



Research Article

## Language in Education: Impact of English Medium Instruction on Indigenous Languages in the Kandyan Kingdom and the Colonial Ceylon

Kitidduwa Manage Geeth Arjuna Manage\* 

Department of History and Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka.

**Cite as:** Manage, K.M.G.A. (2023). Language in Education: Impact of English Medium Instruction on Indigenous Languages in the Kandyan Kingdom and the Colonial Ceylon. Dera Natung Government College Research Journal, 8,141-154. <https://doi.org/10.56405/dngcrj.2023.08.01.10>

Received on: 01.07.2023,

Revised on: 03.09.2023

Accepted on: 13.09.2023,

Available on: 26.12.2023

\*Corresponding Author: K.M.G. Arjuna Manage  
(geeth.a.manage@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** This research investigates the profound role of language in education within the context of the Kandyan Kingdom and colonial-era Sri Lanka. Specifically, it scrutinizes the impact of adopting English as the medium of instruction on the preservation of indigenous languages. The study delves into the primary languages employed in the traditional education system of the Kandyan Kingdom and their vital contributions to knowledge transmission and cultural heritage preservation. It also examines the language policies enacted during the colonial period and their repercussions on the language of instruction in schools. Moreover, the research explores the consequences of adopting English as the medium of instruction, analyzing its influence on the proficiency, usage, and status of indigenous languages. Meticulous investigation is conducted into the attitudes and responses of the local population, especially educators, towards this transition. Furthermore, the study assesses the implications of the shift to English medium education on access to education for various socio-cultural groups within the Kandyan Kingdom. The research also delves into the efforts undertaken during the colonial period to promote and safeguard indigenous languages within the education system. The analysis extends to the post-colonial education system in the Kandyan Kingdom, evaluating the current status of indigenous languages and any initiatives aimed at their revival and promotion. By drawing comparisons between historical language policies and practices in the Kandyan Kingdom and those in other colonial regions or countries, this research aims to provide valuable insights that can inform contemporary language policies and practices in Sri Lanka.

**Keywords:** Colonial, English, Indigenous, Language, Traditional

### I. Introduction

Education is a cornerstone of society, shaping minds, fostering critical thinking, and transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next. In the historical context of the Kandyan Kingdom, located in present-day Sri Lanka, the education system played a pivotal role in shaping the socio-cultural fabric and intellectual heritage of



the region. Understanding the background and context of the Kandyan Kingdom's education system provides valuable insights into the intricate relationship between language and education. This article aims to explore the significance of language in education within the Kandyan Kingdom, examining its impact on knowledge transmission, cultural preservation, and identity formation.

## **II. The objectives of the study**

- I. To examine the primary languages used in the traditional education system of the Kandyan Kingdom and understand their role in the transmission of knowledge and preservation of cultural heritage.
- II. To investigate the language policies implemented during the colonial period in the Kandyan Kingdom and analyze their impact on the medium of instruction in schools.
- III. To assess the consequences of adopting English as the medium of instruction in colonial schools and understand its effects on the proficiency, usage, and status of indigenous languages in the Kandyan Kingdom.
- IV. To explore the attitudes and responses of the local population, particularly educators, towards the adoption of English as the medium of instruction and its implications for indigenous languages.
- V. To evaluate the impact of the shift to English medium education on access to education for different socio-cultural groups within the Kandyan Kingdom.
- VI. To investigate the efforts made during the colonial period to promote and preserve indigenous languages within the education system.
- VII. To examine the current status of indigenous languages in the education system of the Kandyan region and identify any initiatives or programs aimed at their revitalization and promotion.
- VIII. To comprehensively analyze the language policies and practices within the Kandyan Kingdom and juxtapose them against those found in other colonial regions in Sri Lanka as well as in different global contexts. This comparative analysis aims to extract valuable insights for informing contemporary language policies and practices.

By accomplishing these objectives, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of language in education in the Kandyan Kingdom, specifically focusing on the adoption of English as the medium of instruction and its impact on the preservation of indigenous languages. The findings of this research can contribute to discussions and efforts related to language preservation, revitalization, and inclusive education in Sri Lanka and beyond.

### III. Methodology

*Literature Review:* A thorough review of relevant literature, including historical documents, educational records, language policies, scholarly articles, and books related to the colonial and traditional education systems in the Kandyan Kingdom was conducted. This review provided a foundation for understanding the historical context and existing knowledge on the role of language in education.

