school children had two major physical activity programs: i) The fifteen minutes daily fitness exercise in the morning; and ii) Two to three periods per week of physical education with other subjects in the timetable. As has been pointed out in early chapters, even when physical education was included in the school timetable it was often a play period because of the shortage of teachers. If the benefits of physical education are to be realised then teachers must be trained to implement the subject as intended.

Recommendation No 3

That physical education be included as a core subject in the primary curriculum and the decision to omit physical education from the primary curriculum from 1998 be revoked.

Recommendation No 4

Existing health habits and discipline checking processes in primary schools be continued and be extended to secondary schools.

In Chapter Four it was seen that the fifteen minutes fitness exercise programs have been continued in primary schools. This study found that the daily fitness program, which was originally introduced in 1983, is still being continued, particularly in the rural area schools and to some extent in the urban areas. When there are interested and enthusiastic teachers of physical education, the program has been successful. In the absence of those types of teachers and principals, it is impossible to continue it. The researcher’s personal experience suggests that the success of this program is dependent on class teachers’ dedication to, enthusiasm for and interest in the program.

Although there is much debate about daily fitness programs, they are important to increase awareness of continuation of regular exercise as a part of children’s lifestyle and also as a life-long practice (NEC, 1992). There remain the issues of time constraint, dress staining, change rooms, and wash rooms which were mentioned earlier. In addition, we need to know how fit school children in Sri Lanka are. Research is
required to determine the fitness levels of school children and to develop norms by which benchmarking for longitudinal studies of Sri Lankan children can be established rather than comparing Sri Lankan children to other countries. Having assessed fitness levels, new fitness programs must be designed according to the research findings.

**Recommendation No 5**

*That the existing fitness programs and related issues be researched and new fitness programs be arranged and the responsibility for implementing the morning fitness classes be given to class teachers.*

In addition to daily fitness programs, physical education periods should provide opportunities in the primary school program for multiple activities such as traditional dancing as NEC (1992) pointed out, selected gymnastic exercises (rhythmic exercises that children can do in the playground wearing their school uniform) and basic skills of selected sports which are popular in Sri Lanka such as soft cricket, volleyball, netball, soccer, elle and athletics and for which equipment in most easily available.

**Recommendation No 6**

*To develop a broad base of different skills, multiple activities need to be included in the physical education curriculum such as traditional dancing steps, gymnastic skills, and basic skills of sports which are popular in Sri Lanka such as soft cricket, volleyball, netball, soccer, elle and athletics.*

As seen above, the "games sense" (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982) and "sports education models" (Siedentop, 1982) are new trends which emphasise a student-centred approach to enhance participation and performance in sporting activities in physical education. According to the games sense approach (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982) school children generally do not always like traditional technical and fundamental motor skill training during the physical education period. The game sense approach does not totally reject traditional technical training and fundamental motor skills (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982). If the levels of motor development are needed, measurable outcomes can be attained while using the games sense approach. To employ a games sense approach, physical education teachers need professional training. This could be achieved via the re-training programs for in-service teachers similar to the program currently being conducted by the NATE for other teachers (The World Bank, 1996).

There is also potential for a "sport education model" to be employed with physical education for Grades IV and V children. Children can be given opportunities to take
responsibility for sport planning and coaching in a range of different sports. Sport education models provide new research strategies for enhancing participation in physical education (Siedentop, 1982; 1994 & 2000). When introducing the sport education model for senior students in primary schools (Grades IV & V) sport planning and coaching process should be given to the different groups of children under the teachers’ supervision for different sports in different seasons.

**Recommendation No 7**

*Sporting skills be introduced through games sense and sport education models in primary schools.*

### 5.6.2 Proposals for physical education in secondary schools

The proposed "mixed mode" for secondary school physical education includes activities of some health and some sporting aspects, some teacher-centered and more student-centred activities as well as the interaction of the two. The proposed teacher-centred activities are the morning fitness program and partial technical training at times in the games sense approach. The following aspects and programs are to be student-centred: teaching-learning process in the genuine syllabus integration of health into physical education; physical education practical including traditional dance, teaching of sports skills using game sense and sport education model. The health and physical education subject needs to be an examinable core subject for GCE O/L and an optional one for the GCE A/L examination and it needs to consist of both health and sports aspects equally. School sports programs including cricket and athletics are considered as extra-curricular activities as usual in lines with the elite school cricket and the national school games programs.

