

Policy Processes in the Evolution of Education in the Maldives: 1900–2015

By

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to analyse key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the period 1900–2015, using an extended ‘policy trajectory’ framework to examine three policy contexts: policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects. For ease of analysis, the study period of 115 years was divided into five eras each named after a significant policy actor.

A hybrid theoretical framework comprising critical theory and poststructuralism was used in this study to enable a comprehensive approach to policy analysis spanning global (macro) to local (micro) levels. These theoretical lenses underpin the concept of a ‘policy trajectory’ which forms the structural framework for the thesis, guiding research questions and presentation of findings. While policy ‘influences’, ‘texts’ and ‘practices’ are considered separately, their interconnected nature is also acknowledged. The study sought to answer four research questions. The first three research questions were framed around these three contexts. For the purpose of this study, the ‘global’ level included influences from particular international sources, the ‘national’ level encompassed the Maldivian government, and the ‘local’ level mainly comprised individual powerful policy actors. Through the fourth research question this study also sought to reveal the implications of the findings for the development of education policies in the Maldives for the future, especially with accelerating globalisation.

Data collection involved a combination of document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Almost all available policy documents of the study period were perused and 35 key policy actors were interviewed. Of the five eras into which the 115-year study period was divided, there were no living persons from Era 1 (1900–1934). Thus, only documents were used as data sources for this era. For the remaining four eras, both interviews and documents were used as data sources. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 35 participants between May 2014 and December 2016. Purposive and snowball sampling were used to determine participants who included past and present government policy elite members, institutional leaders, school administrators and teachers.

The findings revealed several key themes in relation to the three contexts of the policy trajectory spanning 115 years of Maldivian education history. The dominant themes arising from the context of influences included international

policy borrowing, global education trends, catering for national development needs, equity and access, resource shortages, relevance of education to the Maldives and available employment, and the role of particular powerful individual policy actors. The less prominent themes relating to influences were cultural considerations, impact on behaviour and learning and impact on schools and teachers. Quality concerns had both influenced the development of some education policies and raised them. The policy text production was characterised by the major themes: catering for national development needs, the role of particular powerful individual policy actors, equity and access, resource shortages, relevance of education to the Maldives and available employment, cultural considerations and governance. The themes relating to policy practices/effects over the study period were equity and access, catering for the national development needs, quality, resource shortages, governance, power concentration, and finally relevance of education to the Maldives and available employment. Based on these findings sixteen theoretical propositions were synthesised from the study of the evolution of education policy processes in the Maldives over five eras from 1900 to 2015.

Several implications of the findings for the development of education policies in the Maldives were deduced from the study. The first of these implications deals with social efficiency, democratic equality, educational access, quality and resources. Other implications pertain to the need to contextualize overseas policies as well as improving regulatory mechanisms for quality and assessment. In addition, it was recommended that the Maldives revitalize both the technical and vocational education and training systems and higher education by prioritizing quality and labour market relevance of programmes. The thesis concludes by outlining a number of implications for future research and also providing an update on recent education policy developments in the Maldives between the conclusion of data collection in 2016 and thesis submission in mid-2017.

Keywords: Maldives, education policy evolution, policy trajectory, education and globalisation, education quality, equity and access, small island states, accountability.

DECLARATION

I, Aishath Ali, declare that the PhD thesis entitled “*Policy Processes in the Evolution of Education in the Maldives: 1900–2015*” is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Aishath Ali

15 June 2017

Date

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To graduate the first doctorate students within five years of MNU's accession to university status was one of the key goals of Dr Hassan Hameed upon confirmation as the founding Vice-Chancellor. In spite of many doubters and detractors, he pressed on with the goal, reading through the seminal papers of the disciplines of the two PhD candidates, supporting them with detailed and prompt feedback on multiple drafts, advising on structure and presentation, and scaffolding their attempts to write with coherence and cohesion. His support continued until the submission of the thesis. In one sense, this thesis owes its existence to these two erudite and extraordinary human beings.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BTEC	Business and Technology Education Council
EU	European Union
MDP	Maldivian Democratic Party
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
TVET	Technical and Vocation Education and Training
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United National Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United National International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aim and Context

Since the beginning of the 20th century, there had been a wide range of education policies implemented in the Maldives, each with the explicit aim of reforming the previous one for its shortcomings or addressing prevailing educational imperatives. Some of these policies resulted in unintended outcomes necessitating review or change of the policies. Yet, there had not been a comprehensive analysis of these policies for their successes, unintended outcomes and actual consequences. The aim of this study was to analyse key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the time period 1900–2015, using an extended ‘policy trajectory’ framework comprising policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects. Through this task, recurring themes in the production, enactment and longer term impacts of education policies on key aspects of Maldivian education were unravelled.

This study primarily examined the evolution of Maldivian education policies and it is, therefore, important to establish a brief outline of the social context as well as the education polycyscape of the country during the study period of 115 years. The year 1900 was chosen as the the start of the study period because in 1903 King Shamsudhdheen ascended the throne for the second time and the earliest available written record of education began from 1910. Thus, it was decided to set the study from the beginning of the twentieth century to include these two significant events. For ease of analysis, the period is divided into five eras roughly corresponding to the active periods of significant powerful policy actors.

Public government-funded education in the Maldives started in 1927 with the takeover of a private tuition class by the government (Salaahudhdheen, 2015). Soon after this takeover, in 1932, provision of education was mandated by the first constitution (Amin, 1947). However, educational opportunities remained limited and restricted to the elite and the aristocrats until the mid 1940s when actions were taken

to expand and strengthen the education system. These actions resulted in opportunities for females and island (rural) students to access public education (Official Records, n.d.). The educational opportunities available from abroad at government expense were also expanded in the 1940s.

In 1961, English medium instruction was introduced to the two government schools of Male', the capital. Soon after, there was a gradual cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas. Vocational education was expanded and institutionalized in the 1970s which resulted in the establishment of two post-secondary institutions.

The period from 1978 to 2008 witnessed the expansion of primary education, especially in rural islands, reaching almost all the school-age children. In addition, teacher training and secondary education were also expanded. However, schooling became a government-funded enterprise for the whole nation only in 2005. Prior to that year, most schools were run by communities in which they were located, receiving little financial and other assistance from the government. Following the first multi-party election in 2008, several education policy reforms were brought, of which decentralization and privatization were most notable. However, after three years, another change in government led to a reversal of the most significant reforms leading to increased authoritarianism in institutional governance in general, including education.

Key Concepts and Themes

There are some terms and concepts in education discourse such as 'policy' and 'globalisation' which are central to this thesis, but carry different meanings and connotations in normal discourse. Some of the terms and concepts relevant to the thesis are introduced here but they are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 3 (the literature review).

The term 'policy' encompasses a range of broad conceptual issues precluding a simple definition. From the literature, four broad dimensions to the definition of 'policy' can be identified: policy as text, policy as value-laden actions, policy as process, and policy as discursive (Ball, 1990; L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Rizvi &

Lingard, 2010). For the purpose of this study, the definitions ‘policy as process’ and ‘policy as discursive’ were highlighted as these approaches underpin the conceptual framework used for the study. The range of definitions for the term ‘policy’ itself highlights its contested nature.

Literature on education policy has identified dominant ideologies that influence the discourses of education policy at different periods (Ball, 1990; L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006). The most influential are often political ideologies. The major ideology dictating contemporary education policy direction in the 21st century is neo-liberalism associated with globalisation (Rizvi, 2017).

By the late decades of the 20th century the phenomenon of globalisation was increasingly steering the direction of education policy discourses. Globalisation can be explained as the interconnectedness across the world, or compression of space and time experienced as a result of advances in communication and transport (Bottery, 2006; Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001). The main ideology driving these discourses was that of neo-liberalism. Supporters of this philosophy promote free trade in an international market. Various authors have described economic globalisation, cultural globalisation and political globalisation as three of its main dimensions (Bottery, 2006; Morrow & Torres, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). One of the widely used terms in relation to globalisation is ‘global knowledge economy’. This concept implies that education can be treated as a commodity that can be exported for a high-value return (Ball, 2008; Peters, 2012; Roberts, 2009).

The incorporation of globalisation and neo-liberal ideology into education policy discourses resulted in redefining the purpose of education as preparing global citizens who can compete in the global knowledge economy (Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). To achieve the ‘new’ purpose of education, a universal set of education policy themes that go beyond nation states were enacted, resulting in the creation of a ‘global education policy field’ where nation states were subjected to dramatic effects (Hameed-ur-Rehman & Sewani, 2013).

Ascendance of neoliberal ideology had redefined the role of nation states in education. The degree of control the nation state had over education diminished giving rise to decentralisation (Welch, 2013). In addition, the state had been reduced to just a market player which tries to compete in an international market (Welch,

2013). These changes gave rise to privatisation, corporatisation and commercialization of education, along with greater accountability demands (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013).

Advances that characterize globalisation had trickled into teacher education policies and had resulted in reforms and tensions (Loomis, Rodriguez, & Tillman, 2008). The quality of teaching has become an important aspect of 21st century learning and is measured by means of international testing such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012). A common factor observed from high achieving countries taking PISA, such as Finland and Singapore, is the extensive investment the countries have made in making teaching a strong profession (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012).

However, in the second decade of the 21st century, scholars and commentators have noted that there is a rise in authoritarianism and nationalism on a global scale, including in the USA (Chacko & Jayasuriya, 2017; Linden, 2017). The effect of these changes and the tension between ‘globalists’ and ‘nationalists’ in education policy are continuing to play out in different ways.

According to Yates and Grummet (2011) education policy and curriculum are very closely linked. One of the major goals of the contemporary school curriculum is to promote the intellectual development of young people and to prepare them to contribute to a fast changing global knowledge economy (Yates & Young, 2010). Common trends aligning with the neo-liberal emphasis on markets, choice and accountability are seen in the curriculum policy of many countries (Lundahl, Arreman, Lundström, & Rönnerberg, 2010; Mangez, 2010; Yates & Collins, 2010). One such trend is the move towards an outcomes-based approach to assessment and a diminished role for subject-based content (Yates & Young, 2010). Though, many countries gave schools relative autonomy in curriculum determination in the 1970s, a move towards national curriculum standardization was observed in the latter part of the 20th century (OECD, 2014).

Education policy research is characterised by recurring concerns that are sometimes prominent and at other times inconsequential. Three main educational

concerns germane to this study are economic utility and human capital which foreground the need for ‘quality’ in education, citizenship and social justice, and marketization. Advocates of economic utility and human capital discourses argue that the more a nation state invests in developing the skills and knowledge of the citizens the better are its chances of national competitiveness (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006). Supporters of citizenship and social justice discourses maintain that education plays a role in eliminating societal inequalities and dealing with the sources of inequalities to ensure social justice (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Williamson, 2012). Those subscribing to free market theories claim that market forces increase the efficiency and standards of schools, making them more responsive and attractive to parents and students (Zhang, 2012). The three major sets of discourses have their pros and cons which are explored in Chapter 3.

Research Design and Research Questions

This section is a brief explanation of the research design employed in this study, which is further elaborated in Chapter 5 of the thesis. The first part describes an overview of the theoretical paradigms and the concept of ‘policy trajectory’. In the second part the research questions are outlined, derived from the concept of the policy trajectory.

Theoretical Framework

The evolution of education policy processes in the Maldives from 1900 to 2015 was analysed using a ‘policy trajectory’ approach, which itself has been modified over time (Ball, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007, 2013). Consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of policy trajectory approaches, the study drew on the two theoretical paradigms of critical theory and post-structuralism (Ball, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007, 2013).

A major milestone in policy analysis studies ensued from the redefinition of the term ‘policy’ by Stephen Ball in the 1990s as “both text and action, words and deeds” (Ball, 1994, p. 10). This definition gave rise to the view that policy is not a top-down linear process, but rather a whole process that incorporates the initial formation of policy and the behaviour that follows from it (Vidovich, 2007). Ball’s (1994)

approach portrayed the study of policy as a ‘messy process’ from which the practitioners cannot be excluded. Ball also brought in more post-structuralist perspectives to critical policy analysis.

The way power is perceived by critical theorists and post-structuralists is different. While critical theorists see power as centralized and the policy elite as having the control to promote their values through policies to drive policy in the directions they want, post-structuralists see power as decentralized (Olssen, Codd, & O’Neill, 2004). For post-structuralists power can circulate at different levels and can be either positive or negative (Vidovich, 2013). Though critical theory has a broader scope when analyzing macro-level and meso-level policy processes, the ideas put forward by the post-structuralists are believed to be more applicable to a micro-level analysis (Vidovich, 2013). Therefore, a hybrid theoretical approach as reflected in the policy trajectory framework, was chosen for this study to analyze both macro level constraints and micro level agency to generate a more comprehensive understanding of the complex policy processes involved. A hybrid approach incorporates both critical and post-structural lenses.

In their seminal work on the policy trajectory, Ball and colleagues proposed three contexts: the context of influence, the context of policy text production, and the context of practices/effect (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992). Later, two more contexts, namely the context of outcomes and the context of political strategy, were added to the policy trajectory (Ball, 1994, 2006; Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012; Vidovich, 2007, 2013). In this study, the primary emphasis was on the first three policy contexts—influence, policy text production and practices/effects—although the final two contexts were incorporated as long-term policy outcomes discussed in Chapter 12.

When applying the policy trajectory approach to policy analysis, the relative emphasis of critical theory and post-structuralism varies at different points. While critical theory is mainly used to identify the broader patterns of power operating at the macro level, the post-structuralists’ view is used to identify the different interpretations and enactments at the micro-level often within individual institutions (Vidovich, 2007, 2013). In recent years, analysis at the micro-level has become more important as politicians have started focusing on the outcomes of policies, and

evidence is required by all parties to see what really works (Braun, Ball, Maguire, & Hoskins, 2011; Vidovich, 2013).

As noted earlier, the 115-year study period was divided into five eras each of which roughly corresponded to the active time of a particular powerful policy actor, except for Era 5 which had no single significant policy actor. The data collection for Era 1 was based on extant documents, whilst both interview and document data were collected for the other eras. The main focal point of this study was on the ‘national level’ that comprised the Maldivian government and other non-governmental groups within the Maldives involved in education policy production. There was a need to delimit the scope as the study spanned 115 years. Thus the ‘local’ or institutional level, such as individual schools or universities were not considered in-depth for any era, unless policies directly concerned an individual institution. However, particular individual policy actors were considered within what is labelled as the ‘local’ level of the policy trajectory.

Research Questions

This study sought to investigate the following research questions:

1. How have global national and local influences affected education policy development in the Maldives between 1990 and 2015?
2. What were the features of the key policy texts in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives (1900–2015), and how were the policy texts produced?
3. What were the practices/effects stemming from each of the major education policy developments in the Maldives (1900–2015)?
4. What are the implications of the findings for the development of education policies in the Maldives for the future, especially with accelerating globalisation?

Data Collection and Analysis

A qualitative approach was used to study the evolution of education policy processes in the Maldives over the extended period of 115 years in this study. Throughout the

study, issues of researcher positionality were considered and measures were taken to limit biases (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Data collection was conducted between May 2014 and December 2016. Interviews were conducted with 35 participants comprising policy actors of different eras including past and present government elite policy members, institutional leaders and teachers.

Data was analysed using the five-phased cycle of data analysis described by Yin (2011). The findings are reported in Chapters 6 to 10, with one chapter for each era. The themes arising from findings are discussed in the light of literature to generate sixteen theoretical propositions in Chapter 11 and the implications of the findings are highlighted in Chapter 12.

Significance and Original Contribution of this Research

This study is significant at national level for the Maldives because in no extant document that was available has there been a systematic analysis of the post-1900 Maldivian education polycyscape. The task is made all the more critical and timely because many of the policy actors of the past century are at an advanced age and opportunities for data gathering available at the time of the study would soon expire. Furthermore, this study makes an original contribution to the field of globalised education policy analysis, with a case study of a small island developing nation in the manner discussed below.

First, the research will bring into light the distinctive educational values, systems and histories of the Maldives contributing new knowledge on Maldivian history, culture and tradition. Based on the reasons for successes, failures and consequences of Maldivian educational policies, one of the intentions of the researcher is to explore the policy prospects for the present and future. According to McCulloch (1997), people tend to use experiences from history when they make decisions regarding present and future. Hence, it is believed that if a particular idea or approach has been tried before, even in different contexts and circumstances, past results can act as an empirical evidence base for on-going policy refinement and development.

Second, the study of the evolution of the Maldives education polycscape in the past century explicates the many factors that have engendered the complex contemporary education system of the Maldives. Hence, this study makes a significant and original contribution to scholarship specifically in the area of education policy processes in the Maldives and possibly in other small island states.

Third, the study is significant because of the international dimension of this research in that the global/international influences on the policies and their practices/effects are examined. Although the study is based in the Maldivian context, similar studies conducted in other countries have shown that close parallels can exist in the way countries react to prevailing ‘global’ conditions, depending on their development stage (Bottery, 2000; Phillips, 2003). With accelerating globalisation in the past forty years, education policies across nations are becoming more similar in their aims and goals, although there is increasing recognition that how a state reacts to global pressures is context-specific (Bottery, 2000; Braun et al., 2011). Policy processes of states are constantly subject to local and outside pressures. Global–local dynamics in education policy processes are complex and require investigation (Vidovich, 2013). Studies of this nature will help bring into light the complex web of contestations and negotiations that occur from global to local levels of policy processes. It is anticipated that this study will enrich the literature on evolution of education in developing countries, especially small island states.

Finally, the study will contribute to methodologies used in policy analysis. In particular, the combination of historical and contemporary education policy analysis will make an original contribution because of the study’s unusually long study period.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains 12 chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the next chapter, Chapter 2, outlines the context of the research essential to unravel and understand the education policy trajectory. The chapter also discusses the education polycscape of the United Kingdom and the United States of America—two countries that have had a major impact on education systems of many others. The education systems of India and Sri Lanka that have had a notable impact on the education system of the Maldives

are also outlined. These four education systems are explicated so that the evolution of contemporary education system of the Maldives in the 20th and 21st centuries may be better understood.

Chapter 3 examines the key concepts of policy, ideologies shaping education policy, globalisation, discourses shaping education policy and key concepts in education policy. The concepts include quality, equity and access, new forms of governance in education, quality teachers and curricular reforms.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical frameworks used to analyse the education policy processes of the Maldives from 1900 to 2015. Here the importance of theory to understand the research and the role of conceptual frameworks for guiding the research are discussed. Critical theory and post-structuralism which form the foundations of the policy trajectory approach used in this study are also examined. For each theory, the basic assumptions are discussed followed by implications for education policy research, and then the relevant critiques. The final section of the chapter explicates the ‘policy trajectory’ approach and the more contemporary ‘policy network’ approach in greater detail.

Chapter 5 outlines a discussion of the methods used in this study. The chapter begins with a description of qualitative research design. The first section also discusses researcher positionality in qualitative research. The second part of this chapter presents the four research questions that guided the study. The third section of the chapter outlines the methods of data collection (interviews and documents), sampling techniques and participant coding. The subsequent section explicates the approach to data analysis which is followed by a discussion of ethical considerations.

Chapters 6 to 10 present the findings of the study, answering the first three research questions for each era. Chapter 6 reports the findings from the Salaahudhdeen Era (1900–1934) and Chapter 7 reports the findings from the Amin Era (1935–1953). Chapter 8 reports the findings from the Nasir Era (1954–1978), followed by the findings of the Maumoon Era (1978–2008) in Chapter 9, and then the Post-Maumoon Era (2009–2015) in Chapter 10.

Chapter 11 presents the ‘bigger picture’ comprising common and contrasting themes, insights and perspectives from the study of education policy processes in the

Maldives across the whole policy trajectory over the study period 1900–2015. The chapter compares and contrasts the influences, policy texts and practices/effects across each of the five eras, identifies overall trends/patterns, and finally discusses the findings about influences, policy texts and practices over the 115-year period in relation to the literature. Additionally, 16 theoretical propositions generated from the three policy contexts (influences, policy texts and practices) are presented. Chapter 11 also outlines the reflections on the theoretical framework used for the study.

Chapter 12 concludes the thesis. In the first section of the chapter, the fourth research question is answered by pointing to potential longer term effects of evolving policies and discussing the implications of the findings for the development of Maldivian education policies for the future. In addition, the chapter identifies a number of implications for further research arising from the considerations of limitations of the study. The final section of the chapter outlines the major education policy developments, both global and national, that had occurred since the end of data collection in 2016. The section underscores the increasing role of supranational bodies on nation states and global education trends.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, gives the essential background necessary to understand the study context.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The focus of this study is the trajectory of education policy development in the Maldives for the period 1900–2015. The country underwent transformative changes in this period. This chapter outlines the context of the research essential to reveal and understand the education policy trajectory. The intended meaning of context is the social, historical, political and cultural environment of the research setting that has had substantive bearing on the production and enactment of education policies. First, a brief geography of the country is presented, followed by a succinct discussion of historical background leading to the period of the study. The chapter ends with a brief history of the evolution of education systems in the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), India and Sri Lanka. These education systems have had a great impact on the education system of the Maldives as well as other countries of the region.

Geography of the Maldives

The Maldives is an archipelago of about 1190 small coral islands, the northern tip of which is about 520 kilometres west of Cape Comorin (India) and 765 kilometres south west of Colombo (Sri Lanka) respectively. These islands are distributed in groups of atolls in a territory of 90,000 square kilometres. An atoll is a low lying reef sometimes circular but generally of irregular shape enclosing usually a deep lagoon. The islands formed when the reefs grow above the sea level. The total land area is 298 square kilometres making the average island area only 24 hectares. The largest island is 8 kilometres long. The shape of the country is a double chain of 26 natural atolls. There are many unique features of the

Maldives. As 99.99% of the country is sea, it is the most marine country in the world. There are no mountains or rivers. The highest point is about 2.4 metres making the Maldives the flattest country in the world. In high tide the lowest points may be under water. Some islands are washed away due to ocean currents and climate change, and some get formed and re-formed in due course. The coastlines are ever changing as they are all beaches.

The number of inhabited islands varied from 217 to 195 in the study period. Islands become depopulated due to disease, water scarcity, climate change and government directives to consolidate the population. As coral sand is highly alkaline and both water and land are scarce, agriculture is difficult, but along the reef shores fish are plentiful. For administrative reasons, the islands are grouped into a lesser number of atolls than the natural 26 atolls. Over time, the number of administrative atolls has varied from 13 to 19 (H. C. P. Bell, 1940). Each atoll has a capital island except for one which has one island only. Male' is the national capital island where the seat of the government is located. Male' has always been the most populous island in the study period, and would rank in 2015 as the fifth most densely populated island in the world with about 110,000 people in about five square kilometres. However, nationwide only five islands have a population greater than 5,000. Most islands have a population between 1000 and 2000 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). This unique geography has had a great impact on the education policies of the country.

In the long study period (1900–2015), the population of the country grew fivefold. Table 2.1 shows the population at various available data points over the period. The data for the year 1900 was not available. The closest year for which data was available was for 1889 for which year the population aged between 15 and 55 years was about 45,000. This data was collected for taxation purposes and did not include the young and the aged (Latheef, 1991). However, using extrapolation techniques, an estimate of the population in 1900 would be 60 to 70 thousand.

Table 2.1

Population of the Maldives in the Period 1911–2014

Year	Total Population	Sex Ratio M/F	Year	Total Population	Sex Ratio M/F
1911	72,237	119	1972	122,673	112
1921	70,413	118	1977	142,832	111
1931	79,281	120	1985	180,088	108
1946	82,068	114	1990	213,215	106
1953	77,273	117	1995	244,814	104
1957	83,075	116	2000	270,101	103
1962	92,744	114	2006	298,968	103
1967	103,801	114	2014	341,256	103

Source: Data to 1990: Latheef (1991, p. 143). Data from 1990: National Bureau of Statistics, (2015, Table 3.1)

The historical background leading to the study period is also critical to an understanding of the research as policies often evolve over time in incremental small steps which may lead to significant change over extended periods.

A Brief History of the Maldives Leading to the Study Period

Radiocarbon dating of the coral which make up the island has concluded that the islands were formed approximately 6000 years ago—recent in terms of geological time (Ali, 2000). The islands have been settled for at least 2250 years. From linguistic and epigraphical evidence, it is known that the early settlers were peoples from neighbouring Sri Lanka and the southern coast of India (Mohamed & Ragupathy, 2005). However, genetic ancestry testing shows that there is significant genetic diversity in the population since the Maldives is located on a major sea route. In 1153, Maldivians converted from Buddhism to Islam *en masse*—a significant event for education in the country.

For almost all of its history, the Maldives has been an independent country reigned by kings and queens except for brief periods of foreign invasions and short-lived imposed rule. H. C. P. Bell (1940, p. 48) noted:

The Sultans have been, past the records of their country, Sovereigns of the Maldivian Group, and have ever, so far as is known, exercised Supreme Rule in the internal affairs of the Islands uncontrolled by other nation; except on the rare and temporary occasions of forcible Foreign interposition, such as that of the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century.

In the first of these ‘interpositions’ the Portuguese, who were the dominant sea power in South Asia, were the aggressors. They invaded the country in 1558, killed the reigning king and took over the country. They were driven away 17 years later. In the second imposition, the invaders were sent by the reigning king of Cannanore (a Kingdom in Southern India) in 1752. However, four months later, they were repelled as well. In the meantime, in neighbouring Sri Lanka, the Portuguese dominance gave way to Dutch, and finally to British rule in 1789. Then after some ‘undignified shuffling’, as described by H. C. P. Bell (1940) a contemporary British civil servant resident in Sri Lanka, the reigning king was forced to sign an agreement with the British recognizing the suzerainty of Britain over the Maldives on 16th December 1887. However, there was no large presence of the imperial powers at any time in the Maldives, perhaps because the Maldives has little to be taken away in terms of natural resources or wealth. When the 20th century began, the Maldives was ruled by a regent as the legal king was too young to assume the royal duties.

For ease of discussion, the study period has been divided into five eras, each of which is named after a significant policy actor. The short historical review above leads to the first era of the five periods into which this study had been divided. The first era is named after a famous poet, judge, writer and scholar and each of the remaining eras is named after a significant political leader. The five eras are (1) Salaahudhdheen Era (1900–1934), (2) Amin Era (1935–1953), (3) Nasir Era (1954–1978), (4) Maumoon Era (1979–2008) and (5) the Post-Maumoon Era (2008–2015). The last era witnessed three presidencies with no singular eminent policy actor. The political context and the major education developments of each era will be explicated in detail in the five chapters on findings.

In this period of 115 years, the education system of the Maldives had expanded beyond recognition. What started with basic informal school settings known as ‘*edhuruge*’ [literally teacher’s house] run by individuals or communities expanded during the study 115-year period into a full-fledged public-funded education system by 2005. Universalisation of primary education was achieved by 2000 with unprecedented access to secondary education. Although the first government school initially admitted only boys in 1927, by 2015 the majority of the students in the school system were girls and they are, on average, better academic achievers than boys at the time of thesis submission in mid-2017. The medium of instruction was changed from Dhivehi to English in 1961 to permit teaching by expatriates and to participate in higher education overseas through international examinations so that overseas training and education becomes feasible.

In 2015, the Maldives literacy rate was the highest of the eight countries in South Asia and the gross enrolment ratio in all levels of schooling exceeds that of all the other countries of South Asia. However, unlike many neighbours, education in the Maldives is not completely free (Dhivehibahaa Thaareekhah Khidhmaikuraa Qaume Marukazu, 2004).

Next, the history of education in some selected countries is summarized because they form a relevant backdrop to the developments in the Maldives.

History of Education in Selected Countries

To understand the nature of issues and trends in the evolution of education policy and to assess the prospects of addressing them effectively, it is important to consider the development of a few education systems historically. Therefore, this section outlines the evolution of modern education systems in countries that have had a great impact on the education system of the world, including the Maldives. This background is pertinent to appreciate the contemporary education system of the Maldives as well as the major education reforms of the study period.

The education systems discussed are those of the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA), India and Sri Lanka. As history is a complex and intricate field of study, the account included in this review is necessarily very brief and focuses on the major milestones in their education development. Of the four systems outlined, those of Sri Lanka and UK had the greatest impact on the education system of the Maldives. The systems of USA and India are included for completeness and comparison.

History of Education in United Kingdom

Walkup (2013) identifies four landmark events in the history of education of the UK. They are the Elementary Education Act 1870 or the Foster Act, the Education Act 1944 or the Butler Act, the Plowden Report 1967 and the Education Act 1988.

The few schools found in the UK before the 18th century were generally grammar schools often affiliated with churches and they provided education for the nobility and future priests and monks. Schools were also run by chantries which were endowments made for priests to celebrate masses for the founder's soul after his or her death. Charities not associated with a particular Church started 'public' schools which denoted that they were open to the general public irrespective of religious beliefs. In other words, confusingly, 'public' schools in England are actually private schools. These schools provided the manpower for running the British colonies, and the colonies themselves replicated the school systems of the UK (Gordon, Aldrich, & Dean, 1991).

With the enactment of the 1833 Factory Act, employers were required to provide schooling for two hours for their child workers. At this time, the 'national' school systems comprised factory schools, work schools and schools run by religious bodies (Gordon et al., 1991). The enactment of the Education Act of 1870—most commonly known as the Foster Education Act—was the impetus for a national compulsory system of elementary education in the UK (Ball, 2008; Gordon et al., 1991; Walkup, 2013). Some scholars argue that even though the passing of the Forster Act is presented frequently as the beginning of universal, free state education in the UK, it took about 25 years and three further Acts of the

Parliament before a free compulsory universal system of elementary education was established (Gordon et al., 1991; Murphy, Mufti, & Kassem, 2009).

The next major development in the evolution of schooling in the UK was the 1944 Butler Act. The Butler Act established three main types of schools, namely, grammar schools, secondary modern schools and technical schools. The Act raised the school leaving age to 15 years. Children were allocated to different streams (grammar, secondary modern and technical) on the basis of an examination at the age of 11 years, known as the '11-plus'. As with the Forster Act, the Butler Act was also subjected to criticism and resistance. At the time the Act was ratified, there was a shortage of teachers, buildings and resources and the opponents saw the Butler Act as lacking direction (Murphy et al., 2009). Equity was questioned when the government provided differential funding for grammar schools and secondary modern schools (Gordon et al., 1991).

The Plowden Report of 1967 emphasized the importance of individual differences between children (Gillard, 2009; Walkup, 2013). The impact of this Act was practically expressed by changing the curriculum to tap the children's intrinsic motivation which promoted independent learning (Gillard, 2009; Walkup, 2013). The report advocated a three-tier schooling system—primary, middle-school, and secondary. Other suggestions of the report included more male teachers for primary schools, cancellation of '11-plus' examinations for streaming in secondary schools, abolition of corporal punishment, affirmative action for under-achievers, greater home-school contacts, and reduction in student-teacher ratios.

Neo-liberalism was the dominant force when Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979. Her government was well known for its advocacy of marketization, closing down or selling off state enterprises and profound social restructuring. In education, she sought to marketise schooling and to diminish the power of local education authorities (Gordon et al., 1991; Walkup, 2013). The result of Thatcherism in education was the Education Act 1988 which mandated a national curriculum for primary and secondary schooling as well as a national

system of school assessments (Ball, 2008; Walkup, 2013). The national curriculum disregarded individual differences among students and advocated that all students experience a shared set of knowledge, skills and standards (Walkup, 2013). Inspection of schools every four years was mandated in 1992. Other profound changes Prime Minister Thatcher brought to the education system include allowing schools to ‘opt out’ of local authority control and gain access to funds direct from the central government, using a ‘voucher’ system for parents to choose schools, publishing school performance openly, cancelling ‘11-plus’ examinations, disbanding the University Grants Commission, terminating permanent tenure for academics, subjecting university funding to bureaucratic controls, and converting polytechnics to universities. In 1998, the government introduced tuition fees for higher education in the UK (Ball, 2008; R. Edwards, 1989; Walkup, 2013). Some authors have commented that Thatcher’s stand against local education authorities was due, in part, political because most local authorities were controlled by Liberals (R. Edwards, 1989).

In the first two decades of the 21st century, Thatcherism continued to shape education in the UK. In 2015, Prime Minister Cameron noted on his 100th day in office that underperforming schools may opt out to become ‘academies’ (“David Cameron Sets,” 2015). Academies which were initially promoted by Prime Minister Tony Blair, in 2000, were directly funded by the central government with additional financial support provided by individuals, companies, trusts or universities to improve struggling schools. The aim was threefold: they helped to weaken the power of the Local Education Authority, they were allowed to recruit students based on ‘aptitude’, and they advanced the marketisation of education by involving private enterprise in school governance (“David Cameron Sets,” 2015). Opponents had criticized academies as a form of privatisation and that there was little evidence that they supported enhanced learning (Gillard, 2008; Hatcher, 2006). These authors noted that narrow vocational subjects which were counted as equivalent to traditional subjects were inflating the performance of academies. For higher salaries, staff were required to work longer hours and, in some cases, in the holidays as well. Though academy schools were initially

established to improve struggling schools, by August 2015, half of all secondary schools in the UK were academy schools. In August 2015, Prime Minister Cameron announced that he wished all UK schools become academies (Cook, 2016; Gillard, 2008).

The UK has a long history of education in the sense of grammar and independent schools. Compulsory secondary schooling has existed for less than 100 years. The Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) tests conducted by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has shown decreasing ‘quality’ of the British school system in comparison with other countries; UK ranked 15th overall in the PISA league table of 2015 (Pells, 2016). In more recent times, free schools which were smaller ‘studio schools’ and university technical colleges had been established within the same funding framework as academies.

History of Education in USA

Similar to the UK, early American education was private and religious and was available to the masses, long before the public education system came into existence (Ornstein & Levine, 1984). The system of public education in the USA had its roots in the early 19th century and this system arose in response to the influx of immigrants with different religious and cultural backgrounds (Johanningmeier & Richardson, 2008; Yanushevsky, 2011). The purpose of this system was to establish social order, to mainstream the immigrant children into a common school setting (Horn, 2002; Ornstein & Levine, 1984; Yanushevsky, 2011) and to “serve the political requirements articulated by the founders of the newly created American Republic at the end of the eighteenth century and the requirements of the nineteenth century industrial nation-state” (Johanningmeier & Richardson, 2008, p. 92).

At the onset of the nineteenth century, Horace Mann worked on establishing a mandatory schools system in the USA to ensure social stability and promote common values and beliefs (Horn, 2002). His dream became a reality in 1840 with the establishment of a free universal elementary education system, also

known as ‘common schools’ (Yanushevsky, 2011). The system was publicly funded, locally controlled and played a dual role as a means of social control mechanism (Johanningmeier & Richardson, 2008). The schools prevailed as a successful system until the last decade of the 20th century when the schooling system was threatened by the increased control of education by the state and the federal governments with the ascendance of neo-liberal principles.

In the second half of the 19th century all the states mandated compulsory attendance laws which required children to attend school for a designated period of time (Johanningmeier & Richardson, 2008). The curriculum of the common schools was limited to the basics of English literacy and arithmetic, fundamental skills such as reading, writing, reasoning and oral communication. Additionally, the curriculum included the knowledge and skills needed to pursue further learning to succeed in chosen fields, and to assume the roles of an informed citizenry (Yanushevsky, 2011).

However, the curriculum of the common schools was inadequate for jobs that require higher levels of education, and the public started demanding more as they realised the value of graduating from high school to the individual student and the society as a whole (Horn, 2002; Ornstein & Levine, 1984; Yanushevsky, 2011). The increased pressure from the public on the government resulted in the opening of the first public secondary schools in the USA in Boston in 1821 (Yanushevsky, 2011). By the end of the 19th century public secondary schools started outnumbering private educational institutions that were in existence since 1751 (Goldin, 1999). With the growth in the number of high schools, the quality of public education also improved. The secondary curriculum was expanded to include algebra, geometry, American history, book-keeping and surveying (Yanushevsky, 2011). In addition, towns with a population greater than 4000 were required to teach general history, rhetoric, logic, Latin and Greek (Yanushevsky, 2011).

Industrial progress and business development in the latter decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century started changing the

requirements set for education (Horn, 2002). Science was introduced to school curricula and the value of higher education became evident (Yanushevsky, 2011). Students appreciated the value of high school diplomas that could be used as tickets to gain access to good colleges and a more successful life (Yanushevsky, 2011). Soon after the beginning of the 20th century, there was a significant rise in the high school attendance rate and after the Fair Labour Act of 1938, most states enacted legislation that mandated compulsory education until the age of 16 years (Yanushevsky, 2011).

The decades of the 1950s and the 1960s brought relative economic prosperity to the USA with the expansion of its economy (Yanushevsky, 2011). There was a boom in the employment opportunities available for the youth with better wages. Many youth took this opportunity to gain employment without higher education. As the compulsory education laws were not rigidly enforced, the quality of education became poorer and contrary to the expectation, the highly qualified workforce that was needed was not produced (Yanushevsky, 2011).

Kessinger (2011) has identified four initiatives that played key roles in education reforms of America. These include the National Defense Education Act of 1958, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, The National Assessment of Educational Progress and the Education Act of 2001 otherwise known as ‘No Child Left Behind’.

The National Defense Education Act passed by the Congress in 1958 to meet the demands posed by national security needs (and to compete with the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology) provided funding to improve American schools and to promote postsecondary education (Kessinger, 2011). Although the 10th Amendment to the USA Constitution makes education a function of the states, the National Defense Education Act marked the beginning of the large-scale involvement of the national government in education by tying funding to the Act. This way the federal government played a major role when deciding the content and process of schooling for the children of USA (Kessinger, 2011).

In 1965, Congress passed the first series of Elementary and Secondary Acts that aimed at achieving equity in society through educational reform (Horn, 2002). Funds were tied to this Act to help educate the disadvantaged so as to reduce poverty. Federal involvement in education continued throughout the 1970s, resulting in the conception of Education Amendments to the Civil Rights Act which prohibited discrimination of women in any educational programmes (Horn, 2002; Kessinger, 2011). Several other Acts such as the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974 and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act were also drafted to eradicate the equity issues that existed at the time (Horn, 2002).

In 2002, with support from both parties, Congress passed the 'No Child Left Behind Act' which was a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, obligating school children to take annual standardized tests (Kessinger, 2011). The student performance in these tests was tied to government funds. The central goal of this Act was to improve educational opportunities available for children from low income families.

According to Goldin (1999), three major transformations occurred in the education system of USA. The first transformation provided mass education at the elementary (i.e., eight grade) level and occurred during the nineteenth century. The second transformation which happened in the first few decades of the 20th century provided mass education to secondary level. The third transformation was concentrated in bringing the majority of youth through four years of higher education.

History of Education in India

The landmass that now constitutes India at present was not a single country about 200 years ago. It comprised many kingdoms. This section discusses the education systems in the main kingdoms of ancient India. The periods that had major impacts on the education system of Ancient India were the Vedic period, the Mauryan period, the Gupta period and the post-Gupta period (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012).

In the Vedic period learning was imparted orally by teachers known as ‘gurus’ whilst the student was expected to fully or partially memorise texts. The curriculum included grammar, logic and metaphysics. Education was considered a privilege reserved only for the upper castes (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012).

The Mauryan period brought major changes to the Indian society with the development of urban centres and trade. With the need to prepare skilled people for the various trades, the mercantile community started playing an active role in the provision of education (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012). People were trained for the various trades such as carpentry, mining, metallurgy, weaving, dyeing, astronomy, navigation, building and architecture (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012).

In the Gupta period, Buddhist monasteries became prominent as educational institutions when they started admitting students for a period of 10 years. The monasteries were funded by kings and the rich mercantile class. The subjects taught in these monasteries included Vedanta, philosophy, study of the *Puranas*, epics, grammar, logic, astronomy, philosophy and medicine. However, later Jainism and Buddhism lost royal patronage and their monasteries lost its place as education centres. In the post-Gupta period, colleges known as ‘ghatikas’ attached to the temples emerged as centers of learning (Nurullah & Naik, 1951). These temple colleges provided Brahmanical education, and only children from upper castes were admitted to them, distancing common people from education (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012). The ghatikas were similar to the church and monastery based religious education in the UK.

Islamic education was introduced to India with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206 which followed the system in Baghdad (Gupta, 2007; Nurullah & Naik, 1951). ‘Makthabs’ and ‘madrasas’ were set up as educational institutions to provide school education and higher education respectively (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012). The makthabs were run by public donations while the madrasas were maintained by the rulers. The curriculum

included traditional sciences which consist of ‘Traditions’, law, history and literature, and the rational sciences that comprise logic, philosophy, medicine, mathematics and astronomy.

European and Christian influences started creeping into the education system of India in the first few decades of the 17th century (Gupta, 2007), which culminated in the conquest of India in the 19th century. Nurullah and Naik (1951, p. 1) trace the roots of the modern system of Indian education to the Charter Act 1813, which called for Indian citizens to set aside a sum of not less than one lakh rupees for the “revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among inhabitants of the British territories in India”. This is the onset of British colonial education policy and the intention of this policy was to promote both oriental culture and western science (Whitehead, 2005).

English was adopted as the official language of the government and in 1844, the government decided to employ Indians who had received English education only (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012). The British encouraged the teaching of English language in educational institutions as they were in need of people to work for them. During this period Christian missionaries came to India and started establishing Church-run schools which taught in English. These schools were based on predominantly Roman Catholic beliefs and Christianity’s focus on individual salvation (Gupta, 2007).

Though teaching of English was encouraged by the British to suit their interests, it was useful to Indians in many other ways. English became the common language that was used across the country where a great many languages spoken in this vast country lacked the status of a *lingua franca* (Gupta, 2007). In addition, English literacy gave them opportunities to read newspapers and books from other countries and, as a result, opened their minds to ideas such as democracy, equality and brotherhood.

After his survey in 1835, the British scholar William Adam reported that as early as the first decades of the 19th century, there were about 10000 schools in the Indian states of Bengal and Bihar alone (Gupta, 2007). Hence, Gupta (2007) implies that every village in India had a school long before British colonisation. Evidence is presented in written records that as early as the 250 B.C, free education was available to all except for unskilled workers throughout India. Wood's Despatch of 1854 obligated universities to be set up in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta (The National Institute of Open Schooling, 2012). The Despatch also emphasized the development of private enterprise, a system of grants-in-aid, training teachers in the schools and women's education.

The 21st century had seen quite a number of reform initiatives taken by the Indian government to improve its education system. One such landmark reform was the constitutional amendment that was brought in 2002 making elementary education a fundamental right of every child of India (Tilak, 2013). This amendment was operationalised in 2009 with the 'Right to Education Act 2009'. The Act mandated the provision of free and compulsory education of satisfactory quality to all the children of the age group 6–14 years (Gupta, 2007; Tilak, 2013).

The current system of education in India has four stages: pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher education. Pre-primary education was mandated in India by the establishment of the National Policy on Education in 1986 (Gupta, 2007). At present primary education is provided from Grades 1 to 8 which are divided into lower Primary and Upper Primary (Gupta, 2007). The curriculum of primary schooling became more academic and acted as a preparation for the Board Examinations the students take in the secondary grades. India has a very well developed higher education system.

History of Education in Sri Lanka

The history of early education in Sri Lanka can be divided into four distinct periods. They are the Ancient and Medieval period (543 BC to 1500 AD), the Portuguese Period (1505 to 1658), the Dutch Period (1658 to 1796) and the British

Period (1796 to 1948) (Baldsing, 2013). The current post-independence period is not included in the above categorization.

The main purpose of education in Sri Lanka in the medieval period was aimed at spreading Buddhism, just as in other countries (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). During this period, elementary education such as reading, writing and religious education was imparted exclusively to boys in temples and homes of Brahmin teachers (Jayaweera, 2007). Advanced education at the secondary and higher levels was also available for Brahmin gurus in their homes or in Buddhist Monastic Centres (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). Brahmin tutors also tutored the elite and royal families privately. The Brahmin education system in Sri Lanka was elite and organised on a caste basis and hence, only the upper castes—the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas—received a formal education (Jayaweera, 2007). Due to this elite system, upward social mobility was not possible. The curriculum of the Brahmin system was limited comprising *Veda*, grammar, the science of numbers, astronomy, logic, law, and ethics (Jayaweera, 2007). Royals were taught the duties of a king, the science of politics, logic and military arts.

The Brahmin education system survived for more than 2000 years of the ancient and medieval periods (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). However, the system was unable to compete with the emerging modern educational institutions following colonisation by three European powers (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007).

The early modern period saw the colonisation of Sri Lanka by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Portuguese ruled Sri Lanka for 150 years from 1505 till the mid-17th century (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). During their reign, the Portuguese treated education as a tool for religious conversion and as an instrument for political and social agency to strengthen their administration (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). Available records show that few students enrolled in these schools (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007).

An advanced system of schooling was provided by the Portuguese to the sons of royalty and elite families in seminaries (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). A landmark event in Sri Lankan education history was the opening of the Jesuit Seminary or College in 1605 (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). The same curriculum that was taught in Portuguese schools was taught in this college using Portuguese as a medium of instruction. Some members of the royal family were sent to Lisbon for higher education to ensure that they absorbed the Portuguese culture (Jayaweera, 2007). The Portuguese considered handicraft and other useful skills as manual labour and its instruction was thus confined to only slaves. During the reign of the Portuguese, the old educational institutions continued to function in the interior and coastal areas despite the hostile actions from the administration.

The Dutch drove the Portuguese away from the coastal areas of Sri Lanka in 1658 and established their rule for another 150 years until the British drove them away at the end of the 18th century (Jayaweera, 2007). Similar to the Portuguese, the mission of the Dutch was to convert the Sri Lankans to their religion—Protestant Christianity (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). Hence, churches and schools were set up for this purpose. An official organization known as Scholarchal Commission was established to spread and control education and to enforce their policy on compulsory education (Jayaweera, 2007). In order to teach Christianity, reading and writing was taught in Dutch parish schools and parents were asked to send their boys and girls to these schools (Baldsing, 2013). Eight years of schooling was mandated and the students were graduated from the schools with a certificate after an inspector from the Scholarchal Commission examined students in religion, reading, and writing (Jayaweera, 2007). The Dutch parish schools were the first formal provision of education in the country for girls (Baldsing, 2013).

In the reign of the Dutch, advanced education was provided by the Dutch seminaries in Colombo and Jaffna (Baldsing, 2013; Jayaweera, 2007). The main objective of these seminaries was to educate and create a Christian elite group and to train people to assist in the Dutch administration (Jayaweera, 2007). The

education provided in the Colombo Seminary was western in nature and modelled on similar institutions in Holland (Jayaweera, 2007).

The educational institutions of both Dutch and the Portuguese were confined to the coastal areas and the education provided only affected the lives of few families. Most of the Sri Lankan children grew up in their local cultural contexts and were educated in the traditional education system based on the local religion (Jayaweera, 2007).

In the nineteenth century, the schools that were set up by the Dutch during their colonisation were replaced by British schools (Jayaweera, 2007). The British continued the Portuguese and Dutch systems and their purpose was also to change the religion of the Sri Lankans to Anglican Christianity (Baldsing, 2013).

Two systems of schooling were created by the British in Sri Lanka (Baldsing, 2013). In one type of schooling, the medium of instruction used was English. These types of schools were located in major cities and education was provided up to tertiary levels. The second type of schools was located in rural areas. In these schools the medium of instruction was Sinhala or Tamil, and the highest level taught was primary Grade-5 (Baldsing, 2013). Rural schools, often referred to as ‘village schools’, were considered inferior by those taught in the English medium thereby creating a class system in education. These two distinct types of education developed by the British continue to be contentious educational issues in Sri Lanka to the present day (Jayaweera, 2007).

Around mid-1800s, the British started training locals to administer the colonies as the financial and economic burden of filling the positions by British nationals started becoming too high (Perera, 1969). A landmark event of this approach was the opening of Colombo Academy in 1836 to train teachers in English medium in city schools (Baldsing, 2013). According to Baldsing (2013) this action further divided the elite from the poor in terms of access to quality education as the children living in rural areas did not have access to a quality English education.

A new movement came into prominence in the mid-nineteenth century when the number of Christian schools increased in number, and Buddhists and Hindus were compelled to attend Christian schools. The religious groups, Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims started schools in various provinces of the country to counteract this movement (Baldsing, 2013). The first university was established in 1942.

Summary

In broad terms, this chapter provides a descriptive account of the Maldives' geography and history from medieval times to provide a background to the study period of 1900–2015. In addition, it presents the educational reforms in four countries: UK, USA, India and Sri Lanka. In some ways, the education systems of these countries have parallels in the education system of the Maldives.

The last section of this chapter was a brief description of the evolution of the education systems in four countries that have had direct or indirect influences on the education systems of the world and the Maldives. The four countries, namely, UK, USA, India and Sri Lanka, had experienced parallel developments, albeit with context-specific differences, in their education systems, though the time the major reforms occurred were different for the four countries. In ancient times religious parties dominated the education scenario, their main intention was to spread religious knowledge. Another common factor seen in the four countries was that education was at first provided only for the elite and invariably for males. With the ascendance of globalisation and neo-liberal ideology, the purpose of education changed gradually and in the 21st century, it is focused on creating a global citizen to work in the global knowledge economy. The history of education reform in the countries considered in this short review shows the changing role of government in the administration of the education from no involvement to a State-enterprise.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature relevant to the study. It is organised into five sections. This first section deals with notions associated with ‘policy’ as a concept. The different definitions of the concept of policy and the various types of policies are examined in this section. The second section is an outline of the different ideologies that shape education policy. The third section discusses globalisation and its increasing influence on shaping and directing education policy change agendas in recent decades. The fourth section discusses the major discourses in education policy, highlighting both economic and social discourses and potential tensions between them. In the fifth section, key concepts in education policy in the 21st century are outlined. The final section is a summary of the chapter.

Policy

This section on policy is divided into two main parts. The section starts with an explanation of the different ways the term policy is contextualised in literature. It is followed by a description of types of policies.

Defining policy. The term ‘policy’ encompasses a range of broad conceptual ideas which have engendered varying definitions. The range of definitions underscores that the concept ‘policy’ is multidimensional, evolving and is continually in a state of flux. The many definitions for the term also highlight its contested nature (Ball, 1990; L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013; Weymann, 2010).

Four broad approaches to defining ‘policy’ can be identified in the literature: policy as text, policy as value-laden actions, policy as process, and policy as discursive (Ball, 1990; L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013; Weymann, 2010). These approaches are explicated in the following paragraphs.

The first approach to policy is the traditional definition which specifies policy as a product that includes a set of goals or guidelines that are set to achieve a certain purpose (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Colebatch, 1998; T. Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013). This first view considers policy as written or spoken text dictated by policy makers and expected to be followed by policy subjects to whom the policy is directed. Contemporary policy scientists have identified the limitations of defining policy as merely a text or a product (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013). According to these scholars, the ‘product’ view discredits the role of policy subjects and divorces the policy text from the context within which it is enacted.

The second approach to policy considers it as value laden actions (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013). In the 1970s, this approach to policy highlighted policy features such as the “pursuit of primarily political objectives”, “the operational statement of values” and “the authoritative allocation of values” (Kogan, 1975, cited in Jones, 2013, p. 15); that is, values and politics. Kogan also identified four sets of values that inform and shape policy: educational values, social values, economic values and institutional values (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013). This second approach to policy has several strengths such as highlighting the internal deliberations of the policy elite and the influences key policy actors have in the policy-making process. However, this view does not include the role of other policy actors at various stages of the policy process, nor does it accommodate how policies are experienced and received by these actors (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013).

The third approach to policy conceptualises it as a process. Since the 1980s, policy has been identified as a process consisting of a succession of

decisions based on negotiations, contestations and struggles among different groups inside and outside the formal machinery of official policy production (T. Jones, 2013; Ozga, 2000). This approach recognises that policy processes precede the production of policy text. The processes are also seen to extend to the latter stages of interpretation, enactment, modification and reformulation (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Colebatch, 1998; Đurić, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007, 2013). In treating policy as a process, Bowe et al. (1992) and Ball (1994) re-contextualised policy as a cycle. The policy cycle model proposed by Ball and colleagues is further explicated in the chapter on theoretical and conceptual framework for policy analysis adopted in this study (Chapter 4). Unlike the other views discussed above, the ‘policy as process’ approach gives importance to policy practitioners because their role in the policy process as translators and interpreters is vital in shaping the change a policy effects (Ozga, 2000).

The fourth and final approach conceptualizes policy as mobilising specific discourses within or across its various texts and processes (Ball, 1993; Gale, 1999; T. Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Rather than the literal meaning of what is stated, discourse focuses on why a particular statement appeared rather than another (Gale, 1999; Olssen et al., 2004). According to Foucault (1972, cited in Hackell, 2007, p. 43) “discourse is constituted by the difference between what one could say correctly at one period (under the rules of grammar and logic) and what is actually said”. The concept of discourse as proposed by Foucault is summarised by Ball (1990, p.17) as embodying “meaning and social relationships” and constituting both “subjectivity and power relations”.

Ball (1993) drew on the work of Foucault to argue that concepts of truth and knowledge are based on discourses. Accordingly, these discourses are not independent of values and reflect the structural balance of power in the society. It is these values that inform the dominant discourses in the socio-political environment and guide the policy directions (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013). For example, policy encompasses the following: identification of political objectives, the power to transform values into practice through organizational

principles and operational practices, and the behaviour that follows from it (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; T. Jones, 2013).

Education policies are a subset of policies that belong to the public sphere, such as health policies or housing policies. Stephen Ball's work in the field of education policy has been and continues to be prolific. His seminal definition which highlights policy as 'process' and as 'discourse' was central to the approach taken in this thesis. He defined policy as "text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended", and he highlighted that policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map on to the "wild profusion of local practice" (Ball, 1994, p. 10). Ball's conceptualisation of policy from the 1990s has been picked up and further developed by other scholars, but an emphasis on what people do with policies has endured (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Types of policies. There are a number of different ways to classify policies. First, policies may be material or symbolic. To ensure the achievement of certain goals some policies have material consequences, such as allocation of resources attached to them. These types of policies are known as material policies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997; Volkmer, 2007). As a response to political pressure or to achieve certain personal goals, politicians and others may come up with policies that have no resources attached to them. These policies are known as symbolic policies. Quite often symbolic policies are left without being implemented (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997; Volkmer, 2007).

Second, policies may be classified as incremental or rational (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997; Volkmer, 2007). Incremental policies are usually built onto existing policies either to revise them or improve them when previous policies are felt to be ineffective to serve their purpose. Rational policies are prescriptive and are directed by policy makers in positions of authority.

Third, another binary classification scholars have used is whether policies are distributive or redistributive. Distributive policies distribute resources equally among the population while redistributive policies focus on allocating resources to

particular groups, usually disadvantaged groups (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997; Volkomer, 2007).

A fourth way of classifying policies is whether they are regulatory or deregulatory (Lund, 2014; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Regulatory policies are concerned with central government control of a process; for example, the education processes and practices through ‘national’ curricula, ‘national’ standards and ‘national’ testing. Deregulatory policies tend to leave education to marketizing forces with less political interference and bureaucratic procedures. Such deregulatory policies are “considered grounded in the rational choices of individual actors” (Apple, 2004, p. 18). Arguably, regulatory–deregulatory tensions are a central feature of contemporary educational policies (Apple, 2004).

Though many public policies are multipurpose—and classification of policies is problematic—understanding the types of policies can highlight the role played by the state in its relation to outside agencies and to the local circumstances when allocating values. The relationship of the state with outside agencies and the reaction of the state to local circumstances are often based on contestations, negotiations and compromises (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997; Volkomer, 2007).

Ideologies Shaping Education Policy

Ideologies can be considered as the set of values, beliefs and ideas that define how a group views the world (Acedo, Adams, & Popa, 2012; Hill, 2014; Marietta, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Educational ideology has been defined by Murphy et al. (2009, p. 28) as “a broad set of beliefs and opinions about the purpose and function of education and its formal arrangements, and/or about how they ought to be, held by the individual and by groups of individuals”.

Quite often educational ideologies are strongly influenced by the dominant political ideology of the time (Adams, 2014; Murphy et al., 2009). Ball (1990, p. 3) noted the importance of ideology in education policy and stated that education policy can be best understood as a “response to a complex, heterogeneous

configuration of elements including ideologies that are emergent as well as currently dominant”. Concurring with Ball, L. Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 84) noted that “the languages of legitimation used to present and justify educational policy reflect the dominant discourses within the socio-political environment”. Education is a political activity, as it involves knowledge which can be equated with power and politics (Murphy et al., 2009). Hence, it becomes important to explore the link between education and politics by considering the nature of ideologies and the way political parties orient themselves towards social matters (Adams, 2014).

Political ideologies can be roughly classified to a left/right dichotomy (Adams, 2014). In reality, however, a clear dichotomy between ‘left’ and right’ is rarely evident and education policies may reflect a range of ideologies across a spectrum. Dominant political ideologies that have shaped education policy at different times and places include the social democratic ideology, the conservative ideology, the neo-conservative ideology, the liberal ideology and the neo-liberal ideology (Adams, 2014; T. Jones, 2013; Murphy et al., 2009; Olssen et al., 2004). In her discussion on ideological orientations to education policy framework, Jones (2013) included two other ideological orientations: critical theory and postmodernism. These seven ideologies are outlined in the following paragraphs.

From the 1940s onwards, a major driving force behind education policy was the ‘welfarist settlement’ that was based on the socialist and the *social democratic* ideology (Adams, 2014). The ‘welfarist settlement’ came into being straight after the Second World War when nation states focused on rebuilding by strengthening the welfare mechanisms (Trowler, 1998). The social democratic ideology promotes equality, care and social justice and focuses on building an efficient welfare system and providing good public services (Adams, 2014; Apple, 2006; Murphy et al., 2009). The influences of social democratic ideology on education promote equality with the establishment of comprehensive education systems, greater autonomy to teachers and less prescriptive curricula (Kassem, Robinson, & Mufti, 2006). This ideology tries to eliminate elitist systems and encourages participation of the individual at all levels of education. Within this

ideology there is a move towards limited state control of the education system (Kassem et al., 2006).

Conservatism is a political philosophy as well as an ideology that is defined in terms of justice, order, balance and moderation (M. Levin, 2010). Schools and teachers oriented to this school of thought take an authoritative approach and try to instil in students, the beliefs, values and practices dominant at a particular point of time (T. Jones, 2013). The purpose of education under this orientation is to prepare students for employment. Hence, policies shaped within this ideology are targeted towards moulding students to fit social, civic, religious and vocational conventions (T. Jones, 2013). As the key belief of the ideology arising from this orientation focuses on maintaining or strengthening the status-quo, policies following this orientation favour and protect the values of the dominant policy actors in the society. Thus, the policies are usually top-down and prescriptive. The conservative orientation to education was dominant prior to the 1960s and was pronounced in policies stemming from countries such as Singapore, England, South Africa and United States of America (T. Jones, 2013).

The *neo-conservative ideology* promotes a free-market economy where education has a price tag. This ideology is defined by choice, diversity and competition. Education policies shaped by this ideology involve higher state control—curriculum and pedagogy are dictated by the state (Adams, 2014; Apple, 2006; T. Jones, 2013). Related pedagogy is more teacher-centred and it strongly emphasises moral education. Today, neo-conservatism and economic rationalism have become dominant ideologies in educational discourses. Proponents of these ideologies see education as a producer of goods and services that foster economic growth (Apple, 2004). Education has been affected by the crisis of the welfare state and the weakening of civil society. As such, it had shifted its focus from the ‘learning of meanings’ to the ‘learning of earnings’ (Zajda, 2005).

Liberalism emerged from Europe with the weakening of feudalism. Marxists and socialists see liberalism as closely linked to capitalism (Geoghegan

& Wilford, 2014; Olssen et al., 2004). Liberalism is strongly associated with the concepts of laissez-faire economics which support establishment of a free and competitive market of individual suppliers and purchasers for efficient production, distribution and allocation of goods and services (Olssen et al., 2004). According to liberalists, this commitment to free market maximises individual choice. Classical liberalists see state power as negative and work on minimising the power of the state (T. Jones, 2013; Olssen et al., 2004). Liberalism recognizes the value of the individual and treats politics from an individualistic perspective (Olssen et al., 2004). Schools and teachers following this orientation act as facilitators and promote student inquiry and personal decision making. Policy processes stemming from this orientation promote the development of the students' potential by reinforcing achievement and encouraging competition. Such policies are initiated from the top but give room for revision with grassroots-level involvement (Olssen et al., 2004).

Neo-liberalism represents a new form of classical liberalism which emerged in the closing decades of the 20th century. Shamir (2008, p. 3) defines neo-liberalism as:

a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around certain imagination of the 'market' as a basis for the universalization of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or the practice of commodification, capital accumulation, and profit making.

Ball (2012, p. 3) supported this definition of neo-liberalism as it encompasses the "material and social relations involved". Proponents of neo-liberalism orient the individual as self-regarding and as a consumer. Neo-liberalism is framed by "a mix of incentives and rewards aimed at stimulating self-interested responses" (Ball, 1997, p. 259).

Neo-liberal ideology considers competition as a necessary factor for entrepreneurship (Olssen et al., 2004; Zajda, 2005). It advocates the installation of principles of free market, economic liberalization and privatisation (Ball, 1997;

McGuigan, 2005). Neo-liberalists put a price tag on public services such as education, health care and housing and sell them to the citizens at market value, giving rise to marketization (Lynch, 2006). Neo-liberalism has become the dominant ideology that accompanies globalisation and is reflected in current reform agendas around the globe (Tickell & Peck, 2002; Yolcu & Turner, 2013). According to Burbules and Torres (2013) the representation of this ideology in education policies is greatly influenced by the action of bilateral, multilateral and international organisations which go to the extent of directly imposing policies with the power they have over nation states. However, they maintain that nation states do act on withholding their sovereignty in their response to protect public education from being totally determined by market mechanisms and the adverse effects of instrumentalization, commodification and marketization of knowledge arising from neo-liberalism.

The *critical* orientation to education is linked to “wider reform movements such as class-system reforms, post-colonialism, feminism and gay liberation” (Jones, 2013, p. 40). According to Jones (2013) the critical orientation calls for whole school reforms with the inclusion of marginalised groups. Schools and teachers oriented critically view education as having the power to bring about change of the whole society. They try to actively engage students in social issues, empower them to question deep rooted social values and unjust actions and take actions in bringing about social equity (T. Jones, 2013). Policies stemming from this orientation call for social equity and question the ‘repressive’ pre-existing power hierarchies. Policies may start from the bottom as pressure groups, academics or other individuals advocate policy changes (T. Jones, 2013). They can also be initiated by the leadership.

The *postmodern* orientation to education emerged in the 1980s and has been influencing education policy and practices since the 1990s (T. Jones, 2013). The root of this orientation lies in post-structuralism. The relationship between postmodernism and post-structuralism is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. A postmodern orientation sees knowledge as constructed and relational (Nudzor, 2009). Teachers and schools following this philosophy engage with the students to

de-construct and co-construct “cultural truths, reality and hegemony” (Jones, 2013, p. 44). Policies that stem from this orientation focus on “deconstructive principles, providing multiple perspectives or frameworks for consideration of issues and knowledge and an inquiry approach” (Jones, 2013, p. 44).

In the latter part of the 20th century, globalisation, with the accompanying neo-liberal ideology, discussed earlier, had become pre-eminent in influencing educational policy. Globalisation is referred to not only as ideology but to the process of international integration as well.

Globalisation: Global to Local Dynamics

Globalisation has become an important aspect of life since the 1990s and is ascendant in the current era of education policy discourses. In this section, three aspects of globalisation germane to educational policy will be discussed. They are global knowledge economy, globalisation and education reform, and globalisation and internationalisation.