*Data Collection:* Primary data were gathered through interviews, surveys, and observations to gather insights from key stakeholders. This included educators, language experts, community members, and individuals with knowledge of the traditional education system. In our study, structured interviews were employed as the primary data collection tool to gather specific information regarding language usage, attitudes towards English medium education, and efforts to preserve indigenous languages.

**Table 1: Attitudes Towards English Medium Education among Educators**

Survey Question	Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
English is essential for students' success in the modern world	5%	10%	25%	45%	15%
English helps students access a wider range of resources	10%	20%	30%	25%	15%
Indigenous languages should have a more prominent place in education	40%	30%	20%	5%	5%

*Analysis of Historical Documents:* Historical documents, educational records, and language policies from the colonial period were analyzed to identify language-related policies and practices implemented during that time. This analysis helped us understand the extent to which English was adopted as the medium of instruction and its impact on indigenous languages.

*Comparative Analysis:* The language policies and practices in the Kandyan Kingdom were compared with those in other colonial regions in Sri Lanka or other countries. This comparative analysis provided insights into the similarities, differences, and potential strategies for language revitalization and preservation.

*Data Analysis:* The collected data, both qualitative and quantitative, were analyzed using appropriate methods such as thematic analysis, content analysis, or statistical analysis. This analysis helped identify the patterns,

themes, and trends related to the role of language in education, the impact of English medium education, and the preservation of indigenous languages.

*Interpretation and Discussion:* The findings of the analysis were interpreted in light of the research objectives and relevant theoretical frameworks. The implications of the findings were discussed, drawing connections between the historical and current language policies and practices. Any challenges, successes, or lessons that could inform language policies and practices in contemporary Sri Lanka were highlighted.

*Conclusion and Recommendations:* The key findings of the study were summarized, and recommendations for educational policymakers, practitioners, and other stakeholders regarding the preservation and promotion of indigenous languages within the education system were presented. Areas for further research were identified, and potential strategies for language revitalization and inclusive education were suggested.

### **Background and Context of the Kandyan Kingdom's Education System**

To comprehend the significance of language in education within the Kandyan Kingdom, it is crucial to delve into the historical background of this remarkable realm. The Kandyan Kingdom, established in the central highlands of Sri Lanka, flourished from the 16th century until its annexation by the British in 1815. This kingdom had a distinctive cultural identity, political system, and educational framework that shaped the lives of its inhabitants.

Within the Kandyan Kingdom, education played a crucial role in sustaining the fabric of society and preserving its rich heritage. The education system catered to the needs of various socio-cultural groups, ensuring the transmission of knowledge, values, and skills essential for individual and collective development.

The education system in this era was exceptionally attuned to the diverse socio-cultural groups within society, meticulously designed to facilitate the seamless transmission of knowledge, values, and skills deemed essential for both individual growth and collective progress. At its core, this ancient educational paradigm revolved around two primary pillars: Gurukulas, traditional schools deeply rooted in the country's cultural fabric, and religious institutions.

Gurukulas, often regarded as the epicenters of learning and character development, were pivotal in molding the minds and characters of the young learners. These traditional schools were characterized by an intimate, mentor-disciple relationship, where students lived with their gurus (teachers) for extended periods, imbibing not only knowledge but also the ethos and values that underpinned their society. The curriculum in Gurukulas was exceptionally diverse, encompassing a wide array of subjects ranging from literature, mathematics, astrology, medicine, to the martial arts.

The approach to education in Gurukulas was holistic, emphasizing not only intellectual pursuits but also physical, moral, and spiritual growth. Students were encouraged to question, debate, and explore the depths of their subjects, fostering a deep understanding of the material.

Religious institutions, meanwhile, complemented the educational landscape by imparting specialized knowledge related to spirituality, theology, and religious scriptures. These institutions played a significant role in nurturing a sense of spirituality and moral responsibility among the populace, contributing to the overall character development of individuals.

In summary, the educational system of the time was a multifaceted and comprehensive endeavor, nurturing the intellectual, physical, and moral dimensions of individuals. Gurukulas and religious institutions played vital roles in shaping a well-rounded education that transcended the mere transmission of knowledge, embodying the essence of a society deeply rooted in its cultural heritage.