The existing fifteen (15) minutes daily fitness program is questionable according to Kirk and Colquhoun (1989) as not providing enough time to develop particular fitness components. In addition, children’s fitness levels are not known. Before the implementation of the fitness programs in the curriculum, it is necessary to survey the fitness levels of Sri Lankan school children. Then, according to the survey results, suitable fitness level norms can be assigned for the Sri Lankan situation. Next, to extend girls’ participation skills be added to the list that they are skilled in; for instance traditional dance and gymnastic-related skills. Daily fitness programs for fifteen-minute periods are not adequate because five minutes are taken to come to the ground and return to the class. On the other hand, young children particularly, young girls do not like staining their dress by perspiring. This study proposes two sessions of thirty-
minutes per week for secondary schools in this regard subject to the issues raised above being researched.

Recommendation No 8
As for recommendation No 5 for primary schools, the existing fitness programs and related issues be researched and new fitness programs be designed and the responsibility of implementing the morning fitness classes be given to secondary class teachers under the guidance of specialist physical education teachers.

This study found that the NIE integration of physical education syllabi in 1998 in line with the NEC and the PTF was not successful. It was criticised by the Fischer Report (1999) and informants in this study. As a policy, the NEC, PTF and the NIE have agreed to shift from sports to health through physical activity with health as central.

Recommendation No 9
That the sporting skills, health and fitness content of the physical education syllabi, class texts and teachers' handbooks for Grades 6-9 of the NIE be carefully integrated and re-written according to the proposed "mixed-mode".

It was found that the sport education model provided a valuable researched strategy for enhancing participation in physical education. When introducing the sport education model at secondary level, sport planning and implementation provide for different groups of children in different sports in different seasons while involvement is open. As seen in Chapter Four, the NIE has proposed implementation and organisation of the school sport program to Grade 9 students but this research does not recommend that only Grade 9 children do it, as discussed in Chapter Four, but recommends an organising body/board which should have representatives from all classes at the secondary level. The implementation of the sports education model in Sri Lanka requires careful preparation of student teachers and in-service teachers and the latter can be conducted through re-training programs for in-service teachers currently being conducted by the NATE.

Recommendation No 10
Sports education models be employed after training teachers for the same.

The games sense approach was also identified by research as enhancing both participation and performance. According to this approach (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982) as noted above, secondary school age children do not always like traditional technical and
fundamental motor skill training during the physical education period. As the approach does not totally reject traditional technical training, measurable outcomes also can be obtained through the games sense approach using motor tests. Finally, these test results can be utilised for testing the practical part of a core examinable subject at the GCE O/L examination. To employ the games sense approach, physical education teachers need professional training and it can be provided via re-training programs for in-service teachers being conducted at present in Sri Lanka by the NATE.

**Recommendation No 11**

A). The games sense approach be used in secondary level practical classes but before implementation, teachers need to be given in-service training in games sense.

B). The games sense approach be included in the teacher training program.

This research found that dancing and traditional games are not included in physical education programs in Sri Lanka. The research further found that dancing was generally included in the Anglo and communist models while both models promoted bicultural awareness (Tinning et al, 2000). The study proposes that traditional Sri Lankan dance steps need to be included in the physical education programs while some selected traditional games also need to be included. Traditional dance is offered at the GCE O/L, A/L, degree and post-degree levels in Sri Lanka and also all COE have two or more dancing lecturers who have adequate experience and qualifications. In addition, these dances are familiar to Sri Lankan children because they generally see them in the media and at cultural events. Furthermore, dance education would fulfil the requirements of the bicultural awareness model which is crucial in Sri Lanka.

**Recommendation No 12**

*Selected traditional Sri Lankan dance and games be included in physical education programs.*

One of the other major factors affecting the status of physical education in Sri Lanka has been that it was not an examinable core subject in GCE O/L, A/L and beyond. This study suggests that if physical education is offered as an examinable subject at the Grade 10, Grade 12 levels and beyond, it may enhance the status of the subject as well as increasing participation in it. In Sri Lanka, the consideration of physical education as a core examinable subject at the GCE O/L examination according to the 1972 reforms increased children’s participation in physical activities at school and also enhanced the status of the subject, but both were reduced after 1977 as the UNP government...
terminated it as an examinable subject in the GCE O/L. As seen in Chapter One, in Tanzania (Ndee, 1996), Kenya (Womukoya & Hardman, 1992) and Papua New Guinea (O'Donoghue, 1992) physical education is not a core examinable subject at the Grades 10 and 12 levels but an optional one; therefore, students are reluctant to participate in physical activities because priority is given to academic subjects which provide job opportunities as in Sri Lanka. However, in Kenya, it is offered by universities as a degree subject and has some government intervention for physical education programs. As a result, participation and status of physical education are at higher levels than in Sri Lanka and other developing countries.

