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PROBLEMS OF TEACHER SUPPLY IN THE MALDIVES IN RELATION TO THEIR WORK, STATUS AND THE MARKET SITUATION

AHMED ANWAR

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Education in the Faculty of Law and Social Science, Graduate School of Education, December 2007

December 2007 Word Count: 41,455
ABSTRACT

Maldives is known to the outside world as a paradise on earth. But the real proprietors of this paradise, its own people, have lived in a continuing dark age. They are denied access to knowledge and education, which form the basis of intellectual development. The tragic story of the Maldivian folks is epitomised with real facts in Chapter 1 as a prologue to this work.

This work claims that two policy decisions appearing at two different times, did actually plant the seeds of the current problems of teacher supply. The first decision came in 1961. It was the introduction of the British Colonial System of Education to a few schools in Male'. The decision may have been precipitated by a desperate need to get trainable people to the labour market. Nearly a quarter of a century later, in 1984, a further decision was taken with immense international pressure to introduce a unified system of education based on a newly developed national curriculum to all the schools in the country. This has created a space, which had produced issues of teacher supply. That space could not be filled at all by Maldivian teachers and this study attempts to examine the real causes. These two decisions came on top of a history of neglect of education by the ruling elite in the Maldives. Thus, not only has this resulted in a small pool of potential teachers, but this study reveals that the pool of educated Maldivians is also very small, contributing to a deep structural problem of low levels of educated Maldivians in general.

A powerful framework, consisting of not only the problem solving method but also the critical theory approach, was developed to unmask the causes which had given rise to these problems. In fact, more than three-quarters of all secondary and about a quarter of all primary teachers are expatriates. There has also been attrition for both expatriate and the local teachers causing further problems.

It has emerged in this research that in the Maldives teachers work more than 10 hours a day. They work in the night, during public holidays and also in their vacation. At the same time, their situation in terms of income and the status does not appear to be promising although schools need, more than ever before, competent teachers to meet the challenges of the Twenty-first Century.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Ramla and our son Shahdy.
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any work of this nature requires an abundance of intellectual, emotional and practical support. Many people have, in fact, rendered unfailing support to me along the way. They include members of my family, close friends and colleagues to whom I am greatly indebted.

I am particularly grateful to the key informants in both Male' and the outer islands who have generously enabled me to collect massive data and learn so much about the educational opportunities the Maldivian folks have had over the centuries and on the situation of the teachers at the present time and in the past. I admire the dedicated commitment all those people had for improving the services provided to the schools and the teachers in particular. Those of my friends who have enthusiastically helped me to administer the questionnaire and to, timely collect the forms, have to be duly acknowledged for their assistance.

Inspiration and support had also come from my adviser, Professor Susan Robertson whose clarity of intellectual thought, expert guidance and quick response to my enquiries enabled me to concentrate on this work for quite a long period despite the predicament that I had to encounter during. It will be unfair on my part if I had failed to acknowledge that she had seeded in this work many wonderful ideas about teacher labour, status and the market situation.

Finally, very special thanks go to my wife Ramla who had to sacrifice so much during my absence and my son Shahdy for his inspiration, encouragement and support all along in both Bristol and Male'
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Excluding Appendices and Tables, this dissertation is no longer than 45,000 words approved to me.

Signed: [Signature] Date: 20 December 2007
# Table of Contents

**PROLOGUE**

**CHAPTER 1**

1. **INTRODUCTION**
   - 1.1. Setting the Scene ................................................................. 6
   - 1.2. A Critical Theory Approach .................................................. 8
   - 1.3. Taking Context Seriously ..................................................... 9
   - 1.4. Situating Educating and Education in the Maldives .................. 12
   - 1.5. Research Problem and Questions ......................................... 17
   - 1.7. The Structure of the Study .................................................. 18
   - 1.8. Concluding Statement .......................................................... 19

**CHAPTER 2**

2. **Charting the Wider Context** .................................................. 21
   - 2.1. Introduction ............................................................................. 21
   - 2.2. Being a Teacher ...................................................................... 22
   - 2.3. Wage, Status and Social Mobility ........................................... 24
   - 2.4. Teachers' Work ...................................................................... 28
   - 2.5. Career .................................................................................... 31
   - 2.6. Lessons from Other Small States .......................................... 32
   - 2.7. Conclusion ............................................................................. 34