Some researchers argue that globalisation originated more than a century ago “with changes in communication technologies, migration patterns and capital flow” (Burbules & Torres, 2013, p. 27). Other authors claim that globalisation originated with human civilisation and hence, can be more than five millennia old (Morrow & Torres, 2000). The most contemporary theory of globalisation theorises it as a recent phenomenon that came to prominence in the mid-late 20th century (Burbules & Torres, 2013). Thus, the origin of globalisation is in dispute.

The term globalisation does not have one precise meaning. In fact, it is a contested phenomenon within the academic and political domains (Burbules & Torres, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Stewart, 1996). The term is often used to describe “the broadening and strengthening of world links which have taken place progressively since the Second World War” (Stewart, 1996, p. 327). A definition which has much consensus posits that globalisation is the interconnectedness across the world, or compression of space and time experienced as a result of

advances in communication and transport (Bottery, 2000, 2006; Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001; McGuigan, 2005; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Zajda, 2005).

As a result of globalisation, nation states are no longer independent from international constraints (Zajda, 2011). There exists a close link between distinct localities with the result that the local happenings of one nation state are greatly influenced by the actions of other localities (Burbules & Torres, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

There are three inter-related dimensions of globalisation (Bottery, 2006; Morrow & Torres, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). They are *economic* globalisation, *cultural* globalisation and *political* globalisation. Economic globalisation is related to the social arrangements concerning production, exchange, distribution and consumption of goods and services (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). It is facilitated by the rapid, largely unrestricted movement of finance around the world, the binding of nation states in free market agreements with supranational organisations, and the power of transnational organisations to shape education policy of nation states by simply moving their businesses to wherever they desire (Bottery, 2006). International organisations are proponents of economic globalisation (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Political globalisation is associated with the “social arrangements for the distribution of power, of centres of policy development and of institutional practices of authority and control” (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997, p. 56). According to Bottery (2006), political globalisation refers to the changes in the political landscape of a nation state resulting from the rise of supranational governance through regional bodies such as the European Union and global bodies such as the World Bank. These bodies weaken the political power of nation states by relocating power away from them (Ball, 1998; Bottery, 2006). They carry out this disempowerment by locking nation states into international agreements or by prioritising aid in certain areas of development. The power dynamics within countries and between countries are also affected by the action of transnational organisations that have the authority to move their businesses to

countries who agree with their demands. This further limits the independence of nation states. As a result of political globalisation and neo-liberal ideology, nation states are somewhat forced to adhere to dominant political discourses around the globe such as those concerning democratic governance, anti-colonialism, environment and feminist issues (Ball, 1998; Rupert & Solomon, 2006).

Cultural globalisation is associated with the “social arrangements for production, exchange and expression of signs and symbols—meanings, beliefs and preferences, tastes and values” (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 56). There are two ways of conceptualising cultural globalisation: globalisation of cultural variety and globalisation of cultural standardisation (Bottery, 2006). Globalisation of cultural variety provides students with different perspectives of viewing a phenomenon and therefore can help in broadening their knowledge and spiritual growth. However, when many choices are provided there is the danger that some may cease to see any meaning in a rather disjointed set of information. There may be others who refuse to accept views different from theirs, leading to hate and hostility towards other cultures (Bottery, 2006).

In addition to the three dimensions of globalisation discussed above, Bottery (2006) has identified three other types of globalisation: environmental globalisation, demographic globalisation, and American globalisation. Many authors agree that economic globalisation sets the context for other types of globalisation and determines the language used to describe activities that affect and result from other types of globalisation (Böss, 2010; Steiner-Khamsi, 2016).

While on one hand globalisation describes a set of changes brought to our lives due to the fast pace of advancement in information technology, on the other hand it prescribes the desired interpretations of these changes and responses to them, thereby making globalisation an ideological formation as well as a ‘social imaginary’ that now shapes the discourses of most public policies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010) this social imaginary influences and guides people to make sense of their social relations and their actions, and it is intimately bound with identity. Globalisation has been closely

associated with a neo-liberal ideology that brings in market solutions to policy problems (Ball, 1998; Bottery, 2006; Vidovich, 2013; Weymann, 2010).

Global Knowledge Economy and Global Knowledge Society

One of the widely used terms in relation to contemporary education policy is ‘knowledge economy’. Though there is no firm consensus on a definition for the term ‘knowledge economy’, it is widely used to refer to the emerging economic structure in the global information society where economic success is dependent on the efficiency with which intangible assets such as knowledge, skills and innovative potential are utilised (Economic and Social Research Council, 2007). The concept implies that education can be treated as a commodity that can be exported for a high-value return (Ball, 2008; Peters, 2012; Roberts, 2009).

The origin of the term ‘global knowledge economy’ can be traced back to the debates involving the economic advantages gained through developed countries by “creation, exploitation and distribution of knowledge and information” (Roberts, 2009, p. 285). With the acceleration of the global knowledge economy in the 21st century, the physical wealth creating assets of yesteryears have been replaced by knowledge-based assets (Ball, 2008; Peters, 2012; Ravetz, 2003). Roberts (2009, p. 288) associates global knowledge economy with

the growing economic interdependence and integration between countries brought about through the increasing cross-border mobility of goods, services, capital and people facilitated by technological change, the rise of multinational corporations (MNCs) and the liberalising policies of nation states and international regulatory institutions, including the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

In many developing countries, the ideas of global knowledge economy have been translated into education policy by the involvement of multilateral agencies in education policy processes (Roberts, 2009). One such example is the *World Bank Education for Knowledge Economy Programme* which aims to help

developing countries gain the skills needed to compete in the global knowledge economy (Ball, 2008; Peters, 2002, 2012). Some scholars have critiqued the notion of global knowledge economy (Ball, 2008; Peters, 2001; Powell & Snellman, 2004; Weymann, 2010). First, it is proposed that the global knowledge economy has commodified education (Peters, 2001; Weymann, 2010). Hence, education has lost the social values linked to its very purpose. Secondly, the global knowledge economy has led to social inequalities within and between countries (Powell & Snellman, 2004; Weymann, 2010). For example, some countries and parts of some countries are not connected electronically and hence do not take part in the global economy. A third criticism of the global knowledge economy is that the economy is not as significant as it is made out to be (Weymann, 2010). There is evidence that the effects of globalisation on some economies are over-simplified and over-emphasized (Powell & Snellman, 2004; Weymann, 2010).

Some authors have also criticised the overemphasis of ‘economy’ when global knowledge economy is described (Amoah, 2014; Beerkens, 2008; Santiago, Tremblay, Basri, & Arnal, 2008; UNESCO, 2005). The increasing importance of knowledge not only affects the economy alone, but also has implications for the society as a whole. Thus, the definition of the global knowledge economy has been expanded, and a new term ‘global knowledge society’ was coined to describe a society that “has its roots in epistemology and the logic of inquiry” (Beerkens, 2008, p. 17). A global knowledge society is characterised by its openness to allow discussions on any topic, its ability to maintain the order necessary for inquiry, its richness to educate its population and its curiosity to acquire more knowledge (Amoah, 2014; Beerkens, 2008; Santiago et al., 2008). Hence, the global knowledge *society* is not a society abundant with experts, technical gadgets and specialist interpretations but a society that encompasses an epistemic culture permeated with “knowledge cultures, the whole set of structures and mechanisms that serve knowledge and unfold with articulation” (Beerkens, 2008, p. 17).

Globalisation and Education Reform

The result of globalisation is the creation of a ‘global education policy field’ that calls for the emergence of a universal set of education policy themes that go beyond nation states, and thus may have dramatic effects on national education systems (Hameed-ur-Rehman & Sewani, 2013). The impact of globalisation on education can be assessed in financial terms, labour market terms and educational terms (Carnoy, 1998). The financial impact is experienced when most nation states are pressured to reduce the budget allocated for public spending on education and opt for other means such as privatisation to finance the education systems they want to expand. The reforms that result are known as finance-driven reforms (Carnoy, 1998).

In labour market terms, governments are under pressure to attract foreign capital for which they need a highly skilled labour force. They are required to enhance the skill levels of their labour force, thus reforming their education systems to address this need (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Bottery, 2006). The impact of such actions brings about what Carnoy (1998) calls ‘competitiveness-driven reforms.’ These reforms articulate a more direct relationship between education policy and industry giving rise to a variety of vocational and pre-vocational policy initiatives (Ball, 1990). In addition, nation states are obliged to expand higher education opportunities and create a pool of students who are eligible to undertake higher education qualifications, thus calling for expansion of secondary schooling as well.

In educational terms, globalisation of education calls for increased quality of education provided by educational institutes. The quality of national educational outcomes is increasingly compared internationally. To prepare 21st century citizens, national educational agenda have put “increased emphasis on mathematics and science curricula, standards, testing, and on meeting standards by changing the way education is delivered” (Carnoy, 1998. p. 22).

For the citizens of developed and developing countries the credentials offered at national level alone have become inadequate to compete in the global

market. Global competition has spawned a bevy of international testing of student learning outcomes such as the ‘Programme for International Student Assessment’ (PISA) by OECD (Feniger, Livneh, & Yogev, 2012). Countries use the performance of their students in these competitive tests to determine their status in the international community as high ranking is considered an indication of the country’s future and its ability to compete in the global knowledge economy (Feniger et al., 2012). Most of the countries presenting students for PISA are not OECD countries, highlighting the importance of international benchmarking. Additionally, portability of qualifications by creation of international qualification frameworks is another outcome of globalisation (Feniger et al., 2012). Equity and access is a significant theme in PISA reports arguably placing the theme on national education agendas.

The final type of reform brought about by globalisation proposed by Carnoy (1995) is equity driven reforms. Equity driven reforms refer to reforms brought to ‘improve education’s important political role as a source of social mobility and social equalization’ (Carnoy, 1995, p. 658).

Globalisation and Internationalisation

Though the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation are very closely related, some authors distinguish between them—a distinction of consequence to educational policy studies. Internationalisation refers to bilateral or multilateral relationships and transactions between states, while globalisation refers to relationships and transactions that go beyond national borders (Scholte, 2005). Stier (2010, p. 339) views internationalisation as a means to meet the demands of the uncontrollable processes of globalisation such as the “vast impact of new technologies, an accentuated commodification of higher education, increasing political pressure to harmonise national higher education systems, and an increasingly widespread political desire to adjust the educational system to the needs of the labour market.” In relation to higher education, Teichler (2004, p. 22) defines internationalisation as the “totality of substantial changes in the context and inner life of higher education relative to an increasing frequency of

border-crossing activities amidst a persistence of an increase of national systems, even though some signs of ‘denationalisation’ might be observed”. Phenomena such as knowledge transfer, physical mobility, cooperation and international education and research are viewed as characteristics of internationalisation (Stier, 2010; Teichler, 2004; L. Wang, 2013).

Arabkheradmand et al. (2015) perceive internationalisation as a crucial component for the growth of educational institutions and organizations which, in turn, is essential for the development of human capital and the progress of human societies. They view internationalization as a necessity without which isolated institutions and organizations can “erode under the pressure of lagging behind the global achievements” in the 21st century global knowledge economy (Arabkheradmand et al., 2015, p. 1).

According to the OECD (2006), the high competition between countries and educational institutions to attract students and academics and the benefits in cross-border education has created a need for recontextualisation of higher education. Arabkheradmand et al. (2015) claim that only those higher education organizations and institutions that are internationally capable and integrated will be able to sustain an efficient role in their line of service, both locally and globally. Within the umbrella of internationalization there exists a constructive competition and cooperation between and among nation states (Arabkheradmand et al., 2015).

Several scholars have highlighted the major rationales behind internationalisation as being ‘economic’, ‘political’, ‘educational’ and ‘cultural’ (J. Edwards & Edwards, 2001; OECD, 2006; Stier, 2010; L. Wang, 2013). ‘Economic’ and ‘political’ rationales such as rapid economic growth, competitiveness between countries, revenue generation and insufficient domestic higher education opportunities for students are fuelling the process of internationalisation. In addition, ‘educational’ and ‘cultural’ rationales such as the desire to spread cultural values and ideologies promote internationalisation and increase people’s intercultural competencies (J. Edwards & Edwards, 2001;

OECD, 2006). Therefore, to enhance quality in higher education, the process of internationalisation is encouraged. Additionally, with increased connections and mobility brought about by globalisation, the perceived value of cross-border education has been increasing.

Both advantages and disadvantages have been recognised with internationalisation. For many developed countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and developing countries such as Malaysia, the provision of education services to international students is a major source of foreign exchange rivalling those of long established national industries (Arabkheradmand et al., 2015; J. Edwards & Edwards, 2001). Similarly, highly qualified academic staff have become an internationally traded 'scarce commodity' available to those countries offering the best benefits. The graduates from internationalised higher education institutes will be better prepared to tap into the 'global knowledge resources' and apply them to their locality to achieve national goals (Arabkheradmand et al., 2015). These authors also highlight the cultural benefits of internationalisation.

One disadvantage associated with internationalization is access and equity issues that may arise within and between nation states. It has already been evidenced that the probability of students from poor socio-economic backgrounds and minority backgrounds travelling to study locally or abroad is lower (OECD, 2006; L. Wang, 2013). OECD (2006) data also show that the participation of male students from Asian countries is higher in cross-border education. There is also the danger of the international students not receiving their rights as equity policies of countries are only limited to nationals (J. Edwards & Edwards, 2001; OECD, 2006; L. Wang, 2013). Therefore, quite often, the rights of international students are ignored in such countries.

With the commodification and commercialization of education, there is a high probability that educational institutions will think of ways to increase profits (Arabkheradmand et al., 2015; L. Wang, 2013). Such motives lead to the issuing of low quality certificates and the general erosion of the quality of education. Furthermore, as enrolling international students increase revenue, there is a danger

of the international students displacing domestic students. Such institutions and universities become more ‘customer-oriented’, thereby reducing academic rigour (L. Wang, 2013). Hence, it becomes the responsibility of the government to carefully monitor and regulate the growth of cross-border education.

Discourses in Education Policy

Education policy is characterised by recurring discourses. In this section, some of the more prominent discourses that have driven and are driving educational policy reforms are discussed. There are three important educational discourses which are significant to this study: economic utility and human capital, citizenship and social justice, and marketization.

Economic Utility and Human Capital

In a global knowledge economy, education becomes a primary mechanism of a country to enhance ‘human capital’. Human capital is the “sum of education and skills that can be used to produce wealth” (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 42). Hence, the more a nation state invests in developing the skills and knowledge of the citizens the better are its chances of national competitiveness.

Thus education policy, when linked to human capital theory, caters for the needs of industry which comprises its dominant discourse by preparing people with skills needed for the global market place. Governments try to ensure that citizens have these skills. However, this view has its limitations. It is argued that the sole purpose of education is not to build human capital alone (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Quiggin, 1999). Education is also about developing the values, beliefs and character of young members of society. Further, education has a role in building citizenship and social justice as considered below.

Citizenship and Social Justice

Education policies have social functions as well as economic functions. Education promotes social cohesion by developing both a sense of the individual and the

collective welfare of the society. In addition, education plays a vital role in “developing a sense of citizenship whereby individuals take their place in their communities” at the local, national and the global level (L. Bell & Stevenson 2006, p. 58). However, notions of citizenship vary over time and across cultures. This function of education contrasts with the utilitarian view of education as discussed previously. Education is valued not only for its use (instrumentalism) but also for the sense of community it fosters.

The philosophical nature of citizenship links it to social justice. Faulks (2013, p. 4) defined citizenship as

a status that mediates the relationship between an individual and a political community. It is characterised by a set of reciprocal rights, the extent and nature of which are defined through a complex set of social and political processes including the struggle between opposing social forces, political compromise, and historical and economic circumstance.

The notion of citizenship, according to Faulks (2013), extends the role of citizens and encompasses a series of shared rights and responsibilities between the citizen and the society to which he or she belongs (Faulks, 2013; Heater, 1999). Among these rights is the entitlement of the citizen to social security that includes access to basic social services including education and health, for example.

The relationship between education policy and citizenship is, therefore, complex as education helps shape a person’s conception of what being a citizen is. Education policy is “both shaped by, and shapes our sense of citizenship” (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 62).

Education is considered a basic right and many authors argue that basic rights cannot be commodified (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Crouch, 2003). According to Crouch (2003), it is likely that the shift towards privatisation of education will conflict with one feature of basic public service values, that of universal access. In addition, privatisation will open attractive opportunities for the more affluent, making public education a service that is only used by those

who can't afford what is available in the market, thereby reducing the quality of what is provided.

When the purpose of education became preparing citizens for the 21st century, the aims of education cannot be considered values neutral. There always is the question of the type of society the students are prepared for, the demands of such a society and the person/people who has/have the authority to decide the particular characteristics that would be needed to perform in such a society (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006). These questions are also linked with questions such as, what should be included in the curriculum and how should contestations over the curriculum be managed (Yates, 2012).

Liberalists assert the purpose of education as supporting the functioning of a free market (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Williamson, 2012). They believe markets have the role of allocating resources to the society. Critical theorists reject this market perspective and emphasize the role of education in providing social justice within the community (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Williamson, 2012). For the critical theorists, it is a vital role of education to eliminate societal inequalities and also deal with the sources of inequalities to ensure social justice.

Marketization

In the 1970s the worldwide economic downturn, together with the political and financial changes that took place in the UK and the USA, brought the welfare era to an end (Adams, 2014). The principles of the global market were considered more attractive as they slowly crept into the domain of public policy (Zhang, 2012). The ascendancy of neo-liberal ideology resulted in the major educational discourses in countries such as the UK being dominated by the link between education and future job opportunities (Adams, 2014).

Advocates of free market theories maintain that market forces increase the efficiency and standards of schools, making them more responsive and attractive to parents and students (Zhang, 2012). Through the notion of 'freedom', Adams (2014) defined eight conditions for true markets which he argues are fulfilled by

school systems, and asserted that school systems do not operate as true markets. Adams (2014) coined the term ‘quasi-markets’ to describe the type of markets that are operational within these school systems. Most scholars portray quasi-markets in education as “involving a combination of parental choice and school autonomy, together with a greater or lesser degree of public accountability and government regulation” (Whitty, 1997a, p. 4). The difference between a true market and a quasi-market is that quasi-markets are free for the user and providers do not make profit from the services provided.

Advocates of quasi-markets argue that establishment of market principles improves efficiency of the system by encouraging competition and creating opportunities for choice and diversity (Adams, 2014; Zhang, 2012). In the late 1980s many countries started establishing mechanisms where school choice was given to parents, making competition a key feature of schooling (Adams, 2014; Lewis, 2013; Mok, 2003; Whitty, 1997). The basic assumption behind this was that when choice was available, parents would select schools and institutions that fit best with their goals and aspirations. Parental choice creates competitive pressure among similar providers who are forced to ‘up their game’ and copy the successful providers and become more efficient in order to attract students. This assumption was shown to be false.

Contrary to the belief that choice empowers consumers and is desired for its own sake, the results of the 2010 British Social Attitudes Survey conducted by Exley (2014) showed that choice is not readily accepted by many parents and the society as a whole. Whitty (1997a), had earlier come to a similar conclusion when he advocated that marketization of education systems intensified existing inequalities. Another danger of marketization of education is that it undermines development of abstract and critical thinking skills (which are considered important in a global knowledge society) of students (Exley, 2014; Natale & Doran, 2012; Whitty, 1997). Critics of marketization also claim that marketization brings about standardization and convergence (Robertson, 2005).

The three discourses in education policy outlined above, namely economic utility and human capital, citizenship and social justice, and marketization, continue to exert their influence on policies in various ways. In the next section, the ways in which these discourses play out in key education policy concepts are explicated.

Key Concepts in Educational Policy in the 21st Century

This section on key concepts in education policy in the 21st century reviews the literature on quality, equity, new forms of governance, quality teachers and curriculum reform. Although these five policy concepts are considered separately, they are often closely interrelated. Further, the discourses considered earlier are interwoven throughout these policy concepts. Although the prominence of each concept waxes and wanes in education at various times, they had all come to the foreground by the second decade of the 21st century when this study was undertaken.

Quality

Throughout history, the concept of ‘quality’ has been used in many different contexts, with a variety of meanings. Therefore, a precise definition for the term ‘quality’ has been rather elusive. Concurring with many other authors, Vidovich and Porter (1997) and Clarke (2014) noted that a universal model of quality does not exist. Barrett and Chawla-duggan (2006) noted the recurrent references to various components of educational quality in the literature. These are effectiveness, efficiency, relevance and sustainability. While at one level, quality has a homogenising effect, at the national level, it is subject to differentiation when applied to local context, histories and experiences (Ball et al., 2012; Clarke, 2014; Vidovich & Porter, 1997).

Many authors had investigated how and why the concept of quality had become a central theme in education discourses of different countries (Benavot, 2012; Bergh, 2011; Clarke, 2014; Logan, Press, & Sumsion, 2012; Vidovich,

2004; Yu, 2013). Definitions often used to refer to the notion of 'quality' in education policy documents, in practice and in literature include quality as 'excellence', 'standards setting', 'total quality management', 'quality assurance' and 'quality improvement' (Vidovich, 2004).

In the last few decades the concept of quality, its meaning, its measurement and its status had become an integral part of education reform (Acedo et al., 2012). Nation states drew on global discourses to find the meaning of quality education and tried to implement internationally-set benchmarks and standards in their own context (Australian Council for Educational Research, 2014). However, within the context of national development, nation states encountered various struggles, successes and problems in their international quest for education quality. Oftentimes, national concerns and issues collided head-on with global agendas, causing nation states to compromise (Australian Council for Educational Research, 2014; Clarke, 2014).

Quality became prominent in higher education discourses around the 1980s when there was a need to prepare skilled people to gain economic advantage in the global knowledge economy (Harvey & Green, 1993; Vidovich & Porter, 1997). During that time the powerful impact of neo-liberal ideology led to the rapid expansion of the provision of higher education from the elite (relatively few) to the masses in many countries. The perceived threat to quality was one factor that led to the ascendance of quality policies in higher education. In addition, private parties were involved in provision of education and market concepts shifted the focus of governments to outcomes, placing a greater focus on accountability.

UNICEF (2000) considered quality within the concept of a system. Five aspects, namely, quality learners, quality learning environments, quality content, quality processes and quality outcomes constituted their quality framework. Quality was given a central role in education because a quality education was seen as crucial for expansion and sustainability of education, and to ensure that both the individual and society benefit from education (UNESCO, 2005). However, in the

contemporary neo-liberal education system, quality is typically assumed to equate to improving test scores in high-stakes tests (Hursh, 2007; Ravitch, 1992), and hence notions of quality are limited to what can be measured by those scores.

The goals for quality education co-exist with the goals for equity. Hence, nation states focus on providing an equitable education without neglecting the requisite for quality education, although these dual priorities may sometime be in tension. The report of the 2015 PISA tests indicates that equity is a precondition for social cohesion. According to Militaru, Pavel and Zafir (2011), the lack of equity in education will lead to exclusion.

Equity and Access

The literal meaning of equity is fairness. Being fair involves both horizontal equity and vertical equity (Paquette, 1998). Horizontal equity involves “giving to each according to the common lot” and vertical equity means “giving to each according to need and merit” (Paquette, 1998, p. 41). In the public policy domain, the tension between horizontal equity and vertical equity is most profound, and dominated education policy discourses in the 20th century (Paquette, 1998). The political ideology behind the concept of equity is that of the liberalists (Paquette, 1998; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Savage, 2013). Political beliefs such as the importance of an educated citizen for social harmony and political stability and the importance of education in preparing citizens to participate in the political scene of liberal democracies had given it an enduring presence in policy discourses.

Another concept that had fuelled the ascendancy of equity in political discourses is that of choice. Proponents of choice-based education systems such as Gorard, Taylor, and Fitz (2003) argued that giving school choice to parents reduces bureaucratic rules and procedures enabling disadvantaged children to have access to schools that may have not been open for them previously, thus improving equity and access.

Empirical evidence is not always supportive of the argument put forward by scholars like Gorard et al. (2003). School choice, being a highly politicised concept, has multiple effects on equity (Pöder, Kerem, & Lauri, 2013). While on the one hand some school choice policies make education systems efficient without affecting equity, others can make school systems highly equitable without any impact on efficiency (Woessmann, 2008). There are also school choice policies that can have negative impacts on equity (Pöder et al., 2013).

In both developed and developing countries, there still remain a portion of the population who are unqualified for employment, and youth who have not completed secondary education successfully. For example, across the OECD countries only 70% have education qualifications above secondary level (Schleicher, 2009). The OECD (2012, p. 9) gives a much lower figure for this statistic:

Across OECD countries, almost one of every five students does not reach a basic minimum level on skills to function in today's societies... Students from low socio-economic background are twice as likely to be low performers... (indicating lack of fairness)... with 20% of young adults on average dropping out before finalizing upper secondary education.

These realities show that becoming more affluent does not necessarily overcome equity and fairness-related issues. To reduce inequality, nation-states resorted to redistributive policies where the available resources were preferentially targeted for the marginalised (Olssen et al., 2004). However, these policies rarely have achieved their intended purposes. There also exist instances where nation states, in their role of economic growth promoters, neglected policies aimed to promote equal treatment for all ethnic groups living within a country's boundaries (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002).

The structure of education and the pathway through the education system have the ability to hinder or help equity (Acedo et al., 2012). The traditional method of sorting students into streams, pathways and educational institutions using results of examinations is now seen as a factor that hinders equity (Acedo et

al., 2012; OECD, 2012). Contemporary education policies limit early tracking and selection. High quality pathways, including vocational options, are being introduced to upper secondary education in order to decrease dropout rates and make education attractive. Despite the introduction of such policies, their outcomes are context-specific and the reactions from different countries vary (Acedo et al., 2012; OECD, 2012).

Globalisation has fundamentally changed the world economy, creating winners and losers. There is a danger that globalisation may legitimise the inequality in the distribution of social and cultural capital. Zajda (2011) and Zajda, Davies, and Majhanovich (2008) have argued that one of the best ways to prevent education policy from being a tool of totalitarianism or cultural imperialism is to broaden the discourse of democracy by including critical literacy, access, choice and equal opportunity. Hence, reducing inequalities has become one of the greatest contemporary developmental challenges. In the global era, increasing the social prospects of the self has become the main goal of education calling that is linked to provision of quality education for all (Zajda, et al., 2008).

Resource allocation is critically connected with equity. The OECD (2014, p. 26) emphasises that “fairness in resource allocation is not only important for equity in education, but it is also related to the performance of the school system as a whole”.

New Forms of Governance

The Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration defines governance as “the general control of authority within a system of control and accountability” (English, 2006, p. 431). The concept of governance was derived from the recent literature in political science where it is used to indicate a change in the structures and *modus operandi* of government (English, 2006; Kennett, 2008; Rhodes, 2007). Increasingly, it refers to governing with the help of ‘policy networks’. According to Rhodes (2007, p. 1244) a policy network is a “set of formal and informal institutional linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared interests in public policymaking and implementation.”

There is interdependency between the policy actors in a policy network, and policies are conceived as a result of bargaining between the network's members. These networks can include local actors as well as actors beyond the level of nations, including international organizations such as OECD, UNESCO and supranational organizations such as the European Union (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The participation of these organizations in such policy networks creates what Rizvi and Lingard (2010) referred to as emergent global education 'policy communities'. These policy networks are different from bureaucracies and markets because they are characterised by diplomacy and trust while markets are characterised by prices and competition, and bureaucracies are characterised by authority and rules (Rhodes, 2007).

With the change from government to governance, the role of the governing administration is diminished to being just one actor among several other actors in the very crowded policy arena (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Kennett, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This shift had blurred the boundary between the public and the private, and changed the government's authority on policy agendas. It had also rearranged the hierarchical relationship between the government and the citizenry. In the policy arena thus created, multiple parallel spaces exist within which power is negotiated (Kennett, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The neoliberal ideology redefined the role states play in education in two ways. The first aspect that had changed was the degree of control the state has over education and institutions giving rise to decentralisation (Welch, 2013). Second, the 'crisis of the state' where the state had been reduced to just one market player which tries to compete in an international market, had changed the view regarding the 'public-good' function of education (Welch, 2013). Rather than seeing education as beneficial to the society as a whole, education is now more likely considered as something that will bring about individual good and benefits. This change of view had resulted in privatisation, corporatisation and commercialization of education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013). However, as a result of greater accountability demands for educational institutions to produce internationally competitive educational quality outcomes, governments

have been ‘steering from a distance.’ Paradoxically, the devolution of choice to parents and autonomy to institutions have been in tension with greater accountability (L. Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

Decentralization, Devolution and Privatisation

Decentralization has manifested in political agendas of both Western societies and developing countries as a governance strategy for decades (Dickovick, 2003; Karlsen, 2000). The strategy had been used in large-scale reforms in all arenas of public policy including education. Similar to other concepts related to education policy, decentralisation has no specific definition. According to Karlsen (2000, p. 256), the term is used to:

refer to a spectrum of phenomenon that has one thing in common: decentralization is connected to the dimension of ‘centre–periphery’ where centre and periphery are considered as the ends of a continuum and also as relative concepts depending on the context.

Decentralization denotes the movement from the centre to the periphery, and quite often it is power and authority that is moved, though the intensity of this movement is unclear (Bjork, 2006; Karlsen, 2000).

Bjork (2006, p. 9) defined decentralization “as the transfer of decision-making authority, responsibility, and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations” (Bjork, 2006, p. 9). The three main forms of decentralisation are deconcentration, delegation and devolution (Bjork, 2006; Karlsen, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). *Deconcentration* involves the transfer of tasks and work without authority to other units in the organisation. *Delegation* involves the transmission of decision-making authority from the higher level to lower levels. This authority can be withdrawn at the discretion of the central body. *Devolution* involves the transmission of authority and real responsibility from central to local bodies. As a result of devolution the local bodies can act independently. Out of these three types, Bjork (2006, p. 10) contended that devolution is the most preferred type of decentralization “because it provides for

continuity in the change process” as devolution involves transfer of authority to an autonomous unit. In delegation, the power given to the lower levels can be withdrawn at any time and results in ‘yoyo decision-making’ patterns and fits the motivation and interest of the higher authorities (Bjork, 2006).

Taking examples from the Norwegian context, Karlsen (2000) argued that decentralization strengthens democracy when power is transferred from the central body to local bodies as this will bring the decision-making process closer to the people. For example, as Karlsen (2000) had observed in the Norwegian context, decentralization gave local schools the opportunity to design programmes and activities that were contextually relevant. This action was believed to increase student motivation and students’ understanding of their role in the local community. Nevertheless, the success of educational reform is highly dependent on the way policies are interpreted, translated and reshaped by the policy actors (Bjork, 2004; Dickovick, 2003). In his study of the attempts made by the Indonesian government to devolve control over the curriculum to the local level, Bjork (2004) revealed that local actors who were unaware of the intentions of the reform process were reluctant to get involved in the reform process.

Additionally, in congruence with the neo-liberal orientation, those in favour of decentralization had argued that it brings about rationalization and efficiency to government processes (Bjork, 2006; Karlsen, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). According to these scholars the independence and autonomy that come with decentralization give opportunities for local bodies to mobilize available local resources in more beneficial ways, giving them a competitive advantage in the market place.

Privatisation can be viewed as a type of decentralization where responsibilities and resources are transferred from the public sector to the private sector (Parry, 1997). Currie and Vidovich (2000, p. 135) asserted that privatisation is an “ideological shift towards market principles such as competition, commercialization, deregulation, efficiency and changing forms of

accountability”. Privatisation facilitates transfer of education services from the public sector and makes public education susceptible to marketization.

External players, such as OECD and the World Bank, have greatly influenced the process of privatisation by encouraging governments to decrease their public expenditure and to focus on economic gain (Currie & Vidovich, 2000). This ideological shift restructured governance mechanisms from a more bureaucratic model to corporate mechanisms where decision making is more linear but the players are subject to strict regimes of accountability (Currie & Vidovich, 2000; Parry, 1997).

Decentralization and accountability can be considered as a policy couplet. This notion is supported by Apple (2004). In his view decentralization makes the effects of market mechanisms more prominent, as hand in hand with decentralization comes reporting of performance measures. For example, the pressure on local schools to be more accountable to the central authorities is increasing with the dispersion of power to grassroots (Whitty, 2010). Hence, a critical discussion of accountability is pertinent to this review.

Accountability

In the *International Encyclopedia of Political Science* Badie, Berg-Schlosser, and Morlino (2011, p. 1) define accountability as:

the obligation to answer for the performance of duties where ‘accountability is a relationship between two parties—the person or organization answering or being held to account (the accountor or agent) and the person or organization to whom the account is owed (the account holder or principal).

Thus, in analysing accountability policies, the questions ‘who is accountable to whom?’, ‘what is the person accountable for?’ and ‘how is the person accountable?’ need to be addressed (Badie et al., 2011). In fact, most policies dealing with accountability can be framed around the basic question, “who should be held accountable, to whom and for what?” (McDonnell, 2013, p. 172). The majority of the policies put greater focus on the ‘to whom’ and ‘for

what' part of the question. Accountability is multilateral in nature and is reciprocal, meaning a person can be answerable at different levels and the answerable person, in turn, is accountable to a certain extent to the first person (Ranson, 2003).

In the late 1970s, the main political ideology driving education policy discourses was that of the social democracy. These policies were based upon the principles of justice and equality and focused on eliminating class disadvantages and divisions (Ranson, 2003). Practices of accountability were also based on these values and beliefs. This was a time when public trust was placed on professionals in the belief that “the necessary requirements of answerability could be fulfilled by delegating authority to heads, teachers, and advisors” as it is “only the trained eye that could judge the quality of teaching and the pupil progress” (Ranson, 2003, p. 464). This system was known as professional accountability. The system of professional accountability was challenged when neo-liberal ideology started dominating political discourse as it was believed that the “goods internal to a task could not be determined alone by teachers and their advisors but should be open to deliberation within the public sphere” (Ranson, 2003, p. 464).

In the 1980s, the neo-liberal manifestations gained ascendancy and a new political order of ‘neo-liberal’ public accountability was constituted (Gershberg, González, & Meade, 2012; Ranson, 2003). The main focus of this order was enhancing individual rights and choices. The belief behind this view was that market concepts will promote competition among schools and educational institutions (Ranson, 2003; Zhang, 2012). Due to the introduction of market mechanisms the educational institutions understood that they can only thrive with the support of their customers. League tables, both at schooling level and at tertiary level (for example, World University Rankings), are examples of market accountability to inform customer choice.

In brief, in the previous century the focus of accountability policies governing elementary and secondary education has changed from “fiscal probity with limited scrutiny of schooling processes and outcomes to policies where

student performance on standardisation tests constitutes the core element of an elaborate system for judging schools and imposing rewards and sanctions on them” (McDonnell, 2013, p. 172).

Quality Teachers

The basis for teacher education reforms is the notion that the quality of teaching contributes to improvement in student learning outcomes (J. Wang, Odell, Klecka, Spalding, & Lin, 2010). The quality of teaching in turn is dependent on factors such as teacher salaries, their working conditions, and support from the government (J. Wang et al., 2010).

Discourses on teacher education have remained within national borders until neo-liberal manifestations intensified the dual purposes of education: (a) transferring the cultural heritage and strengthening national identity, and (b) building a qualified workforce for the nation (Garm & Karlsen, 2004). Teacher education has not escaped the forces of globalisation and the discourses that characterize globalisation have seeped into teacher education policies and have resulted in reforms and tensions. Similar reform trends have been experienced almost globally regardless of the national contexts and traditions (Loomis et al., 2008).

One way of measuring the quality of teaching is by means of international testing such as PISA (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012, p. 151). The common factor for the high achieving countries like Singapore and Finland is the extensive investment the countries have made to turn teaching into a strong profession and to make education equitable and of high quality (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012). In many countries the effect of the government’s action in producing quality teachers is two-fold. On the one hand the government focus is put on preparing high quality teachers, while on the other hand, practices such as providing alternative admission requirements to enter into the profession are introduced to increase access to the profession. Darling-Hammond and Lieberman (2012) perceived such practices to be detrimental to the profession as they reduce standards and preparedness for the vocation.

In the USA context, Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) have identified two paradoxical national agendas in teacher education reform: movements to deregulate teacher preparation and movements to professionalise teacher education. Both agendas revolve around three interrelated warrants (accountability, evidentiary and political) that promote certain policies and weaken the position of others. Warrants here are used to refer to “reasonable grounds for actions and reforms” (Garm & Karlsen, 2004, p. 732). Using these warrants as analytical tools, Garm and Karlsen (2004) have identified three dichotomies that can be used to explain teacher education reforms and trends from a global perspective. Their first dichotomy is concerned with “the tension between central governance and control versus local/institutional autonomy and the relationship between political governance and administrative implementation” (Garm & Karlsen, 2004, p. 740). With the ascendance of neo-liberal thought, governments have called for establishing standards for teacher education programmes and student assessment in order to regulate teacher and student learning and understanding (J. Wang et al., 2010). The tension between central governance and local control is notably related to the accountability warrant.

The second dichotomy proposed by Garm and Karlsen (2004, p. 741) is “academic knowledge versus knowledge derived from practice”. According to them, tension exists between academic, theory based knowledge and knowledge derived from practice; the academic university tradition emphasises ‘teachers’ knowledge in different subjects as a basis for teaching competencies. The practice oriented ‘seminary’ college tradition has a more social and cultural learning perspective. This tradition is more “student-centred focusing on student activities and learning” (Garm & Karlsen, 2004, p. 741). This dichotomy is in line with the evidentiary warrant.

The third dichotomy suggested by Garm and Karlsen (2004, p. 741) is “the instrumental versus cultural values and orientation”. The tension stems from the debate related to the function of education as “basically a tool for change and progress in the society versus education as a cultivation of the individual person” (Garm & Karlsen, 2004, p. 741). The historical view gives predominance to social

and cultural cultivation while the contemporary view calls for an instrumental approach. While the culturally cultivated teacher will have a greater understanding of his or her role for the wider community, the contemporary view focuses on outcomes such as assessments, teachers' performance and national standards. The global knowledge economy is more in favour of teachers trained under the latter view. This aligns with the political warrant proposed by Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) and policies stemming from this warrant see education as a commodity and a service to the citizens.

Curricular Reform

Curriculum and education policy are tightly linked (Yates & Grummet, 2011). In fact, curriculum is derived from policy and it "reflects, interprets and informs policy" (Ledger, 2012, p. 68). It is the strength of the relationship between policy, curriculum and the intended audience of the policy that determines the impact of education policy on school success (Yates & Grummet, 2011).

One of the major goals of the school curriculum in the globalised era is to promote the intellectual development of young people and to prepare them to contribute to a fast changing global economy (Yates & Young, 2010). How these goals are realised had become the topic of many contemporary education policy debates. In order to achieve the main curricular goals, many countries had undertaken major reforms in the "institutional, organisational and epistemological framing of curriculum policy" (Yates & Young, 2010, p. 4). The effects of globalisation are seen from the role and influence of institutions such as the World Bank and the OECD in the development and designing of the national curriculum frameworks. Standards and accountability systems used by organisations like the OECD to compare education systems of countries pressure nation states to change their curriculum policies to include what the general public considers the best, thus moving towards more global supra-national forms. Though the homogenising global forces are in action here they are mediated by conditions and priorities that are specific to each country's national context and as a result educational and curriculum policy assumes unique directions (Lingard, 2000; Winter, 2012; Yates

& Young, 2010). The outcome of this struggle is policies that are hybridised resulting from the intersection between global, national and local forces.

Similar to other education policy discourses, common trends aligning with the neo-liberal emphasis on markets, choice and accountability are seen in the curriculum policy of many countries (Lundahl et al., 2010; Mangez, 2010; Yates & Collins, 2010). One such trend is the move towards greater accountability based on a common outcomes-based approach to assessment and a diminished role for subject based content (Yates & Young, 2010). Some scholars view the focus on outcomes-based approach as educationally flawed (Harris & Burn, 2011).

A disadvantage of the move towards a more outcome based approach to assessment and the diminished role of subject based content, as suggested by Whitty (2010), is elite schools will follow the national curriculum policy changes causing greater inequality between students of different socio-economic backgrounds. An alternate for this would be for public higher institutions to move towards a more outcome based curricular model which in Whitty's (2010) view would make the problem go deeper without reaching a solution. According to Yates and Young (2010, p. 10):

by emphasizing procedures which are measurable and accountable, rather than subject-based concepts, as a basis for understanding and intellectual development, we may be blindly enacting that vision of 'the audit society' where 'the formerly self-evident values of a self-regulating 'big science' have been challenged by a new alliance of managerial ideals and radical populism.

A further dimension of policy as regards autonomy in curriculum determination needs particular mention in this review. In the 1970s many local education authorities in the UK, as well as in other countries such as Australia, had the power to determine their own school curriculum. However, in the latter part of the 20th century, national curriculum frameworks were introduced in the UK, which were soon followed by other countries. National curriculum frameworks have a homogenizing effect on curricula facilitating national assessments and comparisons. With reference to the findings of PISA, OECD

(2014, p. 24) had noted that “schools with more autonomy over curricula and assessments tend to perform better than schools with less autonomy when they are part of schools systems with more accountability arrangements and/or greater teacher-principal collaboration in school management”. In spite of these findings, the trend in national curricula is toward more standardisation.

Summary

In the five preceding sections of this chapter, a general review of education policy and major discourses shaping and directing education policy were discussed. The complex nature of the concept was explicated in the first section by highlighting the various definitions of the term. Among the many definitions identified in literature the definition of ‘policy as text’, ‘policy as value laden actions,’ ‘policy as process’ and ‘policy as discursive’ have been used most frequently. For the purpose of this study, the definitions ‘policy as process’ and ‘policy as discursive’ will be highlighted as these approaches underpin the conceptual framework used for the study.

The third section, *Ideologies Shaping Education*, outlined the different ideological viewpoints influencing education policy. Literature shows that at different points of time, significant ideological shifts were responsible for shaping and steering the direction of education policy. The most influential are the political ideologies. The major ideology dictating contemporary education policy direction is neo-liberalism associated with globalisation. The incorporation of globalisation and neo-liberal ideology into education policy discourses resulted in redefining the purpose of education as preparing global citizens who can compete in the global knowledge economy. This section is followed by *Globalisation* which details its impact on education policy in greater detail.

The section entitled, *Discourses in Education Policy*, reviews the key discourses that have dominated education policy research over time. Owing to globalisation and neo-liberal ideology, economic utility and human capital have been the major considerations in the education policy discourses for the past few

decades. Notions of citizenship and national identity are also informed by the leading educational and political ideologies. The perception of citizenship and national identity provide the basis on which many educational policies are based on. The amount of investment a country is willing to make on building the skill levels of its citizens determines the level of competitive advantage a country would have. This outcome is borne out by the results of PISA tests are set by over half of a million students worldwide every three years.

In the fifth section, Key Concepts in Educational Policy in the 21st Century, the dominant concepts in education policy studies such as quality and governance are discussed in the context of neo-liberalism and globalisation. The role of the state in shaping education is often paradoxical. On the one hand certain functions such as provision of mass education is centralised while on the other it encourages decentralisation. To some extent power has been transferred from the centre to the periphery, assuming models of decentralisation, but at the same time, strengthened accountability regimes have re-centralised power. The current trend is towards greater centralization and control.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter comprises four sections. After a brief mention of the importance of theory for research, the first section outlines the role of conceptual frameworks for guiding research. The second and third sections examine critical theory and post-structuralism, respectively, as they underpin the theoretical framework used in this study. For each theory, the basic assumptions are discussed followed by implications for education policy research, and then the relevant critiques. In the fourth and final section, the ‘policy trajectory’ approach and the ‘policy network’ approach are explicated. The policy trajectory approach was utilized in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data for this study.

Role of Theory in Research

The notion of ‘theory’ is central to every field of inquiry, as the construction of ‘reality’ is based on theory. Mises (1996, p. 647) argues that, “there is no such thing as a mere recording of unadulterated facts apart from any reference to theories. As soon as two events are recorded together or integrated into a class of events, a theory is operative.” Mises notes that a person’s reasoning may be wrong and the theory incorrect; but thinking and theorizing are always present in any action. He argues that “letting the facts speak for themselves” without recourse to a theory is nonsensical (Mises, 1996, p. 177). Concurring with Mises, Connelly (2014, p.187) claims that a theory provides a “lens for looking at a problem, allowing it to be examined from different perspectives for full understanding of all its facets.”

To achieve the aims of a study, a researcher approaches the task with a distinctive perspective or framework. This framework constitutes theory or the lens through which he or she views the reality of all phenomena under study (Ball, 1994). According to Lester (2005, p. 458), a framework is the “basic structure of the ideas (i.e., abstractions and relationships) that serve as the basis for a phenomenon that is to be investigated.” A framework “serves both an explanatory and normative function, creating the conceptual understanding which both clarifies the problem, and implies the solution” (Grimley, 1986, p.20). The framework chosen by a researcher assists to organize his or her thinking about how to approach social phenomena being studied (Grimley, 1986; O’Connor & Netting, 2008; Veselý, 2012).

There are four main advantages of using a framework to conceptualize and guide one’s research (Lester, 2005). They are: the role frameworks play in providing a structure for conceptualizing and designing research studies; helping the researcher make sense of his or her data; providing a carefully conceptualised structure for the researcher to build his or her research programme on; and supporting the researcher to develop deep understandings of the phenomena by providing the structure for designing research, interpreting data and drawing conclusions based on the findings.

According to Lester (2005), research frameworks are further conceptualised in terms of theoretical frameworks, practical frameworks, and conceptual frameworks. A theoretical framework relies on a theory that has been developed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain sorts of phenomena and relationships (see also Connelly, 2014). A practical framework is based on the experience of the researchers, the findings of previous research, and the viewpoints offered by public opinion. According to Lester (2005), a practical framework is not informed by formal theory. Finally, Lester (2005) maintains that a conceptual framework is an argument that the concepts chosen for investigation, and any anticipated relationships among them, will be appropriate and useful given the research problem under investigation. Like theoretical frameworks, conceptual frameworks are based on previous research, but they are built from an

array of current and possibly far-ranging sources and may be based on different theories.

A close relationship exists between the frameworks and methods utilised in research as well as the method by which data are analysed and interpreted (Ashwin & Case, 2012). Likewise, the method/s used for policy analysis and the findings of the analysis are dependent on the framework chosen, as each framework is based on “different worldviews with embedded assumptions and with deep philosophical roots that may be rational (classical), interpretive, or progressive (radical)” (O’Connor & Netting, 2008, p.159).

If one accepts that employing a theory or a theoretical framework is indispensable for observing ‘facts’ and interpreting them, the question arises about what theory or theories are relevant for policy analysis. A number of both *a priori* and *a posteriori* theoretical frameworks are used in educational policy studies, including critical theory, post-structuralism, and eclectic combinations of both (Vidovich, 2013), such as the one employed in this study.

The research reported in this thesis is an extended policy analysis of policy processes: agenda setting, policy production and practices/effects as the policy is enacted. It also involves multi levels extending between global and local levels. Global, national and local levels are often differentiated in policy studies, albeit with recognition that there are no clear-cut boundaries between them and there may also be significant intermediate levels in policy processes (for example a regional level) (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Vidovich, 2013). Therefore, the framework adopted in this study should be suitable to analyse evolving policies from multi levels over the extended period of 1900 to 2015 in the Maldives. It is argued that the policy trajectory approach is a useful framework to help capture the dynamics of the Maldivian education policy reforms spatially (global–local) and historically. The critical theory and post-structuralism emphasize macro and micro levels respectively. Theoretical eclecticism involves drawing on different theories to investigate an issue. Such a theoretical stance is arguably more suited for investigating policy in globalising times.

In the following sections, the theoretical approaches are explicated with their features and critiques beginning with Critical Theory

Critical Theory

Critical Theory emerged in the 1920s from the work of a group of sociologists and philosophers at the University of Frankfurt in Germany who referred to themselves as The Frankfurt School (Bronner, 2011; Evans & Penney, 1995; How, 2003; Kincheloe, 2005; McKernan, 2013; Peters, 2003; Simons, Olssen, & Peters, 2009). Among these sociologists were the first generation critical theorists: Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, and Theodor Adorno. These scholars were from various backgrounds and disciplines, and hence brought multiple perspectives to the critical school of thought. Their variegated viewpoints widened the breadth of the critical orientation and made it difficult to give the tradition a singular characterization (How, 2003). The scholars of the Frankfurt School sought to diagnose and cure the ills of society by critiquing and changing the status quo (Bronner, 2011; How, 2003). The theory was developed within the framework of western Marxism and is located within a modernist paradigm (Bronner, 2011; Simons et al., 2009; Vidovich, 2013).

Horkheimer (1972) defined Critical Theory as a social theory which seeks human emancipation from circumstances of domination and oppression through critiquing and changing society, unlike traditional theory oriented towards understanding and explaining it. According to Critical Theory, reality is a human construction. Thus, Critical Theorists reject objectivism, positivism and empiricism (Agger, 1991). They argue that many humans are trapped in a false consciousness in the belief that their conditions are fair. This relatively narrow view of Critical Theory, attributable to Frankfurt School, is often written capitalised to distinguish it from the broader critical theories whose aim is to transform all the circumstances that enslave people. These ‘generic’ critical theories emerged in latter part of 20th century in connection with various social movements to provide descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at

changing the various circumstances that tend to oppress people (Peca, 2000). Significant social movements to which critical theories have been, and can be, applied for research include feminism, racism, post-colonialism, neo-colonialism, homophobia, islamophobia, ageism, national debt burdens, the neoconservative New World Order, globalisation and ageism (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002; Locke, 2004; Peca, 2000).

Simply stated, critical theory, according to McKernan (2013), is a broad approach based upon the use of critique as a method of investigation. Bohman (2005) notes that a critical theory must meet three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative. For a theory to be explanatory it must explain what is wrong with current social reality; the criterion of 'practical' implies being able to identify the actors to change it; and 'normative' entails the theory providing both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation (Bohman, 2005).

Initially, critical theory focused on changing social relations and social progress through political revolutions (Simons et al., 2009). However, as the theory evolved, the importance given to the potential of political change as a means of social progress diminished. A new perspective was given to critical theory by the second generation theorist, Jürgen Habermas, when he emphasised the role of communication in social reproduction and the role of language as a means of understanding (Bronner, 2011; Simons et al., 2009). He went on to develop his theory of 'rationality of communicative action'. In this theory, he disregarded the "colonising effects of strategic and instrumental rationalities (mediated through power, money, efficiency calculation)" and promoted the liberating potential of communication and mutual understanding (Simons et al., 2009, p.57).

The intent of the critical theorists is to contest hegemony in all forms. Hegemony was a term coined by Antonio Gramsci in 1971 in his book titled *Prison Notebooks* and refers to how the leading ideology at a point of time can become the dominant viewpoint and be accepted by the society without any

questions (Apple, Au, & Gandin, 2011; Bronner, 2011). Gramsci advocated the importance of a counter-hegemonic strategies to empower the working class and strengthen its self-administrative capacities.

The main focus of critical theory is on liberating individuals, groups and societies from self or externally imposed hegemonic influences by engaging in critique of the forces that cause oppression (Peca, 2000). The critical theorists posit that it is in the process of exposing these oppressive forces, and using alternatives to reduce them, that people become emancipated. Therefore, critical theory focuses on revealing the political and economic agendas hidden behind cultural production and reproduction and state activity in order to empower the citizens (Vidovich, 2013). It seeks to liberate the citizens from the circumstances that enslave and exploit them and to break out from the self-created or state-built 'objective reality' confines over which they have little control. In these orientations, critical theory tends to focus on central, macro level, state apparatuses and systems.

The critical theory paradigm is grounded in human values and accepts society as contradictory and problematic and disregards the existence of absolute reality (Grimley, 1986; Locke, 2004; Peca, 2000). The critical orientation is value explicit and presents a model where justice, equality and individual freedom are celebrated (Grimley, 1986; Locke, 2004; Peca, 2000). It not only seeks to expose inequalities but to empower those who are disadvantaged; it emphasizes the potential for alternatives for the disadvantaged (Grimley, 1986; Locke, 2004; Peca, 2000; Vidovich, 2013). According to McKernan (2013, p. 426), the primary characteristic of the critical orientation is that "social theory, whether reflected in educational research, art, philosophy, literature, or business, should play a significant role in changing the world, not just recording information."

Regardless of the changes in the approach and perspective of the critical orientation, an underlying continuity has been preserved in the basic form of critical theory in the course of its evolution (Moore, 2007). A set of basic principles is shared by the different forms of critical perspectives that have been

mobilised over the years. These include scepticism towards knowledge claims, a constructionist view of the idea that knowledge is social, a subjectivist approach to knowledge, and an ideologizing of knowledge relations as power relations (Moore, 2007). In the sceptical treatment the critical theorists give to ‘dominant’ knowledge, they analyse knowledge from the viewpoints of people who were responsible for creating it, thus making the analysis ‘critical’ (Moore, 2007).

Critical theory has established the importance of questioning social realities without blindly following them. This aspect of critical theory is one reason why the theory is important for policy study, and, in particular, for this study, which aims to uncover the dominant discourses and ideologies that have shaped and driven the evolving education policies under review in the Maldives over the period 1900–2015.

Critical Theory and Educational Policy Analysis

Duncan (2003) has proposed three characteristics common to all critical policy analyses. First, the main focus of a critical policy analysis is on the interaction of the processes and contexts that influence agenda setting, such as how policy problems are defined, why they are placed on the agenda and why certain policy instruments were selected. Second, a critical policy analysis exposes the ideologies and values underlying policy issues and their proposed solutions based on how all the policy actors involved frame and understand the issues. Third, the focus of a critical policy analyst is given to the effects of the policy and how policies are experienced by the people affected by them. Prior to the introduction of the critical orientation to education policy analysis, focus of education scholars was mainly on schools and classrooms by using behaviourist and positivist approaches and economies. They used functionalist, structuralist and neo-Marxist approaches (Simons et al., 2009). The impetus for the new genre of education policy studies was provided by the educational reforms of 1980s and 1990s and the influence of the neoliberal and neoconservative governments in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand (Simons et al., 2009). Critical theory provided an avenue to explore policy analysis out of the confines

of the classrooms. Together with the politics of and within the state, the critical orientation examines the power relations inside and outside classrooms (Simons et al., 2009; Vidovich, 2013). Thus, with the introduction of the critical orientation to policy analysis, the latitude of studies was broadened. Rather than focusing on improving existing policies, the critical orientation examines the “development of education policy, its content and justifications and the impact of its broader social context and its relation to power and politics in schools” (Simons et al., 2009, p. 16).

According to Moore (2007), since 1970, critical analysis of education has been associated with:

forms of standpoint theory that take as their primary objectives, (a) revealing the interests that are concealed beneath the surface of official educational knowledge and its associated forms of transmission; and (b) demonstrating the links between those things and relations of power between groups in society. (p. 25)

Thus, when the critical orientation is applied to education policy analysis, the interests that are concealed beneath the surface of education policy texts and in the way they are disseminated are revealed. In addition, the critical lens helps in exposing the power distribution between groups in a society together with the roles different policy actors played in the policy process.

Critique of Critical Theory

Around the last quarter of the twentieth century, the ‘post’ discourses, namely, post-structuralism, postmodernism, post-colonialism, along with critical feminist discourses, have offered various critiques of critical theory as it was expounded by the Frankfurt School. Scholars such as Kincheloe (2005) and Moore (2007) have pointed out the epistemological weaknesses of critical theory. According to them, in the process of problematizing knowledge and hegemonic discourses for analytical purposes, the concept of knowledge is weakened and its meaning is diluted. The emphasis of relativism and social construction of reality makes it difficult to establish precise definitional criteria for evaluating knowledge. As

there is no absolute knowledge according to the theory, truth claims are context-bound and relative. According to (Moore, 2007, p. 33) “the reductive logic that debunks or deconstructs dominant knowledge claims simultaneously also restricts critical knowledge claims to that which is merely standpoint relative.” This epistemological orientation reduces and oversimplifies knowledge (Mason & Clarke, 2010).

Another major weakness attributed to critical theory is its role of discrediting the major goal of the orientation—that of liberating the marginalised groups. According to Moore (2007, p. 33),

in terms of social justice and social change, critical analysis wishes to make strong claims and judgements about how the world actually is and how it should be. Yet it is precisely strongly founded claims of this type that the relativizing skepticism of critical analysis disallows in principle.

Some scholars consider critical theory too complex, philosophical and impractical (Kincheloe, 2005; Leonardo, 2004). Critical theorists tend to condemn central power structures for ideological reasons rather than for the strength of the philosophical arguments. Critical theory does not create or offer solutions; it seeks to destroy and to intensify struggles (Horkheimer, 1972).

Critical theorists’ claim that all knowledge is historical begs the question: how can the researcher step out of this historicity and critique the society based on a rational standard? The researcher himself/herself is located in the historicity and an ahistorical basis for critique would be untenable.

The main strength of critical theory is its concern for social justice, but in the operationalization of the theory for research, it has been subject to much criticism. In fact, Horkheimer himself said that, “critical theory has no material accomplishments to show for itself” (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 218-219). The theory’s bias towards predominant power analyses tend to loosen the focus on the micro level issues which may be just as important in effecting social change. It is at the

micro level, post-structuralism as a theory is able to make an important contribution.

Post-structuralism

Post-structuralism is a social theory which holds that there is no structure behind cultural phenomena, that power is multidirectional, discursive and that it involves negotiation of specific ideas as truth among all parties. It also holds that meanings and intellectual categories are shifting and unstable (Humes & Bryce, 2003).

Post-structuralist theory emerged in the latter part of the 20th century and is concerned with the heterogeneous works of a series of Continental philosophers and critical theorists (Humes & Bryce, 2003; Moon, 1990; Olssen et al., 2004). Significant scholars identified with the post-structural orientation include Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Judith Butler, Jacques Lacan, Jean Baudrillard, and Julia Kristeva (Moon, 1990; Olssen et al., 2004).

Post-structuralism is best understood as a social theory that repudiates the essential tenet of structuralism. Structural theories hold that cultural phenomena are structured by overarching organizing frameworks. For example, according to Marxists, the condition of human existence is best understood by an analysis of economic structures; for structural linguists, meaning is to be found in the structure of the whole language not in the analysis of individual words. However, for structural anthropologists, predominant culture governs individual's behaviour in a group (Olssen et al., 2004). Post-structuralists maintain that such organizing frameworks and systems are fabricated constructs and that they cannot be relied upon to give meaning or order. In fact, they maintain that seeking structures in society is absurd because there exists no such structures or singular truths. Post-structuralists hold that there are many truths and organizing structures overlap.

A further position of post-structuralism that differentiates the theory from structuralism is with regard to language. According to structuralists, human perception and thought are organized or structured in certain ways, and human language reflects this structure in marked contrast to the view of post-structuralists

who consider words as having no absolute meaning, and any text as open to an unlimited range of interpretations (Moon, 1990). The structuralists postulate that our understanding of the world is accommodated to language (Moon, 1990). Explaining this position further, Moore (2007) takes the example of the word ‘*aimer*’ in French that cannot be translated directly into English. When the word is translated into English it may mean ‘*to love*’ or ‘*to like*’. Referring to the many instances of such vague correspondences in both languages, Moore (2007) concludes that English and French people see the world in slightly different ways. He argues that it is the reason why words of one language cannot be directly translated into another language. While the structuralists “examine language, society and culture as a closed system of signs and convention, and examine language within specific contexts”, the post-structuralists “analyse the production and change of meaning in how language works” (Simons et al., 2009, p.57).

The post-structuralists are skeptical of structuralist perspectives on ‘metanarratives’ and, in turn, embrace the ‘little narratives’ (Peters, 2003). Metanarrative is a word popularised by the French sociologist Jean-Francois Lyotard in his book *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Metanarratives refer to stories that give meaning to our collective being and function as foundations of culture. These stories are not about things; they are interpretative frameworks that allow people to give meaning to experiences. As meta-narratives are so ingrained in people’s consciousness, people experience them as real. Such narratives include Christianity, freedom and science in the western world. For example, Christianity gives an interpretative framework in which there is absolute good and absolute bad. The ‘little narratives’ refer to “performances/practices that effectively become self-legitimizing and that by their nature cannot offer our culture transcendent or unqualified access to the reality of the world as it actually is, or was” (Munslow, 2006, p. 168). Post-structuralism does not subscribe to these metanarratives, embracing the ‘little narratives’ instead. In other words, post-structuralism challenges traditional Marxism in their rejection of the ‘grand theory’ approach and macro-phenomena to concentrate upon the fragmentary, the incomplete, the local, and the partial nature of theory

(Peters, 2003). Thus, this perspective of post-structuralism validates and respects differences and supports the deconstruction of policy discourses to expose the power relationships embedded in them (Olssen et al., 2004).

Post-structuralism disregards the belief that knowledge is an accurate representation of reality and provides a means to study how knowledge is produced. According to post-structuralists, history and culture will greatly influence the study of underlying structures and hence will add biases and misinterpretations to the analysis (Mason & Clarke, 2010). Thus, for these theorists, it is vital to study the ‘text’ itself and the systems of knowledge or context that produced it in order to understand the ‘text.’ Text here refers to “all attempts at representations” (Draper & Jones-Devitt, 2007, p. 137). For example, text can be words printed on a page, pieces of art, web pages, buildings, transcripts of interviews and music.

According to Agger (1991, p. 112), every text is a “contested terrain” which can only be understood with reference to the “concealments and contextualisations of meanings going on simultaneously to mark the text’s significance”. These concealments and contextualisations can be considered as the assumptions each text holds that it would be understood. However, these assumptions are often overlooked by the person/s who engage/s with them as they are not apparent (Agger, 1991; Moon, 1990). Thus, in what post-structuralists call ‘deconstruction’, they work on revealing the hidden meanings concealed in the text (Agger, 1991; Moon, 1990; Olssen et al., 2004; Vidovich, 2013). Deconstruction reveals multiple meanings of the text.

Post-structuralism can also be considered a subset of postmodernism as both share similar theoretical perspectives (Draper & Jones-Devitt, 2007). The difference between the two schools of thought lies in their focus. While post-structuralism is a theory of knowledge and language, postmodernism is a theory of culture, history and society (Agger, 1991). Postmodernism includes arts and architecture in its scope. A number of writers define postmodernism against the backdrop of an earlier approach known as modernism.

The general modernist view is “that the problems faced by human beings can be solved primarily by the application of rational, scientific thinking” (Draper & Jones-Devitt, 2007, p. 131). In other words, the modernists hold the assumption that reason (also known as rationality or scientific reasoning) guides our understanding of the human condition and nature itself. Postmodernism challenges the basic assumptions of modernism including objectivism and empiricism. As post-structuralists do, they reject the metanarratives or large stories that are used to explain social events in terms of patterned interrelationships (Agger, 1991; Peters, 2003). Scholars such as Lyotard, who were the most influential in the postmodern tradition, maintain that social phenomena can only be explained by the ‘small stories’ told by individuals and social groups. These small stories are often heterogeneous and are from the perspectives of the individual or the group. Therefore, as Agger (1991) suggests, postmodernists will examine the social world from the multiple perspectives of class, gender, race and other identifying group affiliations. In these stances postmodernism is similar to post-structuralism.

Overall, post-structuralism is characterized by its rejection of sociological, psychological and linguistics structures by which a person is shaped and over which he or she has not control. Post-structuralism prefers ‘little narratives’ and negotiated meaning. Both postmodernism and post-structuralism consider that reality (and knowledge) is a human construction, meanings are context-dependent and there is no one-to-one correspondence between reality and meaning. Additionally, as contexts vary, no one context or interpretation is privileged. Postmodernism is similar to post-structuralism but broader in scope.

Post-Structuralism and Education Policy Studies

The theoretical underpinnings of policy analysis tend to keep pace with the predominant social theories of the time. For example, Van Bueren (2009) notes that policy analysis in the 1950s and 1960s was characterized as reductionist, quantitative and positivist. The inability of this rational model to capture the dynamics of decision making was already evident at that time. Therefore, the

ascendancy of critical theory and post-structuralism had major repercussions for policy analysis.

