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

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1. Introduction and Aim

Since the beginning of the 20th century, there has 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 whole policy. Yet, there has not been a comprehensive analysis of these policies for their successes, unintended outcomes and actual consequences. In this study I plan to analyse the important educational reforms that have been introduced in the Maldives since 1900. The aim of this study is to analyse key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the time period 1900-2015, using an extended 'policy trajectory' framework which includes policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects. Through this task, I intend to draw out recurring themes in the formulation, enactment and impacts of these policies on students, families and the nation as a whole. The significance of this study, including my own motivations for the task, grouped in terms of personal, national and global contexts, is outlined in Section 1.2 of this proposal.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The Country Context. The Maldives comprises about 1200 islands dispersed in a large area in the Indian Ocean close to Sri Lanka and India. Some 1000 islands are uninhabited. The coral islands are small, the total area of all islands being about 280 square kilometres. In fact, about 99.7% of the territory is sea. There are no mountains or rivers; the height of the islands is about 1 to 2 metres above sea level.

The country has a long history stretching back to at least 3000 years. For almost all of its history, it has been an independent country ruled by kings and queens. Its nearness to the ancient centres of civilization and being in the path of the shipping lanes connecting South and South East Asia with Africa, Middle East and Europe, have given rise to a civilization with a unique language and written script. However, as there are no hard stones or metal in the country, most of the records are fairly recent. The oldest surviving historical records are dated 1195 (Bell, 2002).

1.1.2 Education in the First Half of the 20th Century. No matter what the country is and who the people are, every generation has passed on its cultural knowledge including

values, skills, crafts, methods and beliefs to the next generation. In many areas, this education was through apprenticeships, often to children or very close relatives, as trade knowledge and skills were the means of livelihood and identity of a group. Some of these skills and trade secrets were well guarded, even today, within families or practitioners. The school, more precisely the 'comprehensive school' where anyone can go to get educated for free, is a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of the world. In fact, the first comprehensive school started in Britain after the World War 2 in 1946 (Medway & Kingwell, 2010). That is not to say that there were no schools before. In fact, there were and schooling has a history that goes back to classical antiquity (Hornblower & Spawforth, 1996). However, until fairly recently most schools were established and managed by the church and had specific entrance criteria; others were restricted to the sons of members of guilds, trades or companies. Church-controlled schools had as their main goal the indoctrination of religious dogma with rudiments of literacy. In describing education in the United States of America (USA) in the early 20th century, Resnick (1987, p.5) notes that, "mass education was, from its inception, concerned with inculcating routine abilities: simple computation, reading predictable texts, reciting religious or civic codes."

The above development in education in the Western nations parallels the development of education in the Maldives as outlined in the brief chronological summary which follows.

Education in the Maldives at the beginning of the 20th century was characterized by religious schools mostly funded by parents. The 1921 census showed that for the total population of 70,413 there were 839 Quranic schools, 18 navigation schools and 4 Arabic schools (Bell, 2002). In the 1930s, there was a brief period of prohibition of specialist education, perhaps motivated by the rising tide of communism in Europe and the struggle for independence in India. During this time, general education in all the schools of Maldives was prohibited. Newspapers, books and any educational material from abroad were banned (M. Latheef, personal communication, January 30, 2014).

The years 1940s were marked by rapid expansion of the existing system of education together with introduction of a wider curriculum including foreign languages (Bell, 2002). Several free government schools were established both in the capital as well as in the islands catering to both boys and girls. Hostel facilities were established in Male', the capital island, where it was perceived that better teachers were available. A system of overseas education was also established in the 1940s. In this system, when parents paid fees to the Government, the Government sent and enrolled the students in Sri Lankan (then Ceylon) private schools

run by church organisations. The more academically meritorious overseas students were paid for by the Government. Sri Lankan private schools had English as the medium of instruction then and many teachers were from Britain. At that time, there were no colleges of higher education. For vocational training, craft apprenticeship was the major form of education.

1.1.3 Education in the Second Half of the 20th Century. The 1950s and 1960s witnessed the gradual introduction of English as the medium of instruction with the establishment of a Montessori school and a government school for boys and girls in Male'. Schools in the other islands were community schools financed and run by the island communities. The gradual switch to the English medium from the local *Dhivehi* medium was brought out of necessity as most teachers recruited for these schools were expatriates — mainly teachers from Sri Lanka. The students from these schools sat British examinations: examinations conducted by the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce and the University of London. For advanced education, students were sent overseas on scholarships.

In the 1970s, the government established state-funded primary schools in the more populous islands. The 1980s saw the initial universalisation of primary schooling with schools in every island. However, the majority of schools were still community schools. By the early 1990s, universalisation of primary schooling was achieved and the focus became the expansion of secondary schooling. Secondary school leavers were able to be absorbed in the economy and government in the 1980s but, with the expansion of secondary schooling, the demand for higher education became strong.

The first post-secondary institution set up by the government during this time was the Allied Health Services Training Centre. It was established in 1973. By late 1990s there were vocational educational institutions in most areas of human enterprise except medicine and agriculture. For medical training and for graduate studies, the government gave scholarships for study abroad. The latter five decades of the 20th century saw the greatest change in education, with several master plans for education development implemented.

1.1.4 The post-2000 Years. The major policy changes in the first 15 years of the 21st century were the taking over of the community-run schools by the government, a revision of the national curriculum, the change from multi session schools to single session schools and the expansion of the private higher education sector. Private colleges began as computer training centres which later widened their programmes to include degree programmes. In

1998, the government brought all the public vocational education institutions under the umbrella of the Maldives College of Higher Education which in 2011 was renamed as the Maldives National University by an Act of the Parliament (The Maldives National University, 2013).