In developed countries like Australia, as seen earlier, physical education is a KLA subject in the primary curriculum therefore status and participation is not an issue at the primary level however, at the Grades 10 and 12 levels, it is an optional subject not a core or mandatory one. Most universities in NSW, Australia offer physical education or movement science subjects in degree and post-degree programs (UAC Guide, 1999). As a consequence of this, any person who wishes to study physical education at the secondary level or beyond has opportunities to continue unlike Sri Lanka. However, despite traditional academic bias, physical education has status and participation to some extent in Australia at the Grades 10 and 12 levels (Tinning et al, 2000) and any person who has been to Australia would conclude that Australia has a sporting-minded society. Considering all these factors together, it can be concluded that developed countries like Australia have high participation and status levels for sports and physical education compared to Sri Lanka. Among others, one of the major factors contributing to this situation in developed countries is the fact that physical education is being offered there as a subject at many levels.

**Recommendation No 13**

*That the physical education subject needs to be a core examinable subject at the GCE O/L, an optional subject at the GCE A/L and be offered in degree level courses at Universities in Sri Lanka.*

Sport is important to Sri Lanka and should be part of physical education but physical education periods should not be used to coach children during school time (First report NEC, 1992). Sport orientation at the elite schools has been earning Sri Lanka an international reputation. As an historical investigation, this study found that the well established public school athletic association and the Sri Lankan AAA during the colonial period were able to lead athletes to win medals in the Olympic, Commonwealth and Asian Games in the late 1940 and the 1950s. The research found
that the organisation and the athletic coaching power of both the public school athletic association and the AAA of Sri Lanka were able to enhance athletic performances generally during those periods and in the early 1970s.

This study accepts that there were numerous combined forces shaping the developments in athletics and cricket in the 1980s and in the 1990s - interested political figures, Sri Lanka AAA, the organisational power of the NSG and its intertwined coaching processes in schools and particular athletic clubs were significant; for cricket success interested political figures, activities of the public school cricket association and the managing power of the Board of Cricket Control in Sri Lanka were important. It found that both in the communist and capitalist models there were elite training programs via sport schools and that elites were rewarded. To support the development of sport performance, these countries invest capital for research, continuous local and foreign training programs for coaches, local and international competitions for athletes and national awareness programs through mass media. Kirk (1992) found that British sport performance decreased in the 1980s owing to the lack of awareness of children’s’ sport performance in school physical education programs; therefore, the public and politicians criticised existing non-sport oriented school physical education programs. Though NEC (1992) and some informants in this research criticised the NSG and its performance-oriented nature between 1984 and 1998, this research suggests that the NSG program and its intertwined activities enhanced sporting excellence in Sri Lankan schools while after the removal of the former Director of Sports there was not an interested and qualified figure to continue the NSG. This study proposes further research in this area.

**Recommendation No 14**

a) *That the existing NSG system be continued as usual while its impact need to be researched.*

b) *To continue the NSG a suitably interested figure needs to be appointed as Assistant Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education under the Director of Physical education.*

c) *That the present sport school system and scholarship scheme be continued but integrated into the proposed area resource schools that are parallel to the former central schools and that were proposed by the PTF in 1997.*
5.6.3 Gender, physical activity and physical education ("mixed-mode")

If we accept that all students have the same right to participate and to improve their performance in physical activity, then flexible sports programs need to be organised for girls parallel to those for boys. In Sri Lanka, volleyball and athletics have been promoted for both boys and girls. The success of such programs was reflected in Olympics 2000 in Sydney when Sri Lankan female athletes won a medal in athletics and successfully participated in many other sports. Sports like cricket and soccer however have been confined to boys and this is reflected in the Sri Lankan cricket team, tournaments and media coverage. To address this issue schools need to organise cricket and soccer for female children. In this case cultural obstructions can be expected for soccer if female players are expected to wear shorts. However, Muslim female children could be encouraged to wear track pants to play these sports.

The notion of an inclusive approach to physical education also raises other issues. Why do we not introduce girls' sports to boys as physical activity? As a male I have played in a mixed team. When I was a student teacher at teachers' college in 1979, I and my friends were forced to play netball with female student teachers. At the beginning I thought that it was an easy game because it was played by females and I thought that they were less skilled because I was a volleyball player and an athlete. However, I realised that it was not an easy task to play netball without practice and I came to understand that it required specific skills. Later, when I was a physical education teacher, I asked the boys to play netball with girls but the boys were very shy at the beginning. However, eventually they played with the girls enthusiastically. These boys learned to enjoy playing netball but it is likely that many boys in Sri Lanka would at first reject playing games associated with girls. This experience suggests boys and girls should play each others' games.