In the 1980s, the sociology of education policy became much more directly concerned with the nature of discourses due to the writings of the French post-structuralist Michel Foucault (Olssen et al., 2004; Simons et al., 2009). Discourse refers to “discursive formation or order, that is, the historically shaped rules and practices for things to be said and known” (Simons et al., 2009 p. 58). Foucault holds the view that knowledge and power are interconnected to the extent that “an understanding of how knowledge is produced and the value that is attached to it cannot be separated from an understanding of the exercise of power” (Humes & Bryce, 2003, p.179). When post-structuralism is applied to education policy analysis, the policy texts are analysed as parts of discourses where issues are framed in certain ways and the focus is put on exposing the power relationships embedded in the text in specific contexts. For example, post-structuralism can be used to query who has the power to decide what should be taught, the meanings of key concepts and the extent to which the voice of teachers and students are included in policy texts. In addition, a post-structuralist lens can be used to examine the issues of social justice and equity in education systems (Mason & Clarke, 2010). Further, unlike critical theory that focuses on a macro-level analysis, post-structuralism provides a means to examine micro-level policy processes where power circulates.

The governmentality concept coined by Foucault can be used to examine the governance of education systems (Olssen et al., 2004). According to Simons et al. (2009, p. 65), governmentality refers to a “perspective on the assembly of particular rationalities and forms of thought (‘mentalities’) with specific technologies and strategies to govern.” Drawing from Foucault’s historical accounts of governmentality, the concept has been elaborated into an analytical framework that can be used to investigate past and present governments. Thus, when applied to education policy studies, the concept of governmentality can be used to study the cultural politics within education policy and the regulation of schools (Simons et al., 2009).

Thus, in the late 20th century the theoretical frameworks for policy studies have transitioned from the earlier positivist orientation to one that is more sophisticated, dynamic and able to take into account the varied actors involved in the policy process. Indubitably, the most significant contribution of post-structuralism to policy studies is its micro level, context-sensitive approach.

Critique of Post-structuralism

Deconstruction, proposed by post-structuralism, exposes the power relationships in policy processes. However, critics have challenged this concept arguing that the post-structural stance does not provide ways to move beyond deconstruction (Humes & Bryce, 2003). In this critique, post-structuralism is accused of inhibiting change as the tradition stops short of reconstruction and neglects proposing solutions for the problems it unveils.

Another aspect of post-structuralism that is highly contested is its role of championing social justice. While some scholars hold the stance that post-structuralism is emancipatory as it challenges dominant discourses, others contend that it has no strength to bring social justice as the tradition only asks questions without answering them (Humes & Bryce, 2003).

Post-structuralism is renowned for its disapproval of prevailing discourses (Humes & Bryce, 2003). This characteristic of the tradition makes post-structural theorists question the role of authority figures. Hence, people holding powerful posts such as politicians are perceived as having negative roles. In this stance, the theory ignores the potential of political debates in bringing out the positive.

Based on what has been written in the initial sections of this chapter, the author has summarized the important aspects of critical theory and post-structuralism in Table 4.1.

In all, post-structuralism is a social theory to bring about social change, often viewed as a critique of structuralism. It stresses 'little narratives' rejecting objectivism, positivism and empiricism. Both critical theory and post-structuralism are fruitful for policy analysis. The next section explores the

advantages of combining the critical theory and post-structuralism for policy analysis.

Table 4.1
Comparison of Critical Theory and Post-structuralism

Characteristic	Critical theory	Post-structuralism
Epistemology	Knowledge is objective and individuals or groups give meaning to phenomenon based on their cultural, historical, political and social experiences.	Disregards rationality, empiricism and objectivism. Views knowledge as fragmented, uncertain and unfixed. This stance is shared by the critical theory.
Emphasis in analysis	Focus on exposing structures of domination and exploitation and power hierarchies in the society.	Aims to reveal the hidden meaning in texts by means of deconstruction.
Applications	Critical theory has a broader scope when analysing macro-level and meso-level policy processes.	The ideas put forward by the post-structuralists are believed to be more applicable to a micro-level analysis.
Conception of idea on power	Power is centralised and the policy elite has control to promote their values through policies.	Power is decentralised and circulates at all the levels of the policy process, providing both positive and negative effects.
Main critiques	Reductionism and oversimplification of knowledge. The theory is complex and impractical.	The theorists can't move beyond deconstruction hence cannot bring about change. Rather than empowering the oppressed groups the theorists end up disempowering them. The theory underestimates the positive role of politicians in the society.

A Policy Trajectory Framework: Critical and Post-structural Lenses

In contemporary globalising times, traditional singular theoretical models are not relevant to examine the wider complex scope of the policyscape. Vidovich (2013) argues for the use of a broad and diverse range of sources when it comes to selecting theories for guiding education research (See also Simons et al., 2009). Vidovich argues for the use of hybridised frameworks in policy research, such as the combination of critical and post-structural theories, to span global to local policy arenas. One such hybrid approach is the 'policy trajectory' framework

originally proposed by Stephen Ball and colleagues in the 1990s (Ball, 1993, 1994; Bowe et al., 1992).

In their seminal work on the policy trajectory, Ball and his colleagues articulated three contexts with regard to the life cycle of a policy (Bowe et al., 1992). These contexts include the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context of practices/effects. The context of influence is where policy actors contest, negotiate and struggle over the construction of policy. In the context of policy text production, the text is produced by negotiation among different parties. In the context of practices/effects, the policy is subject to multiple translations or recreations by the actual practitioners of policy. Later these contexts were expanded by Ball (1994) to include the context of outcomes and the context of political strategy. The context of outcomes considers the impact of the policy on existing social inequalities while the context of political strategy devises plans to address these inequalities. In this study, the primary emphasis is on the first three policy contexts, context of influence, context of policy text production and context of practices/effects, although the final two contexts which relate to outcomes such as the impact on social justice will be referred to in the discussion of findings. The contexts proposed by Ball and his colleagues involve contestations and compromises, thus making a policy's trajectory a 'messy' process.

A policy trajectory as explained by Ball (1993, p.16) as an "analytical strategy that provides a mechanism for linking and tracing the discursive origins and possibilities of policies as well as the intentions embedded in, responses to and effects of policy". Ball describes the policy trajectory approach as a non-linear process that employs a cross-sectional analysis which spans policy formulation, the struggles and responses of state all the way through to the various recipients of policy. Ball's (1994) *Educational Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach* draws from both critical theory and post-structuralism. Despite the enrichment Ball's (and his colleagues') work brought to the policy analysis toolbox, their approach met with several criticisms in the 1990s. The approach was criticized for overemphasizing the micro-level agency with their

strong focus on post-structuralism which enhanced the ‘messiness’ of the policy process (Evans & Penney, 1995; Hatcher & Troyna, 1994; Lingard, 1996). Other criticisms were related to the inadequate focus of the approach on the role of the state and the impact of globalisation on policy processes (Hatcher & Troyna, 1994; Lingard, 1996). Lingard (1993) criticized the diminishing role of the state in Ball’s framework. Scholars, such as Bottery (2006) highlighted the fact that Ball’s framework did not consider the process of globalisation and its impact on policy processes.

In the 21st century policy scholars began to recognize the potential of moving “beyond the dualism of once considered mutually exclusive categories of critical and post-structural approaches” (Vidovich, 2013, p. 27). With the attention of politicians and other stakeholders shifting to the enactment of policies, Ball’s context of practices/effects started taking eminence in education policy research. Hence, in the 21st century there was increased acceptance of the role of Ball’s policy trajectory approach as a valuable device in the toolbox for policy analysis.

Modifications to Ball's (1994) policy trajectory approach have developed over time to adapt it to globalising times. Examples of such modifications include the ‘context’, ‘text’ and ‘consequences’ model proposed by Taylor et al. (1997), the trajectory of ‘contextual issues’, ‘policy and textual issues’ and ‘implementation and outcome issues’ formulated by Rizvi and Lingard (2010) and the addition of levels proposed by Vidovich (2007, 2013).

As this study covers a long period of 115 years and the policies are analysed from many levels and contexts, the ‘policy trajectory approach’ was considered to be particularly relevant and helpful for the study.

Vidovich’s Policy Trajectory Approach: Contexts and Levels

Vidovich (2007) extended the policy trajectory model by superimposing multi-levels, global, national and local levels, to the contexts proposed by Ball (1994). While superimposing the multi-levels on the different contexts, she has taken into account both “macro-level constraint and micro-level agency” (Vidovich, 2007, p.

290). In the model, Vidovich (2007) incorporated the phenomenon of globalisation as states cannot be independent from global discourses when setting national agendas. Bottery (2006) identifies several reasons for a macro-level analysis of education policy. He asserts that most of the issues in education have their roots at the macro-level. It is argued that the ability to recognize and respond to the origins of most problems will empower the practitioner. In addition, contemporary educational issues and challenges are often dictated in discourses of globalisation. Vidovich's model addresses state-centred constraints at the same time emphasizing the important role of empirical studies at the micro-level to also understand agency of policy actors throughout the entire policy process (Vidovich, 2007). Vidovich (2007) highlighted the inter-linkages between different levels and contexts of the policy process as a modification to Ball's (1994) policy cycle approach as shown in Figure 3.2.

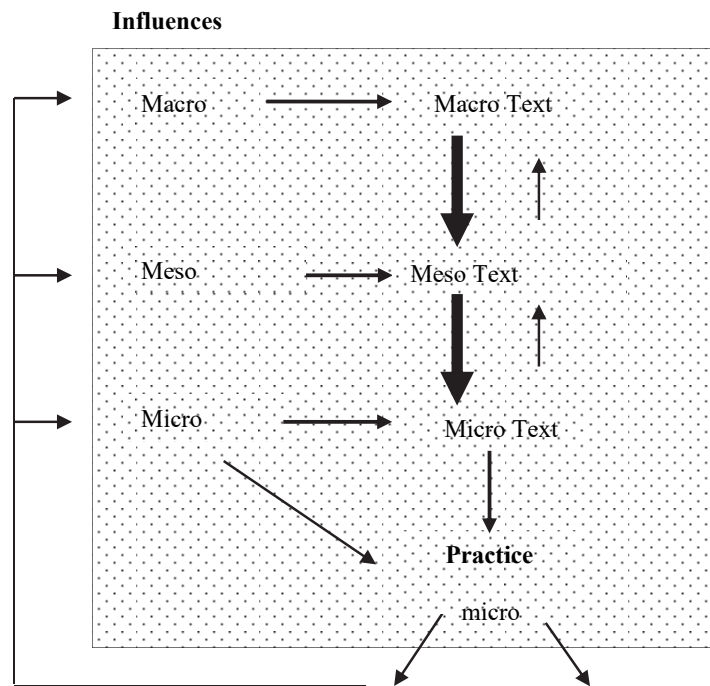


Figure 4.1. A modified policy cycle. Source: Vidovich (2007, p.298).

The following description depicts how Vidovich (2007) explains her 'policy trajectory approach.' The shaded box in Figure 3.2 depicts that influences frame the whole policy process and the horizontal arrows show that influences can

feed into the policy text production from any direction. The model spans the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of the policy trajectory. The macro-level influences are considered as the global and international influences on the policy process. Localised contexts, cultural and historical backgrounds, geographical contexts and socioeconomic status are possible micro-level influences. The arrows going up and down represent the interconnections between different levels of text production and the size of the arrows represents the relative strengths of the influences. Larger bold arrows coming down and small arrows going up indicate that the polity elite are more influential in controlling the policy process. This is referred to as a macro-level constraint. The power exerted by the ‘grassroots’ level practitioners in interpreting the policies is referred to as micro-agency. It is possible for the localized context of individual institutions to directly influence the resulting practices and/or effects at that site without going through the official policy text. This is indicated by the oblique arrow connecting micro influences and micro effects.

Figure 3.2 shows that a complex array of interactions of influences and text production are occurring at different levels simultaneously giving rise to multiple practices/effects. Some of these effects can become influence factors again at the three different levels of the policy trajectory. When applying the policy trajectory approach to policy analysis, the relative emphasis of critical theory and post-structuralism varies at different points. The way power is perceived by critical theorists and post-structuralists is different. While the critical theorists identify power as centralized and the policy elite as having the control to promote their values through policies and driving policies in the directions they want, the post-structuralists perceive power as decentralized (Mason & Clarke, 2010; Olssen et al., 2004; Vidovich, 2013). For post-structuralists power can circulate in all human relations at different levels and can be either positive or negative. Hence, while the critical theorists view the micro-level policy actors as disempowered by policy elite, the post-structuralists consider them as having significant freedom in getting involved with policy processes (Mason & Clarke, 2010; Olssen et al., 2004; Vidovich, 2013). Therefore, while critical theory is

mainly used to identify the broader patterns of power operating at the macro level, the post-structuralists' view is used to identify the different interpretations and enactments at the micro-level (Vidovich, 2007, 2013).

Overall, it is argued here that the policy analysis toolbox has been made richer with the hybridisation of different theoretical frameworks. The concerns of the critics of both critical theory and post-structural approaches are largely addressed in the policy trajectory approach. However, it is to be noted that the policy trajectory approach may not be very neat or elegant when analysis happens at multiple contexts and multiple levels over an extended time period. According to Vidovich (2013, p. 34), such an analysis will likely resemble a “complex web or network of interactions”. The boundaries between levels may not be very clear in the actual analysis due to the effect of the web of policy networks driving the policy processes. Therefore, for a comprehensive and holistic study of the policy process it is important to consider the associated policy networks. A policy network approach is of particular significance as it forms a basis of analysis and theory generation in policy studies. The next section gives a brief outline of the policy network approach.

Policy Network Approach

The policy network approach has been garnering attention both as a theory and methodological framework that can be used to capture the fluidity of policy processes in globalising times (Ball, 2012; Fataar, 2006; Williamson, 2012). This approach is particularly useful for analysing a single education policy but would become unwieldy if applied to major policies of the long study period of 115 years. It is mentioned here for completeness.

A policy network is a non-hierarchical set of interdependent relationships formed based on common policy interests and represents a bridging of both public and private sectors (Fataar, 2006; Williamson, 2012). Ball (2012, p. 5) describes policy networks as “involving particular kinds of social relationships, flow and movements.” According to Ball (2012, p. 13), policy networks “pluralise political authority” as they are polycentric and are made of multiple nodes of key policy

actors. In a policy network power is dispersed across various sectors of the society and the state depends on different policy actors to produce knowledge and policy positions for new areas of governance (Fataar, 2006). Hence, the nature of governance is fluid rather than static as it keeps on shifting with the changes of power relationships in the policy network. The policy network approach provides a lens to look at the structure of policy communities and their visible social relationships (Fataar, 2006). Van Bueren (2009 p.5) discusses four elements of networks:

The first is that phenomena are explained by the relationships between actors that are not reducible to individual attributes of individuals, groups or organizations. Second, the web of networked relationships is assumed to be complex; linkages between individuals, groups and organisations overlap and cross-cut. Third, the relationships form both a resource and a constraint to collaborative action; and fourth, there are differences in how and which resources are mobilised by networks and to what purpose.

As a theoretical approach, the policy network is consistent with both critical theory and post-structuralism in their stance on power, though it is more post-structural in nature than a policy trajectory (Ball, 2012; Peters, 2003).

Some weaknesses associated with the policy network approach are that it fails to capture the details of the relationships among policy actors, it is difficult to measure power and resource differentials between policy actors, and the absence of a well-worked method to study the policy networks (Ball, 2012). In addition, because of the fluidity and informality of these networks, representational difficulties are faced. According to Ball (2012), some of these problems can be avoided by focusing on specific events rather than generalised networks. The policy network approach has become a useful addition to the 'policy analysis toolbox', especially in the recent years of the globalized era.

As noted earlier in this section, the conceptual framework of policy networks was not used in this study as the trajectory approach was judged as more appropriate for this study to examine the relationship between all the contexts of

the policy cycle and all the levels of the policy trajectory in order to gain a holistic understanding of the dynamics of policy reforms in the Maldivian education system in the period 1900–2015.

Summary

The five preceding sections of this chapter discussed the theoretical framework underpinning the current study. This first section highlighted the role of theoretical frameworks in providing a lens through which a researcher can investigate a social phenomenon. This section also distinguished among practical frameworks, theoretical frameworks and conceptual frameworks.

In the second section, critical theory as a research framework was outlined. In addition to the basic assumptions of critical theory, this section included an examination of the use of critical theory in education policy analysis and the major critiques of the theory. Critical theorists see power as centralised and the policy elite as having the control to promote their values through policies and drive them in the directions they want. The focus of critical theorists lies at the macro level and they use critical theory to reveal the ideologies embedded in policies, their broader social impacts and the hegemonic relationships in the policy landscape.

The third section was on post-structuralism and it described the use of this theoretical paradigm in education policy analysis. Post-structuralism disregards rationality and focuses instead on the fragmentary, the uncertain and the little narratives. Post-structural theorists view power as decentralised circulating at all levels. When applied to education policy analysis, post-structuralism focuses on individual agency and hence can provide useful insights at the micro level.

The fourth section of this chapter included a brief discussion of the hybrid theoretical approaches in education policy analysis. It is argued that the policy trajectory approach fits the aim of this research well as it takes into account the policy processes from global to national and to local levels focusing on the

context of influences, the context of policy text production and the context of practices/effects.

The last section of this chapter outlined the policy network theory. In recent years, the role of networks in policy processes has been discussed by a number of researchers (Van Bueren, 2009). The ‘network’ metaphor is used to depict the complex web of relationships between actors in policy processes—an emphasis which can be fruitfully incorporated in the policy trajectory approach (Van Bueren, 2009).

The analysis of the policy processes in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives from 1900 to 2015 is a broad one. It involves inquiry at multi-levels and multi-contexts over an extended period, and therefore, the researcher selected the policy trajectory approach when it came to choosing theoretical frameworks, as advocated by Vidovich (2013).

CHAPTER 5 METHODS

Introduction

Researchers differentiate between the two related terms of method and methodology. The former refers to the tools, techniques and processes used to conduct the research whereas the latter term signifies the general principles, axioms and frameworks used in the generation of knowledge by research subsuming both method and theoretical framework in it (Irny & Rose, 2005). This chapter mainly deals with the methods adopted in this study

Qualitative Research Design

In this study, the researcher set out to analyse the key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the time period 1900–2015 using a modified extended policy trajectory approach. In a study of this nature, the method of choice is invariably qualitative approach because the inquiry is set in its natural setting, the interest is on producing a narrative and textual description of the policy trajectory and the focus is upon understanding interpreting and understanding the trajectory framed within the theoretical perspectives outlined in Chapter 4 (Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen, & Walker, 2014; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009). The primary goal of the researcher in qualitative research is to portray the complex pattern of what is being studied in sufficient depth and detail so that someone who had not experienced it can understand it (Anderson & Arsenault, 2005; Ary et al., 2014; Creswell, 2012; Saldaña, 2011; VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009). In qualitative studies, multi-methods such as participant and non-participant observations and interviews are used by the researchers to interpret, understand, explain and bring meaning to what they study (Anderson & Arsenault,

2005; Ary et al., 2014; Creswell, 2012; Saldaña, 2011; VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009).

The policy trajectory approach used in this study draws from the theoretical lenses of both critical theory and post-structuralism both of which were explained in the preceding chapter. Though conceptually different, both approaches focus on exploring social structural inequalities and power relationships. As both approaches are sensitive to context and process, they tend to draw upon the qualitative paradigm, enabling the social phenomenon to be studied in-depth and holistically from the perspective of the policy actors (Punch, 2009). Though qualitative studies have a tendency to make generalizations, they are better suited to explore complex social contexts in depth (Yin, 2011). With adequate details of the research settings, readers can make judgements about the relevance of theoretical propositions generated by this research to their own settings (Ary et al., 2014; Creswell, 2012; Saldaña, 2011).

Positionality of the Researcher

The approach taken by a researcher is highly dependent on who the researcher is, the purpose of the research and the context of research, or as Rizvi and Lingard (2010) termed the *positionality* of the researcher. Positionality as described by Rizvi and Lingard (2010) has four meanings. First, positionality denotes the actual location of the researcher with respect to the focus of the policy analysis. Second, positionality includes the theoretical and political approaches used by the researcher. The third meaning given by Rizvi and Lingard (2010) describes positionality in relation to the process of globalisation and refers to the spatial location of the researcher. This definition considers the national location of the researcher and the effect of global geopolitics on that nation. A final definition of positionality refers to the national location of the researcher. This aspect of positionality decides the nature of the analysis undertaken and the theoretical and methodological options available for the researcher (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Positionality becomes important to qualitative studies because the researcher's values and preferences may influence the theoretical stance taken by

him or her (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Thus, it becomes important to recognize and acknowledge the positionality of the researcher because the primary instrument of a qualitative study is the researcher.

The researcher was a senior staff as well as a student of the Maldives National University during the time of this study. The position held by the researcher during the first three years of the study had given her the opportunity to contribute to the production of university policies, making her aware of some of the policy processes discussed in this study. In addition, the involvement of the researcher in the Maldivian education polycscape since the year 2000 gave her easy access to key policy actors from the national and local levels. In addition, her ‘insider’ role in the education system (on account of having been a school teacher, and later a teacher educator) had given her insights into the constant changes and contestations that had occurred, and were still occurring in the latter eras of the study. Though the positionality of the researcher facilitated ease of logistics by privileged access to data, the researcher worked with the understanding that the ‘insider’ role can allow bias to enter the data collection and analysis processes. Thus, measures were taken to improve trustworthiness by reducing potential issues related to positionality and bias. These include a clear explanation of the theoretical frameworks adopted, careful sampling of participants based on defined criteria and rigorous approaches to data collection, transcription and analysis; these measures are further explicated later within this chapter. Furthermore, the researcher employed a reflexive approach in which the processes and findings were inspected to ensure that different views of the participants were reported faithfully in a neutral way.

Historical and Contemporary Policy Analysis

This study of educational policy spanned an extended period from 1900 to 2015, involving both historical and contemporary policy analyses. Historical research has been defined as the systematic location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events (Ary et al.,

2014; Cohen et al., 2007). In this type of research, an aspect of the past is studied either by pursuing documents of the period and/or by interviewing people who lived in that period. Based on the findings, the researcher then sets out to explain what happened and what ensued in the studied period and the reasons for the events that occurred as accurately as possible (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009).

Educational researchers choose historical research for a number of reasons. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), these reasons include informing people of the past events so they could use lessons from these events to find solutions to contemporary problems, thereby setting up an evidence base for policy makers, and obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the current practices. In addition, such studies are conducted for the academic and historical interest of the past and for an appreciation of the evolution of different processes. These purposes closely mirror the aims of this study.

In an historical study, first the problem to be investigated is defined, followed by locating the relevant sources of historical information (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). Next, data collected from the sources are summarized, evaluated and interpreted in relation to the questions posed. Out of these steps, locating relevant sources is the most difficult task for an historical inquirer (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009).

Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), propose that just about anything written down about a particular event acts as a probable source for data collection in historical research. According to them, historical sources can be broadly categorised as documents, numerical records, oral statements and records and relics. Documents refer to any printed material such as annual reports, books, artwork, bills, cartoons, circulars, court records, diaries, diplomas, legal records, newspapers, magazines, notebooks, school yearbooks, memos and tests. Numerical records refer to any type of printed numerical data and can be considered as a sub-group of documents. Oral statements and records include stories, myths, tales, legends, chants, songs, and other forms of oral expressions.

Oral interviews conducted by the researcher with people who were part of, or have witnessed, past events are also considered as oral statements and records. The fourth type of historical sources, relics, refers to objects which provide information about the past either through a physical or visual structure. Some examples of relics include furniture, artwork, clothing, buildings, monuments, and equipment.

Further, the sources used in historical research can be identified as either primary sources or secondary sources (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). A primary source is an original source prepared by a participant or an actual witness of the event studied. A secondary source is one which is prepared by a person who is not a direct witness or a participant of the event. The historical researcher aims to use primary sources wherever available and uses secondary sources only in the absence of primary sources or to corroborate the data. At the beginning of each chapter of findings, a table lists primary and secondary sources used in the study.

The success of historical research depends on the accuracy and completeness of the source material. Two ideas, the concepts of external criticism and internal criticism, become paramount when evaluating historical sources (Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). External criticism refers to authenticity of the source. When the genuineness of the source is guaranteed then the author is faced with identifying the accuracy of the content in the sources, which is termed as internal criticism (Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009).

Research Questions

The aim of this study was to analyse key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the period 1900–2015 using a modified and extended ‘policy trajectory’ framework which included policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects. In addition, the implications of the findings for the future were examined. The 115-year time period was subdivided into five eras of varying lengths which were named after powerful policy actors of the time. The main

focal point of this study was on the ‘national level’ that comprised the Maldivian government and other non-governmental groups within the Maldives in order to delimit the scope, with such a long time frame of 115 years. Thus, the ‘local’ or institutional level, such as individual schools or universities was not considered in-depth for any era unless policies were directed at them. However, particular powerful individual policy actors were considered within what is labelled as the ‘local’ level of the policy trajectory. The research questions addressed in this study are:

1. How have global, national and local influences affected education policy development in the Maldives between 1900 and 2015?
2. What were the features of the key policy texts in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives (1900–2015), and how were the policy texts produced?
3. What were the practices/effects stemming from each of the major education policy developments in the Maldives (1900–2015)?
4. What are the implications of the findings for the development of education policies in the Maldives for the future, especially with accelerating globalisation?

Data Collection Methods

Qualitative studies employ a number of data sources such as participant observations, interviews, conversations, documents, field notes, memos, accounts, diaries, life histories, artefacts, video recording and audio recording (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). This study employed documents and interviews as primary data sources. Collection and analysis of data from these sources are summarized in the following sections.

Documents

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating printed and electronic material related to a particular field (Ary et al., 2014; Bowen, 2009;

Tight, 2003). Cohen et al. (2007) have highlighted many advantages of document analysis. According to them, document analysis provides an avenue for the researcher to reach inaccessible persons or subjects. In addition, documents depict the picture of how a situation evolved over time; hence the dynamics of the period when the document was written could be easily understood through them. Documents are also useful in formulating interview questions for the policy actors (Cohen et al., 2007).

Similar to other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires data to be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge. Bowen (2009) refers to documents as social facts which are produced, shared, and used in socially organized ways. Analysis of documents was selected as a source of data for this study due to the long timescale investigated. Some of the policy actors who played major roles in producing and enacting policy directives at the earlier part of the century were not living at the point of data collection. Another reason for choosing this method was that it is through original documentation that the intention of the policy statements could be derived. It was believed that documentary evidence combined with data from interviews would minimise bias and enhance validity and reliability of the data and findings; that is, the documentary and interview data can be triangulated to reveal both similarities and differences.

The document analysis was conducted by using primary and secondary sources. Special care was taken to use primary sources wherever possible. But in cases where primary sources were not available, secondary sources were used. The primary and the secondary documentary sources that formed the cornerstone of this research are given in chapters on findings (Chapter 6–10). All the data pages used in this study were photocopied or scanned unless they were readily available.

Each of the sources used in this study was subjected to external criticism by answering the following questions to determine the authenticity of the source (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009, p. 538):

1. Who wrote the document?
2. What was the purpose of writing the document?
3. When was the document written?
4. Where was the document written?
5. Under what conditions was the document written?
6. Does the document have more than one form or version?

To ensure internal criticism of the sources or the accuracy of the content, the sources were subjected to the following questions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009, p. 540):

1. Was the author present at the event under study?
2. Was the author a participant or an observer of the study?
3. Was the author competent to describe the event?
4. Was the author emotionally involved in the event?
5. Did the author have any vested interests in the outcome of the event?
6. Do the content of the source make sense?
7. Could the event described have occurred at that time period?
8. Would people have behaved as described?
9. Does the language of the source suggest any bias?
10. Do other versions of the event exist?
11. Does the document have more than one form or version?

Additionally, to critically analyse documents, the “possible menu to interrogate a policy process” proposed by Vidovich (2007, p. 296) was used. This ‘menu’ of questions to investigate a policy process is included in Appendix A.

Interviews

Interviews, or the careful asking of relevant questions, enable participants to interpret the world they live in and to express their views of that world from their points of view (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Saldaña, 2011). Out of the four types of interviews, namely, structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews and

retrospective interviews (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Saldaña, 2011), semi-structured interviews were used as one of the main data collection methods in this study.

Fraenkel and Wallen (2009) describe semi-structured interviews as verbal questionnaires designed with a series of questions intended to stimulate specific answers from the participants. They are used to collect information from a larger sample of individuals in a community and can be used to understand a range of perceptions of an issue by key people in that community (Lapan, Quartaroli, & Riemer, 2012). Probing questions help to reveal insightful views of the participants. The general format of the interview questions employed are in Appendix D.

The interviews for this study were conducted at places chosen by the participants to make the environment as comfortable as possible for them. The participants were informed that there would be two parts to the interview session. In the first part the purpose of the study was explained to the participant and the participant was invited to ask questions to clear doubts. The second part was the semi-structured interview. Permissions were obtained as required by ethical guidelines.

Semi-structured and, sometimes, open questions were used in the interview so that the participants would have the opportunity to freely express their ideas and viewpoints. The length of these interviews varied between 30 minutes and 75 minutes. The core guiding questions for the interviews were adapted from the “possible menu to interrogate a policy process proposed by Vidovich (2007, p. 296). This ‘menu’ of questions to investigate a policy process is included in Appendix A. To some extent, the nature of the participant’s response determined the direction of the interview.

With the permission of the participants their responses were recorded using an electronic voice recorder. Each interview was transcribed and the participants were given the opportunity to check transcripts for accuracy. The transcribed data was sorted by person and given a reference number to ensure

anonymity of the participant. Some participants were called for a second interview when the need arose.

Participants

This study analysed the education policy terrain of the Maldives from 1900 to 2015 as completely as possible. Hence, anybody who was in the policy process and was alive at the point of data collection in 2014–2016 was a possible participant in the study. The researcher aimed to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with various national level policy actors in, and connected with, the Maldivian education system during the latter part of the study period. This set of actors included former and present presidents, ministers, deputy ministers, school heads, teachers as well as local authority representatives and relevant ‘outsiders’ with links to the education system as a whole. Interviews with these participants provided data parallel to the document analysis for recent decades, but for the earlier period of the 20th century documents provided the sole source of data.

Sampling

Factors such as cost, time, and accessibility often constrain the researcher from collecting data from the whole population. Hence, he or she often limits the data collection to a small group of people representative of the whole population known as a sample (Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). One of the most important steps in research is the selection of the sample or the process of sampling. The two main groups of sampling methods available for researchers are random sampling and non-random sampling (Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). The sampling method chosen for this study falls under non-random sampling (such as systematic sampling, convenience sampling and purposive sampling) (Punch, 2009). The researcher used purposive sampling, more specifically snowball sampling, for this study as the participants were selected to fit with the purpose of the study.

Sample Size

Best and Kahn (2006) describes an ideal sample size as being large enough so that it serves as an acceptable representation of the population under study and small enough so that the selection is viable for the purpose of the research. As this was an historical study and the researcher had to do with whoever was available, the researcher tried to interview as many policy actors as needed. A total of 35 participants was interviewed. Snowball sampling was used to find participants of interest from those who were best able to identify them (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). For example, any policy actor identified by the study participants as another possible relevant policy actor, and who was available, was approached with a request to contribute to the study.

Participant Identity Coding

Table 5.1 summarizes the participant identity coding used in the study to maintain the anonymity of the participants. The reason for participant identity coding is explicated under ethical considerations in this chapter.

Timeline and Processes

Data was collected purposively from extant documents for each era separately and subjected to an initial analysis. The interview questions were framed with the findings from the preliminary analysis of the documents. Next, two interviews were piloted with non-participating policy actors before formal interviews were conducted with national level participants to examine the evolution of policy processes of each era between 1900 and 2015. Data collection was progressive from Eras 1 to 5; that is data collection for an era was completed before moving on to the next era.

Data collection from documents started in May 2014 and continued until the end of 2016. Interviews were conducted only for Eras 2 to 5. The first interview was conducted on 23rd June 2016. A total of 35 interviews was conducted within a period of six months. The response rate for the request for

interviews were high with only one participant declining to participate due to old age and ill health, out of all the participants approached. One key participant died before he could be approached for an interview and another died after he gave consent for the interview but before the interview was conducted.

Table 5.1
Participant Identity Coding

	Era	Code	Sampling criterion
1	Amin Era	AE1	Former personal secretary to a president
2		AE2	Former home minister and an in-charge of education
3		AE3	family member of a former president
4		AE4	senior government official
5		AE5	senior government official
6		AE6	student who went abroad for studies in the very first batch
7		AE7	family member of a former president
8	Nasir Era	NE1	senior government official
9		NE2	Former minister
10		NE3	former senior government official
11		NE4	former warden in the Sri Lankan student hostel
12		NE5	Former minister
13	Maumoon Era	ME1	Former senior government official
14		ME2	Former minister
15		ME3	Former minister
16		ME4	Former senior education official
17		ME5	Former senior education official
18		ME6	Senior education official
19		ME7	Senior education official
20	Post-Maumoon Era	PE1	Senior education official
21		PE2	Senior education official
22		PE3	Senior education official
23		PE4	Former minister
24		PE5	Senior education official
25		PE6	School administrator/teacher
26		PE7	School administrator/ teacher
27		PE8	Senior education official
28		PE9	School administrator/ teacher
29		PE10	School administrator/ teacher
30		PE11	Senior education official
31		PE12	Senior education official
32		PE13	School administrator/ teacher
33		PE14	School administrator/ teacher
34		PE15	Senior education official
35		PE16	Senior education official

Of the 35 interviews, 33 were conducted face-to-face with two participants opting to do the interviews over the telephone as they were in different locations at the time of data collection. As noted earlier, the face-to-face interviews were

conducted at places the participants preferred; mostly at their residences or offices. Three interviews were conducted in the researcher's office.

The 33 face-to-face interviews were recorded on a Sony digital voice recorder with high quality stereo recording, after the permission of the participants was sought through the participant information and consent forms. The two interviews conducted by phone were recorded to a Samsung phone by using a call recorder application, with the permission of the participants. The equipment used for recording was reliable and there was no need for a backup recording system. The majority of interviews took about 50 minutes; though some elderly participants preferred to talk longer. The shortest interview was 46 minutes long and the longest took approximately 120 minutes.

The potential biases in the interviews were reduced by adhering to the methods given by Best and Kahn (2006) and Cohen et al. (2007). The interview questions were based on a carefully designed and piloted schedule, informed by data collected from documents. Supplementary notes were taken on the aspects of the interview that could not be captured by the recorder. All the questions used were semi-structured, sometimes, open-ended and non-leading. In addition, the consistency of responses was evaluated by asking the questions in a different form at another stage of the interview.

As the researcher transcribed all the interviews she remained engaged with the data and was able to assimilate the information more thoughtfully while transcribing. The data was transcribed in three stages. In the first stage the researcher played the recordings at a slower speed by using 'InqScribe' application that helped in controlling the playback. In this stage, the researcher focussed on producing a syntactically correct transcription of the spoken words. In the second stage the written transcription was checked for errors by comparing the recording to the written transcript. In the third stage annotations were added by using the supplementary notes the researcher took during the interviews. In this stage emergent themes were identified. In all three stages, the transcription was checked for errors and, if detected, the errors were corrected. The participants

were offered an opportunity to check the unannotated transcripts; only two participants checked the transcripts which were returned without any changes.

Data Analysis

The data collected from documents and interviews was analysed by using the five-phased cycle of data analysis described by Yin (2011) given in Figure 5.1.

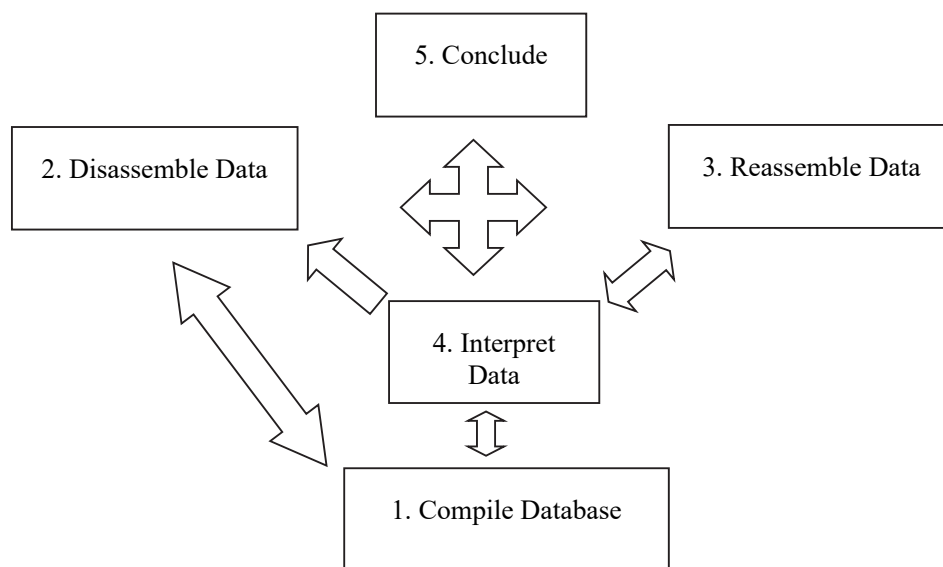


Figure 5.1. Five-phased cycle of data analysis. Source: Yin (2011, p. 178).

The five phases in this framework includes compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpretation and conclusion. The double-sided arrows in Figure 5.1 show that analysis is possible back and forth between two phases. This framework is non-linear and the five phases in this model occurred concomitantly and ran throughout the study period, though emphasis at different stages varied at different points of time.

Data collected was first compiled and sorted. To start sorting the data, the researcher first read the notes made on the collected data from documents and the interview transcripts over and over again to familiarize herself with the data, as familiarization and organization were considered the initial steps of data analysis (Ary et al., 2014). Then, the data was sorted into broad categories to generate

broader themes from the three levels of the policy trajectory. In the second disassembling phase, the data was sorted into smaller fragments or codes. This step was repeated several times on a trial and error basis to test codes.

Based on the results of the second phase, the disassembled data fragments were then sorted to substantive themes. In this third phase, known as the reassembling, a table similar to Table 5.2 was used to facilitate the rearrangements and recombinations (Yin, 2011). This step was repeated over and over again as depicted by the two-way arrows in Figure 5.1 to generate the themes. For the transcripts of interviews, structural organization of the themes was achieved by numbering the transcript lines as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Extract of the Data Coding Table for Interviews

Research Question 1	Level	Codes	Transcript references
Influences	Global	Code 1	AE1, line no 16
		Code 2	NE5, line no 10
		Code 3	PE6, line no 18
	National	Code 1	
		Code 2	
		Code 3	
	Local	Code 1	
		Code 2	
		Code 3	

To improve the trustworthiness of the data collected, constant comparisons were made while generating higher order codes from the broader themes (Yin, 2011). To keep track of the balance of views represented, a ‘tally chart’ was utilised to identify, the number of times a participant appears in the coding table and was selected for quotation (Yorke, 2014).

Ethical Considerations

A number of ethical issues are involved in any kind of research (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). Prior to data collection, the ethical framework relevant to the study was established and key

documentation such as consent forms and information letters were prepared. Ethics approval to conduct this study was sought from the relevant university authorities and committees. Research students are required to obtain approval before conducting all studies using the Ethics Approval Form from the Maldives National University (MNU) Research Ethics Committee.

As stated earlier, the research involved two methods of data collection. Document analysis did not pose significant ethical issues or concerns as the documents studied were in the public domain. When conducting interviews, the relevant ethical considerations recommended by a number of authors were followed (Ary et al., 2014; Best & Kahn, 2006; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). These included informed consent, confidentiality and accuracy. Prior to carrying out the interviews, as noted earlier, all participants were informed about the study, using the information sheet in Appendix B, and their consent to participate was sought in writing by using the consent form in Appendix C. The information sheet explained the objectives of the study and the ethical procedures that were employed. The participants were informed that their decision regarding participation would be respected by the researcher and were reminded of their right to withdraw from the interview without justification at any time. At all times, the researcher ensured that the participants were comfortable and free from harm.

After the data was collected, interviews were transcribed by the researcher and the participants were offered an opportunity to review the unannotated copy of the transcripts, as noted earlier. If the interviews were conducted in the vernacular (Dhivehi Language), in instances where direct quotes were used, they were translated into English Language by the researcher as faithfully as she could and verified by two scholars. The translated quotes were sent to the participants to get their approval for using them in the thesis.

The identity of the participants was kept confidential. In this thesis, the participants cannot be identified by readers as when the number of interviews in a category is one or a few (such as a former president), generic terms such as ‘senior

government official' have been used (Table 5.1). Digital recordings of the interviews were saved to several hard disk drives and kept safely protected by a password. Data backups were treated in a similar manner.

Concluding Discussion

This chapter described the qualitative methods used in this study. It outlined the reasons for choosing a predominantly qualitative method and explained the positionality of the researcher in relation to the research context. The research questions and the methods of data collection and analysis were described. The data sources used were documents and interviews. The data was analysed and themes were extracted in relation to the four research questions by using the five-phased cycle of data analysis described by Yin (2011). The policy processes were then, in subsequent chapters, examined across the global, national and local levels, using the policy trajectory approach described in Chapter 4.

The next five chapters reports the main findings of this study organized by eras into which the 115-year study period was divided for the convenience of discussion.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS 1: ERA 1 – SALAAHUDHDHEEN ERA (1900–1934)

This chapter is the first of five chapters that present the findings of the research carried out in this study. These five chapters are organized similarly as outlined next.

The format of Chapters 6–10. Chapters 6 to 10 present the findings answering the three main research questions for each era under study; that is, they focus on key influences, policy texts and policy practices/effects. Chapter 6 reports the findings from the Salaahudhdheen Era (1900–1934) while Chapter 7 reports the findings from the Amin Era (1935–1953). Chapter 8 reports the findings from the Nasir Era (1954–1978), followed by the findings of the Maumoon Era (1978–2008) in Chapter 9, and then the Post-Maumoon Era (2009–2015) in Chapter 10. As the main policy actors of the first era were no longer living, the data analysis for Eras 1 (and Era 2 to a lesser extent) was reliant on document analysis only. Therefore, no interview findings were reported in Chapter 6, while the findings of the remaining eras are derived from both document analysis and interviews with the major policy actors. Chapters 6–10 follow a similar format which is outlined in Figure 6.1.

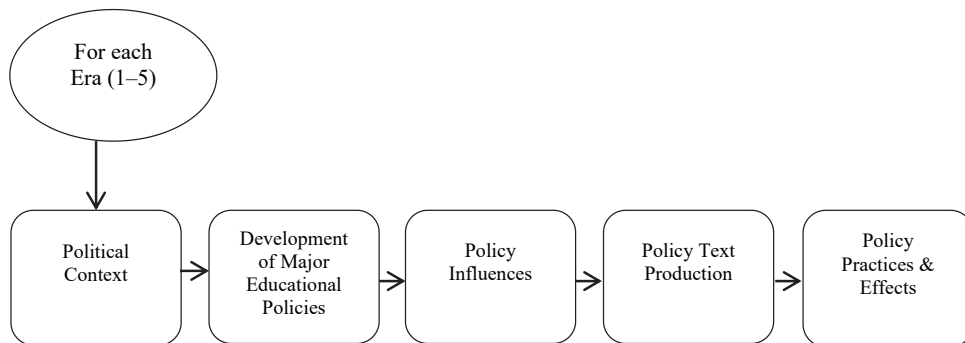


Figure 6.1. Outline of Chapters 6 – 10. One chapter is devoted to the findings of each era.

As shown in Fig 6.1, each chapter begins with a brief overview of the political context of the era. A background of the key policy actor (after whom the era is named in this thesis) is delineated in this first section because the actor's experiences greatly influenced his policy decisions. Following this background, the major education policy developments of the era are outlined. Reflecting the policy trajectory framework (Chapter 4), the subsequent discussion is structured in terms of three sections: policy influences, policy text production, and policy practices/effects. The findings for each context of the policy trajectory are presented as themes. For the context of influences themes are identified from the global, national and local levels. For the context of text production and the context of practices/effects themes are identified mainly from the national level. It is important to highlight that the global, national and local levels of the policy trajectory are not discrete categories as a great deal of interaction and overlap occurs between them, but they are separated in the thesis for analytic purposes. Some key policy actors, for example, may be actively engaged in policy processes at all three levels.

The main focal point of the analysis is on the national level in this study as the study spans 115 years and it is important to delimit the scope. For this reason, the 'local' or institutional level, such as individual schools or universities, is not considered in depth for any era as national policy patterns are sought as a priority. However, particular powerful individual policy actors are considered within what is labelled as the 'local' level of the policy trajectory.

Interview findings are incorporated within each section (except in Chapter 6), triangulating with the documentary evidence to avoid fragmentation of the themes from different data sources. When data sources are written in the national language, translations are provided.

The chapters (Chapters 6–10) dealing with findings are followed by a capstone chapter (Chapter 11) which is a meta-analysis, along the policy trajectory over the time span of 1900 to 2015. The meta-analysis is structured with reference to the major policy outcomes of each era and discussed in relation to the literature (which was presented in Chapter 3).

Introduction

This Chapter 6 presents the findings with respect to the three research questions for the first era named the Salaahudhdheen Era (1900–1934), or Era 1 for short. This chapter contains a critical analysis of the available policy texts/documents from the era. For this era four key documents were identified, which yielded the backbone of data from which the educational policy contexts can be drawn and analysed. They are shown in Table 6.1. Some of these documents included original policy texts of the era. Most of the documents were written in *Dhivehi*, the national language of the Maldives.

Written by H. C. P. Bell in Era 1 and published posthumously in 1940, Document 1 described the political and educational context of the era from 1900 to 1922. This book is one of the most comprehensive books written on the history of the Maldives. H. C. P. Bell was a British colonial administrator posted to the Sri Lankan (then Ceylon) Civil Service before Sri Lanka gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1948. He visited the Maldives three times in the years 1879, 1920 and 1922.

Document 2 was written by Salaahudhdheen who was the first principal of the first government-sponsored formal school in the Maldives. The manuscript of Document 2 was discovered posthumously by his heirs and published in 2015. In this thesis, Salaahudhdheen (2015) refers to this document which was actually written in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition, Salaahudhdheen is the policy actor after whom the Era 1 (1900–1934) is named. The school had its beginning as a private class of students tutored by Salaahudhdheen in his home. He was the Attorney General of the time. The book contained details of subjects taught, students enrolled, marks obtained by some students and notes of lectures given to the students. After 17 years of operation in his private home, the private class was taken over by the government and transferred to a government building, thereby establishing the first government sponsored school. The book resembled a diary of events in the school between 1910 and 1927. Though the book has mainly facts

and figures rather than opinions, it would still be subject to writer bias as Salaahudhdheen would have made selections of what to include.

Table 6.1
Principal Data Sources

Document number	Name of document	Author	Years covered
Document 1	The Maldives Islands: Monograph on the history, archaeology and epigraphy	H.C.P. Bell (1940)	0150–1922
Document 2	<i>Raajjeyge Nizamee Thauleemuge Furathama Hathaavees Aharu</i> [The first twenty-seven years of public education in the Maldives]	Salaahudhdheen (2015)	1910–1927
Document 3	Dhivehi Raajjeyge Qanoon Asaasee 1932 [The Constitution of Maldives 1932]	Government of the Maldives (1932)	1932
Document 4	<i>Majeedhiyyage Furathama Fansavees</i> [The first twenty-five of Majeedhiyya]	Shafeeq (1992)	1927–1952

Document 3 is the first Constitution of the Maldives published by the Government of the Maldives in 1932. There are some articles in the Constitution dealing directly with education, and therefore, it may be considered as an authentic education policy document.

Document 4 is a historical account of the first school started by Salaahudhdheen after it was taken over by the Government in 1927. This book was written in 1992 by Shafeeq who was an alumnus of the school from the early years. The book traced the development of the school for the first 25 years after its take-over by the Government.

Salaahudhdheen, after whom the era is named, was a major policy actor. His background and experiences are important to illuminate possible reasons behind some of the educational developments. Therefore, in the next sections of the chapter the political context of the era is briefly discussed followed by the

development of education in Era 1 (1900–1934), which includes the background of Salaahudhdheen.

Political Context of Era 1 (1900–1934)

The first era commences with the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time, the Maldives where a king or queen had reigned for all of its known history, was ruled by a regent because the king-designate was too young. The regent, however, assumed the throne. While he was overseas, the courtiers faithful to the rightful prince deposed the regent and the crown prince ascended the throne in 1903. The new King did not have any overseas exposure except when he later went on pilgrimage to Mecca (Didi, 1966).

There were no state-funded schools at the beginning of the twentieth century except for four houses with teachers provided for and maintained by the government in the capital, Male' (H. C. P. Bell, 1940; Salaahudhdheen, 2015). The elementary schools that existed provided instruction in the basics of religious education and literacy. The literati of the period comprised those who had been abroad for studies mainly in religious sciences, and those who had studied under the tutorship of these scholars and their past students. Then, from 1910 onwards, the sons of the nobles were sent overseas privately for a comprehensive education in Sri Lankan and Indian colleges (schools). These colleges were usually run by the Church in those countries, for comprehensive state-funded schooling was not the norm in those countries either (H. C. P. Bell, 1940; Salaahudhdheen, 2015).

When some of these nobles' sons returned to the Maldives after their studies abroad, they sought to limit the powers of the King by the proclamation of a written constitution (Faiza, 1997a). The King organized a drafting committee of the constitution; many of the members of the committee were in their twenties (Amin, 1951). They used English Laws and the Egyptian constitution as exemplars. The State was to be administered by 12 government departments. The King was to be appointed by a committee and subject to the constitution. In 1932, the constitution was approved by the King and the public. When the newly elected

members of the House of Representatives began legislating in a way that seemed ‘too much too often’ (the House passed over 40 statutes in the first three months), the public became agitated by these new laws (Amin, 1951). Consequently, there was an uprising which resulted in the exile of most of the ministers except three who were related to the King’s former Prime Minister. In time, new ministers were appointed, and changes to the constitution were made (Amin, 1951). On hearing of a plot by the King and his son to overthrow the constitutional government, the House of Representatives or Citizen’s Assembly deposed the King and exiled him (Didi, 1966). With the King exiled, the cabinet was running the country according to the constitution in 1934 (Amin, 1951).

Before the major education policies of the era are discussed, it is important to briefly outline the background of Salaahudhdheen as he was the main policy actor in relation to education policies, and the era is named after him in this study.

Background of Salaahudhdheen

Salhudhdheen, the polymath, after whom the era was named is identified as one of the greatest scholars of the 20th century in the Maldives. His services to the education system of the Maldives are celebrated even today. His educational background would have shaped his actions and his services to the education sector.

Salaahudhdheen came from a middle-class family (Salaahudhdheen, 2015). After completing his elementary school at home from a tuition master, in 1893 at the age of 13 he was sent to a Maldivian island in the South to study under the tutelage of a well-known scholar who was himself considered a sufi and a polymath. This scholar had learnt the Quran (over 500 pages long) by heart and was well versed in Shari’ah and Arabic. In addition, he was competent in the skills of *Unani* medicine, goldsmithing, blacksmithing, weaving, carpentry and fishing which were the major occupations of the people in the era. After two years of study, the scholar sent Salhudhdheen to study under the tutelage of another scholar called Naibu Thuththu who was a government judge and an eminent author and poet. Thereafter, Salaahudhdheen studied under the Chief Justice who

was from Mecca. At the age of 20, Salaahudhdheen was appointed as the Attorney General. He was chosen as the secretary of the drafting committee of the first constitution in 1931, by which time he had become the Chief Justice. In 1932, when the cabinet was formed under the newly proclaimed constitution, he became the Minister for Justice. Within a few months of the appointment, the public revolted against the cabinet instigated by the King who saw the new constitution as limiting his traditional powers. Most of the cabinet members spent nearly a year in exile abroad. Salaahudhdheen was in exile in Sri Lanka for about a year. He was exposed to the education system of Sri Lanka as well as Ottoman Arabia and Egypt multiple times as he had opportunities to travel and stay in these countries. Salaahudhdheen published about 50 books on different subjects. His most enduring contribution to the Maldives was the establishment of a private class in his home which was the precursor of the first formal state-sponsored school of the Maldives.

Why did Salaahudhdheen, the Attorney General, establish a private class in his home? In the memoirs of the school posthumously published, he referred to his love for teaching and the joy he gained from educating people (Salaahudhdheen, 2015). Additionally, as he himself had studied under the tutelage of scholars educated overseas, he would have been familiar with overseas school systems and how they operate. He was in Sri Lanka in 1903 for a year when there was a change of kings. During this time, he would have known about the few Church-run schools in Sri Lanka and their popularity and influence among the elite. His writings manifest a religiosity which could compel him to start a school as an act of devotion to God. Additionally, as Attorney General at age 20, he would be aware of the significance of starting an enterprise of enduring value to consolidate his position. When considered in this background, initiating the private class in his home is understandable. The ‘private class’ ran for 17 years before the government assumed control. The long duration speaks of the public need and his own convictions—a view supported by the fact that he taught in the school until he was 60 years old (Salaahudhdheen, 2015). H. C. P. Bell referred to four Arabic schools (Table 6.2) and said that one of them was in the Attorney

General's home. The government appropriated only his private class and upgraded it to a government school. What happened to the other three was not found in the documents.

Overall, it is evident that many privately run 'classes' were present in different inhabited islands of the Maldives in the first two decades of the 20th century. The location and actual fate of these schools could not be established from available documents. From H.C.P. Bell (1940) on average there were 3.7 *edhuruge* in every inhabited island. Both males and females attended these classes. The large number (18) of navigation schools in the Maldives had been explained by the significance of sea travel in the country of which 99% is sea.

The next section outlines the major education policies of the era.

Development of Major Education Policies in Era 1

The earliest school system of the Maldives comprised three types of institutions: the *edhuruge* or *kiyavaage*, the *makthab*, and the *madharusaa*. The *edhuruge* or *kiyavaage* (literally, teacher's house and learning house, respectively) refers to a neighbouring home where pupils were taught to read the Quran, read and write *Dhivehi*, (the local language) and very basic arithmetic. This curriculum may be termed 'traditional' because it had been entrenched over a long period. *Edhuruge*-type education, for which there was no government involvement, had been in existence since time immemorial (H. C. P. Bell, 1940). The Quranic schools named in Table 6.2 appear to refer to *edhuruge*. Even during the period of this study, when elementary schooling is compulsory, and Western-style education is provided free in government-funded schools, *edhuruge* flourishes in all islands in the Maldives providing the traditional curriculum, though the same subjects are taught in government schools. When an *edhuruge* has a separate building or is more formally organized for delivering the same curriculum, it may be known as a *makthab* which is Arabic for an elementary school. The Arabic schools noted in Table 6.2 provided education at secondary or post-secondary level. In Era 1, such schools were also called *madharusaa* which is again an Arabic term for secondary

and post-secondary education. The curriculum of these Arabic schools provided education not only in Arabic but in jurisprudence, Arabic morphology, Arabic phonology, and religious knowledge (Latheef & Gupta, 2007). The population of the country in 1900 would have been under 70,000, and since there were about 200 inhabited islands, the population per island would make a *madharusaa* viable only in a very few instances. It is important to note that over 800 *makthab* and *madharusaa* that existed at the beginning of the century were funded and managed by the community and not by the government.

Table 6.2
Number of Schools by Type (1911, 1921, 1931)

Type of School	1911	1921	1931
Quranic schools	na	839	518
Arabic schools	na	4	3
Navigation schools	28	18	34

Source: H. C. P. Bell (1940, p. 64); Latheef (1991, p. 199)

Table 6.2 shows that there were 28 navigation schools in 1911 and 34 such schools in 1931. This relatively great number of navigation schools warrants an explanation. Since the Maldives is 99.99% sea, sailing is a vital enterprise. People from various atolls used to sail to Sri Lanka as well as the coasts of India, Malaysia, western coast of Africa, Indonesia, Bengal and further north for trade on locally built sailing ships. These ships were usually brigs or xebecs. There were a large number of these vessels, both private and state-owned, and navigation skills were essential for both internal and external trade and employment. Eyewitnesses noted that as late as the 1950s there were more than 50 ships from the Maldives in Sri Lankan harbour—a comparatively large number for a small population.

H.C.P. Bell (1940) gave an account of the state of education in the 1920s. The curriculum used then in elementary schools included learning to read the Quran and memorisation of all daily prayers (*namaadhhu*) with benedictions (*salawaath*). Children learnt to read and write *Thaana* (the local script) and Arabic

on thin wooden boards using pens made from bamboo with ink from charcoal of coconut-shell. The wooden boards were coated white by smearing them with lime (*Halimeda*) obtained from the reef. The writing was erased by washing and smearing the boards again with lime. In the absence of paper, the other cheap writing tablet (*voshufilaa*) was a shallow tray into which fine white coral sand was placed. The writing easily inscribed with a stick or finger may be erased merely by shaking the tray. In *madharusaa*, paper imported from overseas was commonly used. The teachers in these schools had been trained through ‘snowball’ effects of overseas or locally trained scholars. Some students from these schools later became teachers and taught in their own houses. The hours of school attendance in Male’ at that time were: 6:30–9:30 am and 12:30–2:30 pm for young boys and girls, and older boys came voluntarily at night from 6:30–8:00 pm. In addition, H.C.P. Bell (1940) noted that arithmetic was not taught in the schools but was learnt from teachers and parents at home.

The responsibility for educating people in the islands was assigned to the island and atoll chiefs. Aristocratic and affluent people from Male’ (the capital island) provided private tuition for their children either at the palaces or at their own homes. In Male’, for people unable to afford private tutors there were government appointed masters in four *edhuruge* in the four wards of Male’. The masters were paid by the government for their services by providing a plot of land for a home (where the teaching took place) and an amount of rice every month. The government also gave free copies of the Quran to poor children. The masters had to report the daily attendance of the students monthly to the Prime Minister or *Bodu Bandeyri*. The following table shows the number of students in each of these four classes in 1922.

Table 6.3
Number of Students Enrolled in Edhuruge in 1922 (Male’)

Ward	Number of students
Maafannu	58
Machchangolhi	95
Galolhu	No record (No master)
Henveiru	114

Source: H.C.P. Bell (1940, p. 64)

The masters taught how to read and write the Quran and how to perform the daily prayers. Before the students were certified to leave the classes they had to learn to recite the Quran fluently and the progress of the students had to be reported to the *Bodu Bandeyri*. Once the students were certified to leave they had the option of attending the classes to take more religious lessons.

Students seeking higher levels of education were tutored by scholars of Arabic language and religion. Once students attained a higher level of education they became teachers and provided tuition at their homes (H. C. P. Bell, 1940). Vocational skills were learnt from apprenticeship programmes.

The Maldives society was not as stratified as the societies in India. However, there were nobles who wielded more power than ordinary folks through their genealogy. As with British society of the 1920s, the children of royalty and well-to-do higher classes were taught in their own residences (H. C. P. Bell, 1940). Some students were tutored by visiting scholars from other countries. H. C. P. Bell (1940, p. 62) noted that in 1922 some children of upper classes were sent overseas for their schooling:

More than one Maldivian of Noble birth has sought education in India, or Ceylon [Sri Lanka], of comparatively late years. Among those who have recently received tuition at Ceylon Colleges are HH [His Highness] Hassan Izzud-din, Crown Prince; Muhammad Amin [Amin], only son of Ibrahim Ahmed Didi, ..., Private Secretary to H.H, the Sultan; Mohamed Farid Didi and Hassan Farid Didi, sons of [Ibrahim] Abdul Majeed Didi, ..., Controller of Revenue; and M Ibrahim Didi, a nephew of Haji Ibrahim Didi, deceased Prime Minister.

Amin, referred to in the quotation above, is the main policy actor in the second era of this study. At that time, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) was a British colony. Its administration at higher echelons was staffed by British citizens. Ceylon schools had British teachers and were run along the practices of grammar and church schools of the UK.

Prior to the application of the policy trajectory framework to the key education policy developments of Era 1, the next section outlines details of the five major policies selected from the era. Thereafter, the policies are analysed in relation to the contexts of the influences, policy text production and practices/effects.

Policy 1: The Taking Over of a Private Class by the Government

Salaahudhdheen started a private class at his home in 1910. The highest enrolment in his private class was 40 (Salaahudhdheen, 2015). Almost all the sons of affluent and aristocratic families from Male', the capital, were enrolled in the private class at various times. The curriculum taught included linguistic studies of Arabic language, Dhivehi language and Islamic Jurisprudence. This was one of the Arabic schools which specialised in teaching Arabic language and religion referred to by H. C. P. Bell (1940) in Table 6.2. The students were streamed based on the books they studied. The more advanced students were given the responsibility of helping the lower level students learn (Salaahudhdheen, 2015).

One government official, the private (confidential) secretary to the King, visited the premises and donated a chair to the private class. Later, copies of a textbook used in the class were donated following a visit by the Prime Minister. The students later began to be utilized by the Government for reciting benedictions at various events which were customary at the time. The private class was informally referred to by the students as *Madhrasathul Salahiyya* (meaning, Salaahudhdheen's School; *Salahiyya* also means rectification or reformation).

When a sheikh returned after twelve years of studies in Azhar University (established in 970 AD) the King consulted with the government heads regarding provision of a better quality education to Maldivian children and resolved to establish a school. The minutes of the meeting held for this discussion is documented in Shafeeq (1992). Salaahudhdheen also had discussions with the Private Secretary to the King and the Chief Minister of the time regarding the importance of provision of education by the government. These discussions were also shared with the King (Shafeeq, 1992).

The result of these discussions was the establishment of the first formal school. In a grand ceremony, the Prime Minister declared the establishment of the school on 20th April 1927. As temporary quarters, a wide veranda of the courthouse was provided (Salaahudhdheen, 2015; Shafeeq, 1992). Four teaching aides were also employed by the government and an uninhabited island was given to the school to provide an income for the school. This was the first government school established in the Maldives apart from the four *edhuruge* in the four wards or districts of Male'. The school was given the name Madhrasathul Saniyya (meaning exalted or excellent school). A purpose-built school of three classrooms was functional one year after it was established as the allocated space was not adequate (Shafeeq, 1992).

The Maldivians had a long history of sending students abroad at government expense. According to Salaahudhdheen (2015), ten Maldivians were studying abroad in the year 1927; six of these students were studying in Egypt, one in Pakistan (part of India in 1927), two in India and one in Sri Lanka. Most of these students abroad had attended Salaahudhdheen's private class. The students overseas were supported by the government. The number of students seems small, but to place the numbers in context, Male' (the capital island) then had 5000 people and the total population of the Maldives was about 70,000.

The country has benefited from its close proximity to India and Sri Lanka where education had been revered for over a thousand years.

Policy 2: The Inclusion of Compulsory Education in the First Constitution

In 1932 the first written constitution was ratified and proclaimed. The constitution had five articles which mention 'education'. The constitution mandated every citizen to "learn the Holy Quran and to read and write Arabic and Maldivian letters" (Amin, 1947, p. 3). This article and other articles of the constitution, which mention the term 'education', will be discussed in the context of policy text production.

Policy 3: The Provision of a Wider Curriculum

The promulgation of the constitution resulted in many changes to the education system of the Maldives. For the first time in Maldivian history a Minister of Education was appointed under the constitution and the curriculum taught in Saniyya School was broadened to include Arabic, Mathematics, English, Maldivian History, Maldivian Language and Urdu (a widely spoken poetic language in North India). A comparison with curricula of grammar schools in the United Kingdom or Sri Lanka at that time shows that the subject that appears to be missing in the Maldivian school is science.