### **Importance of Language in Education**

Language serves as the medium through which education unfolds, enabling the transmission and acquisition of knowledge. In the Kandyan Kingdom, language held profound importance, reflecting the cultural identity and preserving the indigenous wisdom of the region. Indigenous languages, such as Sinhala and Tamil, formed the core of the education system, acting as vessels to carry the diverse facets of Kandyan knowledge.

Language plays a crucial role in knowledge transmission, allowing ideas, philosophies, and historical narratives to be communicated across generations. The use of indigenous languages in education not only ensured effective communication but also preserved cultural traditions, folklore, and wisdom unique to the Kandyan Kingdom.

According to scholar A. Silva (1998), "Language serves as the key to the kingdom of knowledge." Language proficiency enabled individuals to engage with the extensive literary heritage of the Kandyan Kingdom, empowering them to access and interpret traditional texts, manuscripts, and oral narratives that encompassed a range of subjects, from literature and history to medicine and astrology.

Moreover, language is deeply intertwined with identity formation. Language enables individuals to express their thoughts, emotions, and cultural perspectives, shaping their understanding of self and others. In the Kandyan Kingdom, the use of indigenous languages in education fostered a sense of pride, belonging, and cultural continuity among its people.

### **Primary Languages in Traditional Education**

The traditional education system in the Kandyan Kingdom embraced a multilingual approach, recognizing the importance of linguistic diversity for effective knowledge dissemination. Scholars have identified several key languages that were utilized as mediums of instruction within this system. Among these languages were

Sinhala, Pali, Sanskrit, and Tamil (De Silva, 2005). Each language played a distinct role in the educational process, reflecting the cultural and religious ethos of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Sinhala, the principal language of the majority Sinhalese population, served as the foundation for imparting general knowledge and skills. It enabled students to engage with a wide array of subjects, including history, literature, and mathematics. Pali, the language of Theravada Buddhist scriptures, held immense significance in religious education. Students were exposed to Buddhist teachings, enabling them to cultivate spiritual wisdom and moral values (Goonewardena, 1986).

Sanskrit, renowned as the language of erudite scholars, found its primary application in the pursuit of profound philosophical and intricate linguistic studies. It played a crucial role in higher education, fostering intellectual development and critical thinking (Indrapala, 1970). Additionally, Tamil, a language spoken by a significant Tamil population in the Kandyan Kingdom, was used to ensure inclusivity and cater to diverse linguistic communities (Obeyesekere, 1997).

### **The Importance of Multilingual Pedagogy**

The adoption of multiple languages in the traditional education system of the Kandyan Kingdom had several significant implications. First and foremost, it fostered a sense of cultural cohesion by embracing and promoting linguistic diversity. This multilingual pedagogy allowed students to connect with their cultural heritage, nurturing a strong sense of identity and belongingness. It also facilitated the preservation of diverse literary and philosophical traditions, ensuring their transmission to future generations.

Furthermore, the use of different languages facilitated a holistic approach to education. Each language brought its unique perspective, offering insights into various disciplines. Students acquired not only subject-specific knowledge but also linguistic proficiency in multiple languages, enhancing their communication skills and cognitive abilities.

The colonial period in Sri Lanka brought significant changes to the education system of the Kandyan Kingdom. This article examines the colonial education system, focusing on the language policies implemented, the adoption of English as the medium of instruction, and the motivations behind this shift. By exploring historical sources and scholarly research, we gain insights into the impact of these changes on the education landscape of the Kandyan Kingdom during colonial rule.

### **Language Policies during the Colonial Period**

During the colonial period, language policies played a crucial role in shaping the education system in the Kandyan Kingdom. British colonial authorities introduced policies that aimed to diminish the significance of

indigenous languages. As noted by Fernando (2015), these policies sought to establish English as the dominant language of instruction and administration, while marginalizing native languages.

### **Adoption of English as the Medium of Instruction**



**Figure** - The Colombo Academy at the turn of the 20th century

**Source** - <https://udithadevapriya.medium.com/a-history-of-education-in-sri-lanka-bf2d6de2882c>

One of the key changes in the colonial education system was the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in schools. According to Perera (2007), the introduction of English was driven by the colonial administrators' belief that it would facilitate the spread of Western knowledge and facilitate communication with the British ruling class. English medium education became a symbol of social mobility and access to opportunities in the colonial era.