**Recommendation No 15**

*That the flexible school sport programs be organised to give all students the opportunity to participate in different activities without bias to gender (Athletics, soccer, cricket, netball and volleyball for all children equally).*

**Media and physical education**

In recent times widespread coverage of cricket in the media has negatively influenced the idea of participation in multiple physical activities (Fischer, 1999). If Sri Lankan
media is continuously biased toward to reporting a particular group of sporting activities, many school children will automatically feel excluded. If media is not biased students can identify themselves and their talents in the media and they will feel far more encouraged to participate and consider varied physical activities as part of their lifestyle (Fischer, 1999). It is understood that without media support physical education in Sri Lanka cannot be developed. To strengthen media support, media people need to be included in the professional body in physical education. Physical education authorities in the Ministry of Education should develop contacts with and positive attitudes towards media people.

**Recommendation No 16**

*That all types of media be encouraged to publish, transmit and broadcast physical education-related events without gender and other biases and that close relationships with media be established and maintained.*

**Physical education and teacher education**

The physical education teacher shortage is one of the major problems in the country. The re-training of physical education teachers has not yet been started, though other teachers have already been trained (Fischer, 1999). Under the circumstances, physical education teachers are not exposed to new knowledge. Furthermore, people involved in the profession are facing the status issue as most of them are non-graduates in the field and there are no opportunities to enhance qualifications through study in higher education institutions.

According to the informants here and the Fischer Report (1999), when teachers are confident and interested, they teach their subject enthusiastically and these things are related to better professional training and status. For this purpose physical education should be a compulsory subject in all teacher training programs and teacher educators must be given professional training.

In addition, the health and physical education curriculum in the teacher training programs needs to be integrated according to the mixed-mode. The subject content of specialist physical education courses at the COEs is mainly scientific-oriented and sports-biased, and health aspects have little space. The NEC, PTF and the NIE changed the name of the school physical education curriculum to Health and Physical education in 1999. Teacher training in physical education has not caught up with this move.
Awarding of a diploma certificate for three years of professional training of a teacher from a College of Education is inequitable and contributes to the low status of physical education teachers. Students at COEs follow subjects from three areas during their two-year residential period while the third year is a teaching internship, where a student teacher is under the supervision and guidance of college lecturers, senior teachers and the principal at the practice school. Students who have the same HSC results and who enter universities parallel to the COE students obtain a bachelor’s degree after their three-year courses, while students who enter the COEs receive only diplomas. As a result the COE diploma holders’ status is low compared to the degree holders. The status of the people who work in physical education must be protected. Therefore, this study proposes that the diploma in teaching be upgraded to a bachelor of education degree for the COE three-year physical education teachers.

The study found that physical education teacher training is scattered. For instance, there are courses in Sinhalese and Tamil but none in the English medium which can be employed for all ethnic groups. Physical education courses are offered at four COEs but there are not enough lecturers and equipment for them. Although the four colleges follow the same curriculum, the final products have different levels (Fischer, 1999). This study proposes that one COE be designated as a National College of Physical Education which offers a B.Ed in the English medium.

**Recommendation No 17**

a) *That the specialist physical education teacher training course name, Sports and Physical education, at the colleges of education be changed to Health and Physical education.*

b) *That the specialist physical education teacher training syllabus at COE be carefully integrated and re-written.*

c) *That the re-training of physical education teachers, lecturers, and administrators in an integrated, games sense and sports education model be started as soon as possible.*

d) *To address the severe teacher shortage the current policy of reducing the number of teacher trainees from year 2001 be revoked and new recruitment and training programs be designed.*

e) *The COE diploma in teaching course be upgraded to B.Ed in health and physical education.*

f) *That one COE be designated to offer B.Ed in Health and Physical Education in English medium.*

g) *Teacher educators in physical education be awarded foreign scholarships to upgrade their qualifications.*
5.6.5 The future of physical education as a profession

Many developed countries have a professional body for physical education for the development of the subject and the persons involved. The main purpose of these organisations is to discuss, debate, contest, negotiate and publish newly researched topics for the development of the field and publish this knowledge through journals. There is no parallel professional body for the development physical education in Sri Lanka. In the absence of professional bodies and research-level higher education institutions for physical education, there is no culture of research in physical education in Sri Lanka. This study found that no research has been carried out in the field of physical education and sports in Sri Lanka and that innovation decisions related to the field were informed by overseas trends.

Recommendation No 18

a). That all areas in relation to the physical education curriculum such as characteristics of subject matter, the pedagogic interactions of teachers and learners, and the sociocultural milieu in which these interactions take place in Sri Lanka need to be researched in the specific Sri Lankan context.

b). That a strong "professional body", the Sri Lanka Association of Physical Education (i.e., "SLAPE"), be formed to discuss, debate, contest, negotiate for ongoing dialogue in relation to national physical education policy, planning, research, curriculum and related issues.

c). That the professional body consists of: physical education lecturers from the universities, NIE, and COE; health and physical education project officers from the NIE; sport officers, coaches, lecturers from the Ministry of Sports; physical education teachers; physical education officers and teacher leaders who work at the education offices; sport coaches, lecturers and administrators in the defence forces; sport coaches, administrators and lecturers from the Youth Council; and sports media personnel such as sports writers, commentators and program producers.

d). A journal be established in which articles are published in Sinhalese, Tamil and English.
5.6.6. Recommendations for resources to physical education

The study reveals that the inadequacy of facilities and equipment is the major issue for the development of physical education in any country, particularly in Sri Lanka. As identified, Sri Lanka has several economic problems such as big population shares with few natural resources, low economic productivity and internal conflicts. As a result, money to schools and to physical education specifically is reduced.