The foregoing outline of the development of education in the Maldives is marked by many policy changes; too many to mention in this summary. The intention of this study is not to recite the dates at which changes took place and what these changes were, but rather to analyse policy themes, consequences and reforms since 1900 to come to a better overall understanding of the evolution of education in the Maldives and its changing place in the world.

1.2 Rationale of the Study and Original Contribution to Scholarship

The rationale for the study of the Maldives education policyscape since 1900 can be considered at three levels: personal, national and global. First, the personal level is considered. In 2007, I was reading for a master's degree in educational management at the University of Western Australia. One of the modules of this programme was called "Education Policy Trends: Local to Global." I was enthused by the study of the ideas and forces that shape what we do and learn at institutions and their implications for citizens and their nations. After returning home from studies, in 2013, I taught the same module with some changes at the Maldives National University. I decided to undertake a formal study of the Maldives education policyscape to satisfy personal interest and curiosity in the subject area.

Second, the study is significant at the Maldives' national level. In no extant document I accessed or heard of, has there been a systematic analysis of the post–1900 Maldivian education policyscape. The task is made all the more critical and timely because many of the policy actors in the past century are at an advanced age and opportunities for data gathering available now, may expire soon. Furthermore, this study will bring into light the distinctive educational values, systems and histories of Maldives contributing to 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.

The study of the evolution of the Maldives education policyscape in the past century will illuminate the many factors that have engendered the complex contemporary education system of the Maldives. Hence, this study will make 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 important at a global level because of its implications. 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 conditions, depending on their development stage (Bottery, 2000; Phillips, 2010). Policy processes of states are constantly subject to local and outside pressure. With accelerating globalisation in the 2000s education policy trends are increasingly noted, and how a state reacts to such pressures is context specific (Bottery, 2000). However, despite 'global' trends in education policy processes, localised context has an important impact on the way in which policies are produced and enacted (Bottery, 2000; Braun, Ball, Maguire, & Hoskins, 2011). Global–local dynamics in education policy processes are complex and require further investigation (Vidovich, 2013). The proposed study will further contribute in this regard. That is, 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 nations.

Fourth, the study will contribute to methodologies used in policy analysis as globalisation accelerates. In particular, the combination of historical and contemporary education policy analysis will make an original contribution to the area of policy studies.

Glassick, Huber and Maeroff (1997) identified four types of scholarship: the scholarship of teaching, the scholarship of discovery, the scholarship of integration and the scholarship of application. My personal involvement in teaching policy studies at tertiary level had already been mentioned in the introduction. Through this study, I intend to discover the ideas and ideologies that shaped the policyscape in the Maldives. The study will also

enable me and others to integrate and apply the knowledge gained in suitable future contexts in the Maldives and possibly elsewhere. Thus, at personal, national and global levels, the study will make a substantive contribution to scholarship in the areas noted by Glassick et al. (1997).

2. Literature Review

The literature review is divided into four main sections. First, there is an overview of definitions of the term 'policy.' Second, the various types of policies are discussed. Types of policies are loose taxonomies researchers use in categorizing policies in terms of intentions and purposes. The third section of the review discusses the various ideologies which have shaped educational policy. In the final section, policy analysis is described from an evolutionary perspective.

2.1 What is Policy?

The term 'policy' encompasses a range of broad conceptual issues making it difficult to give it a simple definition. As policy theory keeps on evolving a range of older and newer definitions are at work concurrently in educational research. The range of existing definitions for the term policy itself highlights its contested nature (Ball, 1990; Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013; Weymann, 2010).

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; Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013; Weymann, 2010), as explicated below.

2.1.1 Policy as Text. The traditional definition of policy specifies it as a product that involves a set of goals or guidelines that are set to achieve a certain purpose (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Colebatch, 2009; Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Welch, 2013). In other words, this 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 limitations of seeing policy as just text or a product (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; 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.

2.1.2 Policy as Value-Laden Actions. Critiques of the 'policy as text' model note that policy cannot be conceptualised without taking account of the power relations, struggles and values that are embedded in the policy process. In the 1970s the view of policy as the "pursuit of primarily political objectives," "the operational statement of values" and "the authoritative allocation of values" as defined by Kogan (1975, cited in Jones, 2013, p. 15) located policy within a context of values and politics. Kogan also identified four sets of values: educational values, social values, economic values and institutional values that inform and shape up policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013). This view of policy has several strengths such as highlighting the internal workings of the policy elite and the influences key policy actors have in the policy making process. However, it does not bring into light the role of other policy actors found at various stages of the policy process nor does it emphasize how policies are experienced and received by these actors (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013).

2.1.3 Policy as Process. A third view of policy considers 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 of the formal machinery of official policy production (Jones, 2013; Ozga, 2000). It is believed that policy processes precede the production of a policy text. The processes extend to the latter stages of interpretation, enactment, modification and reformulation (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Colebatch, 2009; Đurić, 2011; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007; Vidovich, 2013).

In treating policy as a process, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) and Ball (1994) recontextualised policy as a cycle. The policy cycle model proposed by Ball and colleagues is further explicated in the section on theoretical and conceptual framework for policy analysis adopted in this study.

The policy process is often represented as a cyclic sequence of successive phases. One cyclic model of the policy process is given in Figure 1.

The processes involved in policy production – setting up of policy agendas, formulation of policy text, the enactment of policies, practices and effects – are as important as the policy text itself (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). 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 play a vital role in shaping the change a policy brings about (Ozga, 2000).

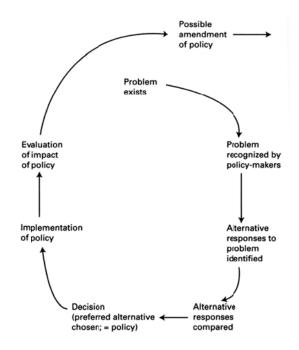


Figure 1. The cyclic model of the policy process. (Source: Colebatch, 2009, p. 48).