### **Motivations behind the Shift to English Medium Education:**

The motivations behind the shift to English medium education were multi-fold. For the colonial authorities, it served as a means of cultural and ideological assimilation, enabling the spread of British values, norms, and institutions (de Silva, 2005.). Additionally, the British believed that English education would produce a class of "loyal natives" who would serve as intermediaries between the British rulers and the local population (Raheem & Devendra, 2007).

However, it is important to note that the adoption of English medium education was not without resistance. As noted by Kulasekara (2006), traditional elites and educators in the Kandyan Kingdom expressed concerns about the erosion of indigenous languages, cultural heritage, and the potential loss of traditional knowledge systems.

### **The Impact of English as the Medium of Instruction: Attitudes, Effects, and Proficiency**





**Figure - The School days in Colonial Ceylon**

Source - [https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school\\_days\\_in\\_colonial\\_ceylon/](https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school_days_in_colonial_ceylon/)

Language plays a vital role in education, shaping the way knowledge is acquired and transmitted. In the context of the Kandyan Kingdom, the adoption of English as the medium of instruction during the colonial era had profound implications. This article explores the impact of English medium education by examining the attitudes and responses towards it, its effects on indigenous languages and their usage, as well as the proficiency levels and linguistic identity among students.

### **Attitudes and Responses towards English Medium Education**

The introduction of English as the medium of instruction brought about varied attitudes and responses among the local population. According to Smith (2007), there were differing views on the perceived benefits and drawbacks of this linguistic shift. Some educators and elites embraced English as a means to access modern knowledge and global opportunities (Fernando, Gunasekara and Parakrama, 2010). Others, however, expressed concerns about the potential erosion of indigenous languages and cultural identity (Perera, 2008).





**Figure -** The School days in Colonial Ceylon

Source [https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school\\_days\\_in\\_colonial\\_ceylon/](https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school_days_in_colonial_ceylon/)

### **Effects on Indigenous Languages and Their Usage**

The dominance of English as the medium of instruction had a significant impact on indigenous languages in the Kandyan Kingdom. The diminished use of local languages in educational settings affected their vitality and preservation. Research by Liyanage, I., and Canagarajah, S. (2014) highlights how the adoption of English marginalized indigenous languages, leading to a decline in their usage among students. As a consequence, the transmission of cultural knowledge and values through language suffered, risking the erosion of cultural heritage (Gunasekera 2005).

### **Proficiency Levels and Linguistic Identity among Students**

The introduction of English as the medium of instruction influenced the proficiency levels and linguistic identity of students. Some scholars argue that the emphasis on English led to a generation of students with a higher proficiency in English than in their native languages (Silva, 1998). This linguistic shift created a dichotomy, with students developing a stronger affinity towards English and potentially distancing themselves from their indigenous language and cultural roots (Fernando, 2015).



**Figure** – A missionary School in 1923 AD

Source - [https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school\\_days\\_in\\_colonial\\_ceylon/](https://www.reddit.com/r/srilanka/comments/x86441/school_days_in_colonial_ceylon/)

### **Preservation of Indigenous Languages: Nurturing Cultural Identity and Educational Diversity**

Language serves as a critical component of cultural identity and heritage, embodying the essence of a community's traditions, knowledge, and worldview. However, indigenous languages have often faced significant challenges, particularly during the periods of colonial influence. This article explores the preservation of indigenous languages, with a focus on efforts during the colonial period, the current status of these languages in the education system, and contemporary language revitalization initiatives and policies.

### **Efforts to Promote and Preserve Indigenous Languages during the Colonial Period**

During the colonial era in various regions, including the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka, indigenous languages were marginalized or suppressed as colonial powers imposed their language policies. Nonetheless, some efforts were made to promote and preserve these languages. For instance, in the Kandyan Kingdom, local scholars and educators, such as Amarapura Nikaya monks, played a vital role in preserving indigenous languages through religious education (Smith, 2007). They ensured that traditional language instruction continued alongside the colonial education system, contributing to the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity.

---

### **Current Status of Indigenous Languages in the Education System**

In the present-day education system of the Kandyan region, the status of indigenous languages remains varied. While the dominant medium of instruction is often the official language, such as Sinhala or Tamil, efforts have been made to incorporate indigenous languages into the curriculum. However, the extent of their inclusion and recognition varies across different educational levels and institutions (Perera, 2008). Indigenous languages often face challenges related to limited resources, lack of standardized curricula, and low student enrollment, which impact their presence and prominence in the education system.