When Salaahudhdheen was appointed the Minister of Justice following the proclamation of the constitution, he resigned from the post of the principal of Saniyya School. The experiences of the youthful ministers who had studied in Sri Lanka, India and other countries were utilized to improve the previous one-teacher class to a school of international practices. The teaching in the school was made formal in that the students followed a time table, more teachers were appointed to the school, and staff were also appointed for administrative work and the upkeep of the school. In 1933 the school had a population of 129 girls and boys (Shafeeq, 1992). Shafeeq (1992) also noted that there was no consideration of age or marital status in student admission; fathers and sons studied in the same class.

Policy 4: The Admission of Women in the Government-run School

The constitution did not discriminate between boys and girls with regard to schooling. As a result, the government was obliged to take girls into the school. *Edhuruge* were historically co-educational although the sexes were separated in time. In the new school, girls attended in the evening. The admission of women into the school was championed by one individual, Amin, who had attended the first coeducational college in Sri Lanka.

Policy 5: The Dissemination of Schooling to Other Islands

The government annual report of 1933 noted that a second school was established in a Northern island, Lhaviyani Atoll Naifaru, not too far away from the capital in June 1933. The school was called *Madrasath'al Ifthithaahu* (Shafeeq, 1992). Shafeeq noted that the subjects taught in *Madrasath'al Ifthithaahu* included Shari'ah, etiquette and mathematics. In addition, in the same year, the government started a school in a Southern island, Thinadhoo of Huvadho Atoll. The subjects taught included Shariah, mathematics and etiquette. As payment for the services of the teacher of Naifaru school, the government gave him the produce of an island, namely, lumber, coconuts and other goods that naturally grew there. It is very likely that a similar arrangement for compensation for the teacher would have been made for Thinadhoo although it was not specifically stated. These records indicate that good quality schools by the standards of the time were established in other islands.

Context of Policy Influences

A number of major themes related to influences that impacted the five policies outlined in the preceding section emerged. These themes and, where appropriate, their sub-themes are elaborated later in this section. The themes are identified using **boldface** and their dimensions or *sub-themes* are identified using italics. The discussion of the influences that impacted on the five policies identified in Era 1 (1900–1934) is structured in terms of three levels of influence: local, national and global. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, particular powerful individual policy actors are considered within what is labelled as the 'local' level of the policy trajectory.

Policy 1: The Taking Over of a Private Class by the Government

The appropriation or assumption of the control of Salaahudhdheen's private class by the government was influenced from local, national and global levels, and these different levels of influences were closely intertwined.

The first theme evident from Policy 1 was **particular powerful individual policy actors**. The sub-theme, *political neutralization*, under this theme was emergent from the local level. The government's takeover of the private class and renaming it so that the informal name of the private class associating it to Salaahudhdheen was no more could have been politically motivated. The Prime Minister had been educated overseas and so was his own father who was the previous Prime Minister. It is surprising to note that the state did not establish a government school though these ministers would have known about Sri Lankan and Indian state-funded schools. While the desire and personal experiences of the Prime Minister and the policy elite within the Maldives cannot be discounted as influencing the establishment of the school, the seasoned politicians would have been aware of the long-term political implications of the Attorney General (namely, Salaahudhdheen) running a 'school' at his home where the elite of the society sent their sons for education. The Maldives had, by then, a long history of rather quick changes of kings in the previous 50 years. Often, these changes reflected an ongoing rivalry and political manoeuvring between two well-established families for the position of the Prime Minister who wielded most power. Referring to the replacement of one Prime Minister by another from the other family, H. C. P. Bell (1940, p. 46) noted:

Thus began the in-and-out political ascendancy, as of alternating barometer puppets, of these two able Chiefs – heads of rival factions (Athireege, Kakage), but themselves interconnected by marriage and at times quite friendly, if more often somewhat quite antipathetic – which persisted for many years...

Given the constant fear of the other family gaining political ascendancy, the government would be expected to neutralize any potential threat from the Attorney General appointed by a deposed king by assuming control of the private class for which there was much public demand and to which the elite sent their sons for education.

The second theme evident from Policy 1 was **catering for national development needs**. At the national level, the importance of education for nation

building was highlighted. **International policy borrowing** was a third theme evident from Policy 1. Though at the global level there were no international policy advocates like the United Nations and its myriad agencies of latter years, colonial powers were significant international influences. In following the practices of these colonising countries which were gradually establishing state-funded schools in India and Sri Lanka, there is no doubt that the Maldives would want to be seen to have at least one school funded by the Government.

Policy 2: The Inclusion of Compulsory Education in the First Constitution

The second major policy—and one which had an enduring impact on education—is mandating the state to provide compulsory education in the first constitution. Once again, it is possible to identify global, national and local levels of influences which were responsible for this policy. Hitherto, education was the responsibility of the parents who sent their children to one-teacher *edhuruge* mentioned earlier.

The first theme evident as influencing Policy 2 was **particular powerful individual policy actors** from the local level. The incorporation of the provision of education as a state responsibility underscores the recognition among the policy elites, mainly among the members of the drafting committee of the constitution, of the transformative power of education. Most members of the drafting committee were educated in some of the best schools/colleges of South Asia. Hence, their personal experiences in international settings are likely to be a key influence.

The second theme, **catering for national development needs**, emerged from the national level. Documents show that the key policy makers recognized the value of education for nation building. For example, a major policy actor, Amin, wrote possibly the most text books used in the single school. In a poem published in 1948 (in *Nooraanee Maa* of 20th Ramadan of 1367 AH) Amin extolled the role of education in national development. The same sentiments were expressed by Salaahudhdheen in the memoirs of his private school (Salaahudhdheen, 2015) around the time of drafting of the constitution.

Salaahudhdheen was the secretary of the drafting committee for the first constitution.

The third theme **international policy borrowing** was evident from the global level. Amin (1951) stated that British laws and Egyptian constitution of the time were referred to in the drafting of the constitution. Britain had passed the Board of Education Act in 1899 which was charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales. The Egyptian constitution of 1923 stated in Article 17, 18 and 19 (respectively) that “education shall be free except when it breaches public order or contradicts morals,” “public education shall be regulated by law,” and “primary education shall be compulsory for Egyptian boys and girls, and shall be free in public schools” (Ghali, 1923). Closer to the Maldives, in Sri Lanka, the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission of 1829 had proposed the establishment of a commission to manage education and that a principal public school on the British model should be established for English education and teacher training (De Silva, 1973). These global influences may be considered as major impacts on the policy.

Policy 3: The Provision of a Wider Curriculum

The third major policy was the expansion of the curriculum. The first magazine published in the Maldives had the school examination results indicating the novelty of the enterprise and its importance. The subjects listed in the issue of the 1st October 1933 of the magazine (*Al-Islaah*) included Arabic, English, Mathematics and Urdu. The first theme emergent from Policy 3 was **particular powerful individual policy actors** arising from the local level.

The perceived usefulness of a wide curriculum for national development by the policy elite gave rise to the second theme **international policy borrowing** (a global level theme). The curricula of the best schools/colleges in Sri Lanka and elsewhere in the South Asia were known to the key policy actors. In 1904, the British Board of Education published the first of its annual Regulations for Secondary Schools defining a four-year subject-based course leading to a certificate in English language and literature, geography, history, a foreign

language, mathematics, science, drawing, manual work, physical training, and, for girls, housewifery (Gillard, 2011). This model was taken up by the colonial administrators of Ceylon from whence some policy actors were exposed to the objectives of the more comprehensive curricula. The policy actors may have borrowed these practices to revise the Maldivian curriculum.

Policy 4: The Admission of Women into the Government-run School.

The fourth major policy of the era was the admission of women into the government school. The treatment of women in politics and education had not been very progressive in Era 1, even in developed countries. For example, women were given suffrage in the UK by the *Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act* of 1928; women were allowed to sit Oxford and Cambridge examinations in 1870, yet allowed to graduate only in 1920 even if they had passed all the examinations. Girls were provided education in Britain at secondary level following the 1889 *Intermediate Education Act* which provided for a secondary school system for boys and girls in Wales (Gillard, 2011). In the Maldives, the traditional *edhuruge* had always been open to girls.

The influences behind the policy of admission of women to the government-run school came mainly from the local level and global level: at the local level from **particular powerful individual policy actors**, and from the global level in terms of **international policy borrowing**. At the local level the most significant policy actor for the enactment of this policy was Amin. Faiza (1997b) credited Amin for admitting women into the school stating that they were admitted after several instances of vigorous advocacy by Amin. The relevant legislation passed through the Parliament by a narrow majority. Amin attended the first co-educational college in Sri Lanka for three years and the benefits of co-education for the development of his character were enumerated in his autobiography (Amin, 2003). His ideas on the importance of education for women were documented in his article in the first periodical of the country (*Al-Islaah*, 4th

November 1933, readership: Maldivian elite); the subject of the article was the significance of the education of women for the progress of the nation.

At the global level, **international policy borrowing** from particular countries was a major influence on this policy. The drafting committee for the first constitution used the Egyptian Constitution of 1923 and English laws as exemplars. It is quite possible that because the constitution of Egypt explicitly stated that “primary education shall be compulsory for Egyptian boys and girls, and shall be free in public schools” (q.v.) that no sex-specific discriminatory phrase appeared in the Maldives’ constitution. There were few national influences for the enactment of this policy except that traditional *edhuruge* education had not discriminated against girls.

Policy 5: The Dissemination of Schooling to Other Islands

The final key policy, Policy 5, identified in Era 1 is the dissemination of schooling to other islands. The first theme emerging from the context of influences was **catering for national development needs** (from national level). *Constitutional obligation* mandated state-sponsored education of a certain level to all the citizens. However, given the meagre wealth of the nation such a provision could not be immediately met. Thus, state-sponsored education started in two islands (of over 200 islands) where resource requirements were met.

The second and third themes emanating from Policy 5 were **particular powerful individual policy actors** (from the local level) and **international policy borrowing** (from the global level). The role of the policy elite and the global influences cannot be overlooked as the positive effects of an educated citizenry for national development would not be lost on the policy elite. Furthermore, none of the reference documents used for the drafting of the constitution discriminated the imperative to provide education depending on the citizen’s location in the country.

To recapitulate, from the analysis of extant documents a number of themes were identified as significant influences on key policies in Era 1 (1900–1934). These themes may be viewed in terms of local, national and global levels of the policy

trajectory. For this study, in the case of influences, the local includes the idiosyncratic experiences of significant policy actors. The five policies and the most significant individual influences at local, national and global levels on each policy are summarized in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4
Most Significant Themes in the Analysis of Influences in Era 1 (1900–1934)

Policy	Global	National	Local/individual
The taking over of a private class by the government.	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka & India).	Catering for national development needs. <i>Constitutional obligation.</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Political neutralization.</i>
The inclusion of compulsory education in the first constitution.	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka, Egypt & UK).	Catering for national development needs.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
The provision of a wider curriculum.	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka, Egypt & UK).	—	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
The admission of women in the government-run school.	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka, Egypt & UK).	—	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
The dissemination of schooling to other islands.	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka, Egypt).	Catering for national development needs. <i>Constitutional obligation.</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors.

Note. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

In the next section, two key policy texts, the constitution and the minutes of the government directive to establish the first school, will be critically analysed to illuminate these influences further.

Context of Policy Text Production

This section analyses the characteristic features of the policy texts from Era 1 (1900–1934). There were not many policy texts available from Era 1. Only two texts were identified as primary data sources for analysis: an aide-memoire of the Palace which records the establishment of the government school and the first

constitution. The themes relevant to the context of policy text production were explored from the national level where the texts were produced.

Policy Text A: The Government's Aide-Memoire

The aide-memoire is the official record of the establishment of the school and is shown in Figure 6.2. The text is from Shafeeq (1992, p. 12) and is from the annals of the reigning king. The physical document was not available for analysis. The date given is in Anno Hegira and corresponds to 20th April 1927. Established in 970 AD, Azhar is the second oldest university in the World.

The main theme to emerge from Policy Text A, in relation to the context of policy text production was the **role of particular powerful individual policy actors**. Under this theme, first, the sub-theme *marginalization of political opponents* (that is, silencing their voices) was evident. This is exemplified by the negative 'other' presentation or complete disregard of the dominated outgroups or person, such as Salaahudhdheen. In fact, in the case of the aide-memoire shown in Figure 6.2, the belittlement of the contribution of Salaahudhdheen is evident. What is most apparent from this document is the upstaging of the role of the reigning King and the total disregard of the role of Salaahudhdheen in the establishment of the school. The word 'king' appears twice, once with his full honorific titles. A scholar who had recently returned is mentioned twice, once with the full title. The aide-memoire appears to dismiss any Arabic teaching being carried out in the Maldives, and the teachers themselves as not good. Salaahudhdheen, as noted earlier, wrote more than 50 books, more than ten times what the returned scholar wrote. In fact, some of his books are considered the quintessence of Maldivian literature. His poetry is enjoyed by the masses even in the second decade of the 21st century. For a generation, his students were in the upper echelons of the society. The government merely took over Salaahudhdheen's private class which had been in existence for 17 years and then side-lined him in the official aide-memoire.

The second sub-theme emergent was the *reproduction of the elite*, or the reproduction of the social and political power of the dominant group (for example, the positive self-presentation of the King by alleging the school establishment as his free initiative). The third emergent sub-theme was the *ingratiation of potential rivals* (for example, by extolling or naming the recently returned scholar from Azhar University twice, once with full titles). According to historical records, the Azhar graduate is the first returning native graduate in modern times and the potential of the graduate to upset the political status-quo would be evident to any savvy politician.

Policy Text B: The First Constitution

The first constitution of the Maldives was the primary policy document for the whole nation, which included the organization of the government and the Parliament (*majilis*), the rights of the citizens and the manner of nomination of kings. Before the constitution was passed, the country was a hereditary monarchy. The document was printed in the Maldives using limestone lithography because letterpress printing which required metal type was neither available nor viable for the local script given the size of the population. In the lithographic process what is

to be printed is handwritten using an oil-based ink on paper which is then transferred to a flat limestone from which the printed copies are made. The ink used is oil-friendly and sticks only to the transferred image on the limestone slab. The paper in which it was printed had yellowed due to age. The document started with a preamble written by the King documenting the policy formulation process. The constitution is 36 pages long and contains 96 articles. The document was about six and a half by ten inches in size and was dated 22 December 1932, two years before the end of Era 1. The initial page of the constitution proper is shown in Figure 6.3.

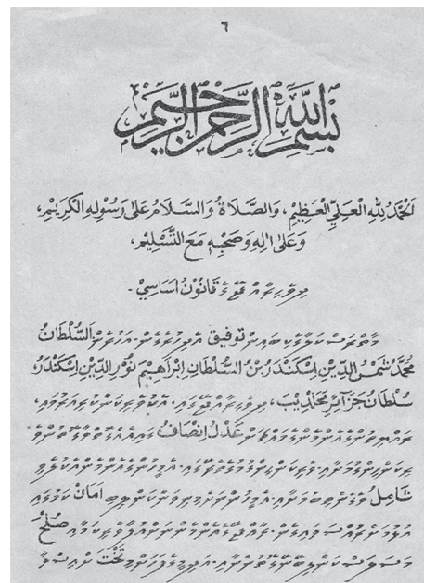


Figure 6.3. The initial page of the Maldivian Constitution.

The issuing authority was the King and space for his signature and his seal were indicated in the document. These bespeak of the authoritative nature of the document. A side by side comparison of the Egyptian constitution of 1923 and the Maldives constitution of 1932 reveals many commonalities and the latter appears to be a derivative document of the former, contextualized to the Maldives.

One of the members of the drafting committee, Amin (1947), had translated and published the document and this translation may or may not reflect the intended meaning of the members of the committee. The articles dealing with

education were numbered 13, 14, 15 and 19 as indicated in Table 6.5. In addition, Article 90 also included an aspect of education in that it lists the departments which would constitute the government.

Table 6.5
Articles Relating to Education in the First Maldivian Constitution, 1932

Article Number	Article Text
Article 13	Every person shall enjoy the liberty to import books and newspapers, and to print and publish such, within the provisions made for the same.
Article 14	The Constitution makes it compulsory for every Maldivian subject to learn the Holy Quran and to read and write Arabic and Maldivian letters.
Article 15	Every person shall enjoy freedom of education so long as the process of one's acquiring knowledge or imparting it to another does not come into conflict with law or religious morality.
Article 19*	A Maldivian subject can go abroad in accordance with the laws on the subject.

*Note: There were a few revisions of the constitution between 1932 and 1947 when this translation was published.

It is useful to briefly explain the subject matter of the Articles 1 to 12 of the constitution so that the relative importance given to education may be determined. Article 1 defines the State and Article 2 specifies essential characteristics of the State including language and the capital of the country. Article 3 is about citizenship. After Article 3, there is a subheading indicating that what follow are the rights of citizens. The first 'right' stipulated in Article 4 is about the 'rule of law' and equality before the law. This article and subsequent articles are very closely worded with the corresponding articles of the Egyptian constitution of 1923. Article 5 deals with personal freedom and freedom from imprisonment. Article 6 is on freedom from punishment and injury outside the law. Article 7 is about exiles. Articles 8 to 12 are, respectively, about the inviolability of the home; inviolability of personal property; freedom from confiscation of the one's total possessions by the state; secrecy of personal correspondence and other communications; and freedom to express opinions. The education-related articles appear after what may be considered the fundamental

rights of people. The placement of the articles in the order of rights signifies the importance the drafting committee gave to education.

A critical analysis of Policy Text B exposes the value that the constitution places on education in Maldivian society. The liberty to import books and other similar documents, and publish the same, appears before the article on provision of education. However, one would expect that the provision of education might precede this article as literacy is essential to read books and other written matter. The use of the clause “Every person shall enjoy the liberty to import books” carries the connotation that the liberty is almost sacrosanct and inviolable, whereas the right to read books is considered insignificant for inclusion in the constitution. Reading books may be considered a natural follow-on activity of any literate citizen. In fact, neither this article nor a similarly worded one was to be seen in the Egyptian constitution which was used as a model in drafting the Maldivian constitution.

Article 14 which states that “The constitution makes it compulsory for every Maldivian subject to learn the Holy Quran and to read and write Arabic and Maldivian letters” appears to be ‘agentless’ (McGregor, 2003). That is, it is not clear who is responsible for the provision of compulsory education. Agentlessness may be considered to be a purposeful strategy to evade or diffuse responsibility or to be cautious. By contrast, the corresponding Egyptian article states that, “Primary education shall be compulsory for Egyptian boys and girls, and shall be free in public schools.” The Maldivian article has avoided the term ‘primary education,’ and replaced it with very basic literacy skills. In addition, education “shall be free in public schools” is absent in the Maldivian constitution keeping open the option to collect fees. Article 15 uses ‘enjoy’ once again as an oversell for a right. Such registers of voice suggest a condescending view held by the King or the drafting committee. The original Dhivehi text is more matter-of-fact and words such as ‘enjoy’ are absent in the text. As mentioned earlier, the translator might have had a different objective from the original writers in using such words.

Article 19 of the constitution of 1932 may be more accurately translated: “Travelling abroad for the purposes of Haj, education, medical treatment and trade can be barred only in the case of political offenders and for those who, in the opinion of the government, do not clearly have sufficient financial means.” It is possible that the translator had ‘sanitized’ the document for the audience who would have been mainly Sri Lankan elite and diplomatic corps based in Sri Lanka because few Maldivians could understand English at that time.

‘Education’ is mentioned again in the constitution in the context of the departments of the government. In the order of appearance, the departments of the government listed in Article 90 are those of Prime Minister, Defence, Justice, Finance, Internal Affairs, External Affairs, Education, Trade, Health, Public Works, Endowments and Agriculture. The order of the list manifests prevailing ideologies, and the relative importance given to each department. Of the 12 departments listed, education appears as number 8, before health but after external affairs.

The main theme related to policy text production evident from Policy Text B was **catering for national development needs**. A critical analysis of the constitution indicates that the government has accorded importance to education by specifying its provision and setting ways and means of achieving education within four articles. As there was one government school at the time, the constitution appears to take a cautious approach about the duties of the State with regard to the provision of education. Contextual factors of the time have required the inclusion of two articles, one about the freedom to travel overseas for education, and the other about the right to teach and learn. Noteworthy is the creation of a department of education by the constitution suggesting State responsibility and accountability for education. In the global context, the constitution is progressive for Sri Lanka, India and many other countries did not have dedicated departments (ministries) of education at the time.

Noteworthy is the absence of gender-specific language in the constitution, implying gender equity. However, the Egyptian constitution specifically names boys and girls leaving no doubt about girls' inclusivity.

In sum, two main national level themes arose from the context of policy text production. These themes are summarised in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6
Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Text Production in Era 1 (1900–1934)

Policy	National
A	The role of particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Marginalization of political opponents.</i> <i>Reproduction of the elite.</i> <i>The ingratiation of potential rivals.</i>
B	Catering for national development needs.

Context of Practices/Effects

This final section addresses the context of policy practices/effects in Era 1. Application of the policy trajectory approach has important limitations in a study that spans 115 years. Inevitably, policy practices/effects can extend over prolonged periods beyond the release of the policy text, potentially overlapping with the next era. For example, the first government-funded school in the formal sense started in April of 1927; the constitution which mandated education was proclaimed in December of 1932 and the Era 1 comes to an end in 1934, just two years after the ratification of the constitution. The enactment and effects of these significant policies in Maldivian education 'spill over' into Era 2. The 'eras' have been artificially introduced to break down the intended historical trajectory of this research, and they are used as an analytic tool. However, in relation to the context of practices and effects, the boundaries between the eras become more porous. Effects of Era 1 policies that extend into Era 2 are considered in this chapter with other Era 1 data to maintain the integrity of the policy trajectory approach in each era.

Four main themes relating to policy practices/effects were identified from the documents analysed which may be loosely categorized at the national level. The first noticeable theme was **resource shortages**. For example, there was an immediate increase in enrolment and consequent shortage of space. Most parents would have wanted their children to go to the school but the veranda of the courthouse in which the school was based became too congested less than a year after establishing it. Shafeeq (1992, p. 33) noted the following aide-memoire from the official annals of the King's reign (the freeform translation is the researcher's):

This aide memoire records beginning of teaching in the Treasury-funded new school following benedictions on Tuesday evening of 17th of Zulh'ijjah 1346 AH. The new school was built on the North-Western corner of the Courthouse compound in the dimensions of 12 *riyan* in width and 24 *riyan* in length [approximately 27' x 54'] with metal-sheet covered roof, because it became difficult to teach in the courthouse due to congestion from which there was no respite.

The Gregorian calendar date for the event was 5th June 1928. Shortage of space was not the only problem. Without a university or teacher training institute for teachers, the school had to rely on its older pupils and returned overseas-educated people for a long time. Availability of textbooks was a major issue. This issue will be further discussed in the next chapter on Era 2.

The second theme related to practices/effect was **cultural considerations**. Males and females studying together in the same classrooms resulted in a rather quick *conservative backlash against co-education*—a sub-theme of cultural considerations. Shafeeq (1992, p. 60) noted the following resolution of the Parliament at its 72nd meeting on Wednesday 31 July 1935 AD.

As teaching boys and girls together is inappropriate, it was resolved that officials from Education would visit the homes of about six girl students so selected to teach them what is presently being taught; and upon them qualifying to teach, to employ them to teach girls in the school and to continue teaching boys as being done now.

This state of affairs continued for some time but girls were back in school in about two years. The issue will be discussed further in the next chapter on Era 2.

The third theme emergent from this context was **catering for national development needs**. The sub-theme identified under this theme was the *need for government funded schooling*. Following the establishment of the first government school in 1927, the number of schools kept on increasing. However, until the beginning of the 21st century, most of the schools were community-run schools without much State support. Though the ‘agentless’ provision of education was stipulated in the constitution, the government actions in the subsequent years did not indicate that it was responsible for providing schooling to all the children. Except for the capital island, in almost all the islands there were no government-funded schools in Era 1. The two schools established in a northern island and in a southern island were supported by the endowment of the produce of an (possibly two) island(s).

Table 6.7

Growth of Community-run Schools 1931, 1971 and 1999

School type	1931	1971	1999
Government	1	3	66
Community (rural areas)	—	28	172
Private	34	16*	46
Total	35	67	262

Notes:

1931 Data: Census Report, 1933, p. 23; Data do not include Quranic schools and the four Ward *edhuruge* in Male’. The 34 private schools refer to the navigation schools.

1971 Data: Baddeley, A.B. (1971). Report on a Visit to the Republic of the Maldives, 30th May 1971 –15th June 1971. *The asterisked private schools are for Male’ as the report mentions the English medium private school in Male’. However, another report dated 1973 states that there were 16 private schools in Male’. Note the data extrapolation and the assumption that no private schools were established in the three years preceding 1973. The latter report is entitled “UNESCO. (1973). *Republic of Maldives Exploratory Mission*. Report by N. Bodart 1st – 14th May 1973.

1999 Data: Ministry of Education. (1999). *Education for All Country Report*. Ministry of Education, Male’, 1991, p. 31.

But, such was the popularity of schooling, the communities of the islands got together and established their own schools, leading to the sub-theme of *the spread of schooling* under the main theme **equity and access**. Table 6.7 shows the growth of community-run schools in the absence of government supported schools in 1931, 1971 and 1999.

Another sub-theme of **equity and access**, *increasing inequality*, was observed between the capital (Male') and the rural islands. Earlier, people from the islands of the North and the South were free to travel to port towns of Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and South East Asia. As a result, the people of the capital region were no better off than those of other areas. But, with the start of the World War II in 1939, such trading voyages became difficult. Earlier, the point had been made that Salaahudhdheen himself studied by traveling to an island in the South. When these erudite teachers passed away, such informal tutoring came to an end. The establishment of the government school in Male' exacerbated the disparity between the capital and other islands. The best education, in fact, secondary education of any repute was available only in Male'. The evidence is in Table 6.7. There was no local training of teachers. Some of those who successfully completed the secondary school went back to teach in their islands but they were few.

Table 6.8

Major Themes Relating to Policy Practices/Effects in Era 1 (1900–1934)

National level

Resource shortages.

Cultural considerations.

Conservative backlash against co-education.

Catering for national development needs.

Need for government funded schooling.

Access and equity.

Spread of schooling.

Increasing inequality.

Note. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

Overall, four major themes were evident from the context of practices/effects. These themes have arisen from the national level. They are summarised in Table 6.8.

Summary

Five major education policy developments have been identified from Era 1 (1900–1934). They are:

- the taking over of a private class by the government,
- the inclusion of compulsory education in the first constitution,
- the provision of a wider curriculum,
- the admission of women in government-run schools, and
- the dissemination of schooling to other islands.

The five major education policies of Era 1 have been explored through analysis of the three contexts of influences, policy text production and practices/effects.

The most prominent **influences** that engendered these policies may be termed ‘global’. This would include exposure to the practices of other countries and international policy borrowing. Some of the members of the drafting committee of the constitution were young inexperienced idealists (Amin, 1951). Thus, they included some of what they had experienced or read about without the benefit of contextual experience, a point repeatedly made by Amin (1951). The second strongest influence was at the individual or ‘local’ level. The most influential policy actors of the era were Salaahudhdheen and Amin. Evidence that the first school was started by the government to attenuate potential empowerment of a political rival was discussed. Contemporary historians credit Amin for the third, fourth and fifth policies listed above, namely, provision of a wider curriculum, education of women, and dissemination of education to other islands (Faiza, 1997b; Shafeeq, 1992).

Two original and significant **policy texts** were critically analysed to discover genres, power plays and silences and wider social trends of the time. There is documentary evidence that the King or the government had diverted attention from Salaahudhdheen to be more impressive and creditable. The comparison of the constitutions of Egypt and the Maldives revealed how the constitutional articles of the former had been manipulated to serve the political and social needs of the Maldivian context. While close similarities exist between the two documents, omissions or revisions have made the Maldives' document weaker. A noteworthy point is Article 19 of the Egyptian constitution which states that "Primary education shall be compulsory for Egyptian boys and girls, and shall be free in public schools." In the Maldives' constitution, the corresponding article is 'agentless' by not specifying whose responsibility it was to provide education. The definition of education was diluted to 'literacy' only and the phrase 'free in public schools' was omitted.

In terms of **practices/effects**, the most significant is the recognition by the State that some education has to be provided by the government. Schooling became fashionable and expanded fast, at least, in the following era. However, urban-rural disparity appeared soon after, not only due to the school but because of the imminent World War II.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS 2: ERA 2 – AMIN ERA (1935–1953)

Introduction

This chapter, the second of the five chapters on findings, reports the answers to the three research questions for the second era, referred to as the Amin Era (1935–1953), or Era 2. It is structured similarly to the rest of the chapters on findings and follows the same outline given in the introductory section in Chapter 6. However, unlike Chapter 6, the remaining five chapters include interviews as there were surviving policy actors of these eras at the time of data collection. The findings from document analysis and interviews are reported separately. This separation of analyses facilitates triangulation of the findings from different sources.

For Era 2, seven key documents were identified which, together with the findings from the interviews, yielded the backbone of data. All documents considered have relevance (directly or indirectly) to the development of education policy in the Maldives. The documents used for the study are shown in Table 7.1. Document 1 is a compilation of the government laws from the day the Maldives established a constitutional government. These laws span the period from 1933 to 1956 and were initially published by the Parliament. Document 2 is the official records of government affairs from 1942 to 1966. The records are published in 39 volumes and cover the educational, political, social, as well as the economic affairs of the Maldives.

Document 3 was written by Amin, the first President of the Maldives, after whom this era is named, for the purposes of this thesis. Document 3 covers the political, economic and social context of the Maldives from 1939 to 1945 and chronicles the major events of the Maldives during the World War II. Document 4

is a continuation of Document 3 which was discovered after Amin's death. Similar in style to Document 3, it covers the political, economic and social affairs of the Maldives from 1945 to 1948. After Amin died, the Department of Home Affairs continued writing the journal in the same format Amin had used in Document 4.

Table 7.1

Principal Data Sources for Era 2

Document number	Name of document	Author	Years covered
Document 1	Kureege Qaanoonuthah [Old Laws]	Novelty Printers (2008)	1933–1956
Document 2	<i>Dhivehi Raajjeyge Ekieki Kankan Hin'gigoiy</i> (Vol. 1–Vol. 39) [Government Official Records]	Government of Maldives (Republished by Novelty Printers & Publishers Pvt. Ltd, undated)	1942–1962
Document 3	Dhivehi Raajje: Han'guraamaige Vilaagadegge Dhashugai [Maldives under War Clouds]	Amin (1949a)	1939–1945
Document 4	Dhivehi Raajje Han'guraama ah fahu. [Maldives after the War]	Amin (1960)	1945–1948
Document 5	Dhivehi Raajje Han'guraama ah Fahu (2) [Maldives after the War 2]	Vazeerul Auzamge Office (2005)	1948–1955
Document 6	Dhivehi Jumhooriyya... Marukhabaa! [Welcome... Maldivian Republic]	Amin (Ed). (1953)	1953
Document 7	<i>Sarukaaruge Khabaru</i> [Government Gazette]	Amin (Ed). (2004)	1943–1960

This Document 5 covers the period 1948 to 1955. Document 6 is a collection of articles written by renowned Maldivian authors, edited by Amin and published in 1953 on the occasion of the establishment of the first Republic. The articles describe the events that led to the abolition of the hereditary monarchy and the public referendum that established the first republic. Document 7 is a compilation from the first newspaper, *Sarukaaruge Khabaru* (Government

Gazette). It includes the acts passed by the Parliament and various government announcements and records of events.

As with other eras, era names do not necessarily include all the political rulers of that era. In fact, during Era 2, there were two chief administrators: Hassan Farid and Amin. However, the most influential policy actor of Era 2 was Amin. From 1935 to 1942, Hassan Farid was the de facto ruler and Amin's rule spanned 1942 to 1953. To analyse the policies of the era, the political context of the era and Amin's background, as well as the major educational policy developments of the era, need to be briefly outlined.

Political Context of Era 2 (1935–1953)

At the end of Era 1 (1934), the King who had ruled the country for 31 years had been deposed and the position of King was made non-hereditary. The country was ruled by the Parliament. The chief administrator was the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister of the deposed King, Abdul Majeed, had resigned from his office as he had misgivings about the newly proclaimed constitution. Though he migrated to Egypt where he had family, he was appointed to the figurehead position of the Chief Counsel. Majeed's father was the previous Prime Minister and two of Majeed's sons had been schooled in Sri Lanka. Both of his sons were in the Drafting Committee of the constitution. At the beginning of 1935, his eldest son, Mohamed Farid, was the Prime Minister and the portfolios of the Home Affairs and Finance were held by Hassan Farid—Majeed's second son (Amin, 1949a). During this period Amin held the posts of the Minister of Trade and Minister of Health. The period from 1935 to 1942 is known as the rule of Hassan Farid. The reason Hassan Farid and the Home Minister were able to upstage the Prime Minister was explained by Hockly (1940, P. 52).

Amir [Prince] Muhammad Farid Didi, the ex-Prime Minister's eldest son, remained in office, as Prime Minister. Unfortunately, he was a very weak man and easily swayed. On the other hand, Amir Hassan Farid Didi, the second son of Amir Abdul Majid Didi was a strong man... He was a man of very charming personality.

Majeed returned from Egypt to the Maldives for about three months in the latter part of 1936 to assist in revising the constitution and counsel the ruling ministers (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). Following this visit a new constitution was formulated in 1937 which was printed and distributed to the people.

Amin Era included the period of the Second World War. The adverse effects of the war which lasted from 1939 to 1945, had a drastic impact on the Maldives. By this time, Maldivians had been weaned away from traditional diets to rice and sugar which were not produced in the Maldives but imported. During the War, interruptions to shipping and rising prices decimated the population through widespread famines (Amin, 1949a).

The new constitution stipulated an elected King. As a result, an old Prince, Hassan Nooradhdheen was placed in the throne in 1935. Hassan Farid became the *de facto* ruler, upstaging the King and the Prime Minister, and he caused the constitution to be changed in 1938 (Official Records, n.d.). Parliament members were to be fewer and nominated (not elected) and the Home Minister was to have equal powers as the King and the Prime Minister. In January 1940, Hassan Farid caused the Parliament to unanimously agree to annul the constitution as it was ‘not fit for the Maldivian context’ and to give ‘absolute authority’ to rule the country to Hassan Farid, the Home Minister (Amin, 1949a).

In January 1942 amidst the Second World War and widespread famine, Hassan Farid took leave from his duties. One participant of the study noted that the actual reason for leave was Hassan Farid felt incompetent to administer the country. The same day Amin was appointed to the post of acting Home Minister by the Governing Council and all the powers and responsibilities bestowed on Hassan Farid were transferred to Amin (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.).

In April 1942, a new constitution consisting of only 12 pages was introduced. A six-member committee, *Dhauaiy Hingaa Majilis* (State Governing Council), was formed to run the government. Amin was a member of this committee (Official Records, n.d.). Amin requested the Council and the

Parliament to assign a single person to make any decision necessary to overcome the hardships of the War. This authority was given to Amin.

In April 1943, when Hassan Farid officially resigned from the post of Home Minister, Amin was formally appointed to the post by the King and the Prime Minister. The following day both the King and the Prime Minister resigned from their posts (Amin, 1949a). On the day of these resignations but prior to the event, a new article was introduced to the constitution. This article stated that “in the event when the King opted to stay away from his duties for a period of time or if the throne fell vacant for a period of time, a special committee selected by the Parliament will be in charge of ruling the country” (Amin, 1949, p. 194). This committee which consisted of four members was to be formed by the Parliament. The former King and the former Prime Minister were made members of the committee. The committee known as the *Valee Committee* (Ruling Council) was given the task of ruling the country until a new King was appointed. In the same month a new criteria to appoint kings was included in the constitution and Majeed was appointed as the King by the Parliament (Amin, 1949a, 1951). However, Majeed was not formally sworn in as the King though he agreed to accept the offer in 1945 (Amin, 1949a). Soon after, the 1937 constitution was revived. Hassan Farid was killed by a German U-boat in 1944 while he was travelling to Sri Lanka from the Maldives (Amin, 1949a).

Amin was afflicted with debilitating diabetes and he had submitted his resignation twice to the Parliament, first in May 1950 (Official Records, n.d.). His resignation was not accepted so he continued his rule. In October of the same year, with the majority of the people’s votes, Amin was elected as the Prime Minister. The same month, the first political party of the Maldives, the *Muthaqadhdhim Party* (Progressive Party) was inaugurated with Amin as the leader (Amin, 1953a).

When Majeed, the King-designate, died in 1952, Amin was elected as the next in line to the throne. This offer was declined by Amin stating that if he accepted the position there would not be anyone to perform diplomatic duties

abroad which were essential for the effective implementation of the Maldivian foreign policy and to resolve trade and food issues the country faced (Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). The result of Amin's refusal to take the throne precipitated a referendum that showed that the people of the Maldives were in favour of a republic rather than a monarchy.

Thus, with a public referendum Amin abolished the monarchy that was over a thousand years old. The country was declared a republic with Amin as the President. The Vice-President was Ibrahim Didi, the son of an aristocrat who was exiled for recruiting mercenaries to overthrow the government in 1903. In August of the same year, Ibrahim Didi together with the sympathizers of the deposed King Shamsudhdheen instigated a coup while Amin was abroad for medical treatment. Thus ended Amin's rule. Ibrahim Didi was not conversant in English which was deemed necessary for dialogue with the international community and he appointed 'Amin's right-hand man', Faamuladheyri Kilegefaanu, to head the government. The Republic was abolished by a public referendum and the monarchy was re-established with Majeed's (the late King-designate's) eldest son, Mohamed Farid, as the King. When Amin returned to the Maldives from Sri Lanka he was banished to an uninhabited island and kept under government supervision. Ibrahim Didi who brought about the coup belonged to the Malinge-Eggamuge dynasty named in Chapter 6 in connection with an ongoing rivalry between two families. Thus, the administration then changed hands from Athireege dynasty to Malinge-Eggamuge dynasty.

Four months after his exile, a previous cabinet minister, and some others, devised a secret plan to overthrow the revolutionary government (Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). To put their plan into action, Amin returned to Male' on 31st December 1953 with the help of a small band of his supporters. However, the plan failed and Amin was beaten by the revolutionaries and banished to another island. He died in 1954 as a result of the injuries sustained.

As Amin was the key policy actor with respect to education policies of Era 2, it is helpful to outline his background as it is critical to understanding his educational policies.

Background of Amin

Amin was born on 20th July 1910 and was a descendant of the ruling dynasty. At the time of his birth, his grandfather who was the Prime Minister, had three sons: Ahmed, Abdul Majeed and Abdul Hameed (Faiza, 1997a). Amin's father, Ahmed, was the Private Secretary to the King and head of customs and foreign affairs. When Amin's grandfather died in 1925, Abdul Majeed became the Prime Minister. Abdul Hameed was the government representative in Sri Lanka. The latter was a prominent post as much trade was carried out with Sri Lanka and the colonial administration was based there as well. The Maldives was a British protectorate then.

Amin was initially tutored at home, consistent with the tradition of the time. When he was about 10 years old he was sent to Colombo under the care of his uncle. After about a year of home tutoring, he mastered sufficient command of English to join a Catholic private school, St Joseph's College, where he studied for five years (Faiza, 1997a). By all accounts he was an extraordinary student taking double promotion from one grade level to the next, every year. When his uncle changed residence in 1926, Amin transferred to Saint John's College (a Protestant private school) which was the first co-educational school in Sri Lanka (Faiza, 1997a). At both schools he participated in all major activities which, according to his biography, was responsible for his charming and amiable character and respect for women (Amin, 1949a).

After successfully completing the Cambridge Senior examination in 1928 he went to Aligarh University, India. He joined the university in 1928 and passed the London Matriculation Examination and Inter Science Examination (Faiza, 1997a). Amin studied at Aligarh University at a time India was actively agitating for independence. Among the visitors to the university were Mahatma Gandhi and Mohamed Ali Jinnah, who were to become national leaders of India and Pakistan,

respectively. Amin credited his sense of civics and patriotism to his time at Aligarh University (Amin, 1949a).

Amin's higher education was cut short by the request from his father to return to the Maldives in 1929 and help his uncle run the administration. Soon after his return, he was posted to Colombo for training at the General Post Office of Colombo. In the afternoons he attended Wellawatte Polytechnic for training in type-writing, cataloguing and shorthand (Faiza, 1997a). On his return to the Maldives he studied Dhivehi Language and poetry from Salaahudhdheen.

Amin started his service to the government on 2nd May 1930. He assumed the role of deputy to all the posts his father held; namely, Deputy to the Post Master, Deputy to the Head of the Customs and Deputy to the Private Secretary of the King. After about 10 months, Amin was appointed by the King to the drafting committee of the first Constitution. Amin spoke four languages with rare mastery and wrote over 25 books in Dhivehi and English (Faiza, 1997a).

The next section outlines the major policy developments in education in Era 2.

Major Education Policies of Era 2

At the onset of Era 2, the right to elementary education was mandated for all the citizens by the constitution without specifying whose responsibility it is. In Male' there was one government school (Official Records, n.d.). In all islands, education languished at *edhuruge* level except for specialist schools for navigation and religious studies run by individuals. Teaching was made a responsibility of all island and atoll chiefs without additional pay (Official Records, n.d.).

Soon after Hassan Farid became the administrative head, he curtailed education opportunities through two restrictive Acts of the Parliament. After Amin assumed the role of heading the government in 1942, the restrictive acts were annulled and important actions were taken to develop, strengthen and expand the education system of the Maldives. The following section details policy

developments in education in Era 2. This description of key policies will then be followed by the analysis of the policies in relation to the contexts of policy influences, policy text production, and policy practices and effects.

Policy 1: Limiting the Scope and Opportunities for Education

During the Salaahudhdheen Era (1900–1934), education at the elementary level was mandated by the first constitution. Hassan Farid was the de facto ruler from December 1932 to January 1942. Didi (1966, p. 3) summarized his rule by saying that “nothing worthy of note that Hassan Farid did to advance and develop the Maldives is known to me during his period in office”.

With regard to education, first, in July 1935, through a decision of the Parliament Hassan Farid caused teaching of girls and women at Saniyya School to cease. Second, through *Act 11: Education Law and Act 12: Law regarding books, newspapers, magazines and related articles* which was passed by the Parliament in December 1939, Hassan Farid’s government largely limited both the opportunities and scope of education. The original texts and the translation of the two Acts are given in Fig 7.1, in the section entitled *Policy Text Production*.

Policy 2: Enhancing and Strengthening Available Educational Opportunities

After Amin was appointed as acting Home Minister in 1942, he attempted to strengthen and expand the education system. Four major actions were identified under this policy. They were: expanding educational opportunities available in Male’, improving the quality of Male’ schools, broadening the curriculum taught, and introduction of extra-curricular activities in schools.

To expand education and improve its quality, important changes were brought to Saniyya School in 1943 when the school celebrated its 17th anniversary (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). The new guidelines made the district or ward heads of Male’ responsible for increasing student enrollment in all the

district schools. In addition, qualified teachers were recruited to the school, and school uniform policies were introduced.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Borah merchants from India had control of the external trade of the Maldives and the prices of goods were unaffordable for the citizens who were devastated by the hardships of the War (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). To provide the school necessities such as stationery, in 1943, the government controlled the sale of these so that they were available cheaply. Students who were unable to buy books were permitted to use slates and markers.

Concurrent with the improvements that were brought to Saniyya School, the teaching in the four district *edhuruge* was also upgraded. The management of the four district *edhuruge* was transferred to Saniyya School; a *Muavin*, an assistant to the Master, was assigned for each *edhuruge* (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). Later, in 1947 the status of these four district *edhuruge* was further upgraded to *Madharusaa* (school) and renamed (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). Each district school had a male and female branch. Moreover, Saniyya School was divided into two; a boy's school with the name Majeedhiyya School and the girl's school that kept the old name Saniyya School. According to Shafeeq (1992), the four district schools partly acted as feeder schools for Majeedhiyya and Saniyya. Students who were not eligible to enrol in these advanced schools were first enrolled in the district schools, and upon achieving the necessary competencies, were transferred to the higher schools.

To further expand educational opportunities, in 1950, it was decided that the highest grade offered by the district schools would be Grade 4. Higher grades were to be taught in Saniyya and Majeedhiyya only (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). This way more seats could be made available to lower grades at the district schools. The student enrolment in the schools continued to increase and in 1953, the enrolment of each district school was increased to 140 for both female and male branches (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). At the time, Male' had a population of 6000

(Amin, 1949a). The children were admitted to the district schools until all the available seats were filled. Furthermore, a special boarding house named *Islaahiyya* (Reformatory) was built to look after the street children. According to Shafeeq (1992) about 30 children were taken from the streets and trained in this boarding house in the first cohort.

Gradually, international practices were introduced into schools. For example, in 1945, the long benches where students sat in schools were replaced by individual desks and chairs (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). Previously students sat on benches and wrote on books held on their laps. To improve the quality of education, in 1948, all government employees were mandated to teach during a designated time without any additional allowance. According to Shafeeq (1992), Amin was hesitant to hire qualified teachers from abroad, because it was not economically feasible, although Majeed (the King-designate) had advised him twice to do so. Furthermore, starting from 1948 until the end of the Amin Era, an annual examination was administered by the Ministry of Education to all the students enrolled in Male' schools to rank their performance (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). The results of these examinations were posted in the government gazette and the best performing students were given prizes publicly. The narrow curriculum mandated during Hassan Farid's rule was broadened to include additional subjects like English, Urdu, Health, Science, History and Dhivehi Language. Many of the required textbooks were written by Amin himself. In 1950, a new national curriculum was introduced in the four district schools (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005).

Amin also introduced extra-curricular activities to schools. For example, in 1945, the teachers and students of Saniyya School were divided into four 'houses' and competitive sports such as boxing, ping-pong and cricket as well as different literary activities were held among the houses (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). Furthermore, interschool competitions were held between Saniyya School, Majeedhiyya School and the four district schools. The importance given to these activities by the government is reflected by the frequency with which these events were reported in the government official records and the government gazette.

Policy 3: Expansion and Development of Education in Atolls

Concurrent with the new developments brought to Saniyya School, policies were implemented to strengthen and expand the education system of rural islands. The actions taken under this policy were bringing students from atolls to be taught in Male' schools, revival of teaching in the islands, building schools in atolls and improving the quality of atoll schools.

In 1944, after a request from Amin, atoll chiefs selected two 'motivated healthy students' from each atoll to be educated at government expense in Saniyya School in Male' (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). In addition to their study costs, these students were provided with food and clothing. To offer accommodation a hostel *Dhaar'al Iqaama* was built and opened in 1945 in the block adjacent to Saniyya School (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). A total of 35 students was accommodated in the hostel initially. Referring to the arrangements in *Dhaar'al Iqaama* a participant of this study who was among the first cohort of students who came to Male' says:

The arrangements in Daar'al Iqaama were very well organised. When we were living there the surprising thing is Amin himself attended to the sick boys. He visits us frequently and asks us how we were and what we find difficult (AE4).

In July 1946, in a special meeting attended by the district and school heads, Amin sought agreement from these heads to take the responsibility for looking after additional students from the islands, provided that part of the boarding costs were paid by the government (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). The government decided to fund half of the expenses while the well-to-do citizens of the respective districts were to pay the rest. As a consequence, a cohort of 108 boys and 99 girls from atolls was enrolled in Male' schools. Shafeeq (1992) posits that giving opportunities for atoll students to study in Male' schools was one of the most important actions that were taken to expand education in the atolls.

The academic year of 1946 started with a school, at least at community school level, in each inhabited island (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). Larger atolls established atoll schools where the atoll chiefs acted as the principals (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). In addition, Amin established good quality schools in the islands of Naifaru, Dharavandhoo and Kudahuvadhoo (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). As a way of giving recognition to island and atoll schools, the government invited high performing students from these schools to prize awarding ceremonies held in Male’.

In a meeting attended by atoll chiefs and government, a plan for development was initiated by Amin in July 1948 (Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005, p. 9). The translation of the part related to education is as follows:

Revival of teaching in schools including teaching of Quran, Islamic studies, arithmetic and Dhivehi to the highest level that can be taught by using the available resources.

To address the problem of shortage of teachers in islands, teaching was made part of the responsibilities of the Magistrate, Imam and Island Chief in 1948 (Shafeeq, 1992). These were people employed in the highest government posts outside Male’. If a school was governed by the community, teachers were to be paid by the revenue generated by the school or by allocating a portion of fish caught by the people of the island.

In the ensuing rush to expand education and consequent response of the public, schools were built in islands at a very fast rate, without following any particular standard. Unqualified teachers were employed in the schools. To prevent substandard education from spreading in the country, in 1949, Amin decreed that schools could only be built after the Ministry of Education approved the drawings of schools (Official Records, n.d.; Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). Unqualified teachers were to be dismissed and teachers were to be certified following an examination. This was the start of teacher certification in the country. If an island was not able to build a school to the standard approved by the

Ministry, the island was to continue with the traditional *edhuruge* (Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005).

Policy 4: Creating and Expanding Educational Opportunities for Females

Amin was well recognized for his work in creating and expanding educational opportunities for females and empowering them. Though he faced many obstacles from the conservative Muslim population of the Maldives regarding this initiative, he was successful in reviving the branch dedicated for girls and women in Saniyya School (Amin, 1949a; Official Records, n.d.). With the consent of the Parliament, the women's branch was inaugurated in November 1944. Females were given managerial roles in the female branch. Furthermore, a few years later, a female branch was opened in each of the four district schools. Further educational opportunities provided for females are discussed under Policy 5.

Policy 5: Expanding Opportunities for Overseas Study

Very few Maldivians were educated abroad before the Amin Era and those who were sent were generally sons of aristocrats. The only female educated abroad at the beginning of the Amin Era was the daughter of a princess (Shamsudheen's daughter) who accompanied her father while he was on a government posting in India.

During his rule, Amin increased the number of such opportunities available for Maldivian students. Most were sent to Sri Lanka's grammar schools. Students were selected based on the results of an examination given to students from Male' and atolls (Amin, 1953b). Amin developed mechanisms for Maldivian students to travel to, and stay in, Colombo for study purposes. Two hostels were rented by the government to accommodate students; one for males and one for females. The students were provided with food, accommodation, clothing and text books (Amin interview, Fig 3.2). The warden of the hostel that accommodated Maldivian students, Dias, noted that:

In the year 1939, the Maldivian Government recommended to send cohorts of students to Ceylon... They were in Kandy, Panadura and Bambalapitiya at various times, but in 1946, Mr Didi secured for a hostel the excellent premises of “Sosun Villa,” Kavaratne Place, Pamankada... There are 20 students ranging from those in kindergarten to those in S.S.C. An H.S.C student has just left... (Dias, 1949, p. 47)

Recognising the importance of education in English, Amin sent a group of six students to study in Colombo under the guidance of Hassan Farid in November 1942 (Amin, 1949a). Similarly, opportunities were provided to other students to study in Colombo. Some students accompanied Amin on his trips to Colombo and others were sent with government officials. These opportunities were provided to males as well as females. A cohort of female students was sent to Colombo in April 1946. Amin sent these students against the approval of most of the government heads, hence those sent were in fear of being recalled.

When Dias (1949, p. 46) described the situation of the Maldivian students, he referred to the female students by saying “fourteen girls are now in Ceylon, accommodated in a large bungalow in Bambalapitiya under the direct supervision of a House Mistress and the Maldivian Government Representative in Ceylon”. Despite the resistance Amin faced at home, these students continued their education.

As with students sent earlier, by the time these students went to Colombo they were too old for age-appropriate grade and could not speak English for admission to the Sri Lankan colleges (schools). Hence, most students were privately tutored at home before they become eligible to enrol in schools. The students who did not enrol in schools worked as apprentices in companies to learn a skill before returning to the Maldives. The students who gained admission to schools either completed lower secondary or higher secondary and were sent to India for higher level training in specialisations needed for the country (Amin, 1949a). In this regard, one student was sent to study medicine in India, while one student was sent to study engineering. In addition to Sri Lanka, students were also

sent to Egypt for studies. The students who went to Egypt specialised in religious studies.

Policy 6: Introducing Vocational Training and Work Experience

Attempts were made to link education to national needs in the Amin Era. Two main actions taken were to introduce vocational education into the school curriculum and to provide out-of-school vocational training. Additionally, students studying in Saniyya School were sent to government offices to expose them to work experience.

The need to link mainstream schooling to future work was first discussed in a meeting held by the government heads in 1948 (Shafeeq, 1992). In the meeting, concerns were raised regarding employability of school leavers. Few government jobs were available, especially in the islands. To prepare the students for future employment it was decided to introduce self-employment skills such as agriculture, fisheries, carpentry, cloth weaving, lacquer work, sewing, midwifery and mat weaving into the school syllabus. This new syllabus was piloted in 1949 in the following atolls: *Thiladhunmathi*, *Fadhippolhu*, *Huvadhu Atoll* and *Addu Atoll* (Official Records, n.d.). Furthermore, in the same meeting the government heads decided to introduce higher level grades in Saniyya School and Majeedhiyya School so that the students graduating from these schools would have better qualifications and thus a better chance of employment.

In relation to vocational education, in December 1945, a cloth weaver was hired from Sri Lanka and a small school was opened in Male' for training (Vazeerul Auzamuge Office, 2005). Maldivians used to be outstanding weavers in the sixteenth century but the skills had been lost. The weaver training continued for about four months. Shafeeq (1992) noted that throughout his lifetime he had witnessed special courses being conducted in Male' to train magistrates, imams and island chiefs. These people were given certificates after they successfully completed the short courses prior to being employed.

In October 1952, a formal traditional medicine course was started. A curriculum which included hygiene, pharmacology, health and physiology was drafted. Overseas and locally trained government officials (including an expatriate doctor in government employment) taught some of the subjects (Shafeeq, 1992). Records indicate that 31 students were in the class including one female. Amin himself wrote the main medicine textbook.

After commencing the class to train health workers, in 1952, an agricultural expert was recruited from abroad to train people in coconut growing. The lessons given by the expert were included in Amin's book *Dhivehi Raajjeyge Ruththakah Thaazaa Kameh* (Viridity to Maldivian Coconut Palms). Amin also employed a foreign expert to train Maldivians in different sports. The first law examination was given in the Maldives in 1951. Amin himself was a student in this class.

Context of Policy Influences

Part 1 - Document Analysis

The analysis of the influences that impacted the six policies identified in Era 2 (1935–1953) is structured in terms of three levels of influence: local, national and global. As in Chapter 6, particular powerful individual policy actors in the Maldives are considered as the 'local' level of the policy trajectory. The key themes to emerge from the document analysis are indicated in italics.

Policy 1: Limiting the scope and opportunities for education. The first major local level theme identified in relation to the context of influences for Policy 1 was **particular powerful individual policy actors**. In terms of Policy 1, the most powerful policy actor was Hassan Farid, the de facto ruler of the country. The influence and power of Hassan Farid is seen from the decision that was taken by the Parliament regarding educating females in Saniyya School. Hassan Farid, through his forceful personality and sociability, held sway over the members of

the Parliament and aristocrats. His father, being a much revered statesman, further reinforced his position.

In addition to direct policies that limited the scope of education available, actions and decisions of Hassan Farid indirectly affected the education system of the country. For example, Hassan Farid banned students from attending school without proper stationery or uniform (Hussain, 2012). However, as the result of the War, most students were not able to afford books, pencils and uniform for school. This action greatly reduced school enrolment.

According to Didi (1966), Hassan Farid limited the provision of education from Saniyya School and completely stopped provision of education in atolls. A reason for this might be the fear of losing power. Hassan Farid was in power when World War II started in 1939. Similar to other countries Maldivians suffered immeasurably throughout the War. During the period the Borah merchants from India dominated Maldivian trade. They kept on increasing the prices of goods, causing acrimony between the government and citizens. Some Maldivians were caught in the web of mistrust woven by the merchants (Shafeeq, 1992). As a result, the government forbade political discussions among the citizens and any kind of gathering that occurred between pairs or groups to avoid revolutionary machinations (Shafeeq, 1992).

At the national level, sub-themes of *religious convictions* and *curbing of foreign influences*, under the main theme **cultural considerations**, were evident. Religious convictions of the parliamentarians and government heads played a key role in deciding against teaching women by men. The curbing of foreign influences shows the government's desire to protect the citizens from alien forces. The researcher was unable to find documents about the specific nature of these influences. However, in the period immediately after the rule of Hassan Farid, Amin spoke about the different sects of Islam and communism that may rend the social fabric of the country (Shafeeq, 1992). It was also the time when Sri Lanka and India were agitating for independence from the colonisers. Majeed (the King-designate) had been concerned about this movement and was afraid that these

larger countries may incorporate the Maldives within them. For this reason, he was against complete independence from Britain at that time.

Policy 2: Enhancing and strengthening available educational opportunities. The greatest influence on this policy derived from the local level, i.e., from **particular powerful individual policy actors**. The new policies that were implemented at the school level, including the new curriculum and extracurricular activities, were congruent with the practices of schools in other countries; particularly those schools attended by Amin and other key actors of the Governing Council. For example, the competitive sports and literary activities that were introduced in Maldivian schools were similar to the sports and activities that were organized in the Sri Lankan schools where Amin studied. Amin (1949a) had given credit to the extra-curricular activities he participated in his college days as shaping his personal and intellectual development. Hence, it is surmised that the personal experiences of Amin and other policy actors exposed to international settings played a significant role in introducing educational reforms to the Maldivian education system.

At the national level, the government recognised the importance of an educated citizenry for nation building. Thus, the second theme of **catering for national development needs** was a prime objective in expanding educational opportunities. Within the national level theme of **equity and access**, the sub-theme of *demand from the public* was identified from the documents. The parents and students must have been worried about the high prices the Borah merchants charged for stationery and uniforms. Hassan Farid had banned students from attending school without proper uniform and stationery. The demand may have arisen in the face of the hardships of War and the parents' desire to make stationeries and school-related items affordable. As the education sector expanded in size, there was a threat to quality and specific actions were taken by Amin to maintain **quality** (a main theme arising from the national level) of education provision in government-administered examinations, employing certified teachers and regulating school construction (Amin, 1949a).

Influences from the global level came in the form of **international policy borrowing**. The ‘best practices’ from the schools attended by Amin and other government officials were replicated in Male’ schools. For example, the new curricular subjects that were introduced such as history were subjects Amin himself studied in the schools he attended overseas and sports like ping-pong and boxing were sports he played during his school days (Faiza, 1997a). In fact, the motto of Saniyya School was almost exactly the same as the School motto of St Joseph’s College attended by Amin in 1921 (Faiza, 1997a).

Policy 3: Expansion and development of education in atolls.

Amin regarded that progress and prosperity of any society depended on an educated citizenry (Amin, 1949a). The first theme, **catering for national development needs** (from the national level) is underpinned by his actions such as the opportunities Amin created for atoll students to study in Male’ where education was of a higher standard. The major reason for making these opportunities available was to prepare educated people who could contribute to the development of the country, especially for the atolls (Hussain, 1945).

The second emerging theme from the national level influences on the policy is **equity and access**, arising mainly as a sub-theme of *disparity between Male’ and island (rural) schools*. The established schools were in Male’ and few students from the atolls had the opportunity to attend these schools. Though a community school was established in each island there was no consistency in the syllabus taught or the qualification of teachers who were employed in these schools nor was there a mechanism to monitor what was taught or the education level of teachers until later in Era 2.

The third theme of maintaining **quality** arose as a consequence of the second theme named above. For *maintaining quality*, teacher certification was introduced and approval became necessary before building community schools. Thus, giving rise to *maintaining quality* as a sub-theme.

Policy 4: Creating and expanding education opportunities for females. During Hassan Farid’s rule females were not permitted to be educated at

Saniyya School. Amin reversed this practice and promoted women's education to an extent unprecedented in history. In addition, he promoted women's participation in the public service and politics (Amin, 1949a). Two major themes relating to the context of policy influences emerged from Policy 4. They were **particular powerful individual policy actors** from the local level and **international policy borrowing** from the global level. Women's participation in public life and their empowerment in politics arose from Amin's personal convictions and experiences in Sri Lanka. Amin appointed females to the Parliament and to the Senate—a practice unknown in either Sri Lanka or India at that time. It is also probable that Amin had borrowed the coeducation policies from the colleges of Sri Lanka.

Policy 5: Expanding opportunities for overseas study. The themes to emerge in relation to influences on Policy 5 were **catering for national development needs** from the national level and **global education trends** from the global level. In the Amin Era, the Maldives was in drastic need of skilled workers for nation building. As these skills were not taught in the Maldives, individuals were given the opportunity to learn them from neighbouring countries. In addition, there was a global *requirement to learn English* so that they would be able to engage in a global scale, especially in relation to nation building. *The requirement to learn English* is a sub-theme of the main theme: **global education trends**. This demand was greatly felt by Amin as many a time he had to travel to Sri Lanka to hold discussions on food and trade with the Sri Lankan government and British representatives in Sri Lanka during and after the War as people competent in English language were very scarce in the country at that time (Amin, 1949a). An internationally competitive education was not possible in the Maldives so students needed to be sent to Sri Lanka.

Policy 6: Introducing vocational training and work experience. The theme relating to influences on Policy 6 was **catering for national development needs**. In Era 2 there was a skills shortage and a necessity for improved skills for the economy to enhance the livelihoods of the people. Vocational education in areas such as medicine, law, weaving, farming and sports

became essential as these skills had been lost or the practices and practitioners were too old.

A number of themes arising for each of the six policies of Era 2 have been outlined above. These themes were generated from analysis of documents. For increased trustworthiness of data, interviews were conducted with surviving policy actors and knowledgeable people of the era. The analysis of the interviews is in the following section.

Part 2 - Interview Data

Five policy actors from different levels of the policy trajectory participated in the study of Era 2 through semi-structured interviews. As the sample size was small (only few policy actors from the Era were alive) the context of policy influences was examined in broad terms (i.e. not in relation to any particular policy). Again, the key themes to emerge from analysis of interviews are indicated in bold and the sub-themes (where applicable) are written in italics.

The participants interviewed for this era identified a number of themes relating to the context of policy influences from the local level and national level. A recurring local level theme identified by all the participants on the conception of the educational policies of Era 2 was the experiences and power of **particular powerful individual policy actors**.

One participant related an incident told to her by a historian about the mores of the rule of Hassan Farid. The participant's account is translated below:

Hassan Farid visited Addu Atoll after Act 11 and Act 12 were ratified. On his trip he came to know that a well-known teacher by the name of Hassan Raha was teaching Arabic Language at a higher level every Friday at his home. The news infuriated Hassan Farid very much and told Hassan Raha that a 'toddy tapper's son will always remain a toddy tapper, regardless of the education he gets. (AE3)

Further, the participant stated that there was a tendency of Hassan Farid to keep the public 'in the dark' so that they were easier to administer. She herself

would not have personally experienced the regime of Hassan Farid but the narrative shows that there was a perception among some people that political emancipation may follow from a good education.

Table 7.2

Major Themes in the Analysis of Influences in Era 2 (1935–1953)

Policy	Global	National	Local/individual
Limiting the scope of education and opportunities for education		Cultural considerations. <i>Religious convictions (D).</i> <i>Curbing of foreign influences (D).</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors (D & I).
Enhancing and strengthening available educational opportunities	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka) (D).	Catering for national development needs. (D & I). Equity and Access. <i>Demand from the public (D).</i> Quality. <i>Maintaining quality (D).</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors (D & I).
Expansion and development of education in atolls		Catering for national development needs. (D & I). Equity and Access. <i>Disparity between Male' and island (rural) schools (D).</i> Quality. <i>Maintaining quality (D).</i> Catering for national development needs. (I).	Particular powerful individual policy actors (I).
Creating and expanding educational opportunities for females	International policy borrowing (Sri Lanka) (D).		Particular powerful individual policy actors (D & I).
Expanding opportunities for overseas study	Global education trends.	Catering for national development needs (D & I). <i>Requirement to learn English (D).</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors. (I)
Introducing vocational education and work experience		Catering for national development needs (D & I).	Particular powerful individual policy actors. (I)

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

In contrast to Hassan Farid, Amin had opposite views of preferring citizens to equip themselves with all the knowledge necessary for participation in political life. Documents show that Amin wanted people to participate in democratic dialogues. Some participants noted that consultations were held with representatives from different atolls when a 3-year development plan was drafted in 1949. All the participants agreed that Amin was very influential and most of the policies related to education were formulated and implemented by his initiative.