2.1.4 Policy as Discursive. Yet a fourth view conceptualizes policy as mobilising specific discourses within or across its various texts and processes (Ball, 1993; Gale, 1999; Jones, 2013; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). 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." Rather than the literal meaning of what is stated, discourse focuses on why a particular statement appeared rather than another (Gale, 1999; Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). The concept of discourse as proposed by Foucault is summarised by Ball (1990, cited in Olssen et al., 2004, p. 22) as embodying "meaning and social relationships" and constituting both "subjectivity and power relations."

Ball (1993) draws on the work of Foucault and argues that concepts of truth and knowledge are formed based on discourses. These discourses, according to him 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 (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Jones, 2013). Hence, policy is about identification of political objectives, the power to transform values into practice through organizational

principles and operational practices and also the behaviour that follows from it (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Gale, 1999; Jones, 2013). In the latter part of this proposal, within the data analysis section, the manner in which these competing influences are negotiated within the political context is outlined under critical discourse analysis.

Thus in summary it could be said that the way people define the term policy has changed over the years. In contemporary times, all four of the above dimensions of 'policy' can sometimes be seen to be operating simultaneously. What was initially seen as just a product is now being viewed as a whole process that has multi-levels and multi-contexts. The policy process is believed to be complex with a multitude of dominant values and discourses acting in shaping it and steering its direction.

To understand more about the term policy the next part of this review will look at the different ways policies can be categorised.

2.2 Types of Policies

As policies bring about or call for change, what people do with policies is equally important to how policies are defined (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997). One major purpose of policies is to control actions and behaviours and to steer institutions and professionals in a given direction. To ensure the achievement of certain goals some policies have material consequences like allocation of resources attached to them. These types of policies are known as material policies (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al., 1997; Volkomer, 2007). As a response to political pressure or to achieve certain personal goals some politicians come up with policies that have no resources attached to them. These policies are known as symbolic policies and quite often are left without being implemented (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al., 1997; Volkomer, 2007).

As regards the way that the policy text is produced, a policy can be incremental or rational (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al., 1997; Volkomer, 2007). Incremental policies are usually built onto existing policies either to revise them or improve them when they fail to serve their purpose. Rational policies are prescriptive and are directed by policy makers in authority positions. These policies involve a number of linear steps through policy development, text formulation and enactment.

Another classification scholars use in categorizing policies is whether they are distributive or redistributive. Distributive policies distribute resources equally among the population while redistributive policies focus on allocating resources to particular disadvantaged groups (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al., 1997; Volkomer, 2007).

Yet, another binary notion of policy is regulatory–deregulatory (Lund, 2014). Regulatory policies are concerned with central government control of the education processes and practices through, for example, '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). However, often these simplistic binary categories are problematic. Apple (2004) argues that there is so much external supervision, regulation, and external judgment of performance in deregulatory policy enactment, that in effect, state's steerage of the education process is still maintained. Arguably, regulatory–deregulatory tensions are a central feature of contemporary educational policies.

Though many public policies are multipurpose, the classification of policies as discussed above helps give an idea of the purposes of policies. Understanding 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 as these relationships are often based on contestations, negotiations and compromises (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor et al., 1997; Volkomer, 2007).

2.3 Education Policy: Changing Ideologies and Globalisation

Literature on education policy has identified dominant ideologies and themes that influence the discourses of education policy at different periods of time (Ball, 1990; Bell & Stevenson, 2006). Ball (1990) notes 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" (p.3). Two major themes are the ideologies of the old humanists, industrial trainers and the public educators on the one hand, and the globalization and the neo-liberal ideology on the other.

2.3.1 The Ideologies of the Old Humanists, Industrial Trainers and the Public Educators. In the beginning of the 19th century, three major ideologies were apparent in the discourses of education policy: those of the old humanists, industrial trainers, and the public educators (Ball, 1990). According to Ball, the old humanists held the belief that human spiritual health depends on the kind of education that involves much more than training for a

specialized industrial task. Industrial trainers defined education in terms of future adult work and advocated teaching the required social character, while public educators argued that every person has a natural right to education and a good society will be built up by a government which accepts this ideology.

In the 1980s, the ideologies of the public educators and industrial trainers were overshadowed by the influence of the old humanists. In the latter part of the 20th century, education policy was supposed to represent the implementation of solutions to educational problems and it was assumed that educational research can, and should, contribute to policy effectiveness (Webb & Gulson, 2012).

In the final decades of the 20th century, Salter and Tapper (1981, as cited in Ball, 1990) identified an emerging ideology belonging to the educational bureaucrats whose main concern was with control and efficiency of the system. This discourse of educational bureaucrats was dominating education policy at that time (Ball, 1990). By the turn of the century, globalisation was accelerating, accompanied by a new ideology.

2.3.2 Globalization and the Neo-liberal Ideology. At the beginning of the 21st century the phenomenon of globalization started steering the direction of education policy discourses. Globalization 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, 2000; Bottery, 2006; Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001; Jazda, 2005; McGuigan, 2005; Ritzer, 2007; Steger, 2003). The main ideology driving these discourses was that of neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism advocates the installation of principles of free market, economic liberalization and privatization (Ball, 1997; McGuigan, 2005). Supporters of this philosophy promote free trade in an international market. Neo-liberalism is framed by "a mix of incentives and rewards aimed at stimulating self-interested responses" (Ball, 1997, p. 259).

Globalization has also led to the creation of a new social imaginary that is based on the view that the world is becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This social imaginary influences and guides people to make sense of their social relations and shape their actions. It is intimately bound with identity.