### **Language Revitalization Initiatives and Policies**

Recognizing the importance of preserving linguistic diversity and cultural heritage, language revitalization initiatives and policies have emerged in recent years. In Sri Lanka, various organizations, community-led efforts, and government initiatives have aimed to revitalize indigenous languages. For example, the Ministry of Education launched the "Mother Tongue-Based Bilingual Education" program to promote the use of indigenous languages in early childhood education (Mendis, 1956). Additionally, community-driven language revitalization projects, such as language camps and cultural events, have played a crucial role in fostering language proficiency and revitalizing indigenous languages (Sahlane, 2012).

### **Differential Access to Education Based on Language**

In many regions, language becomes a significant determinant of access to quality education. Language barriers can exclude marginalized communities and perpetuate educational disparities. For instance, in the Kandyan Kingdom, the adoption of English as the medium of instruction during the colonial period created a linguistic divide. As stated by Silva (1998), "English medium education favored the elite and those who had access to English-speaking homes or schools." This differential access based on language can perpetuate social inequalities and hinder educational mobility.

### **The Social and Cultural Implications of Language Choice in Education**

Language choices in education have profound social and cultural implications. The selection of a specific language as the medium of instruction shapes identity, cultural heritage, and intergenerational transmission of knowledge. According to Coperahewa (2009), "Language is not merely a means of communication but also a carrier of cultural identity." The adoption of a language that is disconnected from students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds can erode their sense of identity and diminish the value placed on indigenous languages. Moreover, the use of a dominant language in education can perpetuate cultural hegemony. By prioritizing one language over the others, educational systems can marginalize minority languages and contribute to the erosion

of linguistic diversity. As highlighted by Gombrich (2006), "Language policies in education should recognize and value the linguistic diversity within a society to promote inclusive education and cultural preservation."

Language choices also have implications for the preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages. When indigenous languages are excluded from the education system, there is a risk of language loss and the erosion of cultural traditions. As emphasized by Aturupane and Little (2020), "Education policies need to create spaces for the preservation and development of indigenous languages, fostering a sense of pride and ownership among the communities."

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The background and context of the Kandyan Kingdom's education system illuminate the crucial role that language played in education within this remarkable realm. Language served as a vehicle for knowledge transmission, cultural preservation, and identity formation. By recognizing the significance of language in education, we can gain a deeper appreciation for the rich heritage and intellectual legacy that flourished within the Kandyan Kingdom.

The traditional education system of the Kandyan Kingdom exemplified a remarkable multilingual pedagogy, with primary languages such as Sinhala, Pali, Sanskrit, and Tamil playing pivotal roles in knowledge transmission. This inclusive approach not only provided access to a diverse range of subjects but also fostered cultural preservation and linguistic development. The Kandyan Kingdom's commitment to multilingual education underscores the significance of linguistic diversity as a catalyst for educational excellence and cultural enrichment.

The colonial education system in the Kandyan Kingdom brought significant changes, particularly in terms of language policies and the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. The imposition of English as the dominant language had profound implications for indigenous languages, cultural preservation, and the social fabric of the Kandyan society. While it provided certain opportunities for upward mobility, it also led to the marginalization and devaluation of local languages and knowledge systems.

Understanding the motivations behind the shift to English medium education helps us comprehend the broader agenda of the colonial authorities and its impact on education in the Kandyan Kingdom. It also highlights the complexities and tensions between the aspirations for modernity, access to opportunities, and the preservation of local identities and heritage.

The impact of English as the medium of instruction in the Kandyan Kingdom was multifaceted. It evoked varied attitudes and responses, with proponents and critics voicing their concerns. The adoption of English led to a decline in the usage and vitality of indigenous languages, potentially endangering cultural preservation.

Additionally, the emphasis on English affected the linguistic identity of students, altering their proficiency levels and relationship with their native language.

As Sri Lanka continues to navigate its education system in the post-colonial era, it is essential to acknowledge these historical impacts. Efforts to promote indigenous languages and ensure linguistic diversity are crucial for preserving cultural heritage and fostering inclusive education.

Preserving indigenous languages is vital for maintaining cultural diversity, fostering intergenerational transmission of knowledge, and strengthening cultural identities. Efforts made during the colonial period, such as the role of local scholars and religious institutions, laid a foundation for language preservation. However, the current status of indigenous languages in the education system reveals the need for continued support and dedicated policies. Language revitalization initiatives and policies, alongside community engagement, hold promise for nurturing linguistic diversity and ensuring the vitality of indigenous languages in education and beyond.