Further, all the participants were in agreement that, except for Policy 1 on restricting education, all the progressive policies of Era 2 were influenced by the theme of **catering for national development needs**. As one participant explained:

Amin is a very visionary leader. Way ahead of his time. He always advised us that after we get educated our main task was to serve the country. He told us that our aim should be to build the nation with the education we had and the skills we have attained. He based his policies on it. He not only formulated the policies but he made it happen. (AE5).

Documents and interviews revealed that the educational policies of Era 2 were influenced from local, national and global levels. A summary of the emergent themes from the context of policy influences are summarised in Table 7.2.

Context of Policy Text Production

This section presents a critical analysis of selected policy texts from Era 2 to reveal their characteristics and how they were produced. Four policy texts were identified as primary data sources for analysis from the available documents. These documents are: a Parliamentary resolution, Act 11 and Act 12, Amin's three-year developmental plan, and an interview Amin gave to a Sri Lankan newspaper. The themes emerged from the national level where the policy texts under investigation were produced.

By Act 11, the subjects that could only be taught without permission from the government were Quran, Arabic and reading and writing in Dhivehi and basic arithmetic. These subjects fall under basic literacy and numeracy. According to Shafeeq (1992), with the ratification of these two Laws the teaching of all the other subjects such as English, Urdu, Maldivian History, Dhivehi Language, Islamic Shari'ah and Language ceased. The importance given by the government to implement the policy is seen by the fact that the government 'policed' it to ensure that the law was upheld (Hussain, 2012). Act 11 allowed other subjects to

people belonged to the same family. Hence, there was a tendency among the elite to retain power within their social clan.

Policy Text C: Amin's Three-Year Development Plan

On 24th December 1949, Amin submitted a 3-year developmental plan of 12 pages to the Parliament which was approved. The parts relevant to education from this policy document together with the English translation are given in Fig 7.3. From the document it could be gathered that the economic status of the country was poor, and hence the main focus of the plan was to reduce the expenditure of the country. The plan starts with four statements of advice from the government to the citizens indicating what they should not do. The point relevant for education from these four is 'stopping students being sent abroad to seek education under government expense, except for two or three students who would be sent to Egypt for religious studies'. Amin particularly noted that the students were to be sent to Egypt as he believed that the only university that could give a wholesome religious education at the period was Azhar University in Egypt (Amin, 1949b).

The theme relevant to the context of policy text production from this policy text was **cultural considerations**. It is believed that by taking the decision to send students only to Egypt for religious studies, Amin wanted to shield the Maldivians from the religious extremism that was spreading through universities in Arabia. Instigated by the British, uprisings in different areas led to the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire in 1932 creating Saudi Arabia. The succession revolts in Arabia were led by a warrior called Saud. His spiritual leader is called Wahhab who preached an altogether different form of Islam which is fundamentalist, rigid and exclusive (Geering, 2003).

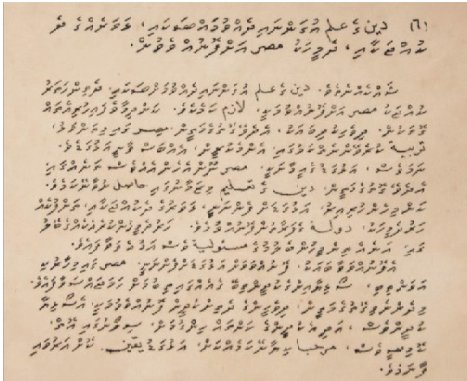
	(6) Sending two youths and two men to Egypt to study religious studies. There is no doubt that it is a must to send students to Egypt to study religious studies. In fact, I am among the first to agree to the fact that Maldivian students cannot be appropriately trained in Egypt during this period of time due to many reasons. However, my faith is that except for Egypt there is no other suitable place to train students in religious studies at present. Hence, I propose that two youth and two older persons be sent at government expense to Egypt after entrusting one of the adults with the responsibility to look after the other three. The students can share accommodation with the Sri Lankan students residing in Egypt. I assure you that the proposed arrangement will be welcomed by the Sri Lankan students as well as the committee from Sri Lanka who hold the responsibility for looking after them.
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Figure 7.3. The part relevant to education from Amin's three-year development plan.

Policy Text D: Interview Given by Amin to a Sri Lankan Newspaper

Policy Text D is an interview given by Amin to the *Ceylon Observer* on 3rd January (Fig. 7.4). According to the interview, Amin's main focus was on providing general education in English and to expand education to other islands (Amin, 1953a). General education in English is necessary for international trade, diplomacy and to access higher education prevalent in more developed countries.

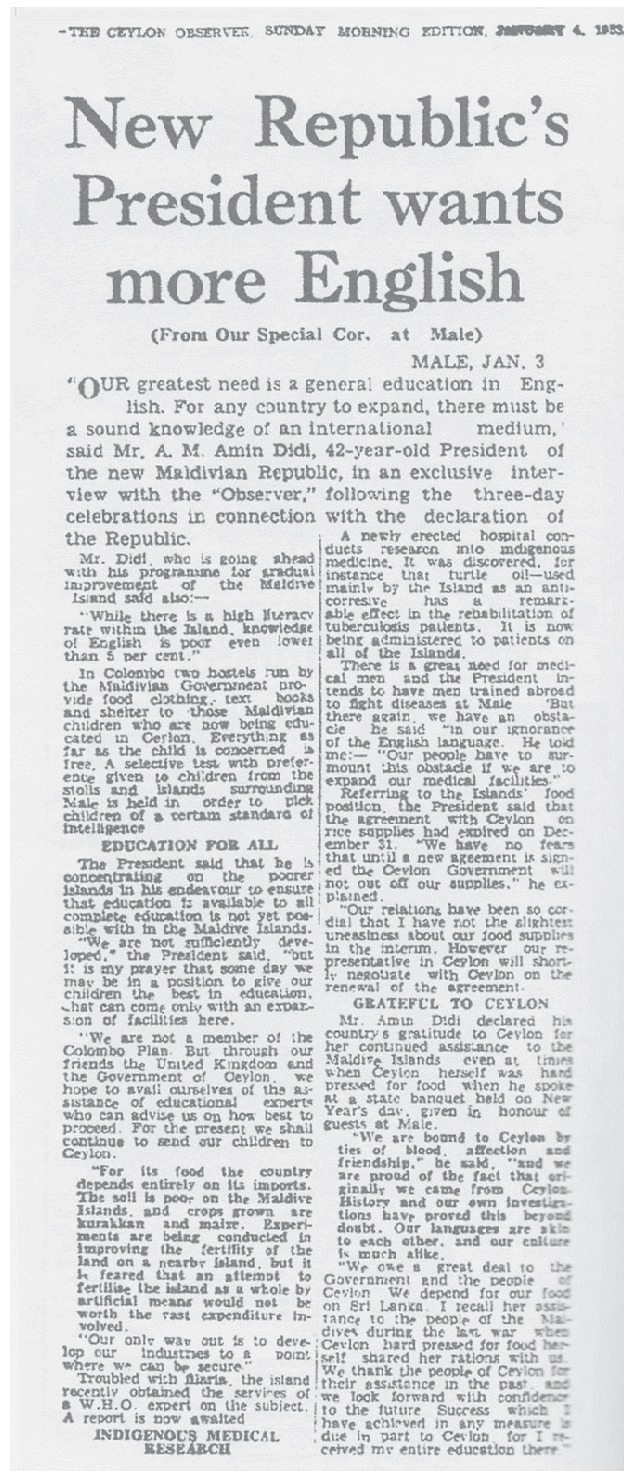


Figure 7.4. Amin's interview in Ceylon Observer in January 4, 1953.

The themes emerging from Policy Text D were catering for national development needs, equity and access and resource shortages. Amin's

statements indicate that he intended to eradicate urban-rural inequality by expanding education to atolls. However, he was put behind in his plan due to lack of resources and the geographical constraints. In addition, he wanted to provide general education in English to cater for national development.

A summary of the themes emergent from the context of policy text production is given in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3
Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Text Production from Era 2 (1935–1953)

Policy Text	National
A	Cultural considerations. <i>Religious convictions.</i> Equity and Access. <i>Lack of gender equity.</i>
B	Role of particular powerful individual policy actors.
C	Cultural considerations.
D	Catering for national development needs. Resource shortages. Equity and Access.

Note: Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

Context of Practices/Effects

The context of practices/effects was explored from the national level as data was not collected from within educational institutes about the enactment of individual policies given the large volume of data at the national level over 115 years. As several policies of Era 2 resulted in similar practices/effects, here the themes are discussed in broader terms with examples of policies giving rise to respective practices/effects.

Part 1 - Document Analysis

The most significant theme emanating from the education policies of Era 2 was **equity and access**. Policy 1, which limited education resulted in a drastic *fall in student enrolment* at Saniyya school. This fall in student enrollment was caused

by the closing down of the female branch, the hardships of World War II, Parliamentary Act 11 and Act 12, and prohibiting students from attending school without proper stationery and clothing. According to Shafeeq (1992) out of the 121 students on the school register only about 60 students were regularly attending school in 1941. He also noted that the number of dropouts kept on gradually increasing.

Policy 4 resulted in the sub-theme *empowerment of females*. This effect was very evident in the Parliament meeting held on the occasion of the first Republic Day in 1953. On that day, for the first time in Maldivian history, female Parliamentarians and Senate members were elected to represent groups of citizens (Amin, 1953b). Amin also employed females in higher positions in the government giving them opportunities to lead. Furthermore, towards the end of the Amin Era, female students were seen competing at the same level with male students in both academic activities and extra-curricular activities, sometimes coming out with better results (Amin, 1949; Official Records, n.d.).

A reduction in inequalities as a sub-theme was evident from Policy 3 and Policy 4. These policies dealt with educational expansion and women's education. The opportunities that were provided to atoll students to study in Male' schools and the establishment of better quality schools in atolls narrowed the urban-rural gap. In addition, the opportunities made available for females reduced the inequalities that existed between the sexes. However, it has to be noted that inequalities were not fully eradicated as the opportunities made available were fewer than the number of individuals seeking them.

The second theme emergent from the context of practices/effects was **cultural considerations**. The sub-theme, *Resistance to Amin's agenda*, was an effect applicable to Policy 4. Despite the work Amin did to educate females, there remained people who were against the idea of females being empowered, getting liberated and working outside the home. The empowerment of women and his gentlemanly treatment of females contributed to his downfall.

The third theme observed from the policies implemented by Amin was **quality**, specifically the sub-theme *increased awareness and improvement in quality*. The ranking of students by schools (and associated prize giving) that was regularly posted on the newspaper and celebrated publicly introduced an element of competition among schools that made students to strive to excel. The competitive spirit was observed in students as well among school administrators. The best students in these rankings got study opportunities abroad (Official Records, n.d.).

Policy 6, on introducing vocational education, gave rise to the fourth theme; **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. The introduction of vocational education equipped the students with skills that were relevant to future employment. Furthermore, work experience was introduced in schools enabling students to become familiar with work environments before they leave school. Finally, with Policy 6 the government provided opportunities from abroad to train people in areas that were needed for nation building such as medicine, weaving and farming, thus giving rise to the fifth theme, **catering for national development needs**.

Next, interview data on practices and effects will be considered.

Part 2 - Interview Data

The analysis of the interview data from the five participants generated four themes related to the context of practices/effects. The sub-theme *empowerment of females* under the main theme of **equity and access** was raised by all the participants. The participants agreed that the opportunities provided by Amin helped in liberating females. According to one participant, “Amin not only provided females with educational opportunities, he also gave them leadership positions and helped them gain a foothold in the male-dominated society of the Maldives” (AE2).

Two participants highlighted the sub-theme, *reduction of inequalities* under the main theme of **equity and access**. On this point one participant recounted:

Amin personally worked on reducing the Male'-atoll gap. He took youth from Male', especially girls, to islands and conducted friendly sport events among the youth so that they can mingle and become friendly. In addition, he brought youth from islands and accommodated them with well-to-do families so that they can learn etiquette from the families and had opportunities to study. (AE5)

The second theme emergent from the interview data was **cultural considerations**, especially the sub-theme, *resistance to Amin's agenda*. As the people were not very aware of the benefits of education they were reluctant in embracing the opportunities provided by Amin. This theme was noticeable especially from the opportunities provided for females to study. One participant described the reluctance of the society to educate females by saying:

The citizens were not aware of what education is then. Amin had a hard job. Many parents refused to send females to study saying that their place is at home. Amin brought some to Male' against the parents' wishes. (AE4)

Relevance to the Maldives and available employment was the third theme described by many participants. Three participants explicated how getting access to vocational education made them ready for their future jobs. This outcome was further described by one participant saying:

Amin was way ahead of his time. While at school he posted us in government offices to learn skills and get familiar to the work environment. He sent us to offices that worked very closely with the citizens like the Home Ministry and Government Store so we can learn skills needed to serve others. (AE4)

Another participant noted:

Amin worked very closely with us always advising us that the purpose of getting educated is to serve the nation. After observing the way we work he advised us on the service we can provide to the country depending on skills we had and encouraged us to practice a skill we are competent in. (AE5)

A fourth theme pointed out by some participants was the **impact on behaviour and learning** that was particularly evident through the sub-theme of *loss of motivation for education* as a result of the enactment of Policy 1. According to a participant the act of prohibiting the import of information sources and limiting the level of education reduced the motivation of the people to seek higher levels of education.

Table 7.4

Major Themes Relating to Policy Practices/Effects in Era 2

Policy	National level
Limiting the scope and opportunities for education	Equity and access. <i>Fall in student enrolment (D)</i> <i>Empowerment of females (D & I)</i> Impact on learning and behaviour. <i>Loss of motivation for education (I)</i>
Expanding and strengthening educational opportunities	Quality. <i>Increased awareness and improvement in quality (D)</i>
Expansion of education in atolls	Equity and access. <i>Reduction in inequalities (D & I)</i> Quality. <i>Increased awareness and improvement in quality (D)</i>
Creating and expanding education opportunities for females	Equity and access. <i>Empowerment of females (D & I)</i> <i>Reduction in inequalities (D)</i> Cultural considerations. <i>Resistance to Amin's agenda (D & I)</i>
Expanding opportunities for overseas study	Catering for national development needs. (D)
Introducing vocational education and work experience	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. (D & I) Catering for national development needs. (D)

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

Overall, from the analysis of the extant documents and interviews four major themes were identified in relation to the context of practices/effects. These themes, identified from the national, are summarised in Table 7.4.

Summary

Six major education policy developments have been identified from Era 2 (1935–1953). They are:

- Limiting the scope and opportunities for education
- Enhancing and strengthening available educational opportunities
- Expansion of development of education in atolls
- Creating and expanding educational opportunities for females
- Expanding the opportunities for overseas study
- Introducing vocational education and work experience

The above policies have been explored through analyses of the context of influences, text production and practices/effects. The influences at individual/local, national and global levels were derived from extant documents and interviews with key policy actors. Four primary policy texts were critically analysed to identify themes.

The most prominent **influences** engendering these policies were from the local (individual) level and the national level. The local level influences were mainly from particular powerful individual policy actors. National level themes came from the actions taken to cater for the national development needs, to maintain quality, equity and access. In addition, global influences were also evident as in international policy borrowing.

Policy text production was explored from the national level only. The most prominent themes identified from this context were the role of particular powerful individual policy actors, cultural considerations, and equity and access.

From the context of **practices/effects** the themes, equity and access, and impact on learning and behaviour were observed during the rule of Hassan Farid. In Amin's administration, the retrograde practices of Hassan Farid were annulled. In general, by the end of Era 2, female empowerment, resistance to breaking the status quo, reduction in inequalities, increased awareness and improvement in

quality and the readiness for future jobs were observed. Era 2 is considered the most transformational period in the policy trajectory from 1900 to 2015.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS 3: ERA 3 – NASIR ERA (1954–1978)

Introduction

Nasir Era (1954–1978) or Era 3 is the third of the five eras into which the study period of 115 years (1900–2015) have been divided. This chapter outlines the findings of Era 3 and follows the same structure as the previous two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7). For the purposes of triangulation, the findings from document analysis and interviews are reported separately.

For Era 3, six key documents were identified which, together with the findings from the interviews, comprise the backbone of data. The documents used for the study are shown in Table 8.1. Document 1 is a compilation of the laws passed by the Parliament from 1968 to 1978. Document 2 is the official records of government affairs from 1942 to July 1966. The records are published in 39 volumes and cover the educational, political, social, as well as the economic affairs of the Maldives. Document 3 is a compilation from the first daily newspaper, *Viyafaari Miadhu* (literally *Business Today*, a government newspaper which fulfilled the function of a government gazette). Document 4, *Raajjeyge Khabaru* (News of the Maldives), is a daily newspaper published by the Department of Information and Broadcasting for a short period after cessation of *Raajjeyge Khabaru*. Document 5, *Moonlight*, was a daily newspaper published by Moonlight Club founded by Nasir, the main policy actor of Era 3. He was once the Prime Minister, and later the President. After *Viyafaari Miadhu* and *Raajjeyge Khabaru* were discontinued *Moonlight* continued covering the educational, political, social, as well as the economic affairs of the Maldives. Document 6 published by the Ministry of Education was a project completion report of the *Atoll Education Centres Project*.

Before presenting the analysis of the policies of the era, the political context and the background of the main policy actor (Nasir) as well as the major educational policy developments of the era are outlined. As with other eras, era names do not necessarily correspond to the period of the political rule of the era's namesake.

Table 8.1

Principal Data Sources for Era 2

Document number	Name of document	Author/Owner	Years covered
Document 1	Dhivehi Raajjeyge Qanoonuthah 1 [Maldivian Laws]	Rayyithunge Majlis ge Idhaaraa (1995)	1968–1978
Document 2	<i>Dhivehi Raajjeyge Ekieki Kankan Hin'gigoiy</i> (Vol. 1 – Vol. 20) [Government Official Records]	Government of Maldives (Republished by Novelty Printers & Publishers Pvt. Ltd, undated)	1942–June 1966
Document 3	Viyafaari Miadhu [Daily Government Newspaper]	Ministry of Home Affairs	Sept 1956–Sept 1970
Document 4	Raajjeyge Khabaru [Daily Government Newspaper]	Department of Information and Broadcasting	Oct 1970–Dec 1970
Document 5	<i>Moonlight</i> [Daily Semi-government Newspaper]	Moonlight Club	Jan 197–Dec 1978
Document 6	<i>Atholhu Thauleemarukazuge Mashroou</i> [Completion Report of Atoll Education Centres]	Ministry of Education (1988)	1974–1977

Political Context of Era 3 (1954 – 1978)

On 21st August 1953 while Amin was overseas for a medical treatment, a *coup d'état* led by his Vice President Ibrahim Didi and his relatives, overthrew Amin's rule. A referendum was held to revert the republic to a monarchy and in February 1954, Mohamed Farid was appointed the King. The coup leader, Ibrahim Didi, was unschooled and as the Maldives was a British protectorate at the time a former Minister of Amin's government, the English-speaking Kilegefaanu was

appointed the Prime Minister (Official Records, n.d.). As with the previous monarchy, the administrative head of the State was the Prime Minister. Kilegefaanu also held the portfolios of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs. The coup leader, Ibrahim Didi, was made the head of the Department of Defense and the Minister of Finance. When the coup leader, Ibrahim Didi went to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) for a medical treatment he was asked not to return and died there many years later.

The British military had both air and naval bases in Ceylon in World War II. After the War, India and Ceylon became independent in 1947 and 1948, respectively. The British government knew that their air and naval bases in Ceylon would have to be vacated following independence and had discussions with the Prime Minister Kilegefaanu in 1954 to relocate the base (more accurately, staging post) in the southernmost atoll of the Maldives called Addu (Hussain, 2014). The British needed a base or a staging post in the Indian Ocean region for two reasons. First, the aircraft of the period could not fly without refueling to their prized dominions of Australia, New Zealand and other possessions in the Far East. Second, the high frequency military radio signals could not travel from the UK to these areas without relay stations. When the British approached the Prime Minister he initialled a draft agreement granting land from Addu without consulting either the Cabinet or the Parliament. Without signing a final agreement, the British mobilized contractors to construct the base in Addu (Maniku, 1997). When the matter came to the Parliament, the terms of agreement were rejected. Nasir, who had risen from an army officer to the powerful post of the Minister of Home Affairs, exploited the matter of the Prime Minister's initial assent to the agreement to depose him (Maniku, 1997). The Prime Minister, then resigned citing health concerns and Nasir was elected the Prime Minister in December 1957 (Official Records, n.d.).

Nasir attempted to stop the construction of the base and cancel the initialled draft agreement although contract works were underway (Hussain, 2014). The British then instigated a successionist movement of the three southernmost islands of the country with the British Forces in Addu giving the

rebel leader protection. A series of incidents thenceforth soured the relations between the two governments and led to the Maldivian government seeking to disentangle itself from the British protectorate status. This led to a new agreement in 1965 between the two governments in which the Maldivians assumed full responsibility for national defence and external political engagements (Hussain, 2014). The day of the new agreement (July 26th) is known locally as the “Independence Day.” It must be said that the Maldives was never under British rule as the record of debate in the House of Lords on 26th July 1965 shows. The following statement is by Lord Taylor in the House of Lords of the British Parliament (Hansard, 1965, p. 268).

My Lords, Britain never had these Islands. They were the property of, and belong to, the people of the Maldives and the Government of the Maldivian Islands. They were in the relationship of a protected State.

The manner of handling the southern rebellion and gaining ‘independence’ made Nasir very popular. Riding on the wave of popular opinion, Nasir sought to consolidate his power by abolishing the monarchy and reinstating a republican government. A public referendum held in 1968 showed that the people were in favour of a republican form of government with Nasir as the President (Maniku, 1997; Official Records, n.d.). Nasir was sworn in as the first President of the second Republic of Maldives on 11th November 1968 (Maniku, 1997).

Maldives joined the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific in 1963 (Official Records, n.d.). This was an international cooperative venture for the economic and social advancement of South Asia that arose from a meeting held in 1950 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Upon independence, the Maldives joined the United Nations and several of its branch organizations (Official Records, n.d.). Developmental schemes of these two international bodies were of immense benefit to the Maldives in Era 3 through their consultancies and scholarship schemes.

Nasir’s period of office was not free of political turmoil. The Government newspaper recorded the arrest of several would-be assassins of the Prime Minister

(“Sarukaaruge Dhaairaaage Therein,” 1968) Some of them were tried and jailed for involvement in the printing of counterfeit banknotes, illegal importation of fire-arms with intent to kill Nasir and a myriad other offences. After Nasir became the President, some of his own Ministers were twice found to be plotting to get rid of him (Maniku, 1997). He deposed his Prime Minister in 1975 who was in exile until the end of Nasir’s rule (“Maqaamun Vakikuravvaifi,” 1975).

Nasir ruled as the president for two consecutive terms of five years after which he resigned and migrated to Singapore in December 1978 and remained there in self-exile for the rest of his life (Hussain, 2014). At the time of departure, he was one of the richest men in the Maldives with diversified business interests. Soon after his departure, he was tried in absentia for corruption and many of his properties and business interests were confiscated by the government (Hussain, 2014). Some authors credit Nasir with transforming the Maldives into a modern country in the days of postwar boom by improving or developing telecommunications, fishing, tourism as well as building an international airport and shipping line (Hussain, 2014; Maniku, 1997). Others criticized him for his dictatorial style of leadership, the manner of his business deals and especially the lost opportunities during a period of accelerating globalisation and relative peace and abundance (Hussain, 2014).

A brief background of Nasir is presented next because his own education and childhood are likely to have impacted on his education policies.

Background of Nasir

Earlier in Chapter 6, it was mentioned that the recent history of the Maldives is marked by an on-going rivalry and political manoeuvring between two well-established families for the position of the prime minister who wielded the real administrative power. While Amin’s family was in power, a member of the other family brought Indian mercenaries to overthrow the government although the plot was unsuccessful and the main perpetrator was exiled (H. C. P. Bell, 1940). The

person thus exiled was Nasir's grandfather. Nasir was born on 2nd September 1926 in a remote island from a marriage of his father to a native woman of the island.

While quite young, Nasir's mother died and he was brought to Male' and cared for by his uncle who later became Amin's Vice President (Maniku, 1997). Nasir attended Saniyya School and was privately tutored by Salaahudhdheen and Amin when the school was not in session. When Nasir was 18 years old, Amin sent him to Sri Lanka and enrolled him in a private school where he studied until his return on 17th January 1949 (Hussain, 2014). Private schools in Sri Lanka at the time admitted over-age students upon appropriate payments. Additionally, it has been noted by participants that those students who could not get admittance because of their advanced age had their birth certificates forged to represent a lower age. Nasir was 22 years old when he returned. Documents vary in reporting the length of his study: according to one he studied up to Grade-5 (Ibrahim, 2014) and according to the other he studied up to Grade-6 (Maniku, 1997). Both documents noted that he was sent back because of some misdeeds during his stay in Ceylon. However, another participant in this study (someone with whom he closely worked) noted that Nasir, together with some other family members studying in Sri Lanka, returned to the Maldives to gain political power as the ailing President Amin was not likely to have lived much longer.

On Nasir's return, Amin first appointed him as an army/police officer (Hussain, 2014). At that time the army and the police were not separate forces. Later Nasir held middle level positions, and senior positions in the Wireless Office, the National Library, Electricity Department and the Ministry for Home Affairs (Hussain, 2014). For a time, he was also a member of the Parliament. When the matter of the British base in the Southern Atoll of Addu arose, a Liaison Office was established on August 1957 and Nasir was appointed to head this office. Five days later, Nasir became the Home Minister. On 12th December 1957, upon resignation of Kilegefaanu the day before, he became the Prime Minister. When the monarchy was abolished, Nasir became the President of the second republic on 11th November 1968 (Official Records, n.d.). After completing his second term as President on 10th November 1978 he retired from politics. Nasir is

described as a reticent, introverted, uncompromising, private person of few words with great determination and courage (Hussain, 2014).

The above account gives a brief outline of the political background and that of the main policy actor of Era 3. The next section outlines the major education policy developments of the era.

Major Education Policies in Era 3

At the dawn of Era 3, there were two large schools and four district or ward schools in Male'. The ward schools were feeder schools to the large two. Each of these schools had a female branch and a male branch. A boarding facility was provided by the government to accommodate students from atolls so that they could study from Male' schools. Each inhabited island was served by a school at least at the community level. Some students were sent to Ceylon on government sponsorship. A few students were also sent to Egypt and India for specialized studies. This arrangement continued into the late 1950s before the new government started to bring gradual changes to the existing system.

None of the education policies of the Era is articulated in official documents and the policies had to be inferred from public announcements and changed education practices reported in newspapers. These practices reflect the more centralized authoritarian approach of the ruling polity. The key policies which follow will be expanded further, later in the chapter, by an analysis of contexts of policy influences, policy text production and policy practices and effects.

Policy 1: Cessation of Government Sponsored Scholarships to Study Overseas

Sending students to study in the private schools of Sri Lanka (which were known as colleges) was a cornerstone of the Maldives education system in the latter part of Era 2. Amin had acquired service staff and properties for the welfare of these students. Students as young as six were sent. By 1960, the students in Sri Lanka

numbered over 50 and it was becoming a major expense for the government (Ministry of Education, 1970). In the Amin Era there were records of students being sent to Egypt and India at government expense. However, in the Nasir Era there is no record of such overseas scholarships funded wholly by the government. By the end of Era 3, overseas schooling at government expense had ceased by public announcement.

Policy 2: Introduction of English as the Medium of Instruction in Male' Schools

Until Nasir became the Prime Minister, the medium of instruction was vernacular. Nasir changed the medium of instruction into English by hiring Sri Lankan principals and teachers in 1961 (Official Records, n.d.). He transformed one of the ward schools into a Montessori-type feeder school for the main boys' school and the girls' school.

Earlier, Amin had introduced the teaching of English using a textbook which he wrote himself. Nasir changed the teaching medium into English wholesale. The local language teaching ended in Grade-7 and thereafter all subjects were taught in the English language.

Policy 3: Restricting Government Funding to Three Schools in Male'

Until the introduction of the Education Development Programme in 1976 especially targeted to atolls, under which the first Community Schools opened in February 1978, the Nasir Era is characterized by its focus on providing education in Male' only. Nasir caused all the ward schools to be closed. The practice of Government bringing students from the islands to be boarded in homes of Male' citizens ceased. In the middle of Nasir's rule, he built a hostel for students funded by an Education Fund (donors and philanthropists from Male'). However, this hostel facility was short-lived. By the end of his presidency there was no hostel facility for island students in Male' (Maniku, 1997).

Policy 4: Transferring Partial Cost of Education to Parents

Nasir opened the opportunity for financially able parents to send their children for schooling in Ceylon (Official Records, n.d.). The ‘fee’ was to be paid initially in fish and later in money. He further restricted schooling in Sri Lanka by proclaiming that only those who pass the Junior School Certificate would be sponsored by the Government (Official Records, n.d.).

For Male’ schools, a fee was levied in March 1971 (Official Records, n.d.). Enrolment limits were set for schools: for the boys’ school (Majeediyya) the limit was 750, for the girls’ school (Aminiya) it was 600, and for the Montessori school the limit was 480. However, students could be admitted to the schools upon paying twice the regular fee. Even with this disincentive, the demand exceeded the available places and the policy directive was nullified in July 1971 (Ministry of Education, 1971a). The school fee was increased by twenty-five percent in January 1972 (Ministry of Education, 1971b).

Policy 5: Expansion and Institutionalization of Vocational Training

Ad hoc classes that taught various skills such as weaving, agriculture and medicine that were conducted in Era 2, expanded in Era 3 as need arose. These classes were conducted by the related Ministry and were taught mainly by foreign experts brought to Male’ as consultants (Official Records, n.d.). Some classes were also taught by Maldivian experts. Skills taught included health inspector skills, health assistant skills, general office English, nursing, post services, electric wiring, masonry, midwifery, teaching and surveying (Official Records, n.d.). In addition to these classes, pupils were sent abroad to learn skills that could not be learnt from the Maldives such as net-fishing and weaving (Official Records, n.d.).

What differentiates Era 2 and Era 3 in the provision of these training events is the institutionalization of post-secondary education. First, through the assistance of the World Health Organization, an Allied Health Services Training Centre was established to train domiciliary health workers, primary health care

workers and midwives in 1973 (Bodart, 1973). Second, a Vocational Training Centre was established in 1975 with the assistance of the International Labour Organization. A Grade-11 and Grade-12 school (higher secondary) was beginning to be built with funds from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Policy 6: Establishment of Community Schools

From the beginning of Era 3 until the latter part of the 1970s, there was little, government involvement in the provision of schooling in islands other than Male'. The Ministry of Education (1988) noted that the government was negligent with the provision of education to islands between 1953 to the mid-1970s. There were 28 schools registered in the Ministry of Education in 1971 and none of them were under government supervision or subsidized by the government (Baddeley, 1971).

With the accession to the Colombo Plan and UN agencies, there were a number of studies carried out by expatriate consultants on development needs. Based on the reports of such consultants a number of development projects were written (Baddeley, 1971; Bodart, 1973; Ministry of Education, 1988). One of these projects was building four Community Schools in atolls to be expanded into 19 later (Bodart, 1973). Financial aid for this project was provided by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and UNDP and the technical aid from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These Community Schools were government schools which were different from the existing community-run schools. The Community Schools were to be funded by the government and they were aimed at improving the quality of primary education and reducing the schooling inequalities that existed between Male' and atolls. They were called Community Schools because they were designed to cater for formal and non-formal education and to facilitate community activities (Ministry of Education, 1988). The first Community School was opened in 1978 in Eydhafushi of Baa Atoll ("Dhedhuniyeah Alikan Libey Bahthi," 1978; Ministry of Education, 1988). (In this thesis the government funded and governed Community Schools are written with initial letters capitalised. Schools funded and governed without government support by the

community of people living in an island are spelt all in simple case letters. This is a critical distinction.)

In the next section, the influences that gave rise to these six policies are analyzed.

Context of Policy Influences

The context of influences is divided into two parts; Part 1 describes the policy influences that emerge from document analysis whereas Part 2 describes the influences identified from interviews.

Part 1—Document Analysis

Identical to Chapters 6 and 7 in structure, the influences that were most significant from the six policies identified in Era 3 (1954–1978) are discussed in terms of three levels of influence: local, national and global. Furthermore, powerful individual policy actors within the Maldives are also considered as the ‘local’ level of the policy trajectory. The key themes relating to influences emerging from the document analysis are indicated in bold and the sub-themes (where applicable) are given in italics.

Policy 1: Cessation of Government Sponsored Scholarships to Study Overseas. Three themes were emergent from the context of policy influences in relation to Policy 1. The first theme was **resource shortages** which may be classed as a national level influence. Consequent to the coup that removed Amin, the government would have to appease political cronies and together with the natural increase of population, there would have been a greater demand for schooling in Sri Lanka by nobles and the political elite. The cessation of government funded overseas schooling was gradual. In the first instance, Nasir permitted anyone who had the means to send their children for schooling in Sri Lanka to take up education there provided that the costs incurred by the government were paid in goods and later in cash (Official Records, n.d.). At that

time, foreign exchange was government controlled. Next, the government took over the funding of these ‘privately sent’ students if they passed the Sri Lankan Junior School Certificate (JSC) which was an ‘11-plus’ examination (Official Records, n.d.). Finally, there was complete cessation of sponsored schooling in Sri Lanka.

The second theme arising from the context of influence in relation to Policy 1 was **internal politics of Sri Lanka**. Spliesgart, Koschorke, Ludwig, and Delgado (2007, p. 123) described the politics thus:

The 1960s in Sri Lanka were characterized by a new wave of Sinhalese nationalism. After political independence in 1948, Sri Lankans aspired to overcome the cultural legacy left by the former colonial power. In 1961, Sinhala replaced English as the administrative language... Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka, the Western calendar was abolished in favour of the traditional lunar one... From the Parliamentary debate of 2nd January 1961: The government proposes to recall Parliament in order to introduce the necessary legal steps to take over and place under governments ownership all schools together with buildings and lands. There will be no compensation.

Once nationalised the schools did not initially permit foreign student enrolment. In addition, the medium of instruction became Sinhala (Spliesgart et al., 2007) and thus unattractive to Maldivian students. Strict age limits were also imposed. That Nasir was sent back to Male’ for misdeeds he committed while studying in Sri Lanka was mentioned earlier. Ibrahim (1980, p.120) who was a political opponent, asserts that Nasir took revenge for his dismissal when he gained political power. Participants also noted that Nasir tried to sell off the main boarding house bought for the Maldivian students by Amin.

Policy 2: Introduction of English as the Medium of Instruction in Male’ Schools. The first theme evident from Policy 2 in relation to the context of influences was **global education trends** such as the sub-theme of *imperatives to learn English*. When the Allied Powers became victorious in World War 2, their predominant language became ascendant in world trade, commerce and

diplomacy, making English a world language. Thus, there was a global imperative to learn English not only for the spheres named above but for post-secondary education and training as well. After the Maldives joined the Colombo Plan and the United Nations, many overseas training opportunities became available. These opportunities invariably required English.

The second theme of **resource shortages** was among one of the national level stimuli that led to Policy 2. When Amin was alive he kept on writing textbooks himself and encouraged others to write. With his death, for about six years there were no significant new texts written in Dhivehi and no teachers trained. Thus, it made sense to hire teachers from Sri Lanka and teach in a language they knew and use English textbooks that were widely available overseas.

Furthermore, the cost of teaching 20 students in Sri Lanka with their school fees, boarding, travel and other expenses was less than the cost of hiring a teacher and teaching 20 students in one class (Official Records, n.d.). As noted earlier, the overseas schooling expenses were rising and thus, it made economic sense, to replicate a Sri Lankan grammar school in Male' instead of sending as many students overseas. The nationalisation of church schools in Sri Lanka and the change of teaching medium to Sinhala created a supply of Sri Lankan teachers for recruitment.

The third theme emerging from Policy 1 was **particular powerful individual policy actors**. The sub-theme, *political expediency*, arising from the local level had influenced the conception of the policy. Nasir had caused the resignation of the former Prime Minister who had been in politics for over 25 years. Many of the children studying in Sri Lanka were from the noble and elite families. When these children were to return to the Maldives and enrol in Male' schools, it was in the interests of Nasir to provide a schooling comparable to what they had experienced in Sri Lanka. A comparable school would further consolidate Nasir's political power at a time of political instability.

Policy 3: Restricting government funding to three schools in Male’. The first theme to emerge in relation to influences shaping Policy 3 was **resource shortages** (a national level theme). The cost of running government schools was very high: the schools were well-built; the majority of staff were expatriate and were housed in bungalows with servants provided. They were provided with a means of transport; they were paid well compared to teachers in Sri Lanka and were given generous leave benefits with passage. The examinations the students sat were from the United Kingdom as were the textbooks and laboratory equipment. Therefore, the government could not afford to replicate similar schools in other islands.

The second theme evident from Policy 3 was **particular powerful individual policy actors** (a local level theme). One may consider the restriction of public schooling to the capital as anachronistic and reminiscent of Farid’s regulations to restrict education, as his critics note, for the purpose of political advantages. Historians who write in favour of Nasir note that he was responsible for removing the social stratification of the society that he inherited from Era 2 with special privileges for the upper classes (Maniku, 1997). However, given Nasir’s experiences of the Southern rebellion which was plotted by an educated person in Addu, such a view is not altogether implausible.

Policy 4: Transferring partial costs of education to parents. The theme arising from this policy in relation to the context of influences was **resource shortages**. This is a national level theme. With the introduction of English medium schools staffed generally by expatriate teachers, the cost of public education soon became too burdensome for the national budget. The rising costs were partly due to high enrolment as more students arrived from rural islands to Male’ and schooling became more sought after. Nasir had also by then closed all the ward schools which had been vernacular. The government boys’ school and girls’ school underwent expansion to accommodate students. The Montessori school was renamed after Nasir himself and the school was newly built to accommodate a higher enrolment (Ministry of Education, 1970).

These developments increased the public costs of education provision. To reduce costs to government, a fee was levied on all students. Additionally, due to the high cost of running the government schools, strict limitations on the number of places and mandatory student performance were instituted, leading to dismissal of students. For example, from November 1966 onwards students failing for two consecutive years were dismissed from schools (Baddeley, 1971).

Policy 5: Expansion and institutionalization of vocational training. Three major themes were apparent from the context of influences for Policy 3 on vocational training. Two of these main themes were **catering for national development needs** (national level theme) and **global education trends** (global level theme) introduced by the *role of international organizations*. A wave of modernization spread through the world during the period between 1945 and 1980s. As modernisation gathered momentum in the 1960s there was an acute shortage of skilled workers and technicians for the progress of many industries and public works such as fishing, shipping, construction and engineering. The opening of the first airport and spread of radio-communications also created a need for skilled manpower (Maniku, 1997). Initially, skill training which had been initiated in Era 2 in an ad-hoc manner was expanded to meet the increased demand with local and overseas trainers and complemented by occasional overseas training. In some areas where a larger number of trained workers were required, it was considered more economical and beneficial to institutionalize training in-country. Thus, with the assistance from international organizations the Allied Health Services Training Centre and Vocational Training Centre were established.

A less significant theme; **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** emerged from the national level due to the *mismatch between available education and required skills*. The output of the grammar-type schools in Male' did not meet the emerging workforce requirements. Thus, there was a need for targeted training in areas of national need in the post-war boom that resulted in great strides in national development.

Policy 6: Establishment of Community Schools. The first theme evident from Policy 6 was **global education trends** as a global level theme that manifested in the education policies as a sub-theme—*role of international organizations*. This theme arose from the work of two experts who were recruited to carry out a situational analysis of the education sector, namely Baddeley (1971) and Bodart (1973). After their assessment of the education sector, the experts recommended that, in the short term, the government build at least one government-funded community school on each atoll.

From the main national level theme **equity and access**, the sub-theme of *public demand* arose as most island children attended third rate community-run madhrasaas staffed by untrained teachers and financed by the community without any support from the government (Baddeley, 1971; Bodart, 1973). Migrating to Male' was the only option available for island children to secure a quality education. However, restrictions were set in place by the government to curb immigration to Male'. The status-quo maintained inequality by restricting access to quality schooling. Those children who were able to join Male' schools were often employed as house servants (somewhat like *au pairs*) doing menial work in return for boarding. Therefore, there was strong pressure from the islands to get a better quality education for their children.

A further sub-theme arising from the main theme, **equity and access**, is *congestion of Male' schools* which exacerbated issues with **equity and access** thus contributing to the establishment of Community Schools in atolls. With the high enrolment in Male' schools, they were congested and were run on two or three shifts that placed a high demand on teachers and other staff of the school. In addition, seats were offered to students by drawing lots and the government became unpopular among those who failed to gain admission.

A minor sub-theme related to the context of influence evident from Policy 6 was *concerns of equity and justice* among the more educated liberal-minded government officials. International organizations considered the sector lacking social justice and curriculum relevance (Baddeley, 1971; Bodart, 1973).

Additionally, those international organizations and officials with foresight had seen the sector as inherently unsustainable and lacking equity.

Part 2—Interviews

Interview data was used to triangulate with document data and provide a greater depth of understanding of policy processes. Interviews were conducted with five policy actors of Era 3. The themes derived from interviews about the context of influences are given in bold and the sub-themes in italics. These themes were explored in broader terms, that is, not in relation to individual policies.

In terms of Policy 1 all the participants maintained that the government sponsorship of overseas studies ceased due to **resource shortages** which was a theme arising from the national level. As one participant stated, “it [cost] simply became a great burden to the government” (NE1). All the participants also concurred that **resource shortages** was the main influence on Policy 2, 3 and 4. These economic imperatives include the sub-themes of *budgetary constraints* and *reducing government cost burden*. As one participant explained:

they will surely know how much cost were incurred to keep us in Sri Lanka for study. The person in charge of the ministry had told me once that Nasir himself told him that the cost was too high. Nasir wanted to bring teachers to Male’ and start this (teaching in English medium) here. (NE1)

Another participant detailed the reason for policies 3 and 4 as follows:

I believe that there is an economic reason for restricting government funding to Male’ schools and for levying fees on students. The cost of running the schools was a burden on the government budget. Think of the cost that would be incurred to run the schools, pay teachers and to maintain the school building. So, if they (parents) were willing to pay fees, why not? (NE1)

According to some participants **catering for national development needs** stimulated the government to expand and institutionalize vocational education. This national need was explained by one participant as follows:

It was a time when the country was geared towards modernization. Airport was built, telecommunication was introduced and tourism started. Therefore, the country was in dire need of skilled workers. Obviously the most cost effective way to do it was to train them in Maldives. (NE 4)

On a smaller scale, the impact on learning and behaviour had influenced the conception of Policy 1. Sub-themes related to changes in student learning and behaviour are categorised under this main theme. With respect to Policy 1 the *conflict between students and the management of the boarding school* led to its conception. As one participant explained:

... a conflict developed between the students and the people who went from here to look after the students. I am not going to mention any names here, but there were issues regarding the procedures they developed. The situation got out of hand eventually leading to the decision to discontinue... (NE3)

The theme **internal politics of Sri Lanka** arising from the global level was raised by all the participants. According to them the period when Policy 1 became effective coincided with the leadership of Bandaranaike who “in a nationalistic feeling destroyed the English-medium schooling system established in Sri Lanka and changed the medium of instruction to Sinhalese, which is not relevant to the Maldivians” (NE2).

Another participant also explained how **global education trends** (a global level theme) such as the *imperatives to learn English* led to Policy 2. According to the participant “it was a time when people who knew English was needed by the country to run the government, to hold discussions with the British and to communicate with the outside world. This need prompted Nasir to take the decision” (NE4). In addition, all the participants attributed the *role of international organizations* under **global education trends** as one of the influences for the establishment of Community Schools. One participant acknowledged the influence of foreign experts on Policy 6 by saying:

The decision to build the Community Schools was based on the reports of the foreign experts who came to do a situational analysis

of education in the Maldives. They recommended that primary schooling be introduced in atolls but not in English medium. (NE 4).

Table 8.2

Major Themes in the Analysis of Influences in Era 3 (1954–1978)

Policy	Global	National	Local/individual
Cessation of government sponsored scholarships for study overseas	Internal politics of Sri Lanka (D & I).	Resource shortages. Impact on behaviour and learning. <i>Conflict between students and the management of the boarding school (I)</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Political expediency (D)</i>
Introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools	Global education trends. <i>Imperatives to learn English (D & I).</i>	Resource shortages. (D & I).	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Political expediency (D).</i>
Restricting government funding to 3 schools in Male'		Resource shortages. (D & I).	Particular powerful individual policy actors. (D)
Transferring partial cost of education to parents		Resource shortages. (D & I).	
Expansion and institutionalization of vocational training	Global education trends. <i>Role of international organizations (D).</i>	Catering for national development need (D & I). Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Mismatch between available education and required skills (D).</i>	
Establishment of Community Schools	Global education trends. <i>Role of international organizations (D & I).</i>	Access and equity. <i>Public demand (D).</i> <i>Congestion of Male' schools (D).</i> <i>Concerns of equity and justice (D).</i>	Political considerations. <i>Political expediency (I)</i>

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

A participant ascribed the decision to establish Community Schools in atolls to *political expediency* of **particular powerful individual policy actors** (a local level theme) by saying that “no leader would want to be unpopular. Nasir

was criticized because of his focus on education in Male' only. Hence, as soon as foreign aid became available he endorsed the idea" (NE2).

In general, documents and interviews expose influences from local, national and global levels on the educational policies of Era 3. While local politics had influenced the policies from the local level, the economic status of the country and resource shortages had influenced them from a national level. At the global level the overseas education restrictions, global education trends and influences from international organizations providing aid were prominent. A summary of the emergent themes from the context of policy influences are summarised in Table 8.2.

Context of Policy Text Production

Era 3 is characterized by its lack of government documentation on policies and the official history of the era. None of the policies of the era were articulated but were, when necessary, couched as public announcements. Interviews did not yield useful data on policy text documents. The most significant documents pertaining to the six policies identified for this era are discussed below to reveal their characteristics and how they were produced, focusing on themes from the national level.

Policy Text A: Government Announcements Regarding Cessation of Scholarships Overseas

Three announcements are presented as Policy Text A. All three are public announcements of the Ministry of Education as documented in the Official Records (n.d). The original text and the translation are shown in Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.2.

[illegible]

Figure 8.1. Government announcements regarding cessation of scholarships overseas Part A (Official Records, n.d., p. 2272, p.2390).

The themes emerging from Policy Text A were the **role of particular powerful individual policy actors** and **resource shortages**. The tone of the announcements was very strict and reveals the autocratic nature of the government. The decision was taken by Nasir, the acting Minister of Education, without consultation with stakeholders (Official Records, n.d.). According to one participant, Nasir took charge of the ministries himself when the ministers refused to act on his rulings. In addition, the decision to stop foreign exchange for parents who refused to bring their children back to the Maldives as advised by the government (without giving them a choice), further exposes the authoritarian nature of the government. The announcements also indicate that the government

had the sole control of foreign exchange. Economic imperatives such as *reducing the government cost burden* and *gaining economic efficiency* had led to the eventual cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas.

میں نے 25 جنوری 1962

[illegible]

Third Announcement: 25th July 1962

The government exchanges Rs 150 monthly for each private student resident in Ceylon. The practice has been in place from three years ago. When the government becomes aware that a student has been admitted and studying in a Ceylonese school by whatever means, on request, Rs 150 are exchanged. Although Rs 150 are exchanged for each student, a teacher with a BA qualification can be employed for Rs 300, who can teach 20 students.

Therefore, it is educationally advantageous to recruit BA-qualified teachers to teach in Male' and considering economic situation, the Ministry of Education has decided to bring those students studying below the level of Grade-3 of Majeediyya School to Male' to be enrolled in Majeediyya. Exchange of money will cease for those parents who do not accept this proposition.

This rule does not apply to girl students in Ceylon because Aminiya School has not reached that quality. However, as soon as the quality of Aminiya teaching becomes acceptable, exchange of money by government will likewise cease.

Figure 8.2. Government announcements regarding cessation of scholarships overseas on economic grounds Part B (Official Records, n.d., p. 3489).

Policy Text B: News Brief Given by Ministry of Education in 1972

One of the unarticulated policies of the government was the introduction of English medium schooling. The following related text (Fig. 8.4) was a reaction to the Baddeley Report (1971).

The Ministry of Education informs that the Minister has decided to change the learning and teaching of Aminiya School and Majeedhiyya School as follows effective from 1972.

The following subjects will be compulsory for all the students in Grades 8, 9 and 10: English language, Mathematics, Geography, Technical Drawing, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Economics and History. The students in both schools [Aminiya and Majeedhiyya] completing Grade-10 in 1972 would have to sit GCE Ordinary Level examination for all the subjects mentioned earlier. In addition, if any student studying in grades 8, 9 and 10 wishes to take Art (Drawing) as an optional subject they can do so.

Hereafter these subjects will no longer be offered: British Constitution, Arithmetic, Dhivehi and Religious Knowledge.

Dhivehi [local language] and Religious Knowledge will only be taught to students studying in Grade-7 and lower grades. British Constitution will not be offered to any classes [grades].

Figure 8.3. News brief given by Ministry of Education regarding policy changes brought to teaching in Aminiya School and Majeedhiyya School in 1972 (Moonlight, 1971, October 29).

The theme **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** (a national level theme) emerged from the policy text shown in Fig. 8.2. The sub-theme, the problem of *contextual irrelevance* was apparent from the three central

schools after English medium schooling was introduced (Baddeley, 1971). Ceasing to teach about the British Constitution is an attempt towards making the curriculum more contextually relevant to the Maldives, though the problem persisted as the text books and teachers were foreign and the students sat a foreign terminal examination. The expansion of curriculum was a reaction to Baddeley (1971), stating that the students were receiving a narrow education. In addition, the sub-theme, *marginalization of subjects related to the culture*, was also evident. Teaching of subjects such as Dhivehi Language, local history and religious studies were discontinued after Grade-7.

Policy Text C: Announcement from the Ministry of Education Setting Fees for Public Schooling

Fig 8.4 is Policy Text C: the announcement levying fees for the three public schools in Male'. The body of the text is about the amount of fees. This is preceded by the statement which reads: "it has been resolved to charge fees from students attending Majeediyya School, Aminiya School and Nasiriya Montessori School." The announcement ends with: "the decision to charge fees from students was made because the cost of providing education from the government is increasing year after year." The announcement further confirms that government finance was provided only for government schools in Male'.

The first theme evident from Policy Text C was **resource shortages**. It was evident that the fees were levied as the existing system was unsustainable. The second theme **governance** was also apparent from Policy Text C. This Text C showed that there was a *lack of public debate on fees* before the fees were levied. When the Prime Minister who was accused of plotting a coup was dismissed in 1975, the fees were abolished to appease the public.

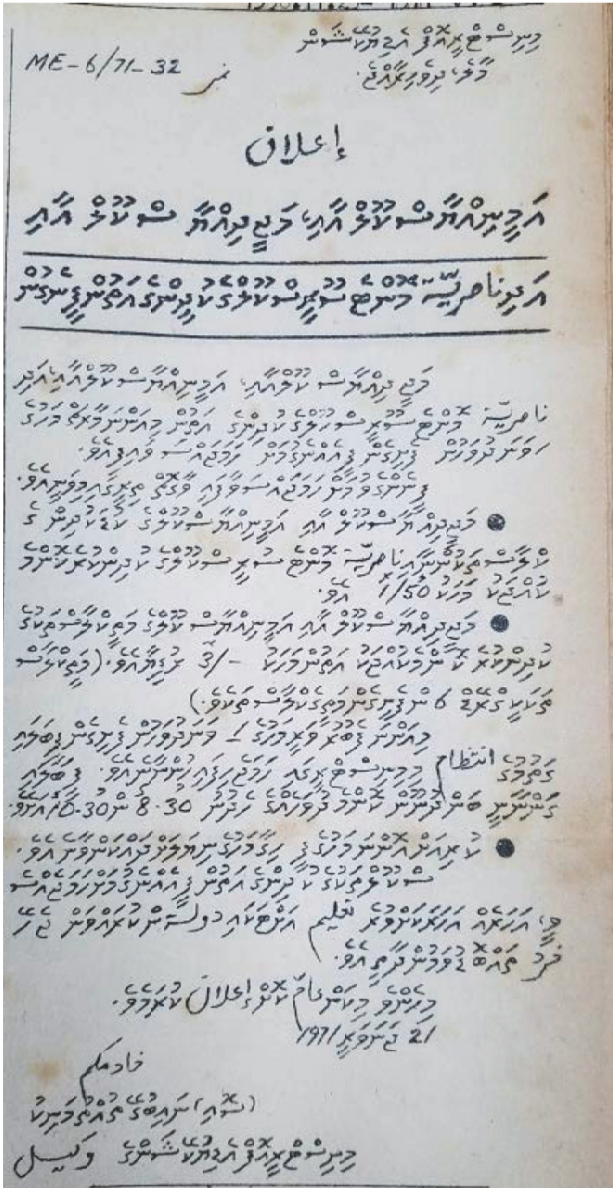


Figure 8.4. Public announcement from the Ministry of Education setting fees for public schooling. (Source: Ministry of Education (1971a, January). Iulan. Viyafaari Miadhu, pp. 2.)

Policy Text D: Excerpt Taken from a Report Prepared by Bodart

The project for the establishment of Community Schools was funded by UNICEF and UNDP, and was based on the report written by Bodart (1973). Policy Text D given in Fig 8.5 in an excerpt taken from the report prepared by Bodart.

1. Primary education - One solution, at first glance, would be to develop and extend to the whole population the English-medium system. However this solution is not recommended for the following reasons:

- about 80% to 90% of the population would remain in the traditional sector of the economy (fishing and agriculture). The Maldivian primary system has already succeeded in producing literacy in Divehi and Arabic and there is no doubt that a basic education given only in English would divide the population into two groups: those literate in Divehi only and those literate in English, and would thus create a sort of dual society;
- the social demand for secondary general education would increase greatly if English became the medium everywhere, but the secondary schools would still be limited for financial and employment reasons;
- the present Maldivian schools already play a beneficial role as community development centres which at the same time can serve the adult population and which do not cut off the young people from their environment;
- English-medium education may give to the school population the false hope of all becoming "white collar workers".

For these reasons, the alternative to the present system would be one primary system in Divehi, with English as a subject, bearing in mind the necessity of linking the curricula to the environment and active life. The primary schools in the islands should develop more and more as community centres with facilities for adult education (child care, agriculture, mechanics, etc.), religion, entertainment, youth clubs, library, etc. Divehi literature should be printed and distributed all over the country. Mass communication techniques (radio) are essential. The control of the private schools in Male should be undertaken by the Government (fees, textbooks, teachers, curricula, etc.). An inspectorate is essential. Post-primary vocational training should be developed for the training of low-level technicians.

2. Secondary schools - It is not recommended to extend the present system beyond certain limits, taking into account the limited absorptive capacity of the economy. An output of 20 A-level graduates per year would seem to be a reasonable target. A two-year A-level course should be created in Male.

Sub-programme 4

Building 19 primary pilot schools in the atolls (community centres)

Those facilities should meet the requirements of the environment and of radio programmes. Use of local materials is necessary. We suggest that an architect from the Unesco Regional Office join the next mission to study these problems and prepare a costing list. This sub-programme should be financed by the Funds-in-Trust scheme.

Figure 8.5. Excerpt taken from a report prepared by Bodart (1973, p. 10,15).

In Era 3, only the first Community School, as recommended by Bodart, was established. At the opening ceremony of the Community School ("Ministry of Education," 1978), the Deputy Minister of Education reiterated Bodart's vision for these Community Schools was to increase *community engagement* and *contextual relevance* thus giving rise to the themes **governance** and increasing the **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. The first of the sub-

themes, community engagement, was evident from the strong emphasis Bodart (1973) had placed on developing the schools as community centres that would cater for adult and health education in addition to primary education. On the second sub-theme, Bodart had stressed the importance of linking the curricula to the environment and active life in the Maldives.

In general, there were four national level themes evident from the selected policy texts from Era 3. They were: particular powerful policy actors, resource shortages, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, and governance. These themes are summarized in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3
Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Text Production from Era 3 (1954–1978)

Policy Text	National
A	The role of particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Autocratic nature of the government.</i> Resource shortages. <i>Economic imperatives.</i>
B	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Contextual irrelevance.</i> <i>Marginalization of subjects related to the culture.</i>
C	Resource shortages. Governance. <i>Lack of public debate on fees.</i>
D	Governance. <i>Community engagement.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Contextual relevancy.</i>

Note: Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

Context of Practices/Effects

This section discusses the themes emerging from the six major policies of Era 3 in relation to the context of practice/effects. They were all from the national level. The themes discussed below were obtained from documents and interviews with participants.

Part 1 - Document Analysis

Policy 1: Cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas. The effects of this policy, as well as the effects of Policy 2 and Policy 3, namely, restricting government education provision to Male' and the introduction of English medium in Male' schools, are closely related. The effects are discussed under the most appropriate policy. The first observable effect resulting from Policy 1 was **quality**. The nationalization of church-run schools in Sri Lanka together with the increasing cost of government sponsorship of these students compelled Nasir to upgrade three schools in Male' to the standard of private schools in Sri Lanka. The cessation of government sponsorship of schooling overseas led to the upgrading of Aminiya School and Majeedhiyya School staffed mostly by expatriates. Thus, *improving quality of Male' schools* was observed as a result of this change. Consequently, there was better access to quality schooling for a greater number of students. In the year 1973 there were 1934 students in these three schools—a number the government could not have afforded to sponsor in Sri Lanka (Bodart, 1973).

Policy 1 also gave rise to issues with **equity and access**. The policy elite of the Maldives at the time appeared to want to reduce the presence and power of expatriates, as it was not seen as desirable in the long run. When most of the national budgetary appropriation was spent on just three schools, all the other schools were likely to suffer. The focus of government expenditure only on Male' led to an increasing *disparity between Male' and island (rural) schools*. This disparity extended to overall development of the islands.

Policy 2: Introduction of English medium to Male' schools. Shifting the medium of instruction to English caused a number of positive and negative effects. The first effect was *curriculum irrelevance* that is placed under the theme **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. The model of schooling introduced by Nasir in 1961 was similar to the system of church-run schools abolished in neighbouring Sri Lanka and the system that was used in Britain decades earlier (Baddeley, 1971). Its main aim was to produce 'white-

collar' workers. Therefore, the curriculum used was not contextually relevant to Maldivian children. In addition, participants contended that the syllabus alienated the Maldivian students from their religion and language and led to the regression of the Maldives' industry and commerce. The teaching of Maldivian history was non-existent and Dhivehi and religious education were not taught beyond Grade-7 level. It is believed that this negligence had led to many social issues in the country (Ibrahim, 2014). Baddeley (1971) and Ibrahim (1980) noted the pointlessness of studying British history and geography without knowing anything about Maldivian geography and history. Baddeley (1971, p. 2) notes:

Can it be said that a girl whose course consists, in addition to Islam and Dhivehi, only of English, mathematics and four sciences is receiving a balanced education? Is there any valid reason for including both arithmetic and mathematics in a pupil's course? ... Is "English History 1865–1955", undertaken for examination purposes, a fitting culmination for a Maldivian girl's course in history? Is it sensible to spend some 300 hours of school time studying "the British Constitution" in order to obtain an "easy" pass in the GCE examination? Some hard thinking is needed about these...

The second theme evident from Policy 2 was **catering for the national development needs**. The need to develop the nation in spite of resource shortages led to the *use of international examinations*. In Era 2, it has been mentioned that year-end examinations were conducted by the Ministry of Education to assess school performance. Once English medium was introduced, the Ministry did not have the technical resources to administer year-end examinations in English Language. These annual examinations were replaced with school examinations from the University of London, London Chamber of Commerce and Industry or Royal Society of Arts (Official Records, n.d.). The examinations were expensive and school performance was measured only by the results of these examinations. Though expensive, successful completion of these examination made the students *eligible for overseas training*. It was recognised that overseas examinations had the advantage of acceptability and portability world-wide. Overseas examinations

had the virtue that passing students qualified for training schemes, fellowships and scholarships offered by the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

The third effect resulting from Policy 2 was **resource shortages**. The change to English medium created a *dependency on expatriates and external resources* which extended not only to teachers (mainly Sri Lankan), but to foreign textbooks as well. Both secondary schools employed expatriate ancillary staff such as laboratory technicians and secretarial staff.

As the fourth effect, Policy 2 exacerbated the existing **equity and access** issues such as the *disparity between Male' and island (rural) schools* as the rural schools were not able to afford expatriate teachers. Bodart (1973) did warn of creating a dual society when government funded Male' schools teach in English medium and the island schools teach in Dhivehi (vernacular).

Policy 3: Restricting government funding to three schools in Male'. Available government budget reports and interviews show that the government only funded schools in Male' until the establishment of the single Community School in 1978. In the Nasir Era, almost no attention was given to the development of education in rural islands (Ministry of Education, 1988). Bodart (1973, p. 4) noted that “the government finances only the English-medium system in Male'. All other schools are private or administered by the Atoll Committees and do not receive any government subsidy.”

Equity and access was the first theme evident from the practices/effects of Policy 3. The policy gave rise to the sub-themes: *influx of families to Male'*; *overcrowding of Male' schools*, *stagnation of island development*; and *widening of the Male'-rural island gap*. Realizing the value of education to move into higher echelons of the society, there was an influx of island families to Male'. Nasir attempted to counter this trend by requiring migrating families to obtain a 'visa' or permit for residence in the capital (Official Records, n.d.). However, Male' population increased unabated in spite of this requirement (Ministry of Planning and Development, 1986). The in-migration to Male' made living conditions inhospitable. Many children who came to Male' for schooling lived in

virtual servitude in exchange for boarding and lodging. Some of these children were abused physically or mentally. Separation of children and parents led to erosion of family values and attachment. When families migrated, they lived in rented undesirable accommodation. Most of the rural population who migrated did not return to be resident in their native islands preferring to stay in salaried employment in Male'. Thus, when the more able and educated people left the island, development suffered (UNDP, 1966). UNDP (1966, p. 64) further stated that:

Actually a boy who finishes his secondary school education in English is promptly absorbed in the Government Service, where he has the advantages of status, life in Male' and higher pay. Hence there is a complete lack of English educated men who could accept appointment as teachers outside Male'.

Nasir did establish a short-lived government hostel known as Aminiya Boarding in October 1962 using proceeds from the Education Fund and brought a cohort of thirteen children from different atolls aged seven to ten years (Official Records, n.d.). However, there was no further information regarding any other cohort that was brought to Aminiya Boarding which was non-existent by the end of Era 3. Thus, the Male'-rural island gap further widened.

Lack of government support for public schooling in the islands and the consequent in-migration to Male' together with the introduction of English medium soon caused overcrowding in Male' schools. Baddeley (1971) reports that a total of 2081 students studied in Male' government schools in 1971 of which 792 were enrolled in Majeediyya School, 725 students were enrolled in Aminiya School and 564 students were enrolled in Nasiriyya Montessori School. The capacity of Majeediyya School in 1971 was 750, for Aminiya School it was 600 and for Nasiriyya Montessori School it was 480 ("Majeedhiyya bodukuran jeheniyyeve," 1967). To curb increasing enrolment, students who failed two consecutive years in the year-end examinations were dismissed from both the boys' and girls' schools. Additionally, fees for those who failed one year was six to twelve times the fee for a passing student.