The incorporation of globalization and neoliberalism into education policy discourses redefined the purpose of education as working for the development of human capital, meeting the needs of the global economy and ensuring the competitiveness of the national economy in the globalised world (Fischman & Gvirtz, 2001; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Hameed-ur-

Rehman, Sewani and Moosa (2013) contend that the result of globalization is the creation of a "global education policy field." The global education policy field calls for the emergence of a universal set of education policy themes that go beyond nation states, and thus may have serious effects on national education systems.

The growing impact of globalization and the increasing demands of international competition forced nation-states to enhance the skill levels of their labour force, thus reforming their education systems to address this need (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Bottery, 2006). As economic utility and human capital became the most dominant themes in dictating education policy, a more direct relationship between education policy and industry was articulated giving rise to a variety of vocational and pre-vocational policy initiatives (Ball, 1990).

The role of the government in education also was supposedly diminished with a greater reliance on market mechanisms causing an almost "universal shift from social democratic to neoliberal orientations" giving rise to "corporatization, privatization, and commercialization" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 3). However, greater accountability demands for educational institutions to produce internationally competitive educational outcomes have meant that governments have been 'steering from a distance.' The devolution of choice to parents and autonomy to institutions have been in tension with greater accountability (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). Thus globalisation has produced complex changes to governance of education as international competition has been a driving force for education reform.

For the citizens of developing countries the credentials offered at national level alone became inadequate to compete in the global market. Hence, these countries started moving towards 'education borrowing' or 'importing' what is working in developed countries in their search for the globally accepted skills and knowledge. The central positioning of education in the emerging interconnected markets gave rise to the phenomenon of the global knowledge economy (Weymann, 2010).

When nation-states started to operate in the global economy they have to learn how to respond to the demands of the international organizations, at the same time as protecting their national identity (Weymann, 2010). Political goals were set by those who have power, influencing and shaping the nation's education system making the education system a product of struggles and negotiations among the power elite of the country and global policy

communities. The restrictions and opportunities provided by the historically shaped education systems acted as the backdrop for future political actions.

In summary, it can be concluded that over time many ideologies have influenced the shape and direct education policy. The ideologies dominant at any one time are in parallel with the purpose attributed to education.

2.4 Policy Analysis

Policy analysis, also known as policy science, policy research or policy studies, emerged as an academic field quite recently and originated from the liberal democratic countries where governments sought the resources of social sciences to develop public policies (Cibulka, 1994; Fink-Hafner, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). It was established in the academia as an area of study mainly due to the work of Harold Lasswell in 1948. In his book titled *Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Methods*, Lasswell defined policy studies "as an academic discipline with a duty not only to respect, but also to enhance liberal values, democracy, human well-being and human dignity" (Fink-Hafner, 2012, p. 25).

Policy analysis is a group of studies that belong to the applied social science discipline and employ multi-methods of inquiry to supply information for policy formulation or help in the critical examination of existing policies (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney, 2007; Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). The many types of policy research available can be categorised as falling within a continuum which can be characterised as either analysis *for* policy or analysis *of* policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Olssen et al., 2004; Ozga, 2000; Thissen & Walker, 2012).

Bell and Stevenson (2006) group policy advocacy, information for policy, policy monitoring and evaluation under analysis *for* policy. Policy advocacy refers to research done to promote a single policy or a group of related policies. Information for policy aims to provide policy makers with information and advice. Policy monitoring and evaluation is concerned with assessing impact of certain policies. Analysis of policy determination and analysis of policy content come under analysis *of* policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). Analysis of policy determination concentrates on how a policy was developed in a certain way and emphasizes the policy process, while analysis of policy content aims to understand the origin, intentions and operations of certain policies.

Policy research can also be viewed as operating on a continuum from academic policy analysis to applied policy analysis (Cibulka, 1994). Academic policy analysis focuses on

social problems, their consequences and the ways governments address these problems. Applied policy analysis concentrates on solving particular policy problems for policy actors or stakeholders involved in the policy process. Such distinctions may be seen as artificial, and arguably, policy analysis may serve multiple purposes simultaneously.

The above literature review highlights that there is no simple and mutually agreed definition for the concept of policy. 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' are most often used. For the purpose of this study, the definitions 'policy as process' and 'policy as process' and 'policy as these approaches underpin the conceptual framework used for the study.

Policy is not created in a vacuum. It is developed based on values and judgements of various policy actors at different levels of the policyscape. At different points of time major ideologies have shaped and steered the direction of education policy. Such ideologies include those of the old humanists, industrial trainers and public educators and that of the educational bureaucrats previously mentioned.

The major ideology dictating contemporary education policy direction is neo-liberalism associated with globalization. As a result of the advances in communication and transport, the borders between nations have become blurred with interconnectedness and compression of time and space. The incorporation of globalisation and neoliberal ideology into education policy discourses resulted in redefining the purpose of education as preparing global citizens who can compete in the global knowledge economy.

Though policy analysis is a very recently established field of study, its popularity has been rising with the need for evidence based research to inform policy makers of the current situation where reforms are necessary. To understand the underlying assumptions in the policy process it is important to analyse the whole policy process from different contexts and at different levels.

3. Research Design

This section describes the design adopted by the researcher to achieve the aims of the study. There are two main parts in this section. The first part, Section 3.1, describes an

overview of the theoretical paradigms and the concept of 'policy trajectory.' In Section 3.2 the research questions are outlined derived from the concept of a policy trajectory. However, the section begins by restating the aim of the study.

As noted in the Introduction to the proposal, the Maldives education system has witnessed many reforms over the years just as in any other country. The aim of this study is to analyse key education policy reforms in the Maldives over the time period 1900-2015, using an extended 'policy trajectory' framework which includes policy influences, policy text production and policy practices/effects.