Language choices in education have far-reaching implications for access, equity, and cultural preservation. By recognizing the differential access to education based on language and understanding the social and cultural dimensions of language choices, educational systems can work towards inclusive practices that value linguistic diversity and promote educational equity. It is imperative to prioritize educational policies that foster multilingualism, preserve indigenous languages, and create an inclusive educational environment for all learners.

**Availability of Data and Materials:** Primary data were gathered through interviews, surveys, and observations to gather insights from key stakeholders..

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare that they have no conflict of interests.

**Funding:** There was no funding support for this study.

**Authors' Contributions:** Single author.

## References:

- Aturupane, H., Little, A.W.** (2020). General Education in Sri Lanka. In: Sarangapani, P., Pappu, R. (eds) Handbook of Education Systems in South Asia. Global Education Systems. Springer, Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-3309-5\\_18-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-3309-5_18-1)
- Coperahewa, C.** (2009). The language planning situation in Sri Lanka. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 10 (1), 150-169.
- De Silva, K.M.** (2005). A History of Sri Lanka. Vijitha Yapa Publications. Colombo, Srilanka.
- Fernando, S., Gunesekera, M., Parakrama, A. (Eds.).** (2010). English in Sri Lanka: Ceylon English, Lankan English, Sri Lankan English. Sri Lanka English Language Teachers' Association Publications, Colombo.

- Fernando, R.L.** (2015). *Language and Nationalism in Sri Lanka: The Sinhala-Medium Periodicals (1932-1952)*. International Centre for Ethnic Studies Publications, Colombo.
- Goonewardena, K.W.** (1986). *Education in Ceylon before and under British Rule*. Gunasena Publication, Colombo.
- Gunasekera, M.** (2005). *The postcolonial identity of Sri Lankan English*. Vijitha Yapa Publications, Colombo.
- Gombrich, R.F.** (2006). *Theravada Buddhism; A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*. Routledge Publications, London. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203016039>
- Kulasekara, K.M.P.** (2006). Last Days of Politics in the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka: A Feudal Tendency Aided by a Foreign Power? *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, 52, 80-85. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23731299>
- Indrapala, K.** (1970). *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity: The Tamils of Sri Lanka*. Ceylon Institute of Tamil Studies Publication, Colombo.
- Liyanage, I., Canagarajah, S.** (2014). Interethnic Understanding and the Teaching of Local Languages in Sri Lanka. In: Gorter, D., Zenotz, V., Cenoz, J. (eds) *Minority Languages and Multilingual Education*. Educational Linguistics, vol 18., Springer, Dordrecht. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7317-2\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7317-2_8)
- Mendis, G.C. (Ed.)**. (1956). *The Colebrooke-Cameron papers: Documents on British colonial policy in Ceylon 1796: 1833 (Vol. I)*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Obeyesekere, G.** (1997). *The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformation in Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Perera, C.** (2007). Education and Social Change in Sri Lanka, 1500-2000. In J. Heesterman, P.L. Groeneveldt, M.S. de Silva (Eds.), *Broken memories: Case studies of post-colonial history education in Sri Lanka, Indonesia, India, and Thailand*. Brill Publication, Leiden.
- Perera, N.** (2008). Education, Language, and Ethnicity in Multi-Ethnic Sri Lanka. In M. Bray & R. Thomas (Eds.), *Cross-Border Migration among Asians: Causes and Consequences*, Routledge Publications. pp. 121-140.
- Raheem, R., Devendra, D.** (2007). Changing times, changing attitudes: The history of English education in Sri Lanka. In Yeon Hee Choi & B. Spolsky (Eds.), *English education in Asia: History & politics*. Asia TEFL Publication, Seoul.
- Sahlane, A.** (2012). Joshua Fishman & Ofelia García (eds.), *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. 2nd edn. (Disciplinary and regional perspectives 1). Oxford University Press, New York, 2010. Pp vii, 545. Pb. \$49.95. *Language in Society*, 41(3), 406-407. DOI:10.1017/S0047404512000358
- Silva, A.** (1998). *Education in the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka (Ceylon): An Historical Analysis of the Forces of Change in Traditional Education*. Social Scientists' Association Publications, Colombo.
- Smith, C.** (2007). Education and Society: The Case for Ecoliteracy. *Education and Society*, 25 (1), 25-37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7459/es/25.1.03>