The second theme that resulted from Policy 3 was **governance**. The school system in Male' was expensive and there was a need to control the student numbers as resources were limited. This led to dismissal of students who were seen to be non-performing. Strict age and performance based criteria were implemented for school admission and retention. Students were required to sit nine subjects in year-end examinations ("Majeedhiyya Aai Aminiyyage Kiyevumah," 1971). These policies led to many students being dismissed, thus creating *a secondary private market for schooling*. Thus, a large number of schools were established by private individuals for migrant and dismissed students in Male'. Bodart (1973) noted that there were 43 private schools registered in Male' two of which were at secondary level. Most of these schools were staffed by Maldivians 'moonlighting' after government employment. Thus, the schools operated after office hours and had very basic facilities. The private school sector was not regulated except for the initial registration. The private schools further raised in-migration to Male'.

Policy 4: Transferring partial cost of education to parents. Two major themes, **equity and access** and **governance**, were evident from Policy 4. Enrolment depression due to the inability of some parents to bear the burden of fees is a general outcome of levying fees. This created an *inequality between the rich and the poor*. Additionally, school fees were known to reduce social cohesion and equity (H. Levin, 2002). However, the difficult admission and retention criteria in government schools created *a secondary private market for schooling* which were of low quality (Bodart, 1973). The private schools did provide an alternative to no schooling. The presence of private schools in Male' worsened in-migration to Male' and further aggravated the Male' versus rural inequalities. In addition, the school fees and limited opportunities of education for the whole population decreased the popularity of the government. The rise and expansion of private education providers also created challenges for the government.

Policy 5: Expansion and institutionalization of vocational training. Until 1973, there were no in-country institutions providing vocational training. There were some navigation schools but these may be described more as

classes run by individuals than public institutions. Two institutions, the Allied Health Services Training Centre and the Vocational Training Centre, were established in 1973 and 1975 respectively. The impact of the Allied Health Services Training Centre was particularly great on the primary health of the population of rural islands. The impact of Vocational Training Centre was less significant but important in addressing **resource shortages** by *decreasing dependency on expatriates* and *delivering affordable services*. It also increased training **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** by *providing an alternative path to employment* for school leavers and school dropouts.

With the implementation of the Community School Project by UNDP, a 10-month teacher training course was started in 1977 in time for the establishment of the first community school. The course enrolled 23 students, 18 of whom passed (“Course Feshijje,” 1978). The course was run within the Educational Project Office. From the beginning, vocational education was not a preferred option by students as the best students were selected for overseas scholarships in the ‘learned professions’ that did not involve manual tasks. The higher pay for ‘white collar’ workers set by white collar workers in higher echelons only aggravated the perception that working with hands is less dignified.

Policy 6: Establishment of Community schools. The first government-funded Community School was established in 1978, the year Era 3 ended. Thus, it is more relevant to discuss the practices/effects of the Community Schools Project in Era 4. The aim of the project was to reduce rural-urban disparity in education, provide a curriculum more relevant to the requirements of the community, and make educational expenditure sustainable (Bodart, 1973). The practices/effects of the project to establish community schools in all atolls is described in Era 4 in which most of these schools were established.

Part 2—Interviews

In this section, the analysis of the interview data from the five participants is presented in broader terms. The first theme evident from Era 3 policies was **quality**. All the participants noted that the introduction of English-medium schooling with expatriate teachers improved the quality of Male' schools so much that “the schools became better than similar schools in Sri Lanka. Especially when the Sri Lankan schools became nationalized their quality deteriorated while Male' schools vibrantly worked towards improvement” (NE2). In addition, all the participants were in agreement that the opportunity to complete schooling in English-medium contributed to **catering for national development needs** by making citizens *eligible for overseas training*.

The focus on improving education in Male' schools caused issues related to **equity and access** such as increasing the *disparity between Male' and island schools*. As one participant explained, “the available budget was limited and when money had to be spent on hiring and maintaining the best teachers from Sri Lanka there was no money left to be spent on the education of other islands” (NE3). In addition, “the lack of good educational opportunities in islands caused people to migrate to Male' causing a great influx of people to the capital city” (NE1).

Further, restricting government funding to three schools in Male' led to *increased private sector involvement* that is placed under the theme **governance**. The head of a private institution explained the reason why the private education sector boomed during Nasir Era by saying:

We wanted to give a second chance, especially to the island children. For Nasir, Maldives was Male'. There were no [government-funded] schools in islands. It was so difficult for them [island children] to gain entry to government schools. Most students seeking admission failed the entrance examination. Those who secured seats were terminated after two years if they fail. Thus, we had to, as a national service, to give a second chance to the failures from the government schools and to give an opportunity to the island children. (NE5)

Furthermore, as some participants pointed out, the introduction of English-medium schooling led to the theme **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** as there was a *mismatch between the context of the Maldives and the school syllabus*. However, they agreed that there was no choice for the government as there was a high dependency on foreign text books and foreign teachers for education.

Table 8.4

Major Themes Relating to Policy Practices/Effects in Era 3

Policy	National level
Policy 1	Quality. <i>Improving quality of Male' schools (D & I).</i> Equity and access. <i>Disparity between Male' and island schools (D & I).</i>
Policy 2	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment . <i>Curriculum irrelevance (D & I).</i> Catering for national development needs. <i>International examinations (D).</i> <i>Eligibility for overseas training (D & I).</i> Resource shortages. <i>Dependency on expatriate teachers and external resources (D).</i> Equity and access. <i>Widening of Male'-rural island gap (D).</i>
Policy 3	Equity and access. <i>Influx of families to Male' (D & I).</i> <i>Stagnation of island development (D).</i> <i>Widening of Male'-rural island gap (D & I).</i> Governance. <i>A secondary private market for schooling (D).</i>
Policy 4	Equity and access. <i>Inequality between rich and poor (D).</i> Governance. <i>Rise and expansion of private education providers (D & I).</i> Political considerations. <i>Decrease popularity of government (D).</i>
Policy 5	Resource shortages. <i>Decreased dependency on expatriates (D).</i> <i>Delivering affordable services (D).</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Provision of an alternative path to employment (D).</i>

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews. Themes are written in **boldface** and sub-themes are written in *italics*.

As one participant explained:

How is it possible to teach subjects like Biology and Chemistry in Dhivehi [vernacular]? And how can modern education be taught in Dhivehi language when there are no good texts books or teachers to teach. When the text books to be taught are imported and when the technology to teach them are imported it is inevitable that it leads to issues with contextual relevancy (NE2).

Overall, from the analysis of the documents and interviews, the major themes in relation to the context of practices/effects were identified from the national level. These themes are summarised in Table 8.4.

Summary

In sum, six major education policy developments have been identified from Era 3 (1954–1978). They are:

- Cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas
- Introducing English as the Medium of Instruction in Male'
- Restricting government funding to three schools in Male'
- Transferring partial cost of education to the parents
- Expansion and institutionalization of vocational training
- Establishment of Community Schools

The context of influences, text production and practices/effects were analysed for the six policies from Era 3. Influences from local, national and global levels were derived from extant documents and interviews with key policy actors. Four primary policy texts were investigated to identify themes.

National level themes had **influenced** all the six policies prominently. These themes include the following: resource shortages, catering for national development needs, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, and access and equity. In addition, the theme—particular powerful individual policy actors—had steered the direction of education policy from the local level. Global influences were also evident as internal politics of Sri Lanka and global education trends.

Only national level themes were evident from the context of **policy text production**. These include the following: governance, resource shortages, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, and catering for national development needs,

From the context of **practices/effects** only national level themes were reported as data was not available within individual institutions. These include the following: quality, equity and access, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, resource shortages, catering for national development needs, and governance.

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS 4: ERA 4 – MAUMOON ERA (1978 – 2008)

Introduction

This Chapter, the fourth of the five chapters that present the findings of the study, addresses the three research questions for the fourth era named Maumoon Era (1978–2008), or Era 4 for short. As in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, this chapter follows the same outline given in the introductory section of Chapter 6. The context of policy influences and practices/effects are divided into two parts, one dealing with the findings from document analysis and the other from interview data.

Four key documents were identified for the era which together with the findings from the interviews yielded the backbone of data from which the educational policy contexts were analysed. The documents used for Era 4 are shown in Table 9.1.

Document 1 is the *Education and Human Resource Development Plan 1985–1995* that was developed by a team from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Regional Office for Education in Asia and Pacific (ROEAP) with the support of the Maldivian Ministry of Education. It was the first of several long term educational plans for the sector. Document 2 is the Education Master Plan developed for the decade 1996–2005. Document 3 is the Seventh National Development Plan of the Maldives published by the Ministry of National Planning and Development based on the *Vision 2020* and *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) of the United Nations. *Vision 2020* is a set of development goals fashioned after similar strategic planning ideals of Malaysia, while MDGs are eight development goals agreed at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000. It was signed by 189 countries. Document 4 is the daily Maldivian newspaper, *Haveeru*, mainly owned by the first Education Minister of Era 4. As with other chapters on findings, this chapter begins with the

political context and the background of the main policy actor (Maumoon). The major educational policies of the era are then outlined.

Table 9.1
Principal Data Sources for Era 4

Document number	Name of document	Author/Owner	Years covered
Document 1	Education and Human Resource Development Plan 1985 – 1995.	Ministry of Education (1985)	1985–1995
Document 2	Education Master Plan (1996 – 2005)	Ministry of Education (1995)	1996–2005
Document 3	Seventh National Development Plan 2006 – 2010	Ministry of Planning & National Development	2006–2010
Document 4	<i>Haveeru</i> [Maldivian Daily Newspaper]	Haveeru	Nov 1978–Nov 2008

Political Context of Era 4 (1978–2008)

Following the end of his second term as President, Nasir decided not to seek re-election for a third term. The Parliament then nominated Maumoon who was elected with 92.96% votes in a referendum held in August 1978 (Shakir, Rasheed, & Haleem, 1983). He took the oath of office on 11th November 1978 and continued to be re-elected six times in a period of thirty years till 2008. In those days, there were no political parties, and the Parliament decided which person to present as the presidential candidate for the public referendum.

Tourism which had started in Era 3 grew to become the major industry of the Maldives in Era 4. The growth of this industry and the modernization of fishing were to raise the income of the country, graduating the Maldives from the list of Least Developed Countries of the United Nations to the status of a middle-income country. However, this new-found status was marred by increased inequality of wealth distribution (Shaheed & Upton, 2008). Both industries were badly hit by the 2004 Asian tsunami.

In his first term, Maumoon instructed the Parliament to draft a more liberal constitution which was completed after a record seventeen years in 1997. This Constitution increased the power vested on the Executive (Shaheed & Upton,

2008). In the latter part of his rule, Maumoon again caused a new constitution to be drafted, however, this time the opposition to his rule was strong and the constitution was more liberal. It came into effect on 7th August 2008. In the same year, his presidency came to an end.

The new constitution mandated a fully elected Parliament in a more proportionate manner and introduced a two-term limitation on the presidency. Executive, legislative and judicial powers were separated and several independent bodies were created. The executive was to be led by a President and a Vice President. The influences leading to the new constitution were largely related to domestic agitation which led Maumoon to propose a Reform Agenda (Shaheed & Upton, 2008).

There were three major attempted coups in Era 4. The first one was in 1980 which Maumoon ascribed to Nasir who was residing in Singapore at that time. The coup was led by the relatives and friends of both Nasir's wife and Nasir ("Fahakah Ais Raajje Dhuh," 1980). In the second coup in 1988, armed Sri Lankan mercenaries were brought to Male' by the conspirators but failed to overthrow the government. The third coup was more a 'palace coup' in which Maumoon's brother-in-law sought to become the president (Shakir, Rasheed, & Haleem, 1993). None of the coups were successful. In the latter period of Maumoon's era, he was noted for nepotism. There was a time when more than half of the cabinet members were his relatives (Shaheed & Upton, 2008).

The country's first multi-candidate presidential election was held in October 2008. Maumoon did contest as the presidential candidate of a party he formed, but he failed to gain the majority in the referendum. All the other major opposition parties formed a coalition against him for the run-off election. Riding on a wave of populism, Nasheed, the leader of the opposition coalition, won the election.

Background of Maumoon

Maumoon, born on 29th December 1937, was one of the 25 children of a former judge. Maumoon's father studied from Salaahudhdheen, and Maumoon studied

from the Saniyya School during the Amin Era. When Maumoon was about ten years old he was selected to go to Egypt after topping the test to select five students (Ellis, 1998). He left Male' on 15th September 1947. The initial plan was for the group to stay in Ceylon for a few days before flying to Egypt. However, Egypt joined the war that broke in the Middle East and as a consequence of the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, the government officials decided to keep the five boys in Ceylon until the situation improved (Ellis, 1998). Maumoon and the group received education on a part-time basis in Ceylon through a teacher engaged to conduct evening classes in English. Later they were enrolled in an Islamic school in Galle where they were taught in Arabic. After five months in Galle, Maumoon returned to Colombo. Finally, in March 1950, the Maldivian government decided to send the boys to Cairo as originally planned.

In Egypt, Maumoon first enrolled at the Cairo Religious Institute to study traditional Islamic and Arabic syllabi (Ellis, 1998). He completed a four-year elementary stage and a five-year secondary stage from the institute before he enrolled in Al Azhar University where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts in Islamic Shariah and Civil Law. He also obtained a second Master's degree in the same field from the American University in Cairo. In addition, Maumoon sat the English General Certificate of Education at Ordinary and Advanced levels from the British Council in Cairo in 1966 (Ellis, 1998). During his school days, he had a keen interest in sports, social activities and politics. Though Maumoon was eager to remain in Egypt to study for a doctorate, he was not able to secure funding for the programme. After marrying while in Egypt, he found a teaching position from Ahmed Bello University in Kano, Nigeria. He was appointed as a lecturer in Islamic Studies in September 1969 on a two-year contract (Ellis, 1998).

When his contract was over, he returned to the Maldives in July 1971 and was appointed a teacher in Aminiya School. He rose through the ranks of the bureaucracy during Nasir's era holding, at various times, the following positions: the Manager of the government shipping department, Under-Secretary in the Telecommunication Department, special Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister, Deputy Ambassador of the Maldives in Sri Lanka, Under-Secretary of the

Department of External Affairs, Deputy Minister for Transport, Permanent Representative to the United Nations and the Minister of Transport. When Nasir disengaged himself from politics, Maumoon was elected to become the president on 11th November 1978 (Ellis, 1998). Before he became president, he had been arrested and exiled twice for activities which might lead to political unrest.

The next section outlines the major policy developments in education in Era 4 or the Maumoon Era.

Major Education Policies in Era 4

At the end of the Nasir Era, English medium instruction was provided by the two main government schools of Male'. A government-run Montessori school of Male' acted as a feeder school to the two. A project financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was underway to build nineteen Community Schools in the islands—one for each atoll. Nasir had built one Community School on an island where Nasir was not very popular in the election. Two post-secondary institutions were in operation, one for health services and the other for trades. Teacher training had commenced but was not institutionalized.

Unlike the previous eras, written educational policies were available from Era 4. The following section describes the key policies of Era 4. It will be followed by an analysis of the contexts of policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects.

Policy 1: Expansion of Primary and Community Education

Three major policy directives are grouped into this main policy: the basic literacy project, universalization of primary education, and the expansion of non-formal education. After the Amin Era, the literacy rate had fallen from the previous 94% to 63% in the Nasir Era ("Basic Education Scheme," 1980). The programme started in January 1980 and by 1987 the literacy rate had risen to 95.4%. By the end of the programme in 1999, the Maldives had a literacy rate of 98.94%—the highest in the region.

Maumoon's government gave full support to the Community Schools programme leading to the establishment of all 19 Community Schools in 1986 (Ministry of Education, 1988). He boosted the Community Schools Project further by establishing an Atoll Primary School in each atoll. Later, the Community Schools were renamed Atoll Education Centres and their function gradually changed in the Maumoon Era to become less community-oriented and more like grammar schools. Atoll Primary Schools were built in each atoll with financial aid from the Japanese Government and the national shipping line (Ministry of Education, 1985).

In 1985, UNESCO launched the Education for All initiative to make primary education accessible to all by 2000. Maldives embraced this initiative and was largely able to achieve this goal with the participation of all schools run privately by communities (Ministry of Education, 1985). After completing the projects to build fully financed Atoll Education Centres and Atoll Primary Schools in two different islands of each atoll (except for one island which is an atoll by itself), the government began to support provision of primary education in the community-run schools of the remaining islands. This support took the form of funds for some teachers' salaries and infrastructure. As Table 9.1 shows, these community schools were the majority in 2004. When political parties were allowed in 2005, the major opposition party declared that they would fund all community-run schools; in other words, the State would take on the cost of school education for all. Maumoon's government pre-empted the opposition initiative by making an announcement that any community-run school can apply to become a government-school. At the time, there were 138 such schools across the Maldives (Hamdhoon, 2005). The subsequent changing numbers of government community and private schools are shown in Table 9.2.

Policy 2: Expansion of Secondary Education

At the beginning of Era 4, government-funded secondary education was available only in the capital, Male'. From January 1990, students from the island schools, upon passing a selection examination, could gain admission to Male' government schools ("Gradu 8 Akah Vadheveynee," 1990). As government schools had strict

performance standards, private secondary schools thrived providing a second-rate education for dropouts from Male' secondary schools and the rural youth. Lower secondary education was first piloted in atolls with the introduction of Grade-8 Commerce Stream in Fuvah Mulah (the native island of the Minister of Education) in January 1990 ("Miaharu Raajjethereygai Secondary," 1990).

Table 9.2

Number of Educational Institutions

Type	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008
Government School	50	56	57	60	63	70	74	81	222	215
Community School	4	178	177	171	169	174	174	176	48	83
Private School	209	28	30	32	40	57	74	80	79	64

Note. Source: "Number of Education Institutions, 1983 – 2012" by the Department of National Planning (2010), *Statistical Archive of Maldives*.

The first full-fledged government secondary school in a rural area was established in 1992 in Addu Atoll fashioned after Male' schools. A similar school was established in the north in 1998. There were no hostel facilities for the students from the regions although both schools were conceptualized as regional schools and were financed through World Bank and Asian Development Bank loans. Soon after, the government began to provide teachers and other resources to commence secondary classes in Atoll Education Centres, Atoll Primary Schools and other island schools, provided that sufficient numbers of students passed government-administered secondary-qualifying examinations. By the end of the academic year in 1998, secondary education was introduced in 55 schools ("Miaharu Raajjeyge 55 Schooleggai," 1998).

Higher secondary education was available only in Male', and that was from a single institution after 1979—the Science Education Centre—which was financed by UNESCO, UNDP and the Kuwait Fund ("Science Education Center," 1979). Higher secondary schooling became available in the atolls after 2001 when five classes (two commerce classes and three science classes) started for Grade-11 students in the first regional secondary school in Addu Atoll.

Policy 3: Expansion of Post-Secondary Education and Training

The major milestone in the expansion of post-secondary education and training was the formation of the Maldives College of Higher Education under a presidential directive on 1st October 1998 with the consolidation of the existing government institutions of post-secondary education (Maldives College of Higher Education, 2000). The initiative was supported by Asian Development Bank. With the formation of this college, a quality assurance body—the Maldives Accreditation Board—was established in August 2000 (“Maldives Accreditation Board,” 2000), enabling private institutions to offer government-recognized qualifications. Soon these institutions, which were originally computer training centres or tuition classes, were to become colleges.

In 2005, at a graduation ceremony, the President declared that the Maldives College of Higher Education would be transformed into a university in 2007; 2006 would be a year of preparation for university status. In the speech he emphasised that, unlike government administrative offices, the university will be governed by an Act of Parliament giving it autonomy from the bureaucracy of the government apparatus. Henceforth, the Council of the college busied itself with the drafting of a University Bill. The drafting committee studied many relevant overseas acts and consulted civic and the public bodies. The final draft closely followed the Australian National University Act giving the university an independent status consistent with the acts of more progressive countries. When the final draft was approved by the Attorney General, it was sent to the Office of the President where it lay in abeyance for months. On the last day of the Maumoon Era, the government sent the Bill to the Parliament. Participants noted that the government was apprehensive and uneasy with giving academic and administrative powers to the institution in a highly centralized political system. Participants noted that it was sent on the last day of the outgoing government only to score a point. The incoming government recalled the Bill on assuming office.

Policy 4: Expansion of Teacher Education

Pre-service primary teacher training started in the Maldives in 1977 with the Community Schools Project (“Course Feshijje,” 1978). This initial programme was

conducted in vernacular but English medium teacher training started two years later (Ministry of Education, 1992). A specialist teacher training institution was established in 1984 (“Mudharissunge Thauleemee Marukazu,” 1984). Secondary teacher training started in 1997 with the assistance from the World Bank and Australia. The institution later became part of the College.

Policy 5: Curricular Reforms

A more modern national primary curriculum was drafted in February 1980 for Grades 1–5, replacing the ad-hoc curriculum offered in the three government schools in the capital and the few Community Schools built thus far. In 1984, this curriculum was further revised and expanded giving rise to the Primary and Middle School National Curriculum for Grades 1–7. All the schools, both public and private, were required to teach this curriculum from 1984 onwards (Ministry of Education, 1996).

Since 1980, those completing Grade-7 were required to sit an ‘11-plus’ examination (called the Junior School Certificate) available in both English language and the local language. The examination was offered to the atolls in 1985. The 11-plus examination was used by the Ministry of Education to track students into science, arts and commerce streams at secondary level. These streams were available in English medium only. Unless students passed at a specified level they were dismissed. In 1989, the examination was dropped for political reasons. The 11-plus examination results were used as a criterion to provide government assistance to start Grade-8 (the first stage of secondary school) in rural areas. When the 11-plus examination was dropped, MOE began offering a replacement examination to the rural schools to ascertain qualifying status for government assistance to start secondary classes. This examination was offered only in English Language. As a result, most of the schools switched to the English medium to enhance their students’ chances of passing the qualifying examination. In this way, the vernacular language was relegated to the status of a second language in the curriculum in the atolls.

Maldives never had a local secondary curriculum, preferring to utilize the British lower secondary examinations, in spite of the high fees. At the beginning of

Era 4, all secondary students had to sit 8 subjects to be deemed to have a ‘rounded’ education, as suggested by Baddeley (1971). Following the introduction of the 11-plus examination, the arts, science and business streams were reintroduced, narrowing school learning. Earlier, in the 1984, a Fisheries Science curriculum was offered to make the foreign curriculum more relevant (“GCE OL Gai Masverikamaa,” 1982). In 1987, the local language and Islamic Studies were introduced as secondary subjects and examined locally (Bray & Adam, 2001). A noteworthy point is that almost invariably, the subject choices available in the atolls were restricted to commerce or business subjects as teaching science would require laboratories and other expensive resources. As a consequence, 71% of the students who completed secondary education were commerce stream students in 2000. Their learning had little to do with their livelihood and available employment.

There were two attempts at revising the curriculum in Era 4, once in 2000, and later in 2006. In both cases the motive was to provide a more rounded education. Later revisions reflected the changes that took place in England with the schooling period divided into several ‘key stages’ and attempts to ‘vocalionalize’ the curriculum (Umar, 2014).

In the next section, the influences that gave rise to these five policies are discussed.

Context of Policy Influences

The context of influences of Chapter 9 (Era 4, 1978–2008), as with the previous two chapters, is presented in two separate sections; the policy influences emerging from document analysis are presented first followed by those from interviews.

Part 1—Document Analysis

The influences that emerged from the five policies identified in Era 4 (1978–2008) are discussed in terms of three levels of influence: local, national and global. The key themes emerging from the document analysis are indicated in bold and the sub-themes (where applicable) are in italics.

Policy 1: Expansion of community and primary education. Four main themes were emergent from Policy 1. The first theme was **global education trends**. In 1990, delegates from 155 countries met in Jomtien, Thailand, and agreed to make primary education accessible to all children and ‘massively’ reduce illiteracy by 2000. This meeting was known as the World Conference on Education for All (Inter-Agency Commission, 1990). The idea predates the conference and though first introduced in UNESCO’s Medium Term Plan for 1984-1989, universalization of primary education, literacy, non-formal education and continuing education were the main strategic directions of the Asian Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID). APEID is a UNESCO-affiliated regional body established in 1973 (Chiba, n.d.). The Education for All targets were not achieved by most participating countries by 2000 and they re-affirmed their commitment to achieving them by the year 2015 in a meeting held in Senegal in 2000. These targets were closely associated with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2015). With the accession to Colombo Plan and UN agencies after independence in 1965, many developmental studies were carried out in the Maldives and almost all consultants had stressed the need to make primary level education accessible to all (Baddeley, 1971; Bodart, 1973; Ministry of Education, 1988). Both financial and technical aid were provided by UNESCO, UNDP and UNICEF in training personnel and building infrastructure to conduct the Basic Literacy Project and universalisation of primary education (Ministry of Education, 1985).

The second theme was **catering for national development needs** which was a national level theme. At the beginning of Era 4, the literacy rate of the Maldives was 63% in the age bracket 15 to 50 years. According to Farmer (1980), only nine percent of the school-aged children attended schools in the Maldives in 1979, a large portion of whom were Male’ students. Therefore, for the purpose of developing the country and to produce responsible citizens who could function independently, the basic literacy program and expansion of primary education to islands were essential. In fact, the Education and Human Resource Development Plan (1985-1995) noted universalization of education leading to Grades 6 and 7 as one of the major goals in the development of the country (Ministry of Education, 1985).

The third theme emergent from the context of influences was the increased *public demand* for **equity and access** (from the national level). In an interview given to *Haveeru* in 1983, the Minister of Education noted that among the top requests from atoll people were demands for the provision of education and health services closer home without them having to migrate to Male' ("Atholhu thauleemee marukazuthah kiyavaidhinumuge ithurah...", 1983). On his many trips to atolls, Maumoon received requests from rural people to provide opportunities for their children to study while staying in their islands (Shakir, 1993).

The fourth theme **particular powerful individual policy actors** (from the local level) was evident as its sub-theme *political expediency*. Maumoon assumed office after 21 years of Nasir's leadership. Nasir had many followers and supporters. Maumoon, from his trips to the rural islands, realized the public demand for education. Therefore, in February 1979, on his first trip to atolls he declared to the people of Hinnavaru that his main objective was to build a primary school on each atoll. At the opening ceremony of Kulhudhuffushi Community School, Maumoon declared that the government had decided to provide support to the *Makthabs* and *Madharusaas*, which had been wholly run by the island communities for ten years or more. A month after his trip, a primary school financed by the government was opened in Manadhoo of Noonu Atoll (Shakir et al., 1983).

Policy 2: Expansion of secondary education. The themes for this policy are threefold. The first theme was **equity and access** arising from the public demand at the national level. With the rapid increase in enrolment in primary grades and schools, a large pool of students was successfully completing basic education and was in need of higher levels of education (Ministry of Education, 1985). Statistics show that student enrolment in primary grades increased from 15,032 to 83,855 from 1978 to 1994 (Ministry of Education, 1985).

The second sub-theme to emerge in relation to influences shaping Policy 2 was from the main theme of relevance **to the Maldives and available employment**. The sub-theme is *need for skilled labour*. This theme arose from the national level. The country was in great need of skilled manpower and students

wishing to take higher studies had to successfully complete secondary education. Therefore, there was a need to expand secondary education.

The third theme was **particular powerful individual policy actors** arising as *political expediency* (at the local level). As with primary education, political expediency had greatly influenced the expansion of secondary education in the country. This was evident from the diminishing requirements brought periodically to qualify for government support to start secondary classes in existing primary schools. Initially the guidelines were very strict but they were revised in 2004 to allow islands with a population of less than 1000 to introduce Grade-8 classes provided there were 25 students eligible for secondary education (“Grade 8 Ufehddhumah,” 2005). The guidelines were further relaxed to give access to more students in 2005 (“Grade 8 Ufehddhumah,” 2005). The downward trend continued until secondary education became a right of the student.

Policy 3: Expansion of post-secondary education and training. A national level theme to emerge in relation to influences shaping Policy 3 was the need for **equity and access**. In the first few terms of the Maumoon era, employment for lower secondary school leavers was not an issue. In fact, laws were enacted requiring school leavers to work for a number of years in public service. Student achievement was relatively low. For example, in 2007, 21% of those who sat the overseas secondary examinations did not pass any subject; and the pass rates for English was 17.2% and for mathematics was 26%, according to the data obtained from Ministry of Education. For those passing the lower secondary examinations, higher secondary was the natural choice. Economies of scale and shortage of resources prevented a concomitant increase in higher education seats and ‘gate-keeping’ entry criteria prevented most from access to this level of education.

The lack of occupational preparedness of school leavers and scarcity of gainful employment in the late stages of Era 4 made post-secondary training a priority. The steady growth of this pool of students and the reduction in bilateral funding for scholarships further stimulated a high *public demand* to expand in-country post-secondary training (Ministry of Education, 1996).

Another theme, also from the national level, which influenced Policy 3 was the **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. The secondary curriculum was academic-oriented, thus did not prepare students for future work. This mismatch generated a demand from the employers to match skills with available jobs, thus, creating *a need for skilled labour*. According to Ministry of Education (1995, p. 131), in 1995 “more than 70% of the over 5000 highly skilled and managerial positions in the country for which higher study is desirable are filled by expatriates”.

The third and fourth themes emerging from the context of influences in relation to Policy 3 were **international policy borrowing** and **global education trends**. These global influences were a result of the activities of international organizations that had provided technical and financial assistance and also through the experiences of local policy actors exposed to education systems abroad.

Policy 4: Expansion of Teacher Education. Four main themes from the national level were evident from the context of influences for Policy 4. The first theme was **catering for national development needs**. The expansion of primary and secondary teaching in Era 4 resulted in a high demand for trained local teachers. The second theme, **equity and access**, resulted from the *demand from island communities* to institute English medium instruction and secondary education. The third theme, **resource shortages**, arose as a significant portion of the budget was spent on expatriate teachers. In addition, the employment of foreign teachers led to the theme **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. When the primary curriculum was nationalised, the expatriate teachers at the primary level had difficulty teaching with examples from the local environment that resulted in *contextual irrelevance* (Lutfi, 2011).

Policy 5: Curricula reforms. The first theme to emerge in relation to Policy 5 was **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** (national level theme). The major curricula revisions brought in Era 4 were to infuse aspects of the Maldivian culture by incorporating the new subjects, namely, Fisheries Science, Dhivehi Language and Islamic Studies in the secondary curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1985). These were attempts to make the curriculum more relevant.

The second theme related to this policy was **global education trends** (global level theme). The Education Master Plan and the curriculum itself were developed with the technical assistance of consultants from abroad (Lutfi, 2011; Ministry of Education, 1995). Thus, it was inevitable that wider world views would be embedded in the curriculum documents incorporating global perspectives on education. Global influences are also evident on the curriculum in terms of the importance placed on English Language as compared to the local language. While four hours per week was allocated for Dhivehi Language and Islamic Studies, eight hours was allocated to teach English (Education Development Centre, 1998).

Part 2—Interviews

Interviews were conducted with five policy actors from Era 4 in order to triangulate with the findings from documents. The themes derived from the context of influences are given in bold and the sub-themes are written in italics.

Policy 1: Expansion of community and primary education. The first theme evident from the context of influences for Policy 1 was **catering for national development needs** (from national level). After Maumoon opened a school in Manadhoo in March 1979, he requested the Minister of Education to seek financial aid from foreign countries to build an additional school in each atoll as funds were not available from the government budget. According to one participant:

During Nasir's government, financial aid was sought from Japanese government to build a primary school in Male' after land reclamation. Maumoon's advice was to redirect this funding to build primary schools in atolls as he wanted to make education available to children of the whole country. (ME3)

The second theme evident from the interviews in relation to the context of influences was **global education trends**. According to one participant, the Minister of Education strictly followed the reports developed by Baddeley (1971) and Bodart (1973) who were overseas educational consultants brought to carry out a situational analysis of the Maldivian education sector. Another participant

explained why global influences had crept into all the education policies of Maldives:

We brought experts from other countries to assist us in developing the education plans. Under aid from UNESCO and other organizations, education experts arrived and everything was done under their guidance. So they will definitely give their input in terms of what had worked in other countries and what was done to bring out results. In addition, the Maldives was not free from the waves that were flowing globally. Our position was to accept all the global trends provided they do not compromise our religion and culture.... (ME2)

The third theme, **particular powerful individual policy actors**, especially the sub-theme *political expediency* was identified by some participants. This was a local level theme. According to one participant, Maumoon took the decision of building a second school on each atoll without discussing the matter with the Minister of Education. Only after the promise to the public was made, he started looking for funds. “So I believe that it was a decision made on the spur of the moment either after he saw the condition of the people or for the purpose of gaining support from the public. You see, he needed the support after a leader who had been in office for as long as Nasir had stayed” (ME3).

Policy 2: Expansion of secondary education. According to all the participants, a national level sub-theme arising from the context of influences was the increase in *public demand* (sub-theme) for **equity and access** (theme). As one participant explained:

the availability of easy access to primary education created a large pool of students eligible for secondary education. Therefore, the general public demanded access to secondary education though in some of the islands there were only two or three students who were eligible for secondary education (ME5).

The second theme to emerge in relation to influences shaping Policy 2 was **catering for national development** as there was a *need to qualify for foreign scholarships*, as noted below:

Post-secondary training available from the country was very much limited. The only way to compete for the limited foreign scholarships was to successfully complete secondary education. Higher studies will guarantee these students better jobs in the future, of course. (ME2)

Policy 3: Expansion of post-secondary education and training.

The themes of *public demand* for **equity and access**, and *the need for skilled labour* to establish **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** were identified by most participants as influencing Policy 3. These two themes are national level themes. According to one participant:

Only government employees or people wishing to be employed in the government had opportunities to secure foreign scholarships until the late 90s. Most of the job opportunities requiring specialised skills and managerial positions were occupied by foreigners. Hence, there was a high demand to expand the post-secondary training to produce locals who can fill these positions. (ME5)

Policy 4: Expansion of teacher education. All the participants agreed that **resource shortages** was the main national level influence on Policy 4. As one participant explained:

It was very expensive to hire expatriate teachers from neighboring countries. Expansion of education at both primary and secondary level was not possible without first training local teachers. (ME5)

Another participant also explained that the sub-theme of the *expansion of primary and secondary education*, within the main theme **equity and access**, stimulated the expansion of teacher education. According to the participant “expansion of education at any level directly causes the expansion of teacher education” (ME3).

Policy 5: Curricula reforms. All the participants agreed that **global education trends** had shaped the curricula reforms. As one participant explained:

the school heads for the Community Schools and Primary Schools that were established in atolls, and teacher educators to train primary teachers were trained in the United Kingdom, Malaysia and India.

Surely, they have borrowed and applied the processes used in these countries when implementing and delivering the curriculum. (ME5)

Table 9.3

Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Influences in Era 4 (1978–2008)

Policy	Global	National	Local/individual
Expansion of community and primary education	Global education trends (D & I).	Catering for national development needs (D & I). Equity and Access. <i>Public demand (D & I).</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors <i>Political expediency (D & I).</i>
Expansion of secondary education		Equity and Access. <i>Public demand (D & I).</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Need for skilled labour (D).</i> Catering for national development needs. <i>Need to secure foreign scholarships (I).</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors <i>Political expediency (D).</i>
Expansion of post-secondary education and training	International policy borrowing (D). Global education trends (D).	Equity and Access. <i>Public demand (D & I).</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Need for skilled labour (D & I).</i>	
Expansion of teacher education		Catering for national development needs. (D) Equity and Access. <i>Demand from island communities (D & I)</i> <i>The expansion of primary and secondary education (I).</i> Resource shortages (D & I). Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Contextual irrelevance (D).</i>	
Curricula reforms	Global education trends (D & I).	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. (D).	

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only, (I) denotes themes emergent from interviews only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews.

In summary, documents and interviews revealed influences from local, national and global levels on the educational policies of Era 4. A summary of the emergent themes from the context of policy influences constitutes Table 9.3.

Context of Policy Text Production

In Era 4, there were more written policies reflecting the global propensity for greater documentation, especially among developmental organizations in modern times. Three major education policy documents are selected in this part for analysis: the *Education and Human Resource Development Plan 1985–1995*, the *Education Master Plan 1996–2006* and the *Seventh National Development Plan 2006–2010*. First the policy texts will be described followed by an analysis of the themes evident from the three policy texts. The themes were explored from the national level, where they were produced. Interviews did not yield useful data on policy text documents.

Policy Text A: The Education and Human Resource Development Plan 1985–1995

The *Education and Human Resource Development Plan 1985–1995* is a document drafted by the staff of the Ministry of Education with technical assistance from the Regional Office for Education in Asia and Pacific—a UNESCO branch. It was the first attempt to develop short term and long term educational goals and education planning in the Maldives (Ministry of Education, 1985). The plan was initially drafted in 1981 but was revised four times. It included a ten-year plan for education development in the country as well as a three-year plan for short-term educational projects.

Three major education policy goals are articulated in the policy text. They are: universalization of primary education leading to a terminal examination at Grade-7, expansion and diversification of secondary education, and provision for adequate post-secondary and tertiary education. The part relevant to education from the Education and Human Resource Development Plan (1985–1995) is given in Fig. 9.1.

Policy Text B: The Education Master Plan 1996–2005

The second policy text chosen to analyse in this section is the *Education Master Plan 1996–2005*, which was developed by the Hickling Corporation of

Canada with the support of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (Ministry of Education, 1995). As stated in the document, the purpose of the Master Plan was to “produce a comprehensive Master Plan to help guide both the actions of the government in the education sector and to provide clear priorities for the use of internal resources as well as for the recruitment of external assistance funds” (Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 1). The part relevant to education from the Education Master Plan (1996–2005) is given in Fig. 9.2.

7. EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND OBJECTIVES:

The goals of education follow from the national development goals and principally they are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) To develop capable individuals with useful occupational skills and attitudes for national development with a sense of dignity for labour and for preserving the nation's environment resources. b) to promote social justice and equity by ensuring universal primary education, and equal educational opportunity for all citizens. c) to develop within an educational system based on the principles of Islam, an awareness among all citizens that, as members of the nation, they are also part of the Muslim Ummah. d) to promote individuals a spirit of independence and self-reliance such that they may seek to enhance the quality of life by seeking ways and means of improving their own health, nutrition and well-being. e) to strengthen national consciousness, and to preserve the nation's cultural heritage by promoting desirable cultural values, traditions and the national language. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> f) to provide facilities for life-long education for all citizens so that each-individual becomes a self-learner and continue to apply his intellectual capacity; technical skills and learn to cope with new technologies and discoveries and develop an appreciation and understanding of changes new occurring in the social and economic life in Maldives. g) to develop a sympathetic appreciation of the diversity and interdependence of peoples in the national and international communities |
|---|--|

Objectives: -

- a) Provide universal primary education for all.
- b) Make education more relevant to the local environment.
- c) Train the manpower necessary for national development.

Figure 9.1. The part relevant to education from the *Education and Human Resource Development Plan* (1985–1995) (Ministry of Education, 1985, p. 9)

- Provides an affordable pre-school opportunity for all students regardless of their location or income level;
- Assures all children of access to a quality education experience through Grade-7;
- Promotes equity by gender and location both in access and funding of education and provides appropriate opportunities for children with physical or learning handicaps to realize their full potential;
- Offers students a comprehensive and relevant curriculum that encourages interest in study, respect for manual labour, provides them with essential information on health, population education, and occupational choices, and prepares them for multiple future opportunities;
- Educates all students about the fragility of the environment and its role in the nation's economic future;
- Provides teachers with professional training, pre-service and in-service, and then offers them professional treatment in regard to pay, supervision, and opportunities for location of assignment and promotion into administrative careers;
- Encourages effective management through clearly defined procedures for monitoring and accountability and by providing training commensurate with an individual's responsibilities.
- Utilizes merit-based standards to select persons for secondary and tertiary study in the confidence that all students had an adequate educational base from which to attain the needed levels of merit;
- Supports the development of appropriate and affordable forms of tertiary educational opportunities within the nation and overseas;
- Mobilizes the maximum resources for education by requiring or encouraging partnerships between Government, parents, communities, and parastatal and private enterprises;
- Provides students with the values (including respect and tolerance for other peoples and cultures), attitudes, and behaviours needed to be good family members, effective citizens, and positive contributors to the nation's well-being.
- Stresses a proper understanding of Islam and the Maldivian history, language, and culture; and
- Prepares Maldivians to be world citizens of the 21st Century and to help the nation play its appropriate role in international, political, and social affairs.

Figure 9.2. The part relevant to educational context of discussion from the *Education Master Plan (1996–2005)* (Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 1 & 2).

Policy Text C: Seventh National Development Plan 2006–2010

The seventh *National Development Plan 2006–2010* has been selected as the third text from Era 4. This policy text articulated the developmental goals of the Maldives from 2006 to 2010. The education policies included in this text are based on the *Vision 2020* and the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2007). The *Vision 2020* of the Maldives was outlined by the president in July 1999 and in relation to education it states that “ten years of formal schooling will be the minimum standard throughout the Maldives ... A system for the provision of technical skills needed for achieving and sustaining social economic development will also be established” (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 1). The MDGs in relation to education was to “ensure that, by

2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 14). The main goal and targets set for education in the *Seventh National Development Plan* is given in Fig 9.3. The Plan also includes strategies for achieving the targets outlined in Fig 9.3.

GOAL 6: Invest in people through providing equal opportunity for education, lifelong learning, skills training and talent development. The targets under this goal are given below:

- Provide universal access to 10 years of education by 2010
- Increase the proportion of students who achieve minimum entrance requirement for tertiary education annually from 25 per cent to 50 percent (5 A-C at O'L with Islam and Dhivehi and or 3 at A'L with Islam or Dhivehi) by 2010
- Increase the percentage of trained Maldivian teachers from 70 to 80 percent and graduate Maldivian teachers from 3 to 10 per cent by 2010.
- Develop a national curriculum for secondary level which is relevant to the Maldives local context by 2010.
- Increase the pass rate in secondary level English language from 13 to 25 per cent by 2010.
- Maintain net enrolment in early childhood care and development at over 85 per cent.
- Double the proportion of working age population with higher education qualifications from 3.3 to 6.5 per cent.
- Reduce youth unemployment from 16 to 10 per cent Enhance the NCA School program to include formal classes in dance, drama, and art and craft.
- Establish the Maldives Arts Council, comprising associations for actors and film-makers, musicians and songwriters, artists and craftsmen, dancers and choreographers.

Figure 9.3. The part relevant to education from *Seventh National Development Plan* (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2007, p. 122).

Themes Arising from the Policy Texts

In this part, the themes arising from the three chosen policy texts will be discussed collectively. As the policy texts were produced at the national level, only national level themes were identified. The first theme evident from the policy texts was **equity and access**. All the policy texts had emphasized the importance of equity regardless of location and socio-economic background. The second theme, **governance**, was evident from the strong focus on *community involvement* in the education system at all levels. The third theme apparent from the policy texts was **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. A very strong emphasis was placed on making the education students receive contextually relevant to the students' own future and to the Maldives. A summary is in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4

Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Text Production in Era 4 (1978 – 2008)

Policy Text	National
Policy Text A	Equity and access. Governance. <i>Community involvement.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment.
Policy Text B	Equity and access. Governance. <i>Community involvement.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment.
Policy Text C	Equity and access. Governance. <i>Community involvement.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment.

Context of Practices/Effects

Part 1 — Document Analysis

The practices and effects evident from the five major education policies identified in Era 4 were all from the national level and they will be discussed in this section. First, the data from documents will be discussed followed by interview data.

Policy 1: Expansion of community and primary education.

Expansion of community and primary education had led to both positive and negative effects. Among the positive effects were *increased social awareness* by the general public that is within the main theme **catering for national development**. Secondly, a *demand for higher levels of education* gave rise to the theme, **equity and access**, that compelled the government to address them.

The negative effects were related to the themes of **equity and access** and **resource shortages**. Rural students were disadvantaged in gaining access to secondary education that gave rise to *increased inequality*. In Male' schools the primary curriculum was delivered in English medium while in the islands the same curriculum was delivered in the local language due to shortage of English medium teachers (Ministry of Education, 1995). This inequality led to the change in the medium of instruction in Community Schools. After 1990, the demand for

secondary education in the islands was intense. To meet available resources, the demand was controlled through qualifying examinations and the creation of a new 'Pre-Eight' grade after completion of Grade-7 ("8 Schoolugai Miaharu pre-8," 1994). In 'Pre-Eight' the students were taught English, General Science, Social Studies and Mathematics in English to prepare them for Grade-8. However, ultimately the medium of instruction in Community Schools had to be changed to English medium to meet the demand for secondary education from the islands. This ended the short duration of Bodart's (1973) conceptualisation of curriculum relevant to the community and with it ended the disparity between Male' and rural schools in terms of content taught. However, resource disparity was not overcome.

The next theme arising from Policy 1 was **quality**. A *quality distinction between Male' and atoll schools* was revealed as a sub-theme arising as a result of the policy. In the schools of Male', students were taught by trained teachers and in many cases by trained graduate teachers. However, for most of Era 4, many of the teachers in islands were untrained and many could only teach in Dhivehi medium (Ministry of Education, 1995). Therefore, the quality of education in the island schools was considered very low.

Policy 2: Expansion of secondary education. Four major themes were evident from the context of practices/effects in relation to Policy 2. First, expansion of secondary education led to increased dependency on expatriate teachers that led to the theme of **resource shortages**. The country started training secondary level teachers in most subjects only in 1997 ("Teacherun Thamreenukurumah Hingaa," 1997). The demand for secondary teachers was not met even by the end of Era 4, mainly because government schools more than doubled following the takeover of community-run schools in 2005. In the latter part of the era, expatriate teachers, many of whom had dubious qualifications, were recruited to staff rural schools. Malpractices in hiring these teachers were mentioned by some participants.

The second theme arising from the context of practices/effects in terms of Policy 2 was **equity and access** which was particularly evident as the sub-theme *migration to Male'*. Primary education spread rapidly across the country in the era; however, there were significant differences in the quality and the medium of

instruction used in Male' and the islands. Therefore, people who could afford, migrated to Male' in search of a better quality of education (Lutfi, 2011). The expansion of secondary education, especially in Male' was quite rapid due to an influx of rural students. Consequently, *overcrowding and behaviour problems* arose. This was partly due to the quality of teachers, running the school in several 'shifts' and larger societal issues. In the latter stage of Maumoon's administration, the boys' and girls' secondary schools in Male' were to be split into two. In fact Majeedhiyya School was divided into two schools in 2002 ("Dharumavantha School," 2002).

The third theme identified under Policy 2 was **quality**. Towards the end of Era 4 the guidelines to form Grade-8 in island schools were relaxed for political reasons, leading to an *erosion of quality*. As a result, some island schools had very few students in a class taught by untrained teachers—usually students who had recently completed Grade-10. In addition, these schools did not have enough resources to provide a quality education. Where secondary education was provided, mostly it was the commerce stream (comprising the subjects of accounting, commerce and economics) only, which was not seen as highly relevant to national needs or public demand.

Policy 3: Expansion of post-secondary education and training.

With the formation of the quality assurance agency, Maldives Accreditation Board, certificates issued by the private education providers became acceptable for employment. The expansion of post-secondary education and training, especially in the private sector, led to *commodification of education* and *erosion of quality* both of which are placed under the theme **quality**. The erosion in quality was observed as most institutions focused on profit rather than providing a quality education. However, the number of graduates kept on increasing.

Policy 4: Expansion of teacher education.

A positive effect arising from Policy 4 was the *availability of local teachers* for both primary and secondary levels which eased the **resource shortages**. In addition, teacher trainers were sent to developed countries for training. This effected *decreased dependency on expatriate teachers*.

However, the expansion of teacher education led to *quality erosion* under the main theme **quality**, because as the only institute for training teachers, the Institute for Teacher Education had to cater for large numbers rather than focus on quality to meet the high demand. Most trained teachers would not meet teacher registration guidelines of western nations as they mainly completed a three-year bachelor of teaching qualification. In cases where teachers completed bachelor of education qualifications, usually they were top-up programmes which focused on pedagogy and not on content. Without a teacher registration board, and the quality assurance agency controlled by the Ministry of Education, there was no custodian for quality. The Ministry of Education was more concerned about having a teacher in front of the students rather than a well-qualified teacher.

Policy 5: Curricula reforms. The major curricula reforms at the primary level, initially, ensured *contextual relevancy* under the main theme **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. However, the relevance declined with the primary years becoming more and more a preparation stage for success in secondary education; thus, the change of medium and the lack of emphasis on culturally appropriate content and their treatment in the curriculum.

The Community Schools were originally envisioned as hubs for community development and training to gain a livelihood. The non-formal education programmes of the Education Project were implemented through a specialized centre using a mix of face-to-face teaching, sponsored workshops and training, distance education, radio broadcasting and publications (Ministry of Education, 1995). Programmes conducted through non-formal education included pre-school teacher education, English language training for teachers and government staff, population education programmes and condensed basic education programmes for young adults unable to access the formal education (Ministry of Education, 1992, 1995). However, in the late stages of Era 4, non-formal education gradually waned and the system was in its death throes at the end of the era. The island-based Community Schools began to resemble more and more the ‘grammar schools’ of Male’—a far cry from the Bodart’s (1973) original conceptualization for Community Schools.

Maldives never had full control over the secondary curriculum in Era 4. In the liberal views of the era, it was deemed unacceptable to dismiss students on grounds of non-performance. Recommendations of Baddeley (1971) for a broader curriculum were soon dropped and the number of subjects students had to study was reduced. Fisheries Science, introduced in the secondary schools as preparation for work in fishing, became more and more academic, taught often by expatriate teachers who had rarely seen the sea and knew little about fishing. The development led to the sub-theme *alienation of youth from national culture and ethos*. Many of the school leavers were not even trainable for the skilled occupations, resulting in the recruitment of expatriate workers. By the end of Era 4, as a follow-on effect, the expatriate population accounted for about 30% of the resident total population, creating many issues both economic and social.

Part 2 — Interviews

Data from the seven participants who were interviewed for Era 4 are presented in this section in broad terms as the themes are common to more than one policy. Altogether four major themes, all at national level, emerged from the analysis of the interview data in relation to the context of practices/effects.

The first theme emerging from the interview data was **catering for national development needs**. All the participants agreed that the five major education policies of Era 4 led to an *increased social awareness* among citizens. According to one participant:

the most obvious effect of the education policies implemented in the Maumoon Era is the creation of an aware and socially responsible citizenry. If you compare the status of the people before 1978 and now you will see what I mean. Even people visiting Maldives comment on the responsible and educated nature of our people.
(ME1)

In addition, all the participants concurred that the Era 4 policies led to *national development*. As explained by one participant:

Let me first talk about the Basic Literacy project. It was an essential requirement for nation building. We were able to take the literacy rate to 100% as per the UNESCO guidelines. They even announced

we achieved 100% literacy. Without that project the people would not have been able to participate in the development programs that were conducted by the government and other organizations. Then there is universalization of primary education. It was the foundation on which the other levels of education was established. These policies enabled us to open our eyes to the globalised world in addition to bringing rapid developments to the country. (ME3)

The second theme most of the participants pointed to was **quality**, stating that there was a *quality distinction between Male' and island schools*. While one participant described the strong emphasis the Ministry of Education placed on quantity rather than the quality of education to reach the goal of universalization of primary education, another participant deliberated on the impact the policy had on the quality disparity. According to the latter:

Yes, universality of availability was reached but it must be pointed out that the quality varied, especially between Male' schools and island schools... for example, Iskandar school was the best at the time and some island schools were the worst. The government did not want to make public the test results of Grade-7 students for fear of a public backlash. (ME4)

Another sub-theme under quality that was apparent from the analysis of the interview data was *erosion of quality*. According to one participant, the rapid expansion of education without enough resources had a negative impact on the overall quality of education at all levels. In addition, some participants attributed the rapid *expansion of private tuition classes* which is placed under the main theme of **governance** as a sub-theme and another effect that arose from the expansion of both primary and secondary education.

Overall, from the analysis of the documents and interviews, the major themes in relation to the context of practices/effects were identified from the national level. These themes are summarised in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5
Major Themes Relating to Policy Practices/Effects in Era 4

Policy	National level
Expansion of community and primary education	Catering for national development needs. <i>Increased social awareness (D & I).</i> Equity and access. <i>Demand for higher levels of education (D).</i> <i>Increased inequality (D).</i> Quality. <i>Erosion in quality (D & I).</i> <i>Quality distinction between Male' & island schools (D & I).</i> Governance. <i>expansion of private tuition classes (D).</i>
Expansion of secondary education	Resource shortages (D). Equity and access <i>Migration to Male' (D)</i> <i>Overcrowding and behaviour problems (D).</i> Quality. <i>Quality distinction between Male' & island schools (D & I).</i> <i>Erosion in quality (D & I).</i> Catering for national development needs (I).
Expansion of post-secondary education and training	Catering for national development needs (I). Quality. <i>Commodification of education (D).</i> <i>Erosion in quality (D & I).</i>
Expansion of teacher education	Catering for national development needs (I). Resource shortages (D). <i>Availability of local teachers (D).</i> <i>Decreased dependency on expatriate teachers (D).</i> Quality. <i>Erosion in quality (D & I).</i>
Curricula reforms	Catering for national development needs (I). Relevance to the Maldives and available employment <i>Contextual relevancy (D).</i> <i>Alienation of youth from national culture and ethos (D).</i>

Note. (D) denotes themes emergent from document sources only and (D & I) denotes themes emergent from document sources and interviews.

Summary

The five major education policy developments identified from Era 4 (1978 – 2008) are the following:

- Expansion of community and primary education
- Expansion of secondary education
- Expansion of post-secondary education and training
- Expansion of teacher education
- Curricula reforms

From the analysis of the contexts of influences, text production and practices/effects, themes were derived at local, national and global levels from both extant documents and interviews with key policy actors. Three primary policy texts were investigated to identify the themes.

National level themes that had **influenced** the five policies include equity and access, catering for national development needs and relevance to the Maldives and available employment. In addition, the theme relating to particular powerful individual policy actors was emergent from the local level. Global influences were mainly from global education trends and international policy borrowing.

Only national level themes were evident from the context of **policy text production**. These themes include equity and access, governance, and relevance to the Maldives and available employment.

From the context of **practices/effects**, only national level themes were evident. These include catering for national development needs, equity and access, quality, resource shortages, governance and relevance to the Maldives and available employment.

Due to increasing globalisation and the long duration of the period, Era 4 witnessed accelerated development of education policies in the Maldives compared to other eras. Furthermore, these education policies were not static, but changed over the era to meet emerging exigencies, creating a state of flux in the policy landscape.

CHAPTER 10

FINDINGS 5: ERA 5 – POST-MAUMOON ERA (2008–2015)

Introduction

The Post-Maumoon Era (2008–2015) or Era 5 is the fifth and the final of the five eras of the study period of 115 years (1900–2015). It is the only era not named after a significant policy actor because there were three governments and three presidents in the period and some key policy developments cannot be attributed to a single policy actor. It is the shortest of the five eras covering a period of seven years. Nevertheless, the era witnessed significant policy directions. This chapter outlines the findings of Era 5 and follows the same structure as the previous four.

Unlike previous eras, there were a few explicit educational policy documents in this era. The documents used for the study are shown in Table 10.1. Document 1 is the *Maldivian Democratic Party Alliance Manifesto* which outlines the policies of the Maldivian Democratic Party government that was in power between November 2008 and February 2012 (Maldivian Democratic Party, 2008). Document 2 is the government *Circular on Introducing a Vocational Stream to Schools*. Document 3 is the *Strategic Action Plan 2009–2013*, that was developed based on the Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP) Alliance Manifesto to serve as the principal planning document of the government. Document 4 is the amendments to the *Maldivian National University Act*. The influences and practices/effects were derived from interviews with significant policy actors. More policy actors were interviewed for this era than any other as the effects had not found their way into documents at the time of thesis completion, although they are likely to be felt in the future.

As with previous chapters, the analysis follows the political context and the background of the major policy actors.

Table 10.1
Principal Data Sources for Era 5

Document number	Name of document	Author/Owner	Years covered
Document 1	Manifesto of the MDP-Alliance	Maldivian Democratic Party (2008)	Nov 2008–2013
Document 2	<i>Schooluthakugai vocational stream hingumuge usool</i> (Policy on conducting vocational stream in schools)	Ministry of Education (2015)	2015
Document 3	Strategic Action Plan 2009–2013	Office of the President (2009)	2009–2011
Document 4	Bill No: 16/2015: <i>Qanoonu numbaru 3/2011 (Dhivehi Raajjeyge Qaumee Universityge ganoonah) evvana islaahu genaumuge bill</i> . (1st amendment to the Act of the Maldives National University)	People's Majlis	2015

Political Context of Era 5 (2008–2015)

By the beginning of the 21st century, there was considerable opposition to the rule of Maumoon who had been in power since 1978—more than 20 years. Disenchantment with the rule grew from a number of causes: nepotism, crackdown on what he called religious ‘extremism’, maltreatment of prisoners, cronyism, and widespread social issues due to inability to take concerted action (Shaheed & Upton, 2008). Maumoon ran for a fifth term for president in 2003 which he won against extensive claims of vote rigging (“Riyaasee Inthihaabu Ge,” 2003). In the same year, a group of politicians had formed the Maldivian Democratic Party in neighbouring Sri Lanka and began to agitate for change. In 2005, the Parliament recognized that it was legal to form political parties and the Maldivian Democratic Party was formally registered locally (“MDP Rajistary Vumuge,” 2005). In the Amin Era (1934–1953), political parties were permitted but had been disallowed in the intervening years. In the presidential election of 2008, six parties contested, including the party led by Maumoon. By this time, the anti-Maumoon hysteria had reached a fever pitch and Maumoon failed to get the 50% majority needed to win the election (“Inthihaabu Ge Furathama,” 2008). In the run-off (second round) voting, all the opposition parties formed an alliance (coalition) beating Maumoon by 8% and gaining 53% of the votes (“Kuriyah Oiy Dhauru,” 2008). Nasheed, the

leader of the opposition alliance was elected with Waheed, a recently retired UN staff member, as Vice-President (“Kuriyah Oiy Dhauruge,” 2008).

Maumoon’s party held the majority in the Parliament immediately after the 2008 election. Soon after becoming President, Nasheed instituted policies which were considered by some as anti-nationalistic, for example, the lease of the only international airport to an Indian company. His other policies, along with the revocation of the cabinet posts assigned to the coalition parties caused disenchantment of the parties who supported him. His views on drugs, religion and foreign policy together with rising costs, cronyism and extra-judicial arrests soon made him unpopular. After a period of almost daily public protests, Nasheed resigned from office on 7th February 2012 and his Vice President, Waheed, was appointed the President (“President Mohamed Nasheed,” 2012). The circumstances of Nasheed’s resignation were later contested by him.

When Waheed assumed the office of presidency on 7th February 2012, he had only 21 months left before the next presidential election in 2013. He had a difficult period of rule becoming a target of ridicule and harassment by the opposition (Lawson, 2012). His own party had considerably fewer members and he had to walk a tightrope, considering the powerful opposition and the support of the second largest party led by Maumoon (“Maldives Parliament Opening,” 2012).

In the 2013 presidential election, there were four presidential candidates: Nasheed, Waheed, Qasim (a businessman-cum-politician) and Yameen—the candidate of the party led by Maumoon. In the first round of voting, none of the candidates won the necessary votes (a simple majority) and for the second round of voting, four parties, comprising the parties led by Maumoon, Qasim, Waheed and a minor party, formed a coalition. They fielded Yameen as the presidential candidate. Yameen is the half-brother of Maumoon and had been a leader of a party formed from a breakaway faction of Maumoon’s party. The coalition won the election gaining 51% of the vote beating Nasheed by 2.8% (“Abdulla Yameen Wins,” 2013).

Yameen was appointed President on 17th November 2013. His period of rule was on-going at the time of thesis completion. Following revocation of the

agreement of the coalition for the presidential election, two parties deserted the ruling coalition. Street protests were banned. By 2017 there were echoes of the early period of the Maumoon Era. In fact, Maumoon himself had become a critic of Yameen. Yameen survived an assassination attempt by his own Vice President who was imprisoned in October 2015 (“Umar: There Is Evidence,” 2015).

A brief background of three presidents in the Post-Maumoon Era is presented next, maintaining the consistency in structure across the chapters on findings.

Background of Nasheed, Waheed and Yameen

In Chapter 8 (Nasir Era), it was noted that there was a coup plotted by several conspirators against the rule of Nasir. The plotters were jailed for importing firearms and conspiracy for printing counterfeit notes. Nasheed is a son of one of the plotters. Nasheed’s rise to power was in part due to the harsh treatment of these plotters in jail which may have impacted Nasheed’s world view. Nasheed attended Majeediyya School for some time, and later schools in Sri Lanka and England. He graduated in maritime studies from Liverpool Polytechnic in 1989 (“Mohamed Nasheed (Anni),” 2008). Upon his return to the Maldives, he was engaged in politics, becoming a member of Parliament for two years. He was continually in and out of jail in the 1990s for political reasons. In 2003, he went to Sri Lanka to establish the Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP) which agitated for political change (“Mohamed Nasheed (Anni),” 2008).

Waheed attended Majeediyya School and later the American University of Beirut on scholarship (Jameel, 2016). His area of study was English. On his return in 1976, he taught in schools for some time. After completing a Masters degree in education planning at Stanford University on scholarship in 1979, he returned to direct the Community Schools Programme which had started in the Nasir Era. In 1982, he obtained a doctoral scholarship, to study at Stanford, and graduated in 1987 (Jameel, 2016). On his return, he was engaged in politics, becoming a member of the Parliament in 1990 (Jameel, 2016). In 1991 he left the Maldives for work in the UN agencies and returned in 2005 to engage in politics becoming the

leader of a small party which joined the coalition government of 2008 (Jameel, 2016).

Yameen attended Majeediyya School, and later, the American University of Beirut (President's Office, n.d.). After graduating in business administration, he worked in various institutions, becoming the Minister of Trade and Industries in 1993—in the same year he became a member of Parliament (President's Office, n.d.). He held ministerial positions until Maumoon lost the 2008 election. A few months before the 2008 election, Yameen formed a breakaway political party from Maumoon's party but rejoined in 2010 abolishing the breakaway party (President's Office, n.d.).

The above account presented a brief outline of the political background and the education and the careers of the main policy actors of Era 5. The next section outlines the major education policy developments of the era.

Major Education Policies in Era 5

The policies of Era 5 were characterized by short life cycles, reflecting the changes in the leadership of the country in the 7-year period. Nasheed was the President for 38 months, Waheed was in power for 22 months and Yameen (the President at the end of the Era) held power for 25 months. Oftentimes, the incoming presidents reversed or revoked some policies of the outgoing presidents. The major policies outlined below are irrespective of policy lifespans. The policies of Nasheed's Government are shown in Figure 10.2. Not all these policies were implemented and neither were all the implemented policies in the manifesto.

Policy 1: Changes to the Governance of Education

Three major policy directives of Era 5 are grouped under this one policy umbrella. They are the decentralization and privatisation movements undertaken by Nasheed's administration and the centralization movement by Yameen's administration.