**CHAPTER 3**

3. **Methodology and Administration of the Research** ....................... 36
   - 3.1. Introduction ............................................................................. 36
   - 3.2. Methodology ........................................................................... 36
   - 3.3. Primary Sources of Data ......................................................... 38
   - 3.3.1. School Teachers ................................................................. 38
   - 3.3.2. Students ............................................................................. 39
   - 3.3.3. Headteachers ...................................................................... 39
   - 3.3.4. Resigning Teachers ............................................................. 40
   - 3.3.5. Past Maldivian Teachers ...................................................... 40
   - 3.3.6. Schools ............................................................................... 40
   - 3.3.7. Ministry Officials ................................................................. 41
   - 3.4. Secondary Sources of Data ..................................................... 41
   - 3.4.1. Elderly Scholars ................................................................. 41
   - 3.4.2. Survey of Historical Records .............................................. 41
   - 3.4.3. Pioneer Teachers ................................................................. 42
   - 3.4.4. Visit to Islands .................................................................... 42
   - 3.5. Methods .................................................................................. 42
   - 3.5.1. Questionnaire ..................................................................... 43
   - 3.5.2. Interviews ............................................................................ 43
   - 3.6. Administration ........................................................................ 44
   - 3.7. Analysis of Data ...................................................................... 46
   - 3.8. Validity and Reliability ........................................................... 48
   - 3.9. Other Considerations .............................................................. 50
   - 3.9.1. Informed Consent ............................................................... 51
   - 3.9.2. Deception ............................................................................ 51
   - 3.9.3. Privacy and Confidentiality ................................................ 51
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYMS</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HoD</td>
<td>Head of Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoT</td>
<td>Ministry of Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member the Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCLHR</td>
<td>National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>The United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Information of the teachers who participated in the study ............................................ 39
Table 3.2 Statistic of the headteachers who have participated in the study ........................................ 40
Table 3.3: The amount of data and the time line of data collection .................................................. 46
Table 4.1: Physical facilities ............................................................................................................ 55
Table 4.2: Quality of the infrastructure ......................................................................................... 55
Table 4.3: Quality of educational facilities as per teacher survey .................................................... 56
Table 4.4: Quality of educational facilities as per headteacher interview ......................................... 57
Table 4.5: Untrained teachers ....................................................................................................... 57
Table 4.6: Living conditions .......................................................................................................... 60
Table 5.1: Teacher attrition .......................................................................................................... 64
Table 5.2: The annual rate of increase ............................................................................................ 65
Table 5.3: Duration of stay in the Maldives .................................................................................... 66
Table 5.4: Teachers who reported recruitment as a problem ........................................................... 67
Table 5.5: Teachers’ involvement in decision making – views of the teachers and the heads compared ................................................................................................................................. 68
Table 5.6: Teachers’ involvement in decision making and autonomy – Indians and Maldivians compared ......................................................................................................................................................... 69
Table 5.7: Level of involvement in decision making and autonomy by gender .................................... 70
Table 5.8: Indiscipline in view of male and female teachers ............................................................... 72
Table 5.9: Indiscipline in view of teachers by nationality ................................................................. 73
Table 5.10: Advice of teachers who were leaving, to students ........................................................... 73
Table 5.11: No. of years as the head of the present school and as headteachers .................................. 75
Table 5.12: Issues of management & supervision as a problem ....................................................... 76
Table 5.13: Problems of management & supervision – Maldivian & Indian teachers compared .......... 76
Table 5.14: Problem of management & supervision - by school type ................................................. 76
Table 5.15: Lack of care & attention in Male’ and the outer islands ...................................................... 78
Table 5.16: Lack of care & attention against nationality ................................................................. 79
Table 5.17: Tension as a problem by nationality .............................................................................. 80
Table 5.18: Tensions between Maldivians and expatriates in some depth .......................................... 80
Table 6.1: Nationality of teachers by levels (primary/secondary) ...................................................... 83
Table 6.2: Teacher representation in primary & secondary schools .................................................. 83
Table 6.3: Qualifications of teachers by nationality ........................................................................ 84
Table 6.4: Lack of trained Maldivians as a problem ...................................................................... 85
Table 6.5: Advice to local teachers by expatriates who resigned in 2003 ........................................... 85
Table 6.6: Students’ reasons for not choosing teaching ................................................................. 86
Table 6.7: No. of hours teachers spend in school ............................................................................ 88
Table 6.8: Responses of teachers on problems related to work ......................................................... 89
Table 6.9: Low status awarded to teachers in view of the headteachers and teachers-present and resigned in 2003 ........................................................................................................................................... 91
Table 6.10: Status of teachers in the Maldives during different periods ............................................. 92
Table 6.11: Reasons for low regard to teachers in view of the interviewed scholars ......................... 92
Table 6.12: Basic monthly pay structure and hierarchy for teachers in the Maldives (2003) ............ 94
Table 6.13: Maldives pay compared within the regional market by expatriates ............................. 96
Table 6.14: Teacher responses on adequateness of salary in the Maldives ........................................ 97
Table 6.15: Teachers responses about salary as a problem to teacher supply .................................. 98
Table 6.16: Responses of teachers for comfortable life on the islands ........................................... 99
Table 6.17: Responses of teachers about a possible decision to come again .......... 100
Table 6.19: Possible return of the Maldivian who left teaching.......................... 101
Table 8.1: The Flow of education provision from primary to the key stages......... 133
LIST OF FIGURES AND DIAGRAMS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: The heuristic map of the study ................................................................. 18
Table 6.18: Possible return of the resigning teachers ............................................. 101
Figure 8.1: The school and the system of the heuristic map of the study...................... 122
Figure 8.2: The school, the system and the community of the heuristic map of the study .................................................................................................................. 125
Figure 8.3: Pay structure to attract competent Maldivian teachers ............................. 129
Figure 8.4: The complete heuristic map ....................................................................... 131