To achieve the aim, a researcher has to approach the task with a distinctive perspective or framework. This framework constitutes the lens through which he or she views the reality of the whole policy trajectory—the different phases of policy making and enactment (Ball, 1994). The framework, in other words, constitutes the assumptions, values, methods and practices that underlie policy analysis.

3.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework for Policy Analysis Adopted in this Study

The findings of a policy analysis are dependent on the framework chosen for analysis 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'Conner & Netting, 2008, p. 159). 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 the researcher to organize his or her thinking about how to approach social phenomena being studied (Grimley, 1986; O'Conner & Netting, 2008; Veselý, 2012).

This study will use the conceptual framework of a 'policy trajectory' (Ball, 1994; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007; Vidovich, 2013). The policy trajectory draws on the two theoretical paradigms of Critical Theory and Post-structuralism. The two paradigms are outlined below.

3.1.1 Critical Theory Paradigm. The critical theory paradigm is grounded in human values and accepts society as contradictory and problematic (Dijk, 2007; Grimely, 1986; Locke, 2004). The critical policy approach is value explicit and presents a model where justice, equality and individual freedom are celebrated (Dijk, 2007; Grimely, 1986; Locke,

2004). It not only seeks to expose inequalities but to empower those who are disadvantaged; it emphasizes the potential for alternatives (Dijk, 2007; Grimely, 1986; Vidovich, 2013; Locke, 2004).

Duncan (2003) proposes three characteristics that distinguish a critical policy analysis. First, the main focus of a critical policy analysis will be 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 will expose 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 will be given to the effects of the policy and how policies are experienced by the people affected by them.

3.1.2 Post-Structuralism. A major milestone in policy analysis studies came with the redefining of policy by Stephen Ball in the 1990's 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 early work was focused within a single nation-state (UK), but over time it has been expanded to include macro-level influences, (e.g. global) as well as micro-level practices and effects (e.g. within educational institutions) (Vidovich, 2007; Vidovich, 2013).

Ball's 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 main focus of the post-structuralist view that emerged later in the 20th century is on the "fragmentary, the incomplete, the local and the indeterminate" (Vidovich, 2013, p. 26). This perspective was influenced by the work of Foucault and supports the deconstruction of policy discourses to expose the power relationships embedded in them (Olssen et al., 2004; Vidovich, 2013).

The way power is perceived by critical theorists and post-structuralists is different. While the critical theorists see power as centralized and the policy elite as having the control to promote their values through policies and driving policy in the directions they want, the post-structuralists see power as decentralized (Vidovich, 2013). For post-structuralists power can circulate 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 poststructuralists see them as having significant freedom in getting involved with policy processes (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).

3.1.3 Policy Trajectory Approach. The 'policy trajectory approach' to policy analysis draws from both the critical theory paradigm and post-structural approach. In its evolution over time, this framework has offered useful tools for policy analysis (Vidovich, 2013).

In his seminal work on the policy trajectory, Ball proposed five contexts: the context of influence, the context of policy text production, the context of practices/effect, the context of outcomes and the context of political strategy (Ball, 1994; Ball, 2005; Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012; Vidovich, 2007; Vidovich, 2013). 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 with negotiation among different parties. In the context of practices/effects, the policy is subjected to multiple translations or recreations by the actual practitioners of policy. The context of political strategy devises plans to address these inequalities. In this study, the primary emphasis will be on the first three policy contexts: context of influence, context of policy text production and context of practices/effects, although the final two contexts will be referred to in the discussion of findings.

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 (Vidovich, 2007; Vidovich, 2013). In the recent years, analysis at the micro-level has become important as politicians have started focusing on the outcomes of policies, and evidence is required by them to see what really works (Braun et al., 2011; Vidovich, 2013).

Modifications to Ball's (1994) policy trajectory have developed over time. For example, Vidovich (2007) has extended the policy trajectory model by superimposing multilevels from global to local to the contexts proposed by Ball (1994), taking into account the "macro-level constraint and micro-level agency" (Vidovich, 2007, p. 290). In her model, Vidovich (2007) has incorporated the phenomenon of globalization as, increasingly, states cannot be independent from global discourses when setting national agendas. Bottery (2006) identifies several reasons for a macro-level analysis of education. He believes that most of the issues in education have their roots at the macro-level. It is believed 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 2.

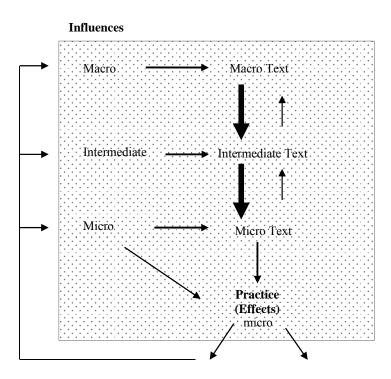


Figure 2. A modified policy cycle. Source: Vidovich (2007, p.298).

The following is how Vidovich (2007) explains her model. The shaded box in Figure 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 strength of the influence. Larger bold arrows coming down and small arrows going up indicates when the polity elite are more influential in controlling the policy process. This is known as macro-level constraint. The power exerted by the 'grassroots' level practitioners in interpreting the policies is known 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 2 depicts 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.

3.2 Research Question

For the purpose of this study all the major policy reforms in the period under study will be analysed, and for each major policy reform, a policy trajectory approach will be applied. That is, policy influences, text production and practices will be investigated. In addition, the implications of the findings for the future will be examined. Specifically the four research questions are:

- 1. How have global and national 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 historical and contemporary education policies in the Maldives for the future, especially with accelerating globalisation?

4. Research Methods

This section outlines the researcher's plan for the conduct of the research. The section begins with a brief introduction about historical and contemporary policy analysis including sample selection. Data collection and data analysis are then discussed. The section concludes with a discussion of limitations and delimitations, time frame of the study, and ethical and other considerations.