A policy of Nasheed's government was decentralization by grouping the administrative regions into seven provinces. The nation had traditionally been governed by administrative regions called atolls which are mostly natural groupings of islands (Maldivian Democratic Party, 2008). According to a participant the government's plan was not possible as the opposition was the majority in the Parliament and the constitution did not authorize the formation of 'provinces'. For some time, the government tried to run the schools through province-based coordinators by delegating some of the powers of the education minister to state ministers stationed in the provinces (Ministry of Education, 2010). The Local Education Authorities stipulated in the *MDP Alliance Manifesto* could not be formed because independent state agencies were against it. With the end of Nasheed's rule, the governance was changed back to the centralized system of the Maumoon Era.

A greater involvement of the private sector in public services was another major policy directive of the MDP government. Establishing public-private partnerships in service provision targeting key sectors, including education, to promote foreign and local investments was a key policy objective (Amirullah, 2014). Two notable public-private partnership agreements related to schooling were made during Nasheed's administration. In the first case, two government schools were leased to private parties. One school had a very new building and the government support continued until those who were enrolled at the time completed their schooling. New students were admitted on a fee-paying basis. For the other school, which is a higher secondary school, a large track of land and existing infrastructure were provided. For this school, an agreed fee was to be paid for each student by the government while the school management runs a private college in the premises, partially contributing to the costs of the higher secondary school. Announcements to bid for the lease were made for some state higher education campuses but there were no bidders. Privatisation in the education sector did not seem to be a major policy goal of the latter administrations. Throughout the era, the involvement of the private sector in higher education increased, driven by profit motive.

Centralized governance was a key policy directive of Yameen's administration. The Maldives Islamic University was formed in 2015 by an Act driven by politics. The Act of the Maldives National University (MNU) was revised so that the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, the Deputy Vice-Chancellors and nine out of the thirteen University Council members were to be appointed by the President (People's Majilis, 2015).

Policy 2: Establishment of 'One-Shift' Schools

In populous islands, schools ran in two or more shifts or sessions utilising the same buildings with several shifts of staff and students as school building had not kept pace with population increase. This practice meant that schools started before seven in the morning, finishing late in the afternoon, usually after sunset. School buildings had to be vacated hurriedly once one shift was over, preventing their use for sports and co-curricular activities. Thus, out of necessity, the school day was comparatively short for a session. Nasheed's government attempted to implement single-session schools by building extra classrooms in some existing schools. However, the new administration that came in after the MDP government concentrated on developing the greater Male' area (Male', Vilin'gili and Hulhumaale') and consequently caused a higher in-migration to the area. As a result, the shortage of classrooms forced the government to revert to multiple session schools in the Male' region.

Policy 3: Introduction of a National Education Loan Scheme

In the Maumoon Era, professional education of civil servants was provided in two ways: overseas study through a loan scheme partly funded by the World Bank and the provision of an allowance equivalent to salary if students are to study locally or overseas. Nasheed's government discontinued this allowance, and introduced a general study loan scheme available to the employees of the private and public sector (Ministry of Human Resources Youth and Sports, 2010). Initially, under this scheme each student was provided with an annual stipend that did not exceed MVR 24000. Full financial assistance for students pursuing higher education was initiated in 2012 (UNDP, 2014). In the same year, fees were introduced to all the programmes offered by the Maldives National University.

Policy 4: Refocus on Vocational Education at the School Level

Vocational education underwent cosmetic changes in 2008, and apprenticeships and internships were re-introduced in the era. A Faculty of the precursor institution of the Maldives National University was renamed Maldives Polytechnic and fast-paced short-term courses were introduced (Asian Development Bank, 2012). A new government department, Technical and Vocational Education and Training Authority, was established under the Ministry of Education. There had been earlier attempts to introduce internships in schools whereby school students were required to complete thirty days at a worksite to obtain a certificate of school completion. The requirement was later revoked when demand outstripped opportunities and “school students in work environments created more problems than benefits” (PE15). However, in the latter part of the era, the scheme was reintroduced.

In 2014, new vocational subjects from BTEC (the Business and Technology Education Council) administered by Pearson Education Limited, the largest education company in the world. The subjects introduced were beauty therapy, art and design and sports (Ministry of Education, 2017). It is to be noted that British Examination Boards classify art, accounting, commerce, computing studies, travel and tourism and fisheries science as vocational subjects; some of these have been part of the curriculum for at least 45 years in the Maldives. A policy initiative to introduce the new ‘stream’ was carried out in February 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2015). The vocational path is available to students in Grades 9 and 10 who are academically under-performing.

Policy 5: Changes to the Organization of Schooling

As with Policy 1, three disparate policies are subsumed in Policy 5: Changes to the organization of schooling. The three policies deal with multi-grade teaching, inclusive education and curriculum re-organisation. Multi-grade teaching is teaching classes of students of different ages, abilities and grade levels in the same classroom (UNESCO, 2015). Multi-grade teaching had been discussed and was introduced from the beginning of the Education Project in the Nasir Era because it would reduce costs of education provision for small islands where the number of students in each grade can be few. Similar to Sunday schooling in the West and the

practices of *Edhuruge*, students are not graded based on either age or ability. In Era 5, a policy statement was published in March 2014 to reintroduce multi-grade teaching in schools with small populations (Ministry of Education, 2014). However, according to most of the participants, the policy is more *symbolic* and neither the schools nor the teachers are equipped to implement it as advised.

From time to time, international agencies concentrate on certain aspects of schooling. The early 21st century saw UNESCO placing a renewed focus on ‘inclusive education’ and in sympathy with this new focus, a policy on inclusive education was issued by the Maldives Ministry of Education in January 2013 (Ministry of Education, 2013). This policy requires incorporating the learning concerns of marginalised groups—both gifted students and students with learning disabilities—in normal classes. This initiative is a key strategy to achieve the Education for All goals (UNESCO, 2009). The policy is nothing new because even before this era the government had not approved of ability tracking classes or tracking based on individual disabilities. These policies reflect the mores of the education policy environment at global level.

The policy of curricular changes is underpinned by a new curriculum framework that was first piloted in 2011 in six schools. The work on developing this curriculum started in the Maumoon Era, in 2006, and was developed through extensive consultations with a range of stakeholders (National Institute of Education, 2014). Three distinct features make the new National Curriculum Framework different from its predecessors (National Institute of Education, 2014). As outlined by the National Institute of Education (NIE) these features include the National Curriculum Framework carrying a broader view of the curriculum as the entire planned learning experience offered in schools, a focus on eight key competencies and a mapping out of the learning that students will experience across the stages of schooling so that smooth transitions from one key stage to the other is ensured (National Institute of Education, 2014). In reality, the national curriculum framework resembles very closely that of the UK and New Zealand.

In the next section, the influences that gave rise to these six major policies are analysed.

Context of Policy Influences

Unlike the preceding chapters on findings, the context of influences in Era 5 is derived from interview data alone as the period is recent and documentation on influences and outcomes were unavailable. The emerging themes from the data analysed are discussed below for each of the five main policies.

Policy 1: Changes to the Governance of Education

Five major themes emerged in relation to the context of influences of Policy 1. The first four themes were applicable to the policy directives of decentralisation and privatisation. Participants attributed many of the influences that shaped this policy to global policies successful elsewhere:

Nasheed's government was propped up by the conservative government of the UK and his many policies reflect Thatcherism. Cameron, the British Prime Minister is on record for saying that Nasheed is his "best friend". *The Guardian*, a British newspaper, reported that Nasheed's campaign was bankrolled by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and that the campaign was run by a former aide to Boris Johnson, the conservative mayor of London at the time. Nasheed's policies were dictated by his handlers at the British Establishment including the Jewish lobby. Local Education Authorities are how education is organized in the UK for nearly 100 years and the policy reflects aping British ways irrespective of how different the context is. How large countries arm-twist small ones has a history as old as the hills. (PE15)

The first theme was **international policy borrowing**. Decentralization and privatisation were cornerstones of Thatcherism in the 1980s in England. According to participants who were directly involved in the formulation of the MDP manifesto, it was drafted with the help of Maldivian education experts educated at international universities and manifesto formats were given by officials from the Conservative Party of UK. The participants also mentioned that the education policies of other countries were studied when making MDP policies. The participants noted that concepts like decentralization and privatisation are practised worldwide purportedly to make education systems more effective.

At the national level, the *public demand* for **equity and access** also contributed to the idea of Local Education Authorities. Participants attributed this theme to a reaction against the cumbersome administrative procedures of the education system. According to one participant, a large part of the government administration was situated in Male'. Hence, people from atolls had to navigate a longer route and spend more money to get their needs fulfilled. They demanded better services conveniently, closer to home and at cheap rates.

Thirdly, the participants ascribed *addressing the shortcomings of the existing system* under the main theme of **governance** as one of the national level themes that influenced Policy 1 and all the other MDP policies. According to a participant:

the major influence on our education policies was the existing education system of the time. We studied the shortcomings of the system and came up with ways to address them.... In addition, we examined the inefficiency of the centralized system and deliberated on decentralizing the system to give way to democracy. We also considered the limitations and controls set on private parties to get involved in the provision of education. We felt that the development we want can be brought by making partnerships with people willing to invest. (PE4)

Fourthly, the sub-themes related to **resource shortages** such as *reducing the government's cost burden* arising from the national level emerged from policy directives such as privatisation and decentralisation. According to a participant:

if the government sets out to do everything alone, then there will come a point when they won't be able to afford. With the introduction of PPPs [Private-Public Partnerships], the cost burden was transferred to private parties. Furthermore, due to the PPP arrangements budget was made available to areas that were neglected before. (PE4)

Another participant explained how the decentralization movement reduced the government cost burden by saying:

we were able to save money by the decentralization movement, by cutting costs in areas such as transport and accommodation given

for officials who travel from Male' to atoll schools for supervision, interviews and other monitoring activities. In addition, the time wasted in following the bureaucratic steps in the centralized system can also be considered as money wasted. (PE3)

The last (fifth) theme, **particular powerful individual policy actors**, applies to the second policy directive characteristic of the latter part of the era—centralization. This is a local level theme. According to most participants, legislative changes were brought to gain greater control of public education institutions.

Policy 2: Establishment of 'One-Shift' Schools

A major national theme identified by the participants from the context of influences in relation to Policy 2 was **catering for national development needs** by *providing a holistic education* to students. According to some participants, double session schools neglect to adequately address social, physical, personal, emotional and spiritual development of students. According to one participant:

one reason for establishing single-session schools is that students and teachers need to have ownership of their classrooms. This feeling of belonging is not there when you have to vacate your classes at the end of a session to be occupied by another group. The other reason is when schools are conducted in double-sessions there is no way we can conduct cultural activities, sport activities and other activities in a way that all the students can participate. That's why our (Maldivian Democratic Party) government decided to convert all the schools to single-sessions to facilitate holistic learning. (PE4)

Another national level sub-theme influencing Policy 2 is *the custodial role of schools* within the main theme of **impact on schools and teachers**. The sub-theme derives from improving the socio-economic status of the parents by providing them opportunities to work while their children were involved in school activities without worrying about their safety. As one participant explained:

the concept of single session schooling was based on the idea to keep the students involved in school activities for a longer time. The plan was for a parent to drop the student to school on his or her way

to work and pick the student from school on his or her way back from work. This way, while at work the parents do not have to worry about the whereabouts of their children. (PE1)

The next theme emergent from Policy 2 was the **impact on behaviour and learning** (at the national level). As the schools were run in two or three sessions many extra-curricular activities of schools were scheduled for late evening. Thus, many students had to spend a lot of time outside their homes. Some students abused the arrangements and used school activities as an excuse to get out of their homes for mischief. The two sub-themes of *custodial role of schools* and *reducing juvenile delinquency* are the ‘two sides of the same coin’. The assumption was that longer time under day-care would lead to reduced time for mischief.

The final theme, **international policy borrowing**, arose from the global level as whole day schooling is the global norm. One participant noted:

Double session schools would be impossible in most countries of the world because of the distances required to travel. In the Maldives, 90% of all the schools are within five minutes of walking distance. The benefits of whole day schooling had been recognized very long ago, and it was the norm in the Maldives until the recent burgeoning of school enrolment. The government had not kept up school construction with the increase in enrolment. (PE 15)

Policy 3: Introduction of a National Education Loan Scheme

Two major themes were identified from Policy 3 in relation to the context of influences. The first theme was **equity and access** (from the national level). There was a great *demand from the students* (as a sub-theme) for a national education loan scheme with the cancellation of the paid study leave mechanism. One participant explained this by saying:

Though the Maldivian Democratic Party Government formally terminated the paid study leave granted to the government employees, it was informally halted earlier, even during the last year of the Maumoon Era because there was no budget available. With this a demand was created for an alternative mechanism of funding. As education from Grades 1 to 12 was offered for free, the government decided that if students want to study for higher levels

some amount of the cost had to be borne by the students. Therefore, they introduced a loan scheme which was to be administered by the national bank. (PE5)

Once again, **international policy borrowing** (a global level theme) was evident in relation to the education loan scheme:

Nasheed's government was bankrupt within two years causing high inflation. There was no funding available to continue with the staff education scheme established during Maumoon's regime. He had to look for alternatives. Now, student loan scheme is the way some costs of education is passed onto the beneficiaries all over the Western world. The scheme, once again, reminds you of Thatcherism. (PE 15)

Policy 4: Refocus on Vocational Education at School Level

The themes arising from Policy 4, in relation to the context of influences, were threefold. These included the national level themes **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** and **the impact on behaviour and learning**. Some participants highlighted the increasing crime rate among youth because they drop out from school and stay unemployed. A senior official of the Ministry of Education explained the reasons for introducing a vocational stream in secondary schools as follows:

Because we are unable to provide an education that can help them build their futures, a big chunk of our youth is ending up on the roads. Yameen's government has a policy not to leave any child behind. In congruence with this policy, we have studied the needs of the students and their capabilities for the past three years. Under our initial programme, *dhasvaaru* [intern/apprentice], we introduced targeted programmes for the students in danger of failing Grades 9 and 10. They were sent on internships to learn skills in actual working environments. In addition, an applied vocational stream was introduced to provide an alternative career path for students who were academically weak. Skills taught in this program are aligned with the current employer demands so that an employable group of students are prepared. (PE1)

The participants blamed the limited suitability of the secondary school curriculum in preparing the students for jobs available within the country. Referring to this mismatch a participant observed “because school leavers lack the skills needed by employers they stay unemployed and employers opt for foreigners over Maldivians” (PE3).

Responses of participants point to **particular powerful individual policy actors** as a local level theme emanating from Policy 4. These participants claimed that there was a political motivation by certain powerful members of the policy elite for introducing the vocational stream. They explained that it is a target of the current government to make all the students who sit the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level examination pass at least five subjects. Thus, they are diverting the students who may not achieve the target to *dhasvaaru* (apprenticeship/intern) and the vocational stream.

Recently, a newspaper reported citing a school head, that the Ministry advises all the students who do not pass five subjects in the first term test of Grade-10 and those *who they believe* will not pass five subjects in the GCE Ordinary Level examination to choose the *dhasvaaru* [apprenticeship/intern] programme. As a result, only 78 per cent of the students currently in Grade-10 will sit the Cambridge terminal examination. This way the government can ensure that all the students who sit the examination will pass in at least 5 subjects thus achieving their manifesto target. And this will look good for the government when they set out to seek votes for the 2018 election.

It is wrong to say that this government introduced vocational stream. The stream had been introduced in the 1940s and had remained so. What happened in Nasheed’s government and what is happening in Yameen’s government is public deception through statistics. In Nasheed’s government his idea of training a welder was, for example, a two-week stint at a workshop to produce set target numbers. A qualified welder will tell you that to inculcate the attitudes and competencies of a welder, it would take at least two years of full-time study. Besides, no other school system will send under-16 students to worksites where they may be abused or exploited. Such young students will not have the motor coordination to handle power tools. What is happening before and in this government, is downright criminal for political advantage. (PE15)

Policy 5: Changes to Organization of Schooling

Three major interconnected themes relating to school organization were identified. These influences were **global education trends** and **international policy borrowing** arising from the global level, and **cultural considerations** from the national level. According to a senior policy actor at the Ministry of Education, the move towards the National Curriculum Framework was influenced by the global environment. According to him, the focus of the curriculum was to develop human resources so that they can be utilised in the knowledge economy. To achieve this global outlook, the National Curriculum Framework had shifted its emphasis to skills, values and attitudes identified within the key competencies from the previously emphasised subjects and time allocation. One participant noted:

From the Curriculum Framework, it would be difficult to find out whether it is for the Maldives or any other nation because the new framework has so much resemblance to the frameworks of other countries. Every few decades, just like fashion, some ways of organizing the curriculum come into vogue and other ways fall out of use. In the beginning, the Maldives curriculum was aims-driven, but in the present curriculum there are no aims but a vision statement. The vision statement could be any country's. (PE15)

The above statement on the 'globalisation' of the curriculum vision statement alludes to the second theme—international policy borrowing. According to the participants who were involved in the formulation of the curriculum, the curricula of many countries was studied and assistance was sought from UNICEF when developing the Maldives National Curriculum Framework. Thus, what were perceived as the 'best practices' in the world and the dominant discourses on curriculum appear to have influenced the formation of the Maldives National Curriculum Framework.

Maintaining national identity (as a sub-theme) is emphasised in the National Curriculum Framework according to the curriculum developers interviewed. They said that a great focus was given to maintain the national identity while trying to globalise the curriculum. In this sense, importance was given to include aspects of the Maldivian Islamic culture in the lessons.

In general, interviews exposed influences from local, national and global levels on the educational policies of Era 5. A summary of the emergent themes from the context of policy influences are summarised in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2

Major Themes in the Analysis of Influences in Era 5 (1978–2008)

Policy	Global	National	Local/individual
Changes to the governance of education	International policy borrowing.	Equity and access. <i>Public demand.</i> Governance. <i>Addressing the shortcomings of the existing system.</i> Resource shortages. <i>Economic imperative.</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Increasing authoritarian control.</i>
Establishment of One-shift schools	International policy borrowing.	Catering for national development needs. <i>Providing a holistic education.</i> Impact on behaviour and learning. <i>Reducing juvenile delinquency.</i> Impact on schools and teachers. <i>Custodial role of schools.</i>	
Introduction of a national education loan scheme A refocus on vocational education at school level	International policy borrowing.	Equity and access. <i>Demand from students.</i> Impact on behaviour and learning. <i>Unemployment among youth.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Mismatch between available education and required skills.</i>	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Political expediency</i>
Changes to organization of schooling	Global education trends. International policy borrowing.	Cultural considerations. <i>Maintaining national identity.</i>	

Context of Policy Text Production

The major education policies of the government in power at the beginning of the Post-Maumoon Era are articulated in the *MDP Alliance Manifesto*. Based on these pledges a detailed *Strategic Action Plan 2009–2013* was developed to serve as the principal planning document of the government (President's Office, 2009). These

policies were implemented from 2009 to 2013 in the administration of Nasheed and Waheed. The education policies of Yameen's government (November 2013 to December 2015) are articulated in policy circulars published by the Ministry of Education. Three policy texts from Era 5 were selected for analysis. They are the education policies outlined in the *Strategic Action Plan 2009–2013*, the *Circular for the Introduction of Vocational Stream to School Education* and the *First Amendments to the Maldives National University Act (2015)*. These documents are discussed below, based on the findings from interviews. The themes were generated from the national level where the policy texts under investigation were produced.

Policy Text A: The Strategic Action Plan 2009–2013

Policy Text A was developed to “serve as the principal planning document of the government’s pledges and programmes outlined in the MDP Alliance Manifesto” (President’s Office, 2009, p. 14). *The MDP Alliance Manifesto* had five key pledges formulated by the party through consultation with the people during the presidential campaign, as stated therein. The main five pledges given in the *MDP Alliance Manifesto* are:

developing a nationwide transport network that would allow for people and commerce to move without hindrance throughout the whole country, providing affordable housing to all citizens, ensuring reasonable and affordable healthcare to all citizens, bringing down the costs of the most basic goods and services and eliminating the rampant traffic and abuse of narcotic drugs currently prevalent in the country (President’s Office, 2009, p. 14).

The fourteen key policies for the education sector given in Policy Text A (Figure 10.1) are based on the three major goals to: “(1) ensure equitable access to quality education as basic human right to students from all regions, including children with special needs, (2) improve quality of education for ensuring holistic development of the child,” and “(3) align the education system to the economic and social needs of the country” (President’s Office, 2009, p. 230).

The first theme evident from Policy Text A was **governance**. This theme was evident as the following sub-themes: *decentralization* and *expansion of*

privatisation. According to senior officials of the MDP, decentralization and privatisation were two major concepts behind all the policies of the MDP government and were influenced by global discourses of the period: Thatcherism, actions of international organizations, and international policy borrowing by Maldivian experts.

As for the second theme, **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**, the participants pointed out that the surveys undertaken to find out the status of the education system revealed that there was a great mismatch between school education and what employers needed. Therefore, the Maldivian Democratic Party government had attempted to incorporate vocational skills into the school curriculum.

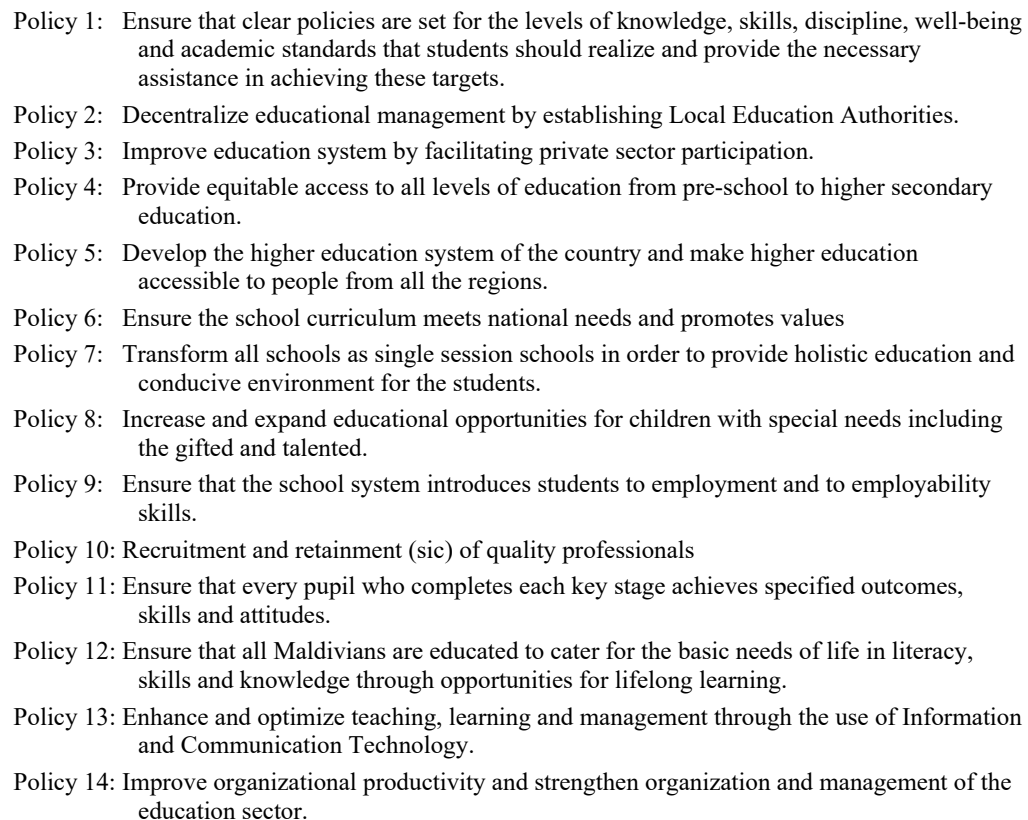
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- Policy 1: Ensure that clear policies are set for the levels of knowledge, skills, discipline, well-being and academic standards that students should realize and provide the necessary assistance in achieving these targets.
 - Policy 2: Decentralize educational management by establishing Local Education Authorities.
 - Policy 3: Improve education system by facilitating private sector participation.
 - Policy 4: Provide equitable access to all levels of education from pre-school to higher secondary education.
 - Policy 5: Develop the higher education system of the country and make higher education accessible to people from all the regions.
 - Policy 6: Ensure the school curriculum meets national needs and promotes values
 - Policy 7: Transform all schools as single session schools in order to provide holistic education and conducive environment for the students.
 - Policy 8: Increase and expand educational opportunities for children with special needs including the gifted and talented.
 - Policy 9: Ensure that the school system introduces students to employment and to employability skills.
 - Policy 10: Recruitment and retainment (sic) of quality professionals
 - Policy 11: Ensure that every pupil who completes each key stage achieves specified outcomes, skills and attitudes.
 - Policy 12: Ensure that all Maldivians are educated to cater for the basic needs of life in literacy, skills and knowledge through opportunities for lifelong learning.
 - Policy 13: Enhance and optimize teaching, learning and management through the use of Information and Communication Technology.
 - Policy 14: Improve organizational productivity and strengthen organization and management of the education sector.

Figure 10.1. Education policies of the MDP government according to their publications. (President's Office, 2009, p. 231,232).

Policy Text B: Circular on Introducing Vocational Stream to School Education

Policy Text B was developed under the ‘No Child Left Behind’ policy of Yameen’s government to provide vocational pathways to academically weak students (Ministry of Education, 2015). ‘No Child Left Behind’ is a borrowed term from USA legislation passed in 2001, but the concept in the Maldivian context is altogether different. Operationally, the concept involved separating academically weak students into the vocational stream. Policy Text B was released as a policy circular by the Ministry of Education, signed by the Minister in February 2015. The text was written in Dhivehi and includes three non-academic pathways: the British Business and Technology Education Council (BTEC) programme, the school Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programme and the school Polytechnic Programme. The vocational stream was to be offered to Grade 9 and 10 students. The BTEC programme was to be conducted in the Maldives Polytechnic. The School TVET programme was to be designed and conducted by the National Institute for Education (Ministry of Education, 2015). The school Polytechnic programmes were conducted by the Maldives Polytechnic for school students.

The policy text consists of 32 points which are further divided into sub-points. These include: the objectives of the policy statement, features of the vocational stream, class size, assessment procedure, procedure for paying fees, grievance procedures, certificate awarding procedure, procedures for school readiness to teach the courses, and the procedures to hire instructors for the three programmes in the vocational stream.

The themes evident from Policy Text B were **relevance to the Maldives and available employment** and **catering for national development needs**. The policy text has stressed the importance of matching the skills of school leavers to employer needs and making school leavers employable. The courses to be conducted under the vocational stream were to be selected based on the employment needs of the islands. In addition, keeping the students in school until they are of age 18 years is a major objective of the policy directive.

Policy Text C: First Amendments to the Maldives National University Act (2015)

Policy Text C is the first Amendment brought to the Maldives National University Act in July 2015. The Act was initially passed by the Parliament in 2010, and was formulated after the Australian National University Act. Before the initial Act was approved, the Bill was widely circulated for stakeholder comments and was revised based on those comments. The first amendment was proposed by a Parliament member of the ruling party and was unanimously supported by all the members of the ruling party.

The major amendments brought to the Act include removing some powers initially vested in the University Council which is the governing body. According to the original Act, the Vice-Chancellor was to be appointed by the Council members, following Council procedures. Other senior officials, except the Chancellor, were also to be appointed by the Council. The amendments to the Act by Yameen's government appropriated the key powers of the Council. The President was to appoint nine out of the thirteen Council members (who were originally 18 members, half from the university community, all of whom were elected and the other half from the business and other sectors). The reduced numbers eliminated most members who were to be elected. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Deputy Vice-Chancellors are also to be appointed by the President. According to several participants, there were many internal inconsistencies in the Act which might have been due to the speed of the passage of amendments through the Parliament.

To illustrate the amendments, the excerpt below in Figure 10.2 is on the appointment of eight University Council members external to the university from the Act before its revision.

The amendments to the revision brought in 2015 replaced the provisions shown in Figure 10.2 with the following:

The Maldives National University Act, 2011

(Article 10, part b)

Eight members appointed by the Minister responsible for higher education from a list of not less than sixteen persons.

Article 20

The list mentioned in Article 10 shall be produced by a Nomination Committee of the Council. The Nominations Committee of Council consists of:

- (a) the Chancellor; and
- (b) six other persons appointed by the Chancellor in accordance with guidelines determined by the Council.

Article 21

- (a) The list produced by the Nomination Committee of Council shall have at least 16 names.
- (b) The Nominations Committee of Council must not recommend under Article 21, Part b a person who is
 - i. a member of the Parliament
 - ii. a current member of the academic or general staff of the University; or
 - iii. a student of the University; or
 - iv. a member of the Nominations Committee of Council.
- (c) In making recommendations to the Minister the Nominations Committee of Council must have regard to the desirability of ensuring that there is a balance of skills and expertise among members of the Council.

Article 22:

The Minister responsible for higher education must, within 15 days after receiving written advice from the Nominations Committee of Council recommending that a person be appointed to the Council must appoint a person from the list who in the Minister's opinion is best suited to advance the University

Figure 10.2. The original Act of the Maldives National University stipulated that the external University Council members are to be nominated by the University itself. The Act lists the procedures. Source: People's Majilis (2010)

Article 10 (b) The President will cause **five** members to be appointed from the areas noted below:

1. Shariah and religious education
2. Business, finance or economy
3. Education
4. Law
5. Medicine
6. Foreign or local renowned scholar
7. Benefactor who assisted to advance and develop the university

Apart from the fact that the President is to appoint five members, the areas from which members can be chosen is set in the Act, thereby restricting choices as the needs may change with time.

Policy Text C is mentioned above to give completeness to the education policies of the study period. However, due to reasons associated with conflict of interest, the policy text will not be analysed further in this thesis. The conflict arises because the candidate is a staff and student of MNU, one supervisor is the founding Vice-Chancellor and the Principal Supervisor is the Chancellor of MNU, at the time of submission.

The themes evident from the selected policy texts from Era 5 are summarized in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3

Major Themes in the Analysis of Policy Text Production from Era 5(2008 – 2015)

Policy Text	National
A	Governance. <i>Decentralization.</i> <i>Expansion of privatisation.</i> Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Linking curriculum to future jobs.</i>
B	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. <i>Meeting employer needs.</i> Catering for national development needs. <i>Catering for student needs.</i>

Context of Practices/Effects

This section discusses the themes emerging from the five major policies of Era 3 in relation to the context of practices/effects. The themes were obtained from interviews with participants as outlined in the chapter on methodology. All the themes from this context were from the national level.

Policy 1: Changes to the Governance of Education

As there are three policy directives under Policy 1, the themes for each policy directive will be discussed separately. First, the themes relevant to the decentralization movement are discussed. According to the participants, most of

whom were policy actors of Nasheed's government, the attempts to dismantle the centralised bureaucracy led to the theme **governance**. Four sub-themes under the main theme of **governance** were identified by most participants. The first sub-theme was *efficiency*. The participants agree that without the bureaucratic red tape of the centralized system, the administration was made more efficient when the functions of the education ministry were decentralised. However, they noted that it was not fully implemented as the required cadre for manning the Local Education Authorities was not given by the Civil Service Commission.

The second sub-theme relevant from the decentralization model was *public accessibility*. All the participants agreed that the services of the education ministry became more accessible for the people in the decentralized period. According to a participant who was a senior official of the Ministry of Education:

In reality, when that system was established even the poorest person was able to bring his or her concern in person to the education official in the province forcing us to attend to them. For example, if a school in the province had an under-performing teacher the case was reported to me directly by parents and we had to attend to the case without delay as the parents were very influential. In the centralised model, such a case may take months before the ministry officials attend to it. (PE2)

However, another participant noted that as the education office responsible for a province was established in the main island of the atoll, the accessibility issue would remain for all the other islands far from the office location.

The third sub-theme evident in relation to practices/effects was the *mismatch between central expectations and local realities*. As mentioned by most participants, the decentralised model was not tested in the Maldivian context and the implementation of the Local Education Authority or its namesake was sudden—almost overnight. Therefore, the people at the receiving end of the service were unsure of what they were expected to do. As one participant, who was a senior official, explained:

The government was poorly prepared for decentralization of the system when the policy was implemented. We did not have enough resources: material or human. Even proper legislature did not exist

for the system. The general public had no idea what the policy was about. They thought that the Local Education Authority was a place to lodge complaints. Most of my time was spent on listening to them. They came to us for reasons such as having a faulty alarm system or a broken door. (PE2)

The fourth sub-theme that emerged from the interviews with most of the participants was the *power struggle* between schools and the Local Education Authority and between the Local Education Authority and the Ministry officials. According to a participant:

The school heads felt that their power was diminished with the establishment of Local Education Authorities. Most of the parents were under the belief that all the decisions related to schools can only be taken by the Local Education Authorities. In addition, there were certain officials in the ministry who were used to dealing directly with principals and headmasters. When Local Education Authorities were established they felt a certain power they had over the school heads were taken away. Hence, there was some unhappiness that prevented these parties from fully cooperating with the administration. (PE2)

The first theme most participants concurred in relation to the second policy directive (namely, privatisation) was also **governance**. The sub-theme *increased private sector involvement* in education under this theme was emergent from the interview data. This had a follow-on effect on the **quality** of education leading to the sub-theme *quality erosion*, especially in the higher education sector according to most participants. The link between privatisation and quality was explained by one participant as follows:

Involvement of the private sector in the education business did increase access and introduced choice to the system. Together with privatisation there is a need for a strong quality assurance mechanism. What we see today is the weakening of the quality assurance mechanism. The governing board of the Maldives Qualification Authority is dominated by private parties which I feel is somewhat detrimental to the quality of the higher education. Oftentimes leniency is given in enforcing the standards so as to gain business advantages by these private parties. (PE3)

Another sub-theme under governance, namely *lack of transparency*, was evident as an effect of the privatisation movement. Some participants were unhappy about the lack of transparency in the Public-Private Partnership arrangements made by the government and identified this feature as a cause of the eventual failure of the policy. In addition, according to some participants, the parents of the school that was given to a private party under a Public Private Partnership were not happy about the newly introduced fees and the strict guidelines of the new management. The Minister of education became unpopular to the masses leading to ten incidents of protests near his residence.

Practices/effects emanating from the centralization movement of Yameen's Administration were not fully felt by the end of the study period in 2015 as the policy was in its infancy. However, the participants foresaw **quality** issues such as *politicisation of knowledge production* and *quality erosion* from the national level. Another theme identified by most participants was **power concentration**. This was explained by a participant who was a former senior government official, as follows:

I strongly believe that universities should be independent from political pressure. If the government can influence how universities are run, then the mandate of universities will keep on changing with changes to the government. The universities will not be able to make long-term plans. In addition, when universities are run by political parties there is a danger of the universities being used as tools to gain political advantages. Sadly, the onset of such problems is already visible like the focus on training large numbers of nurses and teachers at the expense of quality. (PE8)

A second participant elaborated on the diminished production of knowledge that could occur with stronger central control by stating:

I will give an example of how knowledge can be politicised by politicising the management of universities. Let's say MNU [The Maldives National University] did research and the outcomes are negative towards the government. Do you think they will allow the research to be published? (PE11)

Policy 2: Establishment of One-shift Schools

A recurring sub-theme from Policy 2 in relation to the context of practices/effects was *flexibility* within the main theme of **governance**. Participants noted that in the one-shift schooling, the management of the schools had more flexibility in timetabling and introducing more after-school extra-curricular activities and remedial classes due to availability of space and resources, thus enabling them to fully focus on the development of their students. However, in practice, the expected advantages did not occur in schools which switched to one-shift.

According to one participant:

The one-shift school is the rule in almost all the countries and its advantages were known to all. When Nasheed's government instituted the one-shift school policy, many knew that it would not last. Teachers left school soon after the session ended and the expected results did not take place. One reason was that the stance of the government towards Civil Service within which teachers were employed. They were not amicable to the initiative. The other was that teachers felt their pay had eroded in the high inflation of Nasheed's government which raised foreign exchange rates by 20% raising all prices. In fact, in 2014 the one-shift school policy was reversed in Male' region because there was no space for children migrating from rural islands. (PE15)

The next sub-theme emergent from the interviews was *staff resistance to the policy*. This sub-theme is immanent to the main theme, **impact on schools and teachers**. The staff resistance resulted from the unpreparedness of stakeholders and lack of a legal framework. According to the participants, none of the parties (including students, teachers, administrators, parents, and the staff of Ministry of Education) were fully prepared for such a policy when it was implemented. Some participants noted that the students became tired due to the long hours and lost the ability to concentrate, while parents complained about the interference of school hours with the students' private tuition hours or other activities. Participants also noted that the infrastructure and resources needed to implement such a policy were not provided by the Ministry.

A main theme emerging from Policy 2, was **impact on schools and teachers** that was seen from the *teacher reluctance*. According to the participants when the schools began to operate in single sessions it was met with resistance from the professional staff for the long hours and the government's inability to adequately remunerate them. As a result, teachers left schools soon after the session was over and were unwilling to attend extra-curricular activities. One participant noted that the policy was implemented at a time of austerity when schools were required to reduce operating costs and thus overtime work was not paid for. Another participant related the resistance that came from teachers to their living conditions by saying that "the household income of our civil servants is dependent on salaries generated from more than one job. Most of these staff considered that a government job was a guaranteed job. Therefore, they give more importance to their second job or part-time job" (PE3).

A further sub-theme emergent from the context of practices/effects was the formation of *a cohesive school community* within the main theme of **impact on schools and teachers**. Most participants noted that there was better coordination and consultation among students, teachers and the administrators in the single session schools due to the bonds that were formed as a result of participating in the school activities that were organised after-hours.

Policy 3: Introduction of a National Education Loan Scheme

Three major themes were evident from Policy 3 in relation to the context of practices/effects. First, the availability of loans *increased access to higher education and training* that comes under the main theme **equity and access**. The participants explained that before the loan scheme was introduced the majority of bilateral scholarships available was given to government employees or people willing to work for the government after completing their studies. Private sector employees had few opportunities to secure scholarships or funding for higher education. With the introduction of the loan scheme many students, both from the public and private sector, gained access to higher education and training.

Second, there was a change in the **governance** structure of education with the *expansion of the private education sector*. A participant explained:

with the availability of funds many students wanted to enrol in programmes offered by the Maldives National University; mainly because of its reputation, availability of programmes from different areas and the cheap cost of programmes. However, as the number of seats was limited the students started enrolling in other institutions which led to a boom in the private higher education business. (PE13)

The rapid expansion of the private higher education sector led to the third theme of erosion in **quality**. This was explained by a participant as follows:

the expansion of the private higher education sector led to competition among different institutions as they started operating for profit. To get more customers the entry criteria for programmes were lowered, the programmes were designed in flexible modes making it more attractive to the prospective students and students were easily passed in examinations and awarded certificates. This had a negative effect on the public education institutions as well. As both types of institutions were competing for the same customers the public institutions were forced to adopt the trending features in their business too. (PE3)

Policy 4: Refocus on Vocational Education at School Level

A recurrent national level theme stemming from Policy 4 in relation to the context of practices/effects was **the impact on behaviour and learning** as observed by the *decrease in the number of wayward youth*. Some teachers and ministry officials who participated in this study noted that vocational programmes kept the ‘weak’ students longer in school, equipping them with skills that may be useful in employment.

The national level theme **power concentration** was also evident from Policy 4. Some participants pointed out the symbolic nature of the policy by saying that it was implemented to achieve political advantages. As one participant explained:

the *dhasvaaru* [apprenticeship/internship] programme or the vocational stream is not achieving its objectives especially in the islands. Though there are about 34 areas from which students can specialise in the programme, the choices are, in practice, limited.

They can only gain work experience from the island office or places like the power house. (PE14)

Another participant noted:

The duplicity that made up the actions of government was recently exposed when the Ministry of Education, with much fanfare, published that the students who passed in five and more subjects in the Grade-10 leaving exams had risen to 75%. Such a large increase within one year at national level with the same set of teachers, methods and means is a statistical improbability. It looks like that weak student had been required to follow the *dhasvaaru* programme and that these students are thus not counted as bona-fide students who sat the examinations. Excluding weak students in the official lower secondary examinations had been practiced earlier by requiring them to sit the exams as private candidates. (PE15)

This participant further noted there was some social injustice in categorising students as ‘weak’ quite early and limiting their futures by requiring them to choose paths at the stage of general education.

Policy 5: Changes to the Organization of Schooling

As two of the directives discussed under this policy were found to be more symbolic in nature, only the context of practices/effects of curricular changes will be discussed here. The first theme was **impact on schools and teachers**. Three sub-themes under this theme were identified. First, a *mismatch between teacher competence and curriculum requirements* was recognized. Most participants said that the training given on the National Curriculum Framework was inadequate. According to one participant, the training that ran for only seven days was too short. The participants also talked about the brevity of the content covered saying that only the ‘big picture’ was explained.

Thus, they were still having difficulties in preparing lesson plans and assessing students as required by the new curriculum. Second, some participants highlighted being *burdened with an information overload*. Some teacher participants noted that the concurrent implementation of both Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2 led to them being overburdened by too much information and not knowing

what to do. Some participants discussed the difficulties they faced teaching Key Stage 2 without the knowledge of Key Stage 1. The third sub-theme was *fabrication of assessment*. Most participants agreed that they were not very familiar with the concept of assessment for learning that is required by the curriculum. Therefore, they often make assumptions about whether a student has achieved an outcome or not and are doubtful that their assessment was fair.

Table 10.4

Major Themes Relating to Policy Practices and Effects in Era 5

Policy	National level	Local level
Changes to the governance of education	Governance. <i>Public accessibility.</i> <i>Efficiency.</i> <i>Increased private sector involvement.</i> <i>Lack of transparency.</i> <i>Mismatch between central expectations and local realities.</i> <i>Power struggle.</i> Quality. <i>Quality erosion.</i> <i>Politicisation of knowledge production.</i> Power concentration.	Particular powerful individual policy actors. <i>Power struggle.</i> <i>Political expediency.</i>
Establishment of one-shift schools	Governance. <i>Flexibility.</i> Impact on schools and teachers. <i>A cohesive school community.</i> <i>Staff resistance to policy</i>	
Introduction of a national education loan scheme	Equity and access. <i>Increased access to higher education and training.</i> Governance. <i>Expansion of the private education sector.</i> Quality. <i>Quality erosion.</i>	
A refocus on vocational education at school level	Impact on behaviour and learning. <i>Decrease in the number of wayward youth.</i> Power concentration.	
Changes to organization of schooling	Impact on schools and teachers. <i>Mismatch between teacher knowledge and curriculum requirement.</i> <i>Burden of information overload.</i> <i>Fabrication of assessment.</i> Resource shortages.	

The second main theme prevalent from Policy 5 was **resource shortages**. Some teachers who participated in this study said that the only resources available

for them were the textbooks and teacher packs. They were in need of resources such as computers, teaching aids and science laboratories to carry out the activities given in the curriculum.

Overall, from the analysis of interviews, the major themes in relation to the context of practices/effects were identified from the national level. These themes are summarised in Table 10.4.

Summary

Overall, five major education policy developments have been identified from Era 5 (2008–2015). They are:

- Changes to the governance of education
- Establishment of one-shift schools
- Introduction of a national education loan scheme
- Refocus on vocational education at school level
- Changes to the organization of schooling.

The context of influences, policy text production and practices/effects were analysed for the five policies of Era 5. Unlike the previous chapters the influences from local, national and global levels were derived from interviews with key policy actors in this final era in the study. Three primary policy texts were investigated to identify themes.

The themes in relation to national **influences** include the following: equity and access, governance, resource shortages, catering for national developmental needs, impact on schools and teachers, impact on behaviour and learning, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, and cultural considerations. While the influences from particular powerful individual policy actors emerged from the local level, global education trends and international policy borrowing shaped the education policies from the global level.

Only national level themes were evident from the context of **policy text production**. They were: governance, relevance to the Maldives and available employment and catering for national developmental needs.

The context of **practices/effects** was also analysed from the national level. The main themes evident from this context were the following: governance, quality, power concentration, impact on schools and teachers, equity and access, impact on behaviour and learning, and resource shortages.

Chapter 10 is the last of the five chapters on the findings of the study. In Chapter 11, the findings are further examined to generate a meta-analysis of the themes.

CHAPTER 11

A META-ANALYSIS ALONG THE POLICY TRAJECTORY OVER FIVE ERAS (1900–2015)

This chapter presents the ‘bigger picture’ of emergent themes along the policy trajectory in the Maldives over the period 1900 to 2015. This period had been divided into five eras roughly corresponding to the active time of a particular powerful policy actor, except for Era 5 which had no single significant actor.

The main objective of the chapter is to compare and contrast the policy influences, policy texts and policy practices/effects across each of the five eras (115 years in total), identify overall trends where evident, and discuss the findings in relation to the literature. Theoretical propositions about each of the policy contexts (influences, policy texts and practices) are also presented. The propositions are numbered sequentially with progression through the contexts of influences, texts and practices/effects, in subsequent sections of the chapter. The final section outlines the reflections on the usefulness of the policy trajectory framework for this inquiry.

The structure of this chapter is organised around the first three of the four research questions. The fourth research question is considered in Chapter 12.

1. How have global, national and local influences affected education policy development in the Maldives between 1900 and 2015?
2. What were the features of the key policy texts in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives (1900–2015), and how were the policy texts produced?
3. What were the practices/effects stemming from each of the major education policy developments in the Maldives (1900–2015)?

Table 11.1

Major Education Policy Processes in the Maldives from 1900 to 2015

Era	Policy
Era 1: Salaahudhdheen Era	1. The taking over of a private class by the government. 2. The inclusion of compulsory education in the first constitution. 3. The provision of a modern curriculum. 4. The admission of women in the government-run school. 5. The dissemination of schooling to other islands.
Era 2: Amin Era	1. Limiting the scope and opportunities for education. 2. Enhancing and strengthening available educational opportunities. 3. Expansion and development of education in atolls. 4. Creating and expanding educational opportunities for females. 5. Expanding the opportunities for overseas study. 6. Introducing vocational education and work experience.
Era 3: Nasir Era	1. Cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas. 2. Introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools. 3. Restricting government funding to three schools in Male'. 4. Transferring partial cost of education to the parents. 5. Expansion and institutionalization of vocational training. 6. Establishment of Community Schools.
Era 4: Maumoon Era	1. Expansion of community and primary education. 2. Expansion of secondary education. 3. Expansion of post-secondary education and training. 4. Expansion of teacher education. 5. Curricular reforms.
Era 5: Post-Maumoon Era	1. Changes to the governance of education. 2. Establishment of 'one-shift' schools. 3. Introduction of a national education loan scheme. 4. A refocus on vocational education at school level. 5. Changes to organization of schooling.

The chapter starts with an overview of key education policy reforms in the study period of 1900 to 2015, which are summarised in Table 11.1. The subsequent three sections follow a similar format in reporting on policy influences, policy texts and policy practices, respectively. Each section is further divided into three subsections: comparisons across the five eras; discussion of emergent themes in relation to the literature; and the propositions about the policy context.

Table 11.1 shows the five eras and the key policies of each era. The policies have been analysed in the preceding five chapters. As seen from Table 11.1, public education in the Maldives started in Era 1 (Salaahudhdheen Era, 1900–1934) with the takeover of a private tuition class by the government. Earlier, education had been a private and community enterprise. Later, in the same era, provision of education was mandated by the first constitution which resulted in admission of women to the government-run school (which had been previously run exclusively for boys) and dissemination of schooling to other Maldivian islands beyond Male'. The curriculum at the time was very limited and education languished at *Edhuruge* (literally, teacher's house) level in the islands under the responsibility of atoll and island chiefs.

The beginning of Era 2 (Amin Era, 1935–1953) was marked for a few years by deliberate limitation of educational opportunities characterized by restrictions on girls attending the only government school and a nation-wide roll-back of both private and nascent public education nation-wide. However, when Amin became the head of the government, he reversed the previous policies. He established two large schools and four district schools in Male'. Each of these schools had branches for boys and girls. Together with this initiative, educational opportunities for females and island students were expanded. A boarding facility was established in Male' to accommodate rural students. Amin also expanded the opportunities for Maldivians to study abroad.

In Era 3 (Nasir Era, 1954–1978), the government sponsorship of overseas schooling was gradually discontinued with the establishment of two good quality schools in Male'. In this era, English language became the medium of instruction in public schools. Government funding was restricted only to the three schools in Male' and some of the cost of education was transferred to parents by levying a school fee. Vocational education was expanded and institutionalized in Era 3 which resulted in the establishment of two post-secondary institutions; one for health services, and the other for trades. Through a project financed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) one government-funded Community School was in

operation by the end of Era 3 in an atoll. The project aimed to develop nineteen Community Schools in total.

Era 4 (Maumoon Era, 1978–2008) was characterized by the expansion of: community and primary education in Male’ and island communities; secondary and post-secondary training; and teacher training. In addition, various reforms were brought that aligned and, sometimes, misaligned curriculum with national development.

The final era, Era 5 (Post-Maumoon Era, 2008–2015), though short, encompassed several policy reforms initiated by a number of key policy actors. Nasheed’s government (2008–2012) changed the form of education governance by focusing on decentralization and privatisation whilst, by contrast, Yameen’s government (2013–2015) focused on bringing education under highly centralised control. Nasheed’s government attempted to re-establish ‘one-shift’ schools whereas the system was changed back to ‘double-session’ schooling with Yameen’s policies. Yameen’s administration had refocused on vocational education at the school level and initiated changes to the organization of schooling, of which only the recent curricular reform was implemented as intended.

The above account reveals the evolution of public education policies (from a private enterprise to a State enterprise and later to increased privatisation) over the study period of 115 years. The next section will identify the emergent themes from the context of policy influences, and then discuss them in relation to literature. The themes are written in bold face, the first instance they arise, for ease of identification.

Context of Policy Influences

Research Question 1: *How have global, national and local influences affected education policy development in the Maldives between 1900 and 2015?*

The dynamics of the Maldivian education policy reforms from 1900 to 2015 were driven and shaped by a complex combination of global, national and local

influences. Table 11.2 summarises the main emergent themes from the context of influences for the five eras.

Table 11.2
Key Themes Arising from the Context of Influences

Era	Key themes		
	Global	National	Local
Era 1	International policy borrowing.	Catering for national development needs.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 2	International policy borrowing.	Catering for national development needs. Equity and access. Cultural considerations. Quality.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 3	Global education trends. Internal politics of Sri Lanka.	Catering for national development needs. Equity and access. Resource shortages. Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Impact on behaviour and learning.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 4	International policy borrowing Global education trends.	Catering for national development needs. Equity and access. Resource shortages. Relevance to the Maldives and available employment.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 5	International policy borrowing. Global education trends.	Equity and access. Resource shortages. Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Cultural considerations. Impact on behaviour and learning. Impact on schools and teachers.	Particular powerful individual policy actors.

Note: The dominant themes are written in **boldface** and the less prominent themes are written in regular face.

Comparison of Influences Across the Five Eras

Global, national and local level influences were not clearly distinct as they overlapped across these levels to produce a network of influences which became more complex with progression through the five eras. However, they are separated here for analytical convenience. The dominant global influences (themes common

to multiple eras) on evolving Maldivian education policy processes were **international policy borrowing** and **global education trends**.

In Era 1 and Era 2, global influences were apparent only in the form of selected **international policy borrowing** from specific countries by the policy elite. However, since Era 3, global influences manifested into education policy reforms through mandates of various international development agencies and organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank. Starting from the last two decades of Era 3, the Maldives began adopting broader **global education trends** such as imperatives to learn English in Era 3 and embracing other global trends such as universalization of primary education in Era 4. In Era 5, an outcomes-based curriculum framework was adopted. In the latter eras, global influences had become more influential as the Maldives increasingly aligned its education policies with global policy trends. Though not fully a global influence, events in neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka also affected education policy processes in the Maldives.

The dominant national influences (themes common to multiple eras) in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives were **catering for national development needs, access and equity, resource shortages** and **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. A major stimulus for the conception of education policies throughout the study period was **catering for national development needs**. As the public became more educated and globally aware, their demands to resolve issues with **equity and access** resulted in the conception of new policies such as the expansion and development of education in the atolls in Era 2, establishment of Community Schools in Era 3 and expansion of primary education in Era 4. In addition, the introduction of a national education loan scheme in Era 5 sought to redress **equity and access** issues at post-secondary level. Another driving force behind education policies from Era 3 onwards was **resource shortages**. Era-3 policies featured economic imperatives such as cessation of government-sponsored scholarships for study overseas and the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools. Further, restriction of

government funding to three schools in Male' and transfer of some of the cost of education to parents were both economic imperatives. Additionally, the Era-4 policy on expansion of teacher education and the Era-5 policy on changes to the governance of education partly resulted from the actions of the governments to reduce the cost burden. Some policies were implemented because of their **relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. This theme became dominant late in Era 2 and impacted policy development in subsequent eras. The theme is evident in the policies: institutionalization of vocational training (Era 3), expansion of secondary and post-secondary education (Era 4), and a refocus on vocational education at school level (Era 5).

The dominant local influences on the education policy processes of the Maldives from 1900 to 2015 were derived from **particular powerful individual policy actors**. These influences were seen throughout the study period and played a major role in shaping education policy. For this reason, the eras of this study were named after such powerful policy actors. The policy elite was also significant in drawing in global influences on Maldivian education policy, based on their personal experiences in foreign countries.

In addition to the dominant themes which extended across a majority of eras, as discussed above, there were themes specific to each era. These themes were dependent on time and the dominant political ideology of the era. For example, the policy of Era 2 limiting the scope and opportunities for education was driven by a desire of the political elite to curb foreign influences (for example, banning import of foreign newspapers and magazines) and had **cultural considerations**, such as religious convictions of the time, which discouraged mixing of sexes. Era-2 policies such as enhancing and strengthening available educational opportunities as well as expansion and development of education in the atolls (for example, starting government-funded schools in rural islands) were influenced by the need to maintain **quality**. In Eras 3 and 5, **the impact on learning and behaviour** had influenced the enactment of some policies. This theme relates to the disruptive behaviours of some students who were in Sri Lankan hostels in Era 2 and overcrowding in schools in Era 5. Furthermore, in Era 5, the

impacts on schools and teachers (for example, due to ‘multi-session’ schooling) were paramount in guiding the direction of some policies.

Discussion of the Emergent Themes (Policy Influences) in Relation to the Literature

Seven dominant themes were evident in relation to influences on the education policy processes of the Maldives from 1900 to 2015, as indicated above. These themes are discussed in relation to the literature in the following subsections, along with several less prominent, yet still significant, themes.

International policy borrowing. Analysis of documents and interviews revealed that selected international policy borrowing had influenced the education policy processes of the Maldives since Era 1 began in 1900. In the first two eras, this theme was evident through the experiences and power of the policy elite as they continued forging practices they had experienced overseas. In congruence with Ball's (2008, p. 30) description, the national education policy making processes in the Maldives were a “process of bricolage” where bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere were borrowed and copied while “locally tried-and-tested approaches” were drawn out and amended to incorporate new ideas that were seen as important by the policy elite. When policies are borrowed, almost verbatim, there is a danger that they may not translate into a nation’s context the same way as they worked in the country where they originated (Tan, 2016). This is because the context in which the policy was successful may be quite different from the context of the nation state where it is borrowed into (Burdett & O'Donnell, 2016). Borrowing, transplanting and implementing new international/global policies in a domestic environment calls for a reconciliation of culture, socio-economic factors and context (Burdett & O'Donnell, 2016).

Towards the end of Era 3, the modes of international policy transfer expanded to include international organizations and international consultants. This trend is consistent with the observations of Al'Abri (2011) who noted that traditional education policy making was a national affair where importance was given to aspects that the policy elite saw as significant for the development of nation states. This trend was, however, overtaken by globalisation, as education

became an integral part of the global economy (i.e., an international commodity) with investments in people, skills and knowledge (Tan, 2016).

The Maldivian policy elite were motivated to borrow from particular countries for cultural, political or economic reasons, as explained by Steiner-Khamsi (2016). In the first two eras, the main motivation for policy borrowing came from economic and cultural reasons, with economic reasons taking predominance. In the earlier eras education policies were borrowed from Sri Lanka, Egypt and the United Kingdom. Sri Lanka and Egypt were countries to which the Maldivian policy elite travelled frequently and as the Maldives was a Protectorate of the British at that time, it was feasible to obtain documents and advice from the British. Due to cultural connections between Egypt and the Maldives, the education policies of Egypt appeared to capture the interests of the Maldivian policy elite. The involvement of international organizations in the policy transfer process since Era 3 shifted the interests of policy borrowers to economic rationales as dictated by neo-liberal ideologies associated with the accelerating phenomenon of globalisation, the impact of which was more pronounced in Era 4 and Era 5. A further shift towards economic and political interests was observed in the final eras.

Global education trends. Since the latter part of Era 2 (1953), global education trends had subjugated some national considerations in education policy text production in the Maldives. These trends were in ascendance in the final decades of Era 3 (1954–1978). In fact, the alignment of the policy texts with global education trends had increased with the advent of globalisation and was most prominent through the action of international organizations in Era 4 (1978–2008) and Era 5 (2008–2015). This period coincided with the time the accelerating effects of globalisation on global education policy discourses (Akkari & Thibaut, 2015; Rizvi et al., 2005). Since the 1990s, globalisation and associated discourses have been redefining the role of education and the power of nation states. The impact of these global influences was most substantial and seen as pervasive by many (Al’Abri, 2011; Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001; Priestley, 2002; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The first significant alignment of the education policies of the Maldives with global education trends was seen in Era 3 when the medium of instruction in Male’ schools was changed to English language. In Era 4, with the introduction of

secondary education in islands, and earlier in Male', the vernacular system was changed to English medium instruction. According to Al'Abri (2011), English as a global language is a discourse encouraged by globalisation as English is the dominant language of business and trade.

All Era-4 policies, namely, expansion of community and primary education, expansion of secondary education, expansion of post-secondary education and training, expansion of teacher education and curricular reforms were either directly or indirectly impacted by global education trends. Robertson et al. (2007) explained that low income countries and developing countries experienced a more powerful impact from international organizations through their practices, programmes and policies such as the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals, Education for All and the broader education policy discourses of the global knowledge economy and lifelong learning. This strong impact was evidenced from the results of this study, especially during Era 4 and Era 5 when the Maldives explicitly aligned its education policies with the Education for All goals, the Millennium Development Goals and other dominant global education policy discourses.

Maldivian participants in this study noted that master plans for the education sector were normally written by consultants from Australia, UK or USA. The consultants are known to pass on contextualised reports written in other consultancy assignments they had taken in other countries with some changes. A local counterpart was attached to overseas consultants and the team of consultants visited government agencies for data collection. The more articulate and forceful policy actors ensured that their views were incorporated into the final policy document. Many overseas consultants were paid for by international organizations. This predisposition to adopt global agendas in local policies was particularly the case in Era 4, according to the participants.

International organizations play an important role in promoting nations' successful engagement with the global economy (Akkari & Thibaut, 2015; Chong et al., 2016) which has been clearly evident in the Maldivian context since the latter part of Era 3. However, their role was somewhat mediated by national and local histories, contexts and aspirations as explained by Green, Little, Kamat, Oketch & Vickers (2007). A significant example of this was the changes brought to education

governance in Era 5. At the beginning of Era 5 there was a movement towards ‘good governance’ with the introduction of decentralization and privatisation policies as highlighted in global agendas (Rizvi et al., 2005). However, the national influence predominated over the global influence in the latter part of Era 5 when the system reverted to how it was previously. This reversion is also characteristic of a new global phenomenon involving a rise of authoritarianism and nationalism in the West (Taub, 2016), as exemplified by the tagline of one of the presidential candidates, Trump, in the 2016 USA election: *America First*.

Another policy that indicated impacts of global education trends was the national curriculum framework introduced in Era 5. This new curriculum framework was very similar to the curricular frameworks of the English-speaking West. According to participants involved in developing the curriculum framework, the focus of the curriculum was to develop human capital for the global knowledge economy. Priestley (2002, p. 124) described the similarities that existed between national curricula of developing countries “in terms of structure (e.g. sequential levels and outcomes), in terms of the language that is used (e.g. attainment targets and strands) and in terms of the strong instrumental thrust that tends to permeate them (e.g. contributing to the future economic success of the national economy).” These features were also evident in the Maldives National Curriculum Framework.

Catering for national development needs. A major national level driving force for education reforms in the Maldives evident from documents and interviews was catering for national development needs. From the findings, it was apparent that the major education policies of all the eras were formulated with the understanding of the transformative power of education. According to Al’Abri (2011), nation states focused on expansion of education to speed up development processes and to link development to the needs of the citizens. Within this process, the development goals of most countries were constantly reviewed to cope with changes associated with globalisation. This trend was observed in the progression of education policies in the Maldives from era to era. The findings of this study showed that the needs of people changed as they had access to education, and with the expansion of the education system, education policies were changed to match the development needs of the country. For example, the policies implemented in

Era 1 and Era 2 were mainly focused on making the citizens literate and knowledgeable about religion, while in Era 3 the focus was on internationalization. The latter was evidenced by the introduction of a foreign curriculum and subscription to overseas examinations as well as by switching the medium of instruction to English. The focus of Era 4 was on increasing the literacy rate and providing access to primary and secondary education for all, expanding post-secondary education, preparing local teachers to meet the increasing demand, and developing a unified national curriculum for primary level. In Era 5, there were three presidencies within eight years. These short-lived governments were not conducive to consistent policy making, but their general efforts were geared towards improving the internal efficiency of the education system.

The link between national development and expansion of education is a dominant trend in globalised human capital discourse which motivated nation states to formulate and implement education policies that were seen to be of economic advantage to the nation (Dale, 1999; Hoa, n.d.; Kingdom & Maekae, 2013; Mundy, 2002). Such policies were emphasised to enhance the productivity of the domestic labour force, especially those policies that were intent on building human capital. The wave of modernization that spread through the world after World War II was felt in the Maldives placing national development objectives in focus. Significant effects were an emphasis on skills-training which started in Era 2 but continued to expand until the end of the study period. In Era 3, for the first time, vocational training was institutionalised and people were sent abroad for relevant training not available within the country. International organizations such as the World Health Organization also promoted training both within and outside the country. Nevertheless, as Chong et al. (2016) and L. Bell and Stevenson (2006) contended, building human capital should not be the sole purpose of education and, therefore, while appreciating global trends, maintaining national identity was given a renewed importance in Era 5.

Equity and access. As Maldivians became more educated and more aware of social justice, demands for greater equity and access became more significant influences. This resulted in the conception of new policies such as the expansion and development of education in atolls in Era 2, establishment of

Community Schools in Era 3, expansion of community and primary education in Era 4 and the introduction of a national education loan scheme in Era 5. The influences related to equity and access on these policies emanated from greater public demand, especially from island communities and students. The policy elite appeared to be cognizant of issues of social justice as they relate to equity and access.

A surge in demand for public education, similar to the trend observed by Rizvi et al. (2005) from many Asia-Pacific countries, was seen in the Maldives from Era 3. At first, the focus was on universalization of primary education. After expanding primary education to all the islands, the focus shifted to expanding post-primary education in the latter part of Era 4. This trend is universal as suggested by Acedo, Adams and Popa (2012). They attributed the ripple effects of expanding primary education to institutional capability and economic globalisation. Under the assumption that education benefits communities, both socially and economically, there was a major push for access to education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels in most developing countries (Rizvi et al., 2005).

Some education policies had been implemented to overcome negative effects associated with other education policies. For example, introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools in Era 3 led to congestion of Male' schools due to an increased demand for places. The establishment of the Community Schools improved access and equity but did create new disparities as the instructional medium in Male' schools was English.

Resource shortages. Resources shortages were a significant influence on the implementation of education policies during the study period. Sub-themes, lack of teaching resources and economic imperatives, stemming from this main theme had acted as stimuli for conceiving some education policies. Policies that were impacted by resource shortages include the Era-3 policies of cessation of government sponsored scholarships for study overseas, introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools, restricting government funding to three schools in Male', and transferring some of the cost of education to parents. In addition, the Era-4 policy of expansion of teacher education and the Era-5 policy of changes to the governance of education were influenced by resource shortages.