This study has found that staffing secondary schools with trained physical education teachers is a major issue. There were only 2,500 specialist physical education teachers for 10,120 schools, 7,311 of which have secondary classes in 1999 (Fischer, 1999). This study found that to answer the issue of teacher shortage, the Ministry of Education appointed untrained teachers in physical education. Although those teachers were not trained properly, it was a kind of remedy to the teacher shortage. Now, there is no room to above process because according to the new policy of teacher recruitment the Ministry does not appoint teachers besides the colleges of education system but intake is very small. In the estate school system, there are no physical education teachers for most schools. The estate Tamils was not enrolled in the Tamil medium specialist physical education course in the colleges of education system. Their distance teacher-training program for specialist physical education teachers is also not being conducted properly.

Recommendation No 19

Physical education teacher recruitment policy of the Ministry of Education needs to be revoked. In addition to the present system, each provincial council should appoint annually about fifty persons who must live in the same Province and possess advanced level certificates with sporting backgrounds as physical education teachers. Furthermore, before appointment to schools the selected people must be given a three month pre-service physical education specific training in a college of education located in the particular province and they must be graduated by the college using the in-service distance mode training system within three years.

Change-rooms, washrooms, indoor gymnasiums, uniforms, ground facilities and sporting equipment are also issues. The Ministry distributed equipment to schools but the study found that the process was biased to urban area big schools. Any school has a gymnasium in the country. As the large population has few natural resources, low
economic productivity and internal conflicts, it is not an easy task to provide facilities and equipment to all schools.

**Recommendation No 20**

i) The study proposes a sporting suit for selected each student who is from a low socio-economic backgrounds with their free uniform kit, which is provided annually for all students in the country.

ii) A gymnasium is recommended to the proposed central school in every local government area council by the new educational reforms.

iii) As Fischer (1999) proposed, the study also suggests low cost equipment that is compiled for Sri Lankan conditions. Local materials such as rubber, coconut fiber, cane and timber can be used to produce equipment.

Goals: Local timber, weather-shielded by paint, can be used to make goals of different sizes for different sports (Hockey, Football).

Hurdles: using local timber and changing the design for easy adjustment of height.

Hockey sticks: Using bamboo. Various sizes of bamboo determines the size of stick. Ideal to produce children's size for school practicing purposes.

Bats: using local canes.

Mats: using rubber off-cuts in a cotton cover.

Medicine balls: using rubber off-cut and old balls. Old balls which no longer can be used in a game situation can be filled with rubber off-cuts, and some pebbles for weight, to make medicine balls (Fischer, 1999, p. 116).

**The recommendations that should be given effect to immediately:**

**Recommendation No 2**

The existing physical education programs in health inspections, morning fitness exercises, health and physical education syllabus integration, the B.Ed degree course at the NIE, sports as extra-curricular activities with the NSG sport meets, and school cricket tournaments be continued with some modifications.

**Recommendation No 3**

That physical education be included as a core subject in the primary curriculum and the decision to omit physical education from the primary curriculum from 1998 be revoked.

**Recommendation No 4**

Existing health habits and discipline checking processes in primary schools be continued and be extended to secondary schools.
Recommendation No 13
That the physical education subject needs to be a core examinable subject at the GCE O/L, an optional subject at the GCE A/L and be offered in degree level courses at Universities in Sri Lanka.

Recommendation No 14
a) That the existing NSG system be continued as usual while its impact need to be researched.

b) To continue the NSG a suitably interested figure needs to be appointed as Assistant Director of Sports in the Ministry of Education under the Director of Physical Education.

c) That the present sport school system and scholarship scheme be continued but integrated into the proposed area resource schools that are parallel to the former central schools and that were proposed by the PTF in 1997.

Recommendation No 15
That the flexible school sport programs be organised to give all students the opportunity to participate in different activities without bias to gender (Athletics, soccer, cricket, netball and volleyball for all children equally).

Recommendation No 16
That all types of media be encouraged to publish, transmit and broadcast physical education-related events without gender and other biases and that close relationships with media be established and maintained.