In this study the researcher has set out to conduct an analysis of education policy evolution over an extended period from 1900 to 2015 in Maldives. When a researcher seeks to understand a phenomenon under investigation in its natural setting, the method of choice is invariably the qualitative approach (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorenson, 2010; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Thus a qualitative approach will be chosen to carry out this study. The primary goal of the researcher in this type of research is to portray the complex pattern of what is being studied in sufficient depth and detail so that someone who has not experienced it can understand it (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998; Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2012; Saldana, Leavy, & Beretvas, 2011). In qualitative studies multi-methods such as participant and non-participant observations and interviews are used by the researcher to interpret, understand, explain and bring meaning to what they study (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998; Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2012; Hart, 2005; Saldana et al., 2010). The primary instrument of a qualitative study is the researcher.

The data collected by the qualitative researcher is in the form of words or pictures. What the qualitative researcher learns in a particular setting is dependent on the nature and types of interactions among the researcher, the participants and the setting (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2012; Saldana et al., 2010). In most qualitative studies, data collection and data analysis take place simultaneously.

4.1 Historical and Contemporary Policy Analysis

This study of educational policy in the Maldives spans an extended period from 1900 to 2015. It consists of both historical and contemporary policy analysis.

An historical research approach is used to study the historical component of this study. 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., 2010; Cohen et al., 2007). In this type of research, an aspect of the past is studied either by pursuing documents of the period or by interviewing people who lived in that period. Based on the findings the researcher then sets out to explain what happened 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, setting up an evidence base for policy makers, and obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of the current practices. In addition, such studies are done 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 a historical study, first the problem to be investigated is defined, followed by locating the relevant sources of historical information (Ary et al., 2010; 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 a historical inquirer (Ary et al., 2010; 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 source, relics, refers to objects which provide information about the past either through the physical or visual structure. Some examples of relics include furniture, artwork, clothing, buildings, monuments, or equipment.

Further, the sources used in historical research can be identified as either primary sources or secondary sources (Ary et al., 2010; 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. Appendix A lists some 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).

4.2 Participants

This study intends to analyse the education policy terrain of Maldives from 1900 to 2015 as completely as possible. Hence, anybody who has been a part of the policy process and is still alive is a possible participant of this study. It is the researcher's aim to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with various policy actors in, and connected with, the Maldivian education system during the latter part of the time period 1900 - 2015. This could include former and present ministers, deputy ministers, school heads, teachers, parents, students, as well as local authority representatives and relevant 'outsiders' with links to the education system as a whole. Interviews with these participants will provide data parallel to the document analysis for recent decades, but for the period earlier in the 20^{th} century, documents will provide the sole source of data.

4.2.1 Sampling. Factors such as cost, time, and accessibility often limit 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. The sampling method chosen for this study falls under non-random sampling. Sampling methods such as systematic sampling, convenience sampling and purposive sampling fall under this group. The researcher intends to use purposive sampling for this study as the participants will be selected to fit with the purpose of the study.

4.2.2 Sample Size. Best and Kahn (2006) describes an ideal sample size as been 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 is a historical study and the researcher has to do with whoever is available, the researcher will try to interview as many policy actors as available. As the researcher intends to use snowball sampling wherever possible the exact sample size is not set at the beginning of the study. Snowball sampling is used to find subjects of interest from those who will be best able to identify them (Ary et al., 2010; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). For example, anybody identified by the participants of this study as another possible policy actor and is available to take part in the study will be approached with a request to contribute to the study. However, for a representative sample no less than 30 people will be interviewed.

4.3 Data Collection

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., 2010; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). This study will employ document analysis and interviewing as primary methods of data collection. Considerations of the use of document analysis and interviews are summarized in the following sections.

4.3.1 Document Analysis. The first data collection method to be employed in this study is document analysis. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating printed and electronic material related to a particular field (Ary et al., 2010; Bowen, 2009; Tight, 2003). Cohen et al. (2007) have highlighted many advantages of document analysis. It provides an avenue for the researcher to reach inaccessible persons or subjects. 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. They are also useful in formulating interview questions for the policy actors. As the

documents under study are not usually written as research data, writer bias could be a consideration when documents are used.

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 is selected as a source of data for the study due to the long timescale investigated. Some of the policy actors who played major roles in formulating and implementing policy directives at the earlier part of the century are not living. Another reason for choosing this method is that it is through original documentation that the real intention of the policy statements could be derived. It is believed that documentary evidence combined with data from interviews will minimise bias and enhance validity and reliability of the data collected; that is, the documentary and interview data can be triangulated to reveal both similarities and differences.

The document analysis will be conducted by using primary and secondary sources. Special care will be taken to use primary sources wherever possible. But in cases where primary sources are not available secondary sources will be used. The primary and the secondary documentary sources that will form the cornerstone of this research are in Appendix A. All the data pages used in this study will be photocopied and scanned unless they are readily available.

Each of the sources used in this study will be subject 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 will be 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 exit?
- 11. Does the document have more than one form or version?

4.3.2 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., 2010; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Saldana et al., 2010). The interview is a flexible tool that makes use of multiple senses. There are four types of interviews, namely, structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews and retrospective interviews (Ary et al., 2010; Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Saldana et al., 2007; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009; Saldana et al., 2010). Out of these types, the researcher intends to use semi-structured interviewing 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).

The interviews for this study will be conducted at a place chosen by the participants to make the environment as comfortable as possible for them. The participants will be informed that there will be two parts to the interview session. In the first part the purpose of the study will be explained to the participant and the participant will be invited to ask questions to clear doubts. The second part will be the semi-structured interview.