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Picture 8.1: The common school structure in the outer islands (front view)........ 132
Picture 8.2: A sample school building in Male’ (front view)................................... 132
Picture 8.3: A sample school building in Male’ (side view)...................................... 133
PROLOGUE

It will be useful to the reader if I located myself (the author) in relation to this work and described the circumstances leading to taking up this work. The purpose is two-fold. Firstly, this is to carry out a research project as a partial requirement leading to the degree of Doctor of Education at the University of Bristol. Secondly, I took this as an opportunity to systematically study the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives systematically under the guidance and the professional support provided by the University. It was a problem, however, that I have been engaged with in some way or other in my work for many years until I came to Bristol towards the end of 2001.

This work itself could be the product of a journey I began in 1964 from an island (Meedhoo) in Addu Atoll at the Southern tip of the Maldives. It was one year after the end of the infamous insurgency and the separatism of the three Southern atolls, in the name of the United Suvadib Islands (13 March 1957 - 30 September 1963) from the State of the Maldives (see Shihab, 1990). At the age of 11 my father sent me to Male' (the capital) for schooling. Fortunately, the headmaster of the prestigious Majeediyaya School was a close friend of my guardian who gave me admission to that school where I studied up to London GCE Ordinary Level Examination held in January 1973.

It was during the final years of my secondary education that I developed a passion for teaching and became a regular teacher in private schools namely, Uloomiyy at ‘Carnation-ge’ and Ahraaru at ‘Diamond Valley’. Soon after the GCE Ordinary Level Examination, I was fortunate to get a scholarship to do teacher training in India. With that training, however, I could not become a teacher in any of the government schools. Nevertheless, I continued my teaching in private schools with an unrelenting commitment and dedication.

In the meantime, the status of education, especially primary education, in the outer islands had come to the notice of international community and UNICEF quickly ventured into a project aimed at developing a school system for the outer islands. Under this project headmasters were trained and once again I was lucky to secure a
placement in the programme. Subsequently, I became one of the pioneer headmasters who was deeply involved in building up this system. I worked in three atolls for a period of 7 years until I got a promotion to become the assistant at Majeediyya, the most prestigious school in the country.

In my career advancement, in 1991 I obtained a key position in the Ministry of Education and soon became Director of School Systems. After 8 years of service I was promoted to the post of Director General – the post I held until I came to Bristol. As the Director of School Systems, I was in charge of all the schools in the country. However, a year later I was designated to the outer islands and I concentrated my efforts entirely on developing the outer-island schools – 212 schools, at least one on each island.

Over 11 years as Head of the outer island schools, I visited all the inhabited islands and learned about the infra-structure, facilities and the conditions of the teachers, as well as the prevailing culture of the schools in considerable depth. I also began to understand in detail the complexities of Maldivian schools as well as issues over the participation of the community and the Government in imparting education to our children, especially those at the periphery consisting of 201 of 202 inhabited islands.

With my personal interest to improve the quality of education in the outer islands I constantly monitored and supervised the headteachers, supervisors and teachers and provided constant guidance and resources as a means to motivate them toward achieving universal primary education by the year 2000. Consequently, the schools began to achieve the targets set for the primary education and pressure had grown for the expansion into secondary extension of the schools. The authorities were compelled to give way to the demands from the island communities. Teachers had to be recruited in large numbers from Sri Lanka and India to fill the places created by the rapid expansion. This may have been the historical moment when the question of teacher supply found its space on the nation’s education agenda (see MoE, 1995).