Recommendation No 17
d) To address the severe teacher shortage the current policy of reducing the number of teacher trainees from year 2001 be revoked and new recruitment and training programs be designed.

g) All teacher educators in physical education be awarded foreign scholarships to upgrade their qualifications.

Recommendation No 18
a) That all areas in relation to the physical education curriculum such as characteristics of subject matter, the pedagogic interactions of teachers and learners, and the sociocultural milieu in which these interactions take place in Sri Lanka need to be researched in the specific Sri Lankan context.
b) That a strong "professional body", the Sri Lanka Association of Physical Education (i.e., "SLAPE"), be formed to discuss, debate, contest, negotiate for ongoing dialogue in relation to national physical education policy, planning, research, curriculum and related issues.

c) That the professional body consists of: physical education lecturers from the universities, NIE, and COE; health and physical education project officers from the NIE; sport officers, coaches, lecturers from the Ministry of Sports; physical education teachers; physical education officers and teacher leaders who work at the education offices; sport coaches, lecturers and administrators in the defence forces; sport coaches, administrators and lecturers from the Youth Council; and sports media personnel such as sports writers, commentators and program producers.

d) A journal be established in which articles are published in Sinhalese, Tamil and English.

Recommendation No 20

i) The study proposes a sporting suit for selected each student who is from the low socio-economic backgrounds with their free uniform kit, which is provided annually for all students in the country.

The recommendations, which should be considered for short term implementation:

Recommendation No 1
That a "mixed-mode" physical education curriculum be designed and implemented; that is a curriculum which combines the best elements of the sport/games-oriented curriculum with the health-oriented curriculum, mainly the broader social view of health-oriented curriculum.

Recommendation No 9
That the sporting skills, health and fitness content of the physical education syllabi, class texts and teachers' handbooks for Grades 6-9 of the NIE be carefully integrated and re-written according to the proposed "mixed-mode".

Recommendation No 12
Selected traditional Sri Lankan dance and games be included in physical education programs.
Recommendation No 17

a) That the specialist physical education teacher training course name, Sports and Physical education, at the colleges of education be changed to Health and Physical education.

b) That the re-training of physical education teachers, lecturers, and administrators in an integrated, games sense and sports education model be started as soon as possible.

c) The COE diploma in teaching course be upgraded to B.Ed in health and physical education.

d) That one COE be designated to offer B.Ed in Health and Physical education in English medium.

Recommendation No 19

Physical education teacher recruitment policy of the Ministry of Education needs be revoked. In addition to the present system, each provincial council should appoint annually about fifty persons who must live in the same and possess advanced level certificates with sporting backgrounds as physical education teachers. Furthermore, before appointing to schools the selective must be given a three month pre-service physical education specific training in a college of education located in the particular province and they must be graduated by the college using the in-service distance mode training system within three years.

Recommendation No 20

iii) As Fischer (1999) proposed, the study also suggests low cost equipment that is compiled with Sri Lankan conditions. Local materials such as rubber, coconut fiber, cane and timber can be used to produce equipment.

Goals: Local timber, whether-shielded by paint, can be used to make goals of different sizes for different sports (Hockey, Football).

Hurdles: using local timber and changing the design for easy adjustment of height.

Hockey sticks: Using bamboo. Various sizes of bamboo determines the size of stick. Ideal to produce children's size for school practicing purposes.

Bats: using local canes.

Mats: using rubber off-cuts in a cotton cover.

Medicine balls: using rubber off-cut and old balls. Old balls which no longer can be used in a game situation can be filled with rubber off-cuts, and some pebbles for weight, to make medicine balls (Fischer, 1999, p. 116).

The recommendations that should be considered for implementation on a long term basis after detailed study:
Recommendation No 5
That the existing fitness programs and related issues be researched and new fitness programs be arranged and the responsibility for implementing the morning fitness classes be given to class teachers.

Recommendation No 6
To develop a broad base of different skills, multiple activities need to be included in the physical education curriculum such as traditional dancing steps, gymnastic skills, basic skills of sports which are popular in Sri Lanka such as soft cricket, volleyball, netball, soccer, elle and athletics.

Recommendation No 7
Sporting skills be introduced through games sense and sport education models in primary schools.

Recommendation No 8
As for recommendation No 5 for primary schools, the existing fitness programs and related issues be researched and new fitness programs be designed and the responsibility of implementing the morning fitness classes be given to secondary class teachers under the guidance of specialist physical education teachers.

Recommendation No 10
Sports education models be employed after training teachers for the same.

Recommendation No 11
a) The games sense approach be used in secondary level practical classes but before implementation, teachers need to be given in-service training in games sense.

b) The games sense approach be included in the teacher training program.