The questions used in the interview would be open-ended and semi-structured so that the participants will have the opportunity to freely express their ideas and viewpoints. The length of these interviews will be between 45 minutes to one hour. The core guiding questions for the interviews will be adapted from the "possible menu to interrogate a policy process proposed by Vidovich (2007, p. 296). This 'menu' to investigate a policy process is included in Appendix B. The nature of the participant's response will determine the direction of the interview.

With the permission of the participants their responses will be recorded using an electronic voice recorder. Each interview will be transcribed and shared with the respective participant for possible amendments. The transcribed data will be sorted by person and given a reference number to ensure anonymity of the participant. The participants may be called for a second interview if the need arises.

4.4 Data Analysis

The data collected from document analysis and interviews will be analysed by using the five-phased cycle of data analysis described by Yin (2011) and given in Figure 3.

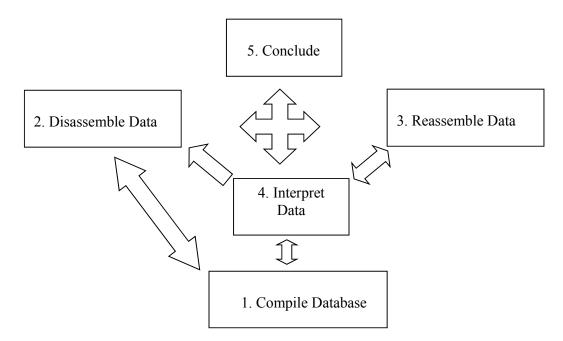


Figure 3. Five-phased cycle of data analysis. Source: Yin (2011, p. 178).

The five phases in this framework includes compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpretation and conclusion. The double sided arrows in Figure 3 show that analysis is possible back and forth between two phases. This framework is non-linear and the five phases in this model occurs concomitantly and will run throughout the study period though emphasis at different stages will vary at different points of time.

As regards this framework, the data collected will be first compiled and sorted. To do the sorting the researcher first intends to read the notes made on the data collected and the interview transcripts over and over again to familiarize herself with the data, as familiarization and organization are the initial steps of data analysis (Ary et al., 2010). Then, the data will be sorted into broad categories.

In the second phase; the disassembling phase, the data will then be sorted into smaller fragments or codes. This step maybe repeated several times on a trial and error basis to test codes.

Based on the results of the second phase the disassembled data fragments will then be sorted to substantive themes or codes. In this third phase known as the reassembling, charts and tables will be used to facilitate the rearrangements and recombinations (Yin, 2011). This step can be repeated over and over again as depicted by the two-way arrows in Figure 3.

In the fourth phase or the interpreting phase critical discourse analysis methods will be used to interpret the data followed by drawing conclusions based on the interpretations.

4.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis. "Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Dijk, 2001, p. 353). Similar to the policy trajectory approach, CDA draws from both critical theory and the post-structural approach (Brewer, 2013; Poole, 2010; Vidovich, 2013). The main proponents of CDA identify ideology, discourse, truth and power as the central concepts defining this model (Dijk, 2001; Poole, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). Critical discourse analysts define ideology as "a particular framework of knowledge that is tied to social power and maybe manifested in language" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 82). Therefore, the critical analyst searches the dominant discourses for the ideology and power relationships embedded in it. In policy analysis, CDA can be applied to both interview and document texts to identify the relationship between these texts and the contexts that produced and gave meaning to the texts (Dijk, 2001; Poole, 2010; Vidovich, 2013).

The proposed study will use Fairclough's three-tiered framework for critical discourse analysis. Rambe (2012) describes the three levels of the framework as follows:

(1) *social conditions of production and interpretation*, that is, factors in society that led to the production of texts and how these factors affect interpretation; (2) the *process of production and interpretation*, that is, how texts have been

produced and this affects interpretation; (3) the product of the first two stages, the text. (p. 300).

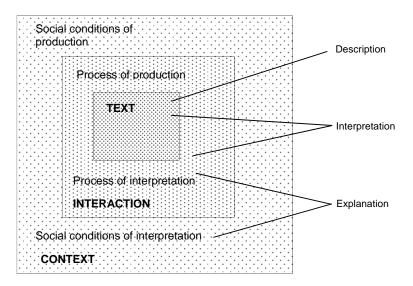


Figure 4. Fairclough's three tiered model of CDA (Source: Rambe, 2012, p. 300).

Corresponding to the three levels of discourse, the three stages of CDA prescribed by Fairclough are: (1) *description stage* concerned with the description of the text and its linguistic structures (text analysis), (2) *interpretation stage* focused on how the text has been produced, its relationship with similar texts and how the subjects interact with the text (analysis of linkage), and (3) *explanation stage* focused on the various sociocultural practices and discursive conditions that provide a wider contextual relevance to the text (social analysis) (Locke, 2004). In the third stage, i.e., the explanation stage, the critical discourse analyst will work on revealing the power structures and dominant ideologies embedded in the text and how power issues can be resolved. In other words, the social analysis stage is concerned with the "determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (Rambe, 2012, p. 299).

Fairclough's three tiered framework for critical discourse analysis will be applied to the three levels (macro, meso and micro) and the three contexts, namely the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context of practices/effects.

Data will be analyzed separately for each of the identified major points of change over the 1900–2015 time frame; that is policy influences, texts and practices, will be analyzed. Finally, construction of a policy trajectory over the 115 years will highlight similarities and differences in the policy processes as they evolved over the different periods.

4.5 Limitations and Delimitations

As the period of the study is over 100 years, I am aware that documents on educational policy may not be readily available especially for the first five decades. I intend to identify policies of that period on documents extant as well as by interviewing those policy actors still living. But, for completeness and for a fuller appreciation of the policy, the study includes the period from 1900 to 2015. My principal focus will be on policies dealing with primary, secondary, vocational and higher education.