There is a growing body of literature that suggests that governments shift financing to areas which have greater cost returns (e.g., Tiongson, 2005). On this basis, the restriction of the government budget to Male' schools in Era 3 would have helped develop the labour force needed for the State bureaucracy, while also appeasing some political forces. In addition, the Maldivian government had used cost recovery mechanisms, such as introducing a school fee and training local teachers, to meet the demand for expansion of education. Another cost reduction mechanism utilised by the Maldivian government was the introduction of English medium schools in Male' to give access to good quality education to more people with the available budget, rather than sending a selected few to Sri Lanka for schooling. Tiongson (2005) notes similar cost reduction and recovery steps in other contexts.

Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Since Era 2, education policy issues concerning relevance to the Maldives and existing employment opportunities started influencing the direction of education policy. Sub-themes such as a mismatch between available education and required skills, contextual relevance and providing a holistic education became substantial in the conception of education policies. Examples of policies influenced by the above mentioned sub-themes include the Era-3 policy on institutionalization of vocational training, the Era-4 policy on expansion of teacher education, and the Era-5 policies of the re-establishment of 'one-shift' schools and a refocus on vocational education at school level. According to Fredriksen (2011), relevance of the curricula to the local context is a major issue faced by developing countries, as evidenced from the findings of this study. The issue is particularly prominent in the Maldives because the secondary school curriculum and examinations are from overseas.

As modernization gained momentum in the 1960s (Era 3) there was a shortage of skilled workers and technicians for industries and public works. The demand for skilled workers was further increased with the establishment of the first airport and spread of radio-communications. Fredriksen (2011) predicted that the supply-demand mismatch in developing countries would grow rapidly in the coming decades as the total population of working age continues to grow.

Particular powerful individual policy actors. Another dominant theme evident in relation to the context of influences is the effect of particular powerful individual policy actors. The findings show that throughout the entire study period, particular influential policy actors had the power to significantly change policy direction. Local policy actors influenced policy processes due to the fear of losing power, for political neutralization or to gain political expediency. In addition, the experiences and power of the policy elite played a major role in the conception of education policies. For example, from Era 1 to Era 3, national policy actors (sometimes acting alone) had been instrumental in formulating and implementing policies that had enabled or limited public education. From the latter part of Era 3 until the end of the study period, global policy actors, such as international organizations, had taken the lead in steering education policy direction. However, whenever the local policy elite suspected that these organizations had intruded into the policy processes affecting their political interests, they exerted their power to intervene. In other words, power circulated at all levels, as suggested by Vidovich (2007), though the strength of the power exerted by different policy actors varied at different times.

The findings are consistent with the conclusions of L. Bell and Stevenson (2006) as well as Jones (2013) who emphasized that education policy discourses are laden with values that reflect the structural balance of power in the society. The changes in the political landscape of the Maldives from Era 3 onwards were reminiscent of the disempowerment of nation states referred to by Bottery (2006) when a country becomes locked into international agreements associated with aid from international organizations for development. The dilemma of small developing countries, with the ‘tight-rope’ of balancing local aspirations and culture with the desire to belong to the international community, was the experience of the Maldives. While the Maldivian policy elite encouraged some policies such as the universalization of primary education, some other international trends such as decentralization was generally discouraged. Steiner-Khamsi (2016) coined the term ‘soft power’ to refer to the choice national policy actors had to either produce or lighten reform pressure to align education policies with international norms and so called best practices. The use of this ‘soft power’ has been evident in the Maldivian context.

Less prominent themes. In addition to the themes discussed in the preceding sections, three less prominent (yet still significant) themes were identified in the policies of Era 2, Era 3 and Era 5. The first of these themes was cultural considerations. This theme emerged from the Era 2 policy of limiting the scope of education and opportunities of education as well as the Era 5 policy of changes to the organization of schooling. In Era 2, the factors that influenced limiting education were religious convictions and curbing foreign influences. These themes arose due to the conservative beliefs of the policy elite and adherence to customary administrative practices. In both cases, the policies were not in harmony with those of some actors. Education policies were laden with values of influential policy actors, as indicated by Jones (2013) and Tan (2016); and policy actors tend to oppose any policy which conflicts with their beliefs. The phenomenon is universal; that is, values inform dominant discourses in the socio-political environment and guide policy directions (Manna, 2014). In the second case the sub-theme of maintaining national identity had partly influenced the conception of educational policies. The wider literature reveals that in the wave of globalisation spreading through nation states, education policies have been re-asserting national identity in many countries (Chong et al., 2016; Manna, 2014; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The next theme, impact on behaviour and learning, was a minor theme that was specific to several policies. The sub-theme, conflict between students and the management of the boarding school, partly contributed to the cessation of government sponsored schooling in Sri Lanka. Another sub-theme, custodial role of schools, contributed to the implementation of the Era-5 policy establishment of ‘one-shift’ schools. Likewise, the sub-theme of unemployment among youth contributed to the conception of the Era-5 policy which refocused on vocational education at the school level.

Another recurring theme evident from some education policy processes was ‘quality’ which first emerged in the Era-2 policy, expansion of education in atolls. There was rapid quality erosion as a result of the expansion when schools taught by unqualified teachers with no set curriculum started in islands. Therefore, the government had to establish standards to maintain quality. As Robertson et al.

(2007) stressed, such expansion is accompanied by quality erosion and, therefore, governments need to take measures to address associated quality issues.

Propositions Relating to the Context of Influences

Drawing from the findings of this research and in the light of the literature, the themes relating to policy influences along the educational policy trajectory (1900–2015) in the Maldives can be synthesised into five propositions as outlined below. The five propositions are presented in order of predominance.

1. National political considerations in the Maldives were a paramount influence on public education in the study period of 115 years (1900–2015). Generally, political leaders have tried to retain or consolidate their own power, often at the expense of quality education, but their influence was more significant in some eras than others. (NATIONAL LEVEL)
2. Public education in the Maldives has evolved from one aimed at catering for national development needs in the early eras to one aimed at improving performance in competitive global arenas in the 21st century, as a result of the harmonising influences of globalisation. Curriculum policy borrowing from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand has been significant in recent eras, contributing to reducing the relevance of public education to national Maldivian needs, and particularly employability requirements. (NATIONAL LEVEL)
3. International agencies have exerted a strong influence in shaping Maldivian public education policies from the late 1960s to the end of the study period. The role of international agencies (e.g. the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, the UNDP, and the UNICEF) accelerated in Era 3 after the Maldives gained independence. (GLOBAL)
4. Particular powerful policy actors, acting alone, have been a great influence in generating and implementing education policies that have enabled or limited public education in the Maldives during the period under study. The role of single policy actors was especially powerful in the first half of the study period. (LOCAL LEVEL)

5. The secondary curriculum has increasingly been a primary influence on the medium and methods of teaching in lower grades. Secondary education examinations have had a powerful influence in shaping curriculum policy, including teaching methods, structure, organization and management of public education in the Maldives. The curriculum of Community Schools, which were more attuned to local needs in Eras 3 and 4, was displaced by the influence of overseas curricula in Male' schools. The use of two different curricula, one for atoll schools (developed locally) and one for Male' schools (adopted from the United Kingdom) was untenable, especially in relation to equity. (GLOBAL LEVEL)

Each of the five propositions listed above has been labelled 'global', 'national' or 'local', depending on its scope and origin. However, these influences tend to interact with each other, giving rise to a dynamic 'network' of influences where global, national and local boundaries become indistinct.

Context of Policy Text Production

Research Question 2: What were the features of the key policy texts in the evolution of education policy in the Maldives (1900–2015), and how were the policy texts produced?

The major education policy texts available from the study period were analysed to reveal their characteristics and how they were produced. The key themes evident in relation to the context of policy text production are summarised in Table 11.3. These themes are all from the national level where the key policy texts under investigation in this study were produced.

Comparison of Policy Text Production Across the Five Eras

The four dominant themes—**catering for national development needs, relevance to the Maldives and available employment, governance and the role of particular powerful individual policy actors**—are highlighted in education

policy text production at the national level in the Maldives. The first theme was evident from education policies from Era 2 onwards, and the latter themes were emergent from subsequent eras except for the **role of particular powerful individual policy actors** which was embedded in some policy texts from Era 1, Era 2 and Era 3. Similar to the context of influences, era-specific national level themes in policy text production were also evident. Whereas **equity and access** as a theme was apparent from Era 2 and Era 4 policies, **resource shortages** was apparent from some policy texts studied from Era 2 and Era 3. Furthermore, the theme **cultural considerations** emerged from some Era 2 policy texts.

Table 11.3

Key Themes Arising from the Context of Policy Text Production

Era	Key themes (national level)
Era 1	Catering for national development needs. The role of particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 2	Equity and access. Catering for national development needs. Resource shortages. Cultural considerations. The role of particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 3	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Catering for national development needs. Resource shortages. Governance. The role of particular powerful individual policy actors.
Era 4	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Governance. Catering for national development needs. Equity and access.
Era 5	Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Governance. Catering for national development needs.

Note: The dominant themes are written in **boldface** and the less prominent themes are written in regular face.

Discussion of the Emergent Themes (Policy Texts) in Relation to the Literature

Four prominent themes were evident in education policy text production in the Maldives from 1900 to 2015, as indicated above. These themes are discussed in relation to the literature in the following subsections, along with several less prominent, yet significant, themes.

Catering for national development needs. The findings showed that the processes of policy text production across all five eras were characterised by the theme of catering for national development needs. According to the participants Maldivian governments (1900–2015) acted with the understanding that education is one of the fundamental factors enabling development—a view that Al’Abri (2011) advocates. Development of nation states was also on the agenda of global education reforms. Thus as the Maldivian education policy texts were aligned with global education discourses, it was inevitable that the policy texts would also reflect development goals; a point stressed by Dale and Robertson (2012).

Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. The issue of relevance of curriculum to the Maldives and available employment started to emerge in Maldivian education policy texts in Era 2. The policy texts revealed contextual irrelevance (teaching of subjects such as the British Constitution) and marginalization of subjects related to culture (the lower priority given to Dhivehi and Islam) that was consequent to the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in Male’ schools. Both Baddeley (1971) and Bodart (1973) have noted how irrelevant the British grammar school curriculum was to Maldivian children. Roberts (2009) stated that it is difficult to protect identity when a nation state starts operating in the global space. Thus, these issues were engendered by the tension felt in opening up to the global policyscape while simultaneously espousing national cultural values.

Since Era 4, it was observed that Maldivian education policy texts gave special attention to linking the curriculum to future jobs and meeting employer needs. Era 4 coincided with a period of growing acceptance of globalisation and with dominance of human capital discourse in education policies (Manna, 2014).

Governance. Governance was a prominent theme in education policy texts of Era 3, Era 4 and Era 5. This theme gave rise to the sub-themes of privatisation and decentralisation. Privatisation, especially that of higher education, was encouraged by the World Bank in order to establish a cost recovery scheme for students enrolled in public institutions (Robertson et al., 2007). Nasheed’s government extended privatisation to all levels of education and opened university

campuses for tender in 2010. According to Lewin (1998), privatisation of education offers the possibility of expanding access to education at lower costs to governments and enables governments to direct subsidies towards the most deserving students. However, the policy strategy of privatisation is highly contested (Crouch, 2003; S. Jones, 2014).

Another sub-theme related to governance evident from some education policy texts of Era 4 and Era 5 was decentralization. Decentralization in the form of community engagement is stressed in some of the Era-4 policy texts, while decentralization as devolution was observed from the policy texts of Nasheed's government (2008–2012) in Era 5. Decentralization is promoted by the World Bank as a means to increase educational democracy and participation (Robertson et al., 2007).

Role of particular powerful individual policy actors. Maldivian education policy texts consistently revealed the hegemonic role of particular powerful individual policy actors. In Eras 1, 2, 3 and 5 the role of influential policy actors was evident from the policy texts through the marginalization of political opponents, reproduction of the policy elite, ingratiation of potential rivals and authoritarian control. From Era 4 onwards, global discourses took ascendance over national priorities under the steerage of the most powerful policy actors. In addition, the role of the local policy elite was evident from the amendments brought to the Maldives National University Act. As T. Jones, (2013) and Manna (2014) asserted policy texts reveal values that reflect the structural balance of power in the society.

Less Prominent Themes. In addition to the themes discussed in the preceding sections, three less prominent themes were revealed from some policy texts in some eras. The first of these themes is equity and access. The sub-theme of lack of gender equity was evident from the 'Statement of Law by the Parliament' of Era 1 which forbade co-education. This theme was a result of the conservative beliefs of the policy elite (T. Jones, 2013). The sub-theme, student equity, was stressed in all Era-4 policy texts. This distinction reflects the global discourses that dominated the policy texts of the era (Al'Abri, 2011).

The next theme, resource shortages, was evident from some policy texts of Era 2 and Era 3. Amin's interview in the Ceylon Observer (1953) discussed in Chapter 7 showed that expansion of education was hindered due to geographical and resource constraints. Similarly, policy texts from Era 3 revealed measures taken due to budgetary constraints, for example the cessation of government sponsored schooling overseas. Finally, cultural considerations, such as disdain for co-education, were evident in some policy texts of Era 2.

Propositions Relating to the Context of Policy Text Production

Drawing from the findings of this research and in the light of the literature, the themes relating to education policy text production at the national level in the Maldives can be synthesised into four propositions as outlined below. The four propositions are presented in the order of predominance.

6. Maldivian education policy text production processes in different eras over the period 1900–2015 were highly variable. There was no particular trend evident. For example, education policies in Era 2 were passed at higher echelons of government, in Era 3 they were mere newspaper announcements and in the latter part of Era 5, they took the form of almost 'a royal proclamation'.
7. The Maldivian education policy text production throughout the study period (1900–2015) was generally characterized by a top-down approach with little or no teacher consultation. Recent Era-5 policies have been marked by greater centralization of power and control, with prescriptive guidelines, leaving little room for variation and negotiation.
8. The Maldivian education policy texts of the first two eras (1900–1953) were significantly dominated by the values and beliefs of a single powerful policy actor, whereas in the latter eras there was greater evidence of global policy discourses in the policy texts.
9. The education policy texts of all five eras were characterized by priority to national development goals. The national development goals of earlier eras (Era 1 and Era 2) focused on maintaining national identity, while the development goals of the latter eras were dictated by global

discourses. Many of the education policy texts related to national development were, however, symbolic in that there were no material resources attached to them.

Context of Policy Practices/Effects

Research Question 3: What were the practices/effects stemming from each of the major education policy developments in the Maldives (1900–2015)?

This section comprises the answer to the third research question reiterated above. Table 11.4 summarises the emergent themes from the context of practices/effects for the five eras. All these themes were evident at the national level, described in general terms in documents and interviews, as data was not collected from within individual educational institutions about the enactment of national education policies. In order to delimit this study over the time period 1900–2015, the focus has remained largely at the national level, with the addition of global level influences.

Comparison of Practices/Effects Across the Five Eras

The dominant themes from the context of practices/effects of key Maldivian education policies were **equity and access, catering for national development needs, quality, resource shortages, governance, and relevance to the Maldives and available employment**. These themes were emergent from all five eras in the period 1900–2015.

Two of the most significant effects emanating from education policies of the study period were the impact on **equity and access** and **catering for national development needs**. In Era 1 (1900–1934), the taking over of the private tuition class by the government created opportunities for public education that resulted in a high demand for education that eventually exceeded the government’s capacity to provide it. This trend continued across all eras as the provision or expansion of a certain level of education in Male’ created demands from the rural islands for that level, and also for the next level of education. In addition to the equity and access

issues observed between Male' and rural islands, the Era-3 (1954–1978) policy of transferring part of the cost of education to the parents increased the inequality between the rich and the poor.

Table 11.4

Key Themes Arising from the Context of Practices/Effects

Era	National level
Era 1	Equity and access. Catering for national development needs. Cultural considerations. Resource shortages.
Era 2	Equity and access. Impact on behaviour and learning. Quality. Cultural considerations. Catering for national development needs.
Era 3	Equity and access. Quality. Resource shortages. Governance Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Catering for national development needs.
Era 4	Equity and access. Impact on behaviour and learning. Resource shortages. Governance. Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Quality. Catering for national development needs.
Era 5	Equity and access. Impact on behaviour and learning. Resource shortages. Governance. Quality. Impact on schools and teachers. Governance. Power Concentration.

Note: The dominant themes are written in **boldface** and the less prominent themes are written in regular face.

While some policies widened the gap between the marginalised groups and the advantaged groups, other policies improved the situation of marginalised groups. For example, in Era 2 (1935–1953), the policy of forbidding co-education led to decreased gender equity. However, Amin's policy of creating and expanding educational opportunities for girls empowered females. In the same era, the policy

of expansion and development of education in atolls reduced the Male'–island (rural) gap. The Era-3 policy of restricting government funding to the schools in Male' increased the Male'–island (rural) gap.

The Era-3 policy of the establishment of Community Schools reduced the Male'–island gap; an effect that was observed in Era 4 as well. The demand for higher levels of education that was created in Era 3 and Era 4 was met by Era-4 policies such as the universalization of primary education, provision and expansion of secondary education, expansion of tertiary education and development of teacher education. The introduction of a national education loan scheme in Era 5 also expanded access to higher education and training.

Three other dominant effects stemming from the education policies of the study period were the following: resource shortages, private sector involvement, relevance of schooling to the Maldives and available employment, and impact on behaviour and learning. The themes of resource shortages, quality and governance were apparent from Era 3. Practices/effects pertaining to the theme of relevance to the Maldives and available employment were evident from Era 3 and 4 and the impact on behaviour and learning was evident from Era 2, Era 4 and Era 5. These themes are interrelated though they are separated for the purposes of discussion. Sub-themes related to resource shortages such as delivery of an affordable service resulted in the Era-3 policy of expansion and institutionalization of vocational training. Resource shortages and the expansion of private education were observed as a policy couplet. When the economic burden on the government increased, the private sector flourished to cater for the unmet demand.

Similar to the other contexts of influences and policy texts, era-specific themes were emergent in practices from some of the eras. In Era 1, practices/effects related to **cultural considerations** and **resource shortages** were evident in relation to the introduction of government schooling and the demand outstripping available places. The **impact on behaviour and learning** resulted from some policies of Era 2, Era 4 and Era 5. The era-specific practices/effects stemming from Era 5 were **impact on schools and teachers** consequent to the practice of 'one-session' schooling and **power concentration** emanating from more centralised control of education and changes brought to the Maldives National University Act.

Discussion of the Emergent Themes (Policy Practices/Effects) in Relation to the Literature

Six dominant themes associated with policy practices/effects were emergent with respect to the Maldivian education policy processes from 1900 to 2015, as indicated above. These themes are discussed in relation to literature in the subsequent sections, along with the less prominent themes.

Equity and access. Participants noted that the enactment of many Maldivian education policies resulted in concerns about equity and access. Oftentimes, a single policy resulted in favourable effects/practices while also creating tensions with other policies. For example, the Era-1 policy on the taking over of the private tuition class by the government resulted in the spread of schooling. However, it also created increased inequality between the poor and the affluent, and disparity between urban–rural education provision. Other policies, such as the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male’ schools and transferring part of the cost of education to parents in Era 3 acted as deterrents for marginalized people gaining access to good quality education. These phenomena are universal as noted by Robertson et al. (2007). Green et al. (2007) observed this trend from other developing countries like Kenya and agreed that rapid educational expansion often leads to an increase in inequalities. In addition, expansion of a certain level of education was met with demands for access to even higher levels of education, as noted by Tiongson (2005).

The tension between ‘horizontal equity’ and ‘vertical equity’, as described by Paquette (1998), is evident in the Maldivian policyscape. There is a distinct tension between “giving to each according to the common lot” and “giving to each according to need and merit” (Paquette, 1998, p. 41). This tension explains the disparity between Male’ and rural (island) schools.

An effect directly related to equity and access is the migration from islands to Male’—a movement that continues from Era 2 to the time of thesis submission. The development of urban centres by migration to capital regions where better education is available is a general trend observed in many countries (Lewin, 1998). According to Chong et al. (2016) and Rizvi (2014), urbanization had implications

for school provision and access as observed in Male' since Era 4. According to some participants, it was one reason that the Era-5 policy involving establishment of 'one-shift' schools didn't work out as intended; the school infrastructure available in Male' was unable to cope with migrants' needs for schooling.

Catering for national development needs. Catering for national development needs was a recurring theme identified by most of the participants in relation to the context of policy practices/effects. This theme emerged from certain policies implemented in all eras. According to Tiongson (2005), the expansion of education is designed to alleviate poverty by improving employment opportunities. The education policies implemented in the Maldives since the 1980s aligned with the five major developmental policies that Green et al. (2007) identified as being common to many developing countries. According to these authors, the expansion of primary level education should decrease the disparity between the marginalised groups and advantaged groups; in this case, the rural and the urban dwellers. The findings of this study were congruent with their conclusions, but the rapid expansion widened the disparity between Male' and island (rural) schools at the secondary level. According to Green et al. (2007), the expansion of secondary and post-secondary education and vocational training was aimed at developing the skills needed for sustained economic growth—an observation that aligns with the findings of this study. Expansion in these areas led to the eligibility of Maldivians to sit foreign examinations and enabled overseas training. Green et al. (2007) also advocate that the adoption of English as a medium of instruction and introduction of information and communication technology skills to the national curriculum would facilitate international economic transactions. These authors also emphasised that the attempts to expand all levels of education would contribute to social equity.

Quality. With respect to the practices/effects emanating from the education policy processes of the Maldives from 1900 to 2015, some documents and participants pointed to issues of quality. While some of these practices/effects were positive (that is, raised quality), others were negative. The positive practices/effects evident were increased awareness of quality and its improvement evident from all Era-2 policies and improving the quality of Male' schools that

arose from the Era-3 policy of cessation of government sponsored scholarships to study overseas. The wider literature supports the view that improvements in quality and relevance have beneficial effects on school enrolment and continuation rates of basic education (Al'Abri, 2011; Robertson et al., 2007). The negative practices/effects were erosion in quality, and quality distinction between Male' and island schools. These were consequences of the pressure to align with global agendas while compromising national concerns and issues as noted by the Australian Council for Educational Research (2014), Clarke (2014) and Rizvi (2014). In general, massification of education at any level has been associated with compromises on quality.

The erosion in quality identified by some participants for policies of Era 4 arose due to the increased pressures on enrolments brought about by the rapid expansion of education at all the levels. This rapid expansion also led to quality distinctions between Male' and island schools. According to Robertson et al. (2007) and Tionson (2005), increased access to education inevitably leads to pressure on existing infrastructure and resources and therefore threatens quality. Though Robertson et al. (2007) recommend expansion policies to be accompanied by sufficient resources; the Maldivian government was unable to relieve the pressure due to lack of resources and the geographical distribution of the population. The tension that was observed between improving access and improving quality is not unique to the Maldives as demonstrated by Robertson et al. (2007). The quality issue was also specific to the Era-5 policy changes to the governance of education, and it was associated with the strong power of particular policy elite. According to Cornell, Grimes and Schuster (2014), in addition to having adverse effects on the quality of knowledge produced, politicization would lead to negative implications for citizens' expectations of democracy.

Resource shortages. Practices/effects related to resource shortages were evident from some policies of Era 1, Era 3 and Era 4. The Era 3 policy—introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Male' schools—placed pressure on the government budget as teachers had to be recruited from overseas at remuneration rates sufficient to attract them. Stationeries and textbooks were also imported. Other policies such as the Era-4 policy on expansion of teacher education

decreased the burden on the government budget by decreasing dependency on expatriate teachers. The participants revealed that growth in the public investment in education was constrained by budget allocations for education. In the literature, there is a general consensus that governments are shifting their budget preferences to align with greater cost returns (Tiongson, 2005). Thus, more funds are allocated to expand primary education as the cost returns of primary education are high. At the same time, governments are privatising the higher education sector as this sector gives longer cost returns (Tiongson, 2005). The burden of financing education falls on a small economically active portion of the population in developing countries like the Maldives (Lewin, 1998).

Governance. Participants identified policy practices/effects related to governance over the study period (1900–2015). According to some participants, the decentralization movement of Era 5 increased the efficiency and flexibility of the system as well as enhanced public accessibility to education services. Advocates of decentralization agree that there were positive changes to governance resulting from the process (Bray & Mukundan, 2003; Karlsen, 2000; Sweinstani, 2016). According to Karlsen (2000), governance reform processes have a tendency to be more successful if they are brought about by involving locals in the decision-making process. In the Maldivian context, the decentralization policy had limited success, possibly because the reforms were brought too swiftly and with insufficient support and consultation with grassroots

There is a group of authors who link decentralization to the rise of a new set of problems, especially if the process is not understood by the people who were subjected to it (Bjork, 2006; Bray & Mukundan, 2003). In the Maldivian context, the policy partly resulted in a mismatch between central government expectations and local realities. The main reason for this mismatch, as mentioned by many participants, was the unfamiliarity of the process to the local policy elite and the quick transition to this model. In addition, in cases where geographic differences in the availability of resources exist, as in the Maldives, decentralization widens disparities (Tiongson, 2005). According to Bray and Mukundan (2003), other problems associated with decentralization, such as proliferation of different models

of schooling, have implications for a unified system of education and for social cohesion.

Another governance issue was the emergence of education policies to increase private sector involvement. The role of the private sector in rendering educational services started in Era 3 as private tuition classes were upgraded to schools. The private sector gradually expanded and in Era 4 private organisations entered into higher education and training as well. The rationale for privatisation provided by some scholars (e.g., Robertson et al., 2007) is governments wishing to reduce the cost burden for themselves. Some participants gave similar reasons in explaining why the Maldivian government opted for privatisation. Privatisation is recommended by the World Bank education strategy so as to provide the full range of formal and informal learning opportunities for children and youth (Fredriksen, 2011).

Currie and Vidovich (2000, p. 135) emphasized the link between privatisation and accelerating market principles such as “competition, commercialization, deregulation, efficiency and changing forms of accountability” in the arena of education governance. These principles were evident as effects from some Maldivian education policies of Era 4 and Era 5. For example, the opening of both secondary schooling and higher education to private parties increased the competition among different institutions, creating choice. There was a movement towards deregulation where the government increasingly steered ‘from a distance’ through regulatory frameworks such as the Maldives National Quality Framework. However, many authors argue that education, which is a basic right, cannot be commodified as the notion conflicts with universal access which is a necessary feature of public service values (Crouch, 2003; Manna, 2014). In addition, there is a danger of erosion of the quality of public education when choices are not available to all, for example, when the rich opt for private institutions and public schools are left only for the poor (Rizvi, 2014).

Relevance to the Maldives and available employment. Since Era 2, disparity existed between education outcomes and employment needs. Different policies were enacted to reduce this disparity, for example, the Era-3 policy of institutionalization of vocational education, the Era-4 policy of expansion of post-

secondary education and training, and the Era-5 policy of refocus on vocational education at the school level. However, these policies were largely unsuccessful, with possible explanations being that they were mainly politically motivated and symbolic, i.e., the policies were not backed by material resources (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Participants noted that due to irrelevant curricula the students ended up alienated and confused. According to Fredriksen (2011), secondary education is one of the highest return investments available to nation states and the returns could be maximised by making the curriculum more relevant and aligning it with the employer needs of the country. This way, the students would be prepared for productive employment and a path would be open for them to seek further training or university education.

Less prominent themes. There were four themes in the context of practices/effects over the five eras that may be considered less prominent yet still important. They were cultural considerations, impact on schools and teachers, impact on behaviour and learning and power concentration. These themes were specific to a single or a few policies of different eras. The theme of cultural considerations was observed resulting from some policies of Era 1 and Era 2 in the form of a temporary conservative backlash against co-education and resistance to Amin's agenda. These actions resulted from the mismatch between the beliefs of the society and the policy intentions as argued by Manna (2014).

Some ad hoc practices/effects were also emergent from some policies of Era 5 that could be grouped under the theme of impact on schools and teachers. The formation of a cohesive school community resulted from the policy of establishing 'one-shift' schools. The burden of information overload and fabrication of assessment were emergent from the policy changes to the organization of schooling and rushed implementation of the new curriculum framework.

Impacts on learning and behaviour are associated with the loss of motivation for education that resulted from the Era-2 policy of limiting the scope and opportunities of education. A noteworthy effect is the decrease in the number

of wayward youth that, according to participants, were emergent from the Era-5 policy as a result of a refocus on vocational education at school level. According to Al'Abri (2011), education improves the economy and society by changing the behaviour of people and making them more aware of their nation's challenges.

The theme of power concentration was emergent from the Era-5 policy changes to the governance of education as actions taken by policy elite to centralise control. This could be seen as a case where influential policy elite had used 'soft power' to mould the policies to their advantage (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016).

Propositions Relating to the Context of Practices/Effects

The analysis of themes in the context of practices/effects and in the light of the literature generated seven propositions outlined below. The propositions are presented in the order of predominance.

10. Since the 1940s (Era 2), the mismatch between public education outcomes and employment needs had been discussed but there had not been any successful attempt to align public education to employment needs. Possible reasons include the use of stop-gap measures implemented for political purposes rather than long term planning. The disconnection between what is required by the country and the curriculum increased from Era 1 to Era 5.
11. Disparity between schools in the central region of Male' and the rural islands with regard to equity and access continued throughout the five eras. Most causes were related to political considerations and inequitable resource allocation strategies.
12. Increasing access to lower levels of education almost invariably increased the demand for education at the next level. Further, lower quality of schooling at earlier stages of education had a negative impact on the following stages of education. This trend was evident from Era 1 to Era 5.
13. Localization of secondary examinations for the Maldives appears to be a pre-condition to enhance the relevance of secondary schooling to

address local needs. The overseas examination vendors have dominated the use of marketing awards to ‘imply’ quality.

14. The ‘massification’ of higher education in the Maldives in Era 5 compromised its quality mainly due to the influences of private higher education providers both in the Maldives and overseas.
15. There has not been effective devolution of power to public schools with regard to curriculum, school management, policies on hiring and firing of staff and other aspects of school management at any time throughout the whole study period, as attempts to devolve power were met with resistance from powerful actors. The ‘top-down’ approach was consistent with the prevailing neo-liberal ideology in Era 5.
16. In terms of cost reduction for governments (a major education objective) the privatisation attempts in Era 5 have had very little impact. However, there are significant equity issues emerging from privatisation attempts.

Reflections on the Conceptual Framework of a Policy Trajectory

In this section, a critical reflection of the conceptual framework of a policy trajectory is offered. With a span of 115 years, divided into five eras, and with the policy trajectory framework applied to each era separately, the study gave a rare opportunity to critically reflect on the purpose and usefulness of a ‘policy trajectory’ approach. It reminds of the different ‘contexts’ of policy trajectory and that it is underpinned by theories of critical theory and poststructuralism.

That Lester (2005) had noted four main advantages of using a theoretical framework to guide one’s research had been mentioned in Chapter 4. The discussion of a utility of a policy trajectory below is organised in terms of phases: (a) its usefulness in defining the research problem and framing the research questions, (b) its utility as the framework for data collection, analysis and reporting, (c) its practicality in theorising, and finally (d) its soundness in framing conclusions and delimiting the focus of investigation.

Firstly, there was a one-to-one correspondence between the contexts of policy trajectory and the research questions of the study. Thus, the policy trajectory framework provided the ‘backbone’ of the organisation of the research and the reporting of the findings. Additionally, the study utilized concepts and terms common to the discourses of policy trajectory framework. Some of these terms have altogether different meanings in normal discourse.

Secondly, the framework was used as a guide for collection, analysis of data. The correspondence between the framework and the sections of the chapters highlight this relationship. The framework utilised in this study was the modified policy approach proposed by Vidovich (2007, 2013) in which multi levels were superimposed on the initial contexts proposed by Ball (1993, 1994). However, there were departures and difficulties in investigating the policyscape through the lens of this modified trajectory. For example, categorising policy actors according to their level in the trajectory was sometimes problematic, as the actor may have operated at several levels, such as one key policy figure who was both a national political leader and an advisor to schools. Such multiple roles at different points in the policy trajectory reflect the ‘messiness’ of the policy processes. In these instances, policy networks with its emphasis on the complex interrelationships between actors and agencies may lend itself well to expose these interdependencies.

Thirdly, the policy trajectory framework a manageable basis for theorising with its consideration of both small and meta narratives derived from post-structuralism and critical theory, respectively. The global, national and local levels crosscutting the three contexts of influences, text production and practices/effects were found to adequately represent the complexity of the policyscape across the extended study span of over a century.

Finally, the policy trajectory allowed the identification of the sixteen theoretical propositions grouped according to the contexts of the policy trajectory. Some of these propositions were exposed because of the longitudinal nature of the study as the outcomes of policies were felt in later eras. The framework further helped the identification of the limitations and implications for future research.

In sum, the framework was central in conceptualizing the study, providing a structure for the conduct of the study and this thesis, and in drawing conclusions. However, tensions were found between actors and agencies at various levels and contexts. There was a persistent tension between the depth and scope of policy analysis due to limited time and the need to cover the long period (1900 – 2015) as there was an absence of any earlier research on the history of education policy in the Maldives. In addition, one major objective of this study was to track the evolution of education policy over time. Thus, these constraints limited the critical analysis of some individual policies. Decisions were made to ensure that details did not obfuscate the main focus of the study.

Summary

This chapter was organized in terms of three major sections. The three sections deal with the influences, policy texts and practices/effects along the policy trajectory, comparing the dominant trends across the 115-year study period (1900–2015) in Maldivian education. Major themes were discussed in terms of literature and theoretical propositions were derived from these analyses. A total of sixteen propositions was generated from this meta-analysis along the policy trajectory. Each of these sections addressed the three main research questions this study intended to answer. In the final section of the chapter, reflections on the usefulness of the theoretical framework for this inquiry spanning 115 years of policy evolution were outlined.

The next chapter, Chapter 12, deals with the fourth Research Question and implications for further research and development of education policy, and new policy developments since data collection was completed.

CHAPTER 12

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter is divided into three sections. The first section answers the fourth Research Question about implications of the findings for Maldivian education policy in the future. The second section discusses the implications for further research from the consideration of the limitations of the study.. The chapter ends with a brief outline of significant education policy developments between data collection and thesis submission in mid-2017.

Implications for Future Development of Maldivian Education Policies

Research Question 4: What are the implications of the findings for the development of education policies in the Maldives for the future?

This section answers the fourth research question noted above. This research question focuses on the future, beyond the findings from documents and interviews as reported in the previous chapters, and therefore it is grouped with other considerations for the future in this final chapter.

The findings of this study spanning 115 years (1900–2015) have disclosed several significant implications for future education policy in the Maldives. The implications relate to almost all areas of education. The most significant ones are discussed in this section under four headings, and they refer to both national and school levels.

Equity and Access

An inclusive and fair system of education that makes the benefits of education available to all is a major policy goal of all education systems globally (OECD, 2012). Yet, a highly uneven landscape of education equity and access still persists in the Maldives. Though achieving equity will improve the quality of the education system (see subsequent section), the findings revealed that many new policies resulted in some sort of disparity between advantaged groups and disadvantaged groups (Tiongson, 2005). Equity and access issues are universal. However, the nature of the Maldives with sparsely populated islands dispersed in a vast ocean exacerbates this problem. Furthermore, Tiongson (2005) noted that equity issues are inevitable with sector expansion which has been rapid in the Maldives.

Resource allocation is a prevalent concern with equity and access. A recent report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) noted that “in countries and economies where more resources are allocated to disadvantaged schools than advantaged schools, overall student performance in science is somewhat higher” (OECD, 2016, p. 189). Evidence from previous OECD reports also showed that under-achieving students appear to benefit most when more resources are allocated to disadvantaged schools than advantaged schools, without jeopardizing the highest performing students in the school system (OECD, 2016). In order to address equity and access issues, scholars recommend allocating more resources in an equitable manner to redress equity issues (Al’Abri, 2011; Dale & Robertson, 2012; Tiongson, 2005). In addition, Green et al. (2007) asserted that to achieve social efficiency and democratic equality, access should be given together with an appropriate level of quality and resources. Otherwise, detrimental effects would result from setting up expectations that are seldom realised. Findings of this study showed that structural barriers remain in allocation of both human and material resources across the Maldives.

A national school which utilizes distance education accompanied by modern communications technology can ease equity and access issues in the

Maldivian schooling system, to an extent. However, any policy to reduce inequity should be backed with finance for affirmative action, that is, more resources should be allocated to the students with the greatest need for them. Streaming based on ability, especially in the early teens became policy in Era 5, yet experiences show such measures exacerbate equity issues (OECD, 2016). Inequity is also directly related to school choice (OECD, 2016) and therefore, the choice needs to be well managed. In addition, it is recommended that schools in rural islands not associated with powerful political actors are provided with resources equitable with those schools attended by urban schools or those associated with political actors. Until all rural schools become indistinguishable from Male' schools in terms of curriculum and resources, inequities are likely to persist as they still do at the end of the study period.

Education Governance and Quality

The tension between devolution and centralization is the main consideration in governance of education systems, particularly in the context of resources, curriculum, assessment, school admissions and disciplinary policies. Most of the schools in the Maldives had been run by the rural communities until almost all became fully funded government schools in the latter part of Era 4. Until this takeover, schools had greater autonomy in determining many aspects of governance. In Era 5, there was a short period of devolution to 'provincial' level followed by increased centralization leading to authoritarian control. In recent years, standard operating procedures for school management had been published to make most practices same across the schools.

The Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) by OECD analyses the performance of school systems with regard to governance across many countries. Their finding is as follows:

In education systems where school principals hold greater responsibility for school governance, students score higher in science; and this relationship is stronger across school systems where the percentage of students whose achievement data are

tracked over time and posted publicly is higher than the OECD average. (OECD, 2016, p. 37)

Another significant finding reported in (OECD, 2016) was that student success is related to school-level devolution and not devolution to provincial level authorities as was the intended case in the early years of Era 5.

The growth of the private education sector is needed to expand education and training opportunities. However, participants expressed their concerns over the detrimental effects of privatisation on quality of education. To harness the benefits from privatisation and to protect the learners from low quality training providers, it is important for the public sector to improve the regulatory mechanisms (Rizvi, 2014). Fredriksen (2011) had recommended three policy directives governments can take in order to avoid quality erosion related to privatisation. First, he suggested that the governments establish regulatory frameworks to assure quality and provide accreditation and transferability of diplomas at the same time giving flexibility to the private sector to innovate. Second, he emphasized building institutional capability that can provide technical support and assistance to the private education providers. Third, he proposed to strengthen the bond between the private sector and the public sector and to create an environment to share information and experiences of innovation between and among partners.

There is a systematic lack of checks and balances for quality control within the whole Maldivian education system. The findings revealed that the existing checks can be and have been ‘steamrolled’ by political interests to present school education system to be functioning excellently. According to two participants, the Chief Executive Officer of the Maldives Qualification Authority was transferred out because he stood in the way of the government’s desire to compromise quality. Individual school examinations results are not made public and weaker students can be ‘hidden’ from published results to inflate grades. In some countries, such as New Zealand, the Education Review Office is a distinct office unattached to the schools department as is the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Friedman, the Nobel laureate noted that “concentrated power is not

rendered harmless by the good intentions of those who create it” (Friedman, 2002, p. 201).

The implications of this study suggest that there is a case for policy directions which define the roles for school principals giving them greater responsibility and autonomy in school governance. To attain the benefits from privatisation it is recommended that the quality assuring mechanisms are strengthened and the quality assurance body is made independent from the Government’s control so that the body can function effectively. In addition, it is recommended that policy formulation and evaluation are carried out by trained technical staff free from political influences and that the policy decisions be undergirded by evidence.

Participants had anticipated the detrimental effects of the Era-5 policy on graduating 3000 teachers through a rushed 15-weekend course. It is recommended to invest in long-term training of pre-service teachers and not to compromise quality of such programmes over numbers. In addition, it is recommended that the pre-service teaching programmes are bench-marked against good quality teacher education programs of other countries. Furthermore, there is a need for legislation stipulating roles and responsibilities of different educational agencies rather than concentrating power on one single person.

Localising the Secondary Curriculum and Examinations

Issues related to relevance of the curriculum to the Maldives, especially the secondary curriculum was a dominant theme identified by participants. Some participants pointed out that the consequence of dependence on British lower secondary school examinations is to lose the government’s control of the curriculum and subjugate the Maldives’ school calendar to the British school year which experiences four seasons. The Maldives, in the tropics, is force-fitted into the British year. The influence of British school examinations is pervasive and drives the type of schooling in lower grades including the number of school days. This is not to say that in the globalisation era, one must not be at par with the better known systems. On the contrary, one must learn from the admirable

practices of the best-performing school systems, and adapt those practices to the local context. British examinations are facing condemnation from British schools as well. In a report entitled, *England's examination 'industry': Deterioration and decay* the association of private school headmasters (Headmasters Conference) noted that 41% of the parents, 38% of the teachers and 28% of the students consider the lower secondary examination (General Certificate of Secondary Examinations) to be unreliable. Almost half of the teachers said that they had to rely on the 'enquiries about results' procedure (i.e. a formal complaint) to secure accurate marks or grades for their students (HMC, 2012).

To address the issue, it is important to localise the secondary curriculum and examinations to make secondary schooling relevant to the local needs. As secondary education is one of the highest-return investments available to a country, financially stable strategies are required to make the system effective (Fredriksen, 2011). It is recommended that the Maldives revitalize both the technical and vocational education and training (TVET) system and higher education by prioritizing quality improvement and labour market relevance of programmes. The focus should be to make the vocational path seem equally dignified as the higher education path (Fredriksen, 2011).

Policy Borrowing vs Policy Learning

The education policy processes of the Maldives were strongly subject to global pressures. The government had heavily depended on international policy borrowing when formulating national policies. Raffe (2011) argues that the process of policy borrowing is flawed. He recommends the policy learning approach as a more promising method to make use of international experiences to inform policy.

Rather than doing international policy borrowing, it is recommended to move towards policy learning which supports the development of tailored national policies rather than taking policies off the peg (Raffe, 2011). In other words,

overseas policies must be heavily contextualized to the locale lest they cause more damage than service (Tan, 2016).

Apart from the above major policy directions for the future, there are less significant implications for policy enactment. For example, the school year needs to be longer than the current effective working days of less than 160 days, and the investment on school infrastructure must increase to make ‘one-session’ schooling a reality for all the children. For brevity, the above will suffice as focus for policy enactment.

In the above paragraphs, four policy directions for improving system-wide performance, supported by this study and literature, have been outlined. What follows next is an outline of policy development in the Maldives between when the main data collection was completed in 2016 and thesis submission in mid-2017.

Limitations, Delimitations and Implications for Further Research

Limitations and Delimitations

Although this study has yielded significant findings and important theoretical propositions, nevertheless, a number of caveats needs to be underscored in the present study. The limitations to the study arise from the methodology adopted, researcher positionality and from the extensive scope of the study.

Some methodological limitations are inherent in the qualitative paradigm within which this study falls. These limitations include the expensive and time-consuming nature of data collection, the relatively small number of participants given the breadth of the study and lack of available and reliable data for the early eras. There were no living persons from the first era, who had been policy actors to interview. Documents available were few and there were no studies on Maldives’ education policies. There were no written policies in the Nasir Era,

therefore, for this era, policies had to be inferred from government announcements. The circumstances necessitated analysis of some historical commentaries on policies written by the actors themselves. In these cases writer bias is inevitable.

Many of the interview participants of the latter eras were active in public and political life at interview time, and often their responses manifest their political biases. In terms of researcher positionality, the researcher herself, being a staff and a student of the University and a Maldivian could be expected to have an “inner” view of the policyscape, raising issues of objectivity. Positionality becomes important to qualitative studies because the researcher’s values and preferences may influence the theoretical stance taken by him or her (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Several actions such as using a clear explanation of the theoretical frameworks adopted, careful sampling of participants based on defined criteria and rigorous approaches to data collection, transcription and analysis were taken to minimize the biases associated with researcher positionality. It may be argued that the aim of the current study, and qualitative studies in general, is describe actions in their social and historical contexts deeming that realities cannot be studied independently from their contexts. From this point of view, the researcher is not a threat but the starting point and main instrument. The approach taken in this study was to exercise personal and epistemological reflexivity in the conduct and analysis of the research to minimize threats to trustworthiness. However, positionality permeates the research process and affects the creation of knowledge.

The extensive scope of the study spanning 115 years necessitated focus and discipline not to lose sight of the ‘bigger picture’. The tension between depth and scope was persistently felt throughout the study. In addition, the research questions worked well to guide the investigation within each era, but became somewhat ‘messy’ in this study over such a long time frame of 115 years divided into five eras. In particular, the practices/effects of a particular policy did not always occur within the same era, so there was carry over into the next era. Thus the difficulties of applying the policy trajectory were more between eras

(specifically for practices/effects). It is recognised that the eras were artificially imposed but were useful in managing the long time frame.

In setting the scope of the study, delimitations were required to complete the study within the confines of a three-year doctorate programme. The constraint to fit the thesis within 100,000 words and the three-year candidature meant that only major policies were analyzed and the discussion was tightly focused to meet the study objectives. Some of the data gathered were not included in the analysis given the need to accommodate the 115-year time span. This was considered necessary as there were no prior studies of education policy evolution in the Maldives. This study makes a significant contribution in this regard.

Implications for Further Research

Education policy is a relatively new area of research in the Maldivian context, and perhaps, for many other small island nations. The long period of this study (115 years) had necessitated that elaborate details of some of the policies are excluded to keep the study within the scope and depth of a normal doctoral inquiry. Some minor policies have been excluded from the discussion as well.

There are very few opportunities for more detailed research of Era 1 (1900–1934) without serendipitous discovery of new documents because almost all extant documents were perused for this study, and persons of the era are no longer living. Very few policy actors survive from Era 2 (1935–1953); most of those who were still living at the time of data collection were interviewed for the study. Almost all the extant documents from the Era 1 and Era 2 were consulted as well.

However, ample opportunities exist for new policy research in Eras 3 to 5. This study has revealed areas of further research that would be fruitful for a more complete understanding of the evolving policy scenario in the Maldives. These implications for further research are indicated in the following paragraphs.

Research Area 1

Studies which focus on a particular education policy domain, such as equity and access, curriculum relevance, teacher education or quality might be undertaken in the Maldives. Such studies would be able to have a tighter focus, in more depth, on the chosen domain over expanded periods.

Research Area 2

Within the domain of curriculum policy, studies could be undertaken to focus on teaching, learning and assessment of particular subjects in the Maldives. These studies may, for example, investigate the policies relating to the teaching of science and mathematics using a modified policy trajectory approach.

Research Area 3

Policy studies might be undertaken to focus on particular stages of education in the Maldives, for example those dealing with early childhood education, primary, secondary or post-secondary education (either or both higher education and vocational).

Research Area 4

Policy studies of the Maldives compared to similar or different countries might be conducted in terms of particular policy contexts, for example, influences in relation to globalisation and the way they play out in different national settings on policies about quality, equity governance or other themes of education policy research.

Research Area 5

In a different study of education policy evolution in the Maldives the length and segmentation of different eras could be varied, potentially yielding different lenses through which to examine changes.

Research Area 6

Oftentimes, the complexity of the policy enactment environments and the requirement of local educational institutions to concurrently respond to multiple policies are neglected by policy makers (Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010). The mediation of policies within different organizational cultures and how the local institutional policy actors translate and respond to particular national policies were not examined in this study of the Maldives due to the need to delimit a study spanning 115 years. However, there is an urgent need for such follow up research on institutional policy practices/effects. Education studies of this nature may consider a single policy or a group of related policies. An example of such a policy that can be explored in depth is the spread of Islamic education and the practices/effects emanating from it.

Research Area 7

In the Maldives, side by side with the public education system, there is an informal education system that predates the public one and continues. It is the system of *edhuruge* education where many children are still sent after school for religious education. The existence and flourishing of these institutions, together with tuition houses, potentially point to the concerns of parents about government-provided education. A study of the policies regarding this alternate fee-paying ‘schooling system’ would be useful because they are attended by the *majority* of the students.

Research Area 8

Each policy explored in this study were subjected to different kinds of power relationships. The policy network theory could be applied to study the policy communities and their visible social relationships for each individual policy. This would reveal the dynamic nature of power relationships between and among policy actors at different levels of the policy trajectory and the fluidity of policy processes.

The above eight implications for research underscore the difficulty of combining extensive scope with increased depth in investigating policy phenomena. For extended scope, the depth of the study may be restricted or vice versa. Yet, trends across long periods are better revealed by longitudinal data in policy analysis, as provided by this study.

Postscript: Significant Policy Developments since Data Collection

This section briefly describes some significant policy developments following the study period (1900–2015) and up until the time of thesis submission in mid-2017. The ongoing developments underscore the propositions identified in Chapter 11 and the continuing tensions that arise between supranational bodies, nation states and education policies.

Global Level Developments

At the global level, some commentators have recently noted that globalisation is on the wane and others have forecast the end of globalisation (Witt, 2016a, para. 1):

For most of the past 25 years, globalisation was seen as an unstoppable force, as sure to advance as the sun rises in the East. But increasingly, it looks more vulnerable than inexorable. Causes for concern are easy to find. For instance, the last set of World Trade Organisation negotiations over further trade liberalization, the Doha Round, was a failure; Donald J. Trump has disavowed free trade agreements such as NAFTA and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); Brexit will reduce economic integration between the United Kingdom and the European Union, and possibly between the U.K. and the world; and regional opposition almost scuppered the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). Is the age of globalisation coming to an end?

Witt (2016b, para. 1) noted that globalisation has benefited humanity in many ways, but asserted that “its continued progress is in serious doubt. As I wrote previously, the two leading political science theories, liberalism and realism, both predict that globalisation as we have known it over the past two decades may well recede or disappear.” Others do not agree with Witt, for example Parker (2017) notes that the world is not exiting globalisation altogether. However, significant and unexpected developments are taking place in the West. On 16th March 2017, the Queen of Britain had given the royal assent for Britain to leave the EU following a referendum held in 2016 to ascertain public opinion on the matter. Britain leaving the EU is likely to have cascading domino effects on many other EU countries and beyond. In fact, several European countries have expressed a desire to leave EU (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017), signalling a rising tide of nationalism.

The possible disintegration of the EU and the re-building walls of nationalism and provincialism are likely to have significant effects on education policy and its transfer across global arenas. The EU in the first two decades of the 21st century has been able to wield political power on nation states to reach set targets on education policy. For example, the 2020 education benchmarks set by the EU in 2009 were as follows:

- at least 95% of children (from 4 to compulsory school age) should participate in early childhood education
- fewer than 15% of 15-year-olds should be under-skilled in reading, mathematics and science
- the rate of early leavers from education and training aged 18-24 should be below 10%
- at least 40% of people aged 30–34 should have completed some form of higher education
- at least 15% of adults should participate in lifelong learning
- at least 20% of higher education graduates and 6% of 18–34 year-olds with an initial vocational qualification should have spent some time studying or training abroad

- the share of employed graduates (aged 20-34 with at least upper secondary education attainment and having left education 1–3 years ago) should be at least 82%

(EU, 2009)

Such target-setting tends to be emulated by non-European countries and intensely promoted by international organisations such as the World Bank. In this sense, EU is a powerful force in initiating education policy. The ripple effects on small countries such as the Maldives are discussed below.

National Level Education Policy Developments in the Maldives

A number of education policy developments have occurred in the Maldives after the period of this study, before the thesis submission. The most substantial changes in education policy developments are summarised in this section.

The majority of the participants noted that the multi-grade teaching policy introduced in Era 5 was just a symbolic policy. After changing some aspects of the policy, it was re-introduced in March 2017. The major change brought to the policy was to place the power for administering the policy with the Ministry of Education. The National Institute of Education (run under the Ministry of Education) was given the ultimate power of administering this policy. In the earlier version of the policy, all the schools that had a population lower than 100 were eligible for multi-grade teaching, while the revision placed the authority to select schools with the Ministry. In the previous policy, the number of teachers allocated to a multi-grade class was dependant on the number of students in the class. In the revision, the Ministry was to decide on a number based on student population. These changes reflect the authoritarian control characteristic of the Yameen's government.

A policy directive that made pre-school education part of mainstream schooling was planned to be implemented in January 2017 (Haisham, 2016). This policy directive was articulated based on the 'Pre School Bill' that was ratified in January 2012 (President's Office, 2012). In the policy directive, pre-school

teaching was to be provided to all citizens for free. Though the policy was implemented in 2017, only the pre-schools in the greater Male' area and Addu Atoll were paid for by the government. Nursery and kindergarten classes were also introduced in the government primary schools in these areas. Due to lack of resources, the areas without preschool education are greater, further raising issues of equity and access. Making pre-school education a government enterprise reflects OECD targets mentioned in global trends in the previous section. International agencies had a role in promoting pre-school education, while the government still lacks the means to provide quality primary education to some areas. This development, yet again, underscores the need for consideration of context in policy borrowing.

Conclusions

This research analysed the policy processes in the evolution of education in the Maldives in the period 1900–2015. The study period was divided into five eras roughly corresponding to the periods of influence of powerful policy actors, except the fifth era in which there was no particular single policy actor dominating the era. The analysis used 'policy trajectory' contexts (influences, policy texts and practices/effects).

The study was conducted in the qualitative paradigm guided by the two theoretical perspectives of critical theory and post-structuralism which underpin the 'policy trajectory'. Critical theory examines the ideologies embedded in policies and their broad social dimensions at the macro level, whereas post-structuralism focuses on individual agency and provides useful insights at the micro level. Data collection involved collection of relevant documents spanning the 115-year study period. Data from documents were complemented, and where possible, triangulated with interviews with policy actors several of whom were ministers in different eras. One interview was conducted with a former president of the country.

The analysis involved identifying key themes in the policies in each context (influences, policy texts and practices) of an era. This analysis yielded sixteen propositions across all eras. *Political power and control* was the supreme overarching theme across all five eras, except for brief periods. Powerful individual actors were particularly significant in the early eras of the evolution of public education. In the latter eras, with the onset of globalisation, international organizations were driving education policy processes in the Maldives. The enacted policies were often contextually irrelevant and unsuccessful, but forces of globalisation were seen by the policy elite in the Maldives to leave little room for adaptation to local contexts.

Equity and access issues persisted throughout the 115-year study period, often maintained by political considerations; in the capital region, the parents were more powerful and the schools were better resourced. However, the magnitude of the equity and access issues, although punctuated by some dips and peaks, was seen to be diminishing when the total span of 115 years is considered. Given the geographically dispersed population, the issues are unlikely to be completely solved anytime in the near future.

Governance of education is more authoritarian than ever before and ‘a pedagogy of sameness’ (Kalantzis, & Cope; 2017) reigns supreme. In 2017, parallel classes had to be taught the same curriculum and no class teacher was allowed to deviate from the set curriculum routines. Such tight control of the curriculum is inimical to student success (OECD, 2016). The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results show that students score higher in science in countries where more teachers have autonomy over the curriculum (OECD, 2016). The control of decision making by central administrative bodies is increasing, not only in the Maldives. According to PISA report for 2015,

The latest results show that, compared to 2009, fewer school principals in 2015 hold considerable responsibility for the school budget, the hiring of teachers or the courses offered at school. . . Principals and teachers are also less responsible for school policies

related to assessment, disciplinary actions and school admissions.
(OECD, 2016, p. 230)

PISA reports suggest that increased regulation and bureaucratic control of education appear to be a worldwide phenomenon.

The 115-year span of education policies suggests that some policies are cyclic. At various times, practices akin to neo-liberal views predominate and streaming based on student ability is rejected only to be resurrected in another policy, decades later. At present, streaming in secondary grades is sanctioned by official policy emanating from political considerations to raise the student pass rate at examinations. However, PISA results show that “the age at which students are streamed into various tracks is associated not only with greater performance discrepancies between schools (low academic inclusion), but also with less equity in science performance” (OECD, 2016, p. 233).

Since 1900, the Maldives education policies have evolved from a private enterprise for the select few by the select few to a State obligation involving all persons from the early childhood education level to the post-secondary level. Many policies have been tried, revised and re-enacted. Despite these policies, over 30% of the working age population is migrant workers. With high numbers of youth unemployment, rising political influence on schooling and increasing diversity, there is an urgent need to make education more equitable and relevant to the needs in the Maldives. This thesis closes with a stanza from a poem (*The Determination of a Maldivian Son*) by Amin, the first Maldivian President, who made the most transformational policies in the 115-year study period, given the paucity of the means available to him, amidst World War II at its greatest fury and a citizenry far from educated:

What is desired would be achieved
 From many a garden hallowed and great
 When desirable dainty flowers
 Be ready to bloom, so I would state

آنچه آرزو شد حاصل شد
 از بستانهای گوناگون و بزرگ
 آنجا که گلها زیاده از حد
 در آنجا که گلها زیاده از حد

Knowing it, in heart and word
 To strive again for work apt
 Desirous to see, desire spurred
 Hesitant not, I would be to act

دانستن آن، در دل و کلام
 برای کار مناسب دوباره کوشش
 آرزوی دیدن، آرزوی دیدن
 تردید نکنم، من می‌خواهم عمل کنم

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Possible Menu to Interrogate a Policy Process

The following “menu to interrogate a policy process is taken from (Vidovich, 2007, p. 296).

Context of influence.

1. What struggles are occurring to influence the policy?
2. Are global (supra-national) influences evident in this policy domain?
3. Are there international (bi-lateral or multi-lateral) influences operating? If so, which are the key nation states involved?
4. How are global and international influences operating?
5. To what extent are global/international level influences mediated within the nation state?
6. What are the prevailing ideological, economic and political conditions?
7. Who are the policy elite and what interests do they represent?
8. Which other interest groups are attempting to influence policy?
9. Which interests are most/least powerful? Why are these interests so powerful?
10. Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?

Context of policy text production.

11. What struggles are occurring in the production of the policy text?
12. Why is the policy text produced at a particular place and time?

13. When did the construction of the policy text begin?
14. Which interest (stakeholder) groups are represented in the production of the policy text and which are excluded?
15. What processes are used to construct the policy text and why?
16. What compromises are made between the different interest (stakeholder) groups and how were they negotiated Whose interests are the policy intended to serve?
17. What are the dominant discourses of the policy text and which discourses are excluded?
18. What is the stated intention of the policy? N Are there any 'hidden' agendas?
19. Which values are reflected in the policy?
20. What issues constitute the focus of the policy, and do they relate to global/international policy agendas?
21. What are the key concepts in the policy?
22. What is the format of the policy and why?
23. What is the language of the policy and why?
24. Are there inconsistencies and contradictions in the policy text?
25. Who is the intended audience for the policy text?
26. How accessible or understandable is the policy text to the audience?
27. Are the steps for implementation set out as part of the policy text?
28. Is the implementation funded?
29. Is there a pre-specified mechanism to evaluate the policy?

Context of practice/effects.

30. What struggles are occurring over the policy practices/effects?
31. Is this policy being practiced in a wide variety of localized contexts?
32. How different are the policy practices between, and within, different localized sites?
33. Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels? N Who can access the policy and who does access it?
34. How open is the policy to interpretation by practitioners?
35. How well is the policy received?

36. Who put the policy into practice?
37. What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?
38. To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted?
39. Is resistance collective or individual?
40. To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?
41. How predictable were the policy practices/effects?
42. Are practitioners at the local level empowered by the policy?
43. Are practitioners at the local level able to respond rapidly to meet localized needs in this policy domain?
44. What are the unintended consequences?
45. What is the impact of the policy on different localized groupings based on class, gender, ethnicity, rurality and disability?
46. Are there winners and losers?
47. Is there a disjunction between the original policy intent (macro level) and subsequent practices (micro level), and if so why?

Appendix B: Information Letter for Participants (English)



Information Letter for Participants

Dear Sir/Madam

I am a PhD student enrolled in the Maldives National University. My research project involves critically evaluating the Maldivian education policy scene in the past century. The aims of this research are as follows:

- to understand the complexity of education policy and planning in the Maldives,
- to analyze the past education policies to derive historical, sociological and political explanations of the current education policy scene,
- to understand the major drivers for educational reforms,
- to identify the reasons for the successes and failures of education policies and consequences of these successes and failures to explore what are the prospects for today and tomorrow, and
- to understand present educational practices and policies more fully.

The data for this study will be collected by document analysis and semi-structured interviews with key policy actors from macro-, meso- and micro-level of the policy trajectory.

I would like to invite you to take part in this research. Participation in this study is voluntary. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without giving reasons by informing the researcher. If you withdraw, I will do my best to remove any information relating to you, provided this is practically achievable.

Please note that the information collected will be treated in the strictest confidence. All data collected will be collated, analysed and used in the final report anonymously. No part of the study will be used for any other purpose other than for this study.

If you agree to take part in the study, please fill in the consent form attached with this letter and send it to me to the following email address: aishath.ali@mnu.edu.mv or inform me on 7786167 so that I can arrange to have it collected it from you.

Yours Sincerely,

Aishath Ali,

Student, Faculty of Education

Information Letter for Participants (Dhivehi)



وَأَمَّا الْفُلُ فَأُرْسِلَتْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنَّا لِيُبَيِّنَ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْمَانِهِ هَذِهِ وَأَيْمَانِ ذُو الْأُنْثَىٰ هَذِهِ ۚ

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

تَرْجَمُوهُ، تَرْجَمُوهُ، تَرْجَمُوهُ

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form



Participant Consent form

I have read the information provided by the researcher and hereby consent to participate in the study entitled: Policy processes in the evolution of education in Maldives: 1900 – 2015.

The nature and general purpose of the research procedure and the known risks have been explained to me by Ms. Aishath Ali.

The researcher is authorized to proceed on the understanding that I may terminate my service as a subject at any time I so desire.

I understand that the data collected from this research will be treated in strict confidentiality and I give my full consent to publish the information I provide, provided my anonymity is maintained.

In addition, I recognize that it is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, and I believe that reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize both the known and the potentially unknown risks.

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Participant Consent Form (Dhivehi)



فہرست کتب و رسائل

وَبَدَّلَ خُزْنَهُمْ نَارًا كَثِيرَةً قَدِيمًا ۚ وَالنَّارُ كَثِيرَةٌ قَدِيمَةٌ ۚ

1900 - 2015 "سُرگزی، نَکَر، چرگسای، هارو، پورقور، ارغی سرخ، خردسِر، چرخو.

[illegible]

اِزْدِي سَرَدُ جَرْجَسُو اِر هَووَجِر دَووسر اَزْدي سَرَدُ هَووَسَرَوَرَج رَسْتَرَوَر اِر تَرْجَسُو هَووَجِر اِر اِي حَیْسَر

[illegible]

اگر کسی سرزند اگر کسی زخمی شود که کشته شد اگر کسی زخمی شود که کشته شد

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Appendix D: Interview Questions (Dhivehi)

Amin Era

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Nasir Era

1. سُرَبَسَیځَ قَرانځی نځیزې سوسنر واری چرئس نځوس قسډو. چ چرئس تیرې اړول
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16. اړئ اړئ اړئ اړئ اړئ اړئ اړئ.
اړئ اړئ اړئ؟

اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّىْ اَسْأَلُكَ بِرَحْمَتِكَ الَّتِىْ رَزَقْتَ سُلَيْمَانَ دَاوُدَ وَنُوْحًا

12. فَوَيْلٌ لِلَّذِينَ هُمْ عَنْ آلِهِمْ وَنُسُلِهِمْ غَافِلُونَ 22 وَتِلْكَ الْأَمْثَلُ حَقٌّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ هُمْ عَنْ آلِهِمْ وَنُسُلِهِمْ غَافِلُونَ

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

دوم، مؤخره دى و سومى كوتاه و در نهايت سوزناكترين و پشيمانانه ترين است.

[illegible]

(Musical notation for the vocal part, featuring various notes and rests.)

[illegible]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 104

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