Recommendation No 20
ii) A gymnasium is recommended to the proposed central school in every local government area council by the new educational reforms.
5.7 Conclusion

Physical education after independence in 1948 has been profoundly shaped by British policy and practice. Its fortunes are also influenced by many different foreign and local social, economic, political and educational forces. During the colonial period and the first decade of the post-colonial period the Anglo-colonial model of physical education continued to dominate. After 1956 the Anglo-colonial model was challenged by the nationalist movements and the increasing influence of a communist model. It might have been expected that communist bloc countries would overpower the British colonial influences and its Anglo-model physical education curriculum in the country after 1972. However, as this study demonstrates the British traditions - specifically its traditional academic curriculum and public school game traditions - continued to be influential in the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka even during and after the period 1970-77. During the period of the Cold War, the communist bloc countries did significantly influence the Anglo-model physical education curriculum between 1972 and 1977, to create an "Anglo-communist physical education model" in Sri Lanka. As the government between 1977 and 1994 followed a capitalist open market policy, physical education was again shaped by the British or Western capitalist influences but at the same time features of the communist model survived due to the intervention of key political and administrative figures. Although there was a government change in 1994, the "Anglo-communist model" continued until 1998. By 1998, the "Anglo-communist model" was challenged as the emphasis on sporting excellence meant that the majority of children were excluded from physical activity in physical education. Since 1998, a broader health and fitness-oriented curriculum has been emerging in Sri Lanka. However, the British traditional academic curriculum and traditional epistemological position in relation to body and mind together with other multiple local forces have continued to contribute to the low status of physical education in the country.

The process of finding a definition for physical education, specifically for Sri Lanka is exciting. During the interviews with key informants, particularly the physical educators, the researcher suggested the need to define physical education. Most of them asked a return question from the researcher: Do you want a theoretical definition or practical one? Most informants pointed out that practical physical education was taking sporting lessons or doing sporting skills during the physical education periods while the theoretical definition of most informants was Williams (1959) idea of "education through the physical". This study as a social constructionist investigation concludes that the nature and purpose of physical education has changed over time and in the context of changing political and social forces.
As this is the first study of its type in relation to the physical education curriculum in Sri Lanka, it is important to note that many areas in physical education there have yet to be explored. Some of these have already been explained above. In addition the following areas are proposed for future research.

Firstly, owing to several limitations I was unable to access adequate literature concerning physical activities in the pre-colonial, Portuguese, and Dutch periods and from 1796-1900 in the British period. Therefore, physical activities during these periods need to be researched.

Secondly, I have suggested that the relationship between educational, economic, political and cultural factors and Sri Lankan success in the international sporting arena needs also to be researched.

Thirdly, my research found that the NSG program, which was introduced by the former Director of Sports, increased both sporting excellence and participation compared to the earlier periods but that the NSG was criticised by the NEC (1992 & 1997), PTF (1997), NIE and the ME&HE (1999) as well as the physical educators (1999). Therefore, my study proposes research further on the impacts of the NSG program on the physical education curriculum of the ME&HE in Sri Lanka from 1984 to 1998.

Fourthly, my study found that one of the major factors influencing low status for physical education is that it is being not offered as a degree subject by the Sri Lankan universities; hence, it is proposed that an investigation as to why Sri Lankan universities do not offer physical education as a degree subject in their programs be undertaken.

Fifthly, this research expands understanding that attitudes of the Buddhist majority in Sri Lanka in relation to physical activities are negative, particularly activities of the body such as sports, games, dance etc but that activities of the mind and spirit such as meditation and alms giving are encouraged. However, in East Asian countries where Mahayana Buddhism is followed, physical activities such as Karate and Yoga are encouraged as kinds of meditation. Therefore, this study proposes the investigation of Buddhist attitudes on mind, body and their interpretation of physical activities used in the physical education curriculum.

Sixthly, it might expected that girls' participation in physical education was low but most informants said that female participation in physical activities in Sri Lanka was
higher than in other South Asian countries. This study proposes that Sri Lankan girls’ participation in physical education is still not in a good position; hence, the study suggests further investigation of this situation.

Seventhly, there is a trend for physical education teachers who have a teacher training certificate or COE Diploma in Teaching in physical education to give up physical education teaching and start to teach other subjects. This study did not find adequate reasons for this; hence, it should be researched.