4.6 Time frame of Study

The intended time frame for this study is given in Figure 5. The study is planned for a period of three years starting from July 2013 till June 2016.

	2013					2014											2015											2016						
	Jul- Sep			Oct- Dec		Jan- Mar			Apr- Jun			Jul- Sep		Oct- Dec		Jan- Mar			Apr- Jun			Jul- Sep			Oct- Dec		Jan- Mar				pr- ın			
Literature Review							÷																											
Research Proposal																																		
Development of tools																																		
Data Collection																		511-521																
Analysis of Data																																		
Thesis Write-up																																		
Submission of thesis																																		

Figure 5. Intended time frame for the study.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethics approval to conduct this study will be sought prior to conducting the study from the relevant authorities and committees. Research students are required to obtain approval before conducting any study using the ethics approval form from the Maldives National University (MNU) Research Ethics Committee. At all times, the researcher will ensure that the participants are comfortable and free from harm. Prior to carrying out the interviews, all participants will be informed about the study and their consent to participate will be sought in writing through the form in Appendix C. The researcher will respect the participant's decision about taking part in the study. After the data is collected and transcribed, the data

will be shared with the participants to check for accuracy. The identity of the participants will be kept confidential at all times. Digital recordings of the interviews will be kept safely locked or password protected. The right to withdraw from the study at any point of time will be available to the participant throughout the study.

4.8 Facilities

No special facilities are required for this study.

4.9 Estimated Costs

•	Photocopying	MVR 1000
•	Printing/ paper consumables	MVR 1000
•	References	MVR 5000
•	Fieldwork	MVR 10000
	Total:	MVR 17000

4.10 Fieldwork

As this study involves a long span of time and is a historical research the researcher may have to travel to islands where participants are located. The cost will be borne by self.

4.11 Supervisors

Dr Hassan Hameed (Principal Supervisor) Winthrop Professor Lesley Vidovich (External Supervisor) Dr Mohamed Latheef (Co-supervisor) Dr Ali Shareef (Co-supervisor)

4.12 Confidentiality and Intellectual Property

The researcher will adhere to the MNU policies regarding confidentiality and intellectual property as they are in the relevant policies of the university. The research ethics approval form will be duly filled and passed through the Research Ethics Committee.

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6. Appendices

Appendix A: Some Primary & Secondary Sources

Some Primary that would be used for Data Collection

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Appendix B: A Possible Menu to Interrogate a Policy Process

A possible menu to interrogate a policy process

Context: Context of influence

Questions:

- 1. What struggles are occurring to influence the policy?
- 2. Are global (supra-national) influences evident is this policy domain?
- 3. Are there international (bi-lateral or multi-lateral) influences operating? If so, which are the key 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?
- 10. Why are these interests so powerful?
- 11. Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?

Context: Context of policy text production

Questions:

- 1. What struggles are occurring in the production of the policy text?
- 2. Why is the policy text produced at a particular place and time?

- 3. When did the construction of the policy text begin?
- 4. Which interest (stakeholder) groups are represented in the production of the policy text and which are excluded?
- 5. What processes are used to construct the policy text and why?
- 6. What compromises are made between the different interest (stakeholder) groups and how were they negotiated?
- 7. Whose interests are the policy intended to serve?
- 8. What are the dominant discourses of the policy text and which discourses are excluded?
- 9. What is the stated intention of the policy?
- 10. Are there any 'hidden' agendas?
- 11. Which values are reflected in the policy?
- 12. What issues constitute the focus of the policy, and do they relate to global/international policy agendas?
- 13. What are the key concepts in the policy?
- 14. What is the format of the policy and why?
- 15. What is the language of the policy and why?
- 16. Are there inconsistencies and contradictions in the policy text?
- 17. Who is the intended audience for the policy text?
- 18. How accessible or understandable is the policy text to the audience?
- 19. Are the steps for implementation set out as part of the policy text?
- 20. Is the implementation funded?
- 21. Is there a pre-specified mechanism to evaluate the policy?

Context: Context of practice/effects

Questions:

- 1. What struggles are occurring over the policy practices/effects?
- 2. Is this policy being practiced in a wide variety of localized contexts?
- 3. How different are the policy practices between, and within, different localized sites?
- 4. Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels?
- 5. Who can access the policy and who does access it?
- 6. How open is the policy to interpretation by practitioners?
- 7. How well is the policy received?
- 8. Who put the policy into practice?
- 9. What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?
- 10. To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted?
- 11. Is resistance collective or individual?
- 12. To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?
- 13. How predictable were the policy practices/effects?
- 14. Are practitioners at the local level empowered by the policy?
- 15. Are practitioners at the local level able to respond rapidly to meet localized needs n this policy domain?
- 16. What are the unintended consequences?
- 17. What is the impact of the policy on different localized groupings based on class, gender, ethnicity, rurality and disability?
- 18. Are there winners and losers?
- 19. Is there a disjunction between the original policy intent (macro-level) and subsequent practices (micro-level), and if so why?

20. What reforms are imperative for the immediate future in the light of what has happened in the history?

Note. Takenfrom "Removing policy from its pedestal: Some theoretical framings and practical possibilities," by L. Vidovich, 2007, *Educational Review*, *59(3)*, p. 297.

Appendix C: Draft Participant Information Letter and Consent Form

Draft Participant Information Letter

Dear Sir/Madam

I am a PhD student enrolled in the Maldives National University. My research project involvescritically 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. 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 email 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.

Draft Consent Form

Adapted from "Example of consent form" by J. R. Fraenkel& N. E. Wallen2009, *How to design and evaluate research in education*, p. 56

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: 1912 – 2012.*

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:	