Finally, throughout the period 1948-1990, all governments attempted to make curriculum practical but this was unsuccessful, as were earlier attempts by some of the colonial governors in the 1840s, 1870s, 1910s and 1930s. This study found that it was again proposed to make the curriculum practical by the 1992 NEC Report from 1998. It therefore proposes that research be directed to why these early attempts failed and what are the outcomes of the recent implementations.
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Appendix

Questions for Retired PE teachers

1) How long have you been a teacher?
2) What were your educational and professional qualifications?
3) In which schools or kind of schools did you teach?
4) What kind of changes have you noticed during your time as a PE teacher?
   a) changes in syllabus, activities
   b) changes in teacher education
   c) changes in assessments.
5) What are some of the main issues, from your point of view, for PE in Sri Lanka?
6) What do you think were the major influences? Are these different now? Have these changed from when you began teaching?
   a) Did it influence boys and the girls the same?
   b) Did it influence students, parents, general government schools as same as government and private public schools?
7) From your point of view what are the most important aspects of PE?
8) In your point of view, how would be planned the future curriculum in PE in Sri Lanka?
Questions for general teachers who were interested in PE

1) What subjects did you teach when you were a teacher?
2) Were you interested in PE at schools? Did you motivate yourself to teach PE or were you motivated by the principals?
3) In which area of sport were you expertise?
4) How did you involve in PE activities at schools?
   a) as a house master?
   b) in charge of specific sport?
   c) Prefect of games? etc.
5) What was the most interesting/worst experience that you perceived in sports at schools?
6) What are some of the main issues in your point of view, for PE in schools?
7) From your point of view, how future curriculum in PE would be planned in Sri Lanka?
Questions for Lecturers of Colleges of Education and Teachers Colleges in PE in Sri Lanka

1) How long have you been a teacher and a lecture in PE?
2) What are your educational and professional qualifications? In which areas do you expertise?
3) In which schools and Teachers Colleges/Colleges of Education have you taught?
4) What kind of changes have you noticed during your career as a PE teacher and a lecturer?
   a) changes in syllabus, activities
   b) changes in teacher education
   c) changes in assessments.
5) What are some of the main issues, from your point of view, for school PE and teacher training in PE in Sri Lanka?
6) What do you think were the major influences in PE in Sri Lanka?
   a) Did it influence boys and girls the same?
   b) Did it influence students, parents, general government schools as same as government and private public schools?
7) From your point of view what are the most important aspects of PE?
8) Could your please tell me of your impression of teacher training curriculum in PE at teachers colleges and colleges of education in Sri Lanka?
9) Please tell me of your impression of PE and its relationships with following factors on the island?
   a) politics b) exam oriented education system c) economics d) religions e) media f) nationalism g) social justice.
10) What do you think about how future PE to be planned on the island?
Questions for Education officers in PE in Sri Lanka

1) How long have you been a teacher, a lecturer and a education officer in PE?
2) What are your educational and professional qualifications?
3) In which areas do you expertise?
4) In which schools did you teach and in which divisions have you worked?
5) Please tell me how do you organise PE activities in the schools?
6) What are some of the main issues, from your point of view, for PE in Sri Lanka?
7) What do you think were the major influences?
   a) Did it influence boys and girls the same?
   b) Did it influence students, parents, general government schools and private and public schools?
8) From your point of view, what are the most important aspects of PE?
9) Please tell me of your impression of PE and its relationships with following factors on the island?
   a) politics b) exam oriented education system c) economics d) religions e) media f) nationalism g) social justice.
10) What do you think about how future PE to be planned on the island?
Interview Questions for University Lecturers in Education

1) How long have you been a teacher and a teacher educator at the different institutions?
   a) at schools, b) at Teachers Colleges, and c) at universities

2) In which areas do you expertise?

3) What kinds of changes have you noticed in the PE curriculum during your career as a school teacher and a university lecturer?
   a) changes shifts in syllabi, b) changes in teacher education

4) Were you interested in sports and PE when you were schooling?

5) What do you think were the major influences in education in generally and specifically in PE?
   a) Did it influence boys and girls the same?
   b) did it influence on social class?
Questions for Principals

1) How long have you been a teacher and a principal?
2) Were you interested in sports and PE when you were schooling and studying at university?
3) How do you implement your school PE curriculum?
4) What kinds of changes have you noticed in the PE curriculum during your career?
   a) changes in syllabi
   b) changes in teacher education
5) What are some of the main issues in your point of view, for PE in school?
6) For your point of view, how future curriculum of PE would be planned in Sri Lanka?
Sports Ministry Officials (Sports Officers)

1) How long have you been as a sports officer?
2) In which sport are you expertise?
3) How do you perceive present school PE programs and the PE programs when you were schooling?
4) What kinds of changes have you noticed in syllabi and activities in school PE as a sports officer?
5) What do you think about how future PE to be planned on the island?
Politicians

1) Were you interested in sports when you were schooling/at university?
2) What sport were you expertise?
3) Could you please explain me your impression of school PE activities when you were schooling?
4) Did these activities were same as to all other schools on the island?
5) Could you please talk to me your impression of present sports on the island?
6) What are your future direction to develop present sport activities?
7) How do you plan to develop school PE on the island?
8) Why do not you start a PE program at a university in Sri Lanka?