Meanwhile, the results of systematic hard work and commitment began to produce considerable success at the Secondary School Examinations. In fact, two schools in the outer islands - Muhibbuddin School in Hithadhoo and Baa Atoll Education Centre
in Eydhafushi – in two different years produced comparatively better results than the prestigious schools in Male’, which was celebrated in the outer islands and widely reported by the media. My own work also gained a significant acknowledgment among the outer islands. Indeed, the North Nilandhe Atoll elected me as one of their MPs to represent them in the parliament for a 5-year term commencing from 2000.

By 2001, I had, very strongly, felt the difficulty of obtaining competent teachers for the outer-island schools. The few competent students who came out of the schools did not want to become teachers and they were attracted by the flourishing commercial sector. At the same time, with the arrival of several new international schools in Sri Lanka with attractive pay offers, we lost the access and the main source of our teacher supply.

Despite the efforts made to improve the quality of education I began to realise that it was not producing the desired outcome. Many students who had completed the primary and secondary cycles of education were leaving schools without any substantial attainment in terms of examination results or competencies. I began to suffer from the daunting belief that the system that I was so closely engaged was misleading the parents who spent heavily out of their meagre income on the education of their children. Indeed, it is this belief that had prompted me to attempt to study the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives.

In doing this study, one of the biggest hurdles was the absence of relevant local literature and materials not only on the vexed question of teacher supply and the provisions of education, but also on education more generally. The Ministry of Education had some materials in their records but they were inadequate and, above all, not available to be used as a reference. As the reader of this thesis will quite early on come to see, I have had to undertake research to help construct accounts of the history of education. This compelled me, quite unconventionally, to use some of the data obtained from the elderly scholars and the senior officials of the Ministry of Education in the introduction chapter, especially, in situating education in the Maldives (see for example section 1.4). In this process oral anecdotes had been reconstructed as history and were reported to the reader to place the research in perspective. Furthermore, being an insider of this system from 1981, both as a
practitioner and a policy maker, I acquired precious knowledge and experience to warrant my authority on the issues of education in the Maldives, especially on the outer islands. I do realise in conventional research the researcher is expected to be unbiased and free from personal values. However, in this engagement the nature and the position of the researcher made this an impossible task. I believe my personal contributions have added to the flavour of this work and enriched the data collected from other sources. Indeed, I consider that the researcher's personal contributions complement to this work rather than fragmenting it (see Cohen, et al, 2000).

Since the Maldives consists of small and isolated islands with social disparities and political complexities a study of this size would not adequately address all the issues related to the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives. Therefore, I see a need for further research in this field and I consider my work as a preliminary contribution to such an endeavour.
PART I

CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Setting the Scene

This work begins with the story of a typical Maldivian village to help the reader to understand something of the cultural context into which education must penetrate itself. Usually, as there is one village on each island, in the Maldives, the term 'island' is always used synonymously to refer to the village. This description will hopefully establish the social and cultural vulnerability of the unprotected tiny islands in the vastness of the Indian Ocean. The story follows:

_Haadhoo_ is a tiny island of the Maldivian archipelago (Haadhoo - a pseudonym). Like any other typical island, a village of about 500 people is located on this island. A thick grove of coconut trees and other vegetation encircled by a barrier of resilient bushes growing at the waterfront have given some protection to this island from the merciless storms for thousands of years (see Romero-Frias, 1999 for more information).

The village ancestors are believed to be the fishermen from the long strip of the coastline of the mainland of India and the coastal area of Sri Lanka who may have either drifted or ventured into the open sea. Thousands of generations later the people are still fishermen, exposed to a hostile climate and to an environment unprotected against fierce storms and huge waves. Like their ancestors whether from India or Sri Lanka, these fishermen appear to be a very inferior species of human beings who are left practically to themselves except to serve as loyal subjects ever obedient to fill the royal coffers with their toil (see Ismail-Didi, 1961:4). These poor fishermen appear to be neither aware nor interested of the political fortunes of the dynasties or the shift of power in the main island – Male'. Their total allegiance is to the island chief – kathheeb.

Katheeb Moosa is a revered chief and is widely respected among the village folks on the island. Moosa is like a godfather to them. Almost every one on the island depends on his wealth and means for their livelihood. Of the three fishing boats carrying fishermen on their daily labour into the sea, he owns one while the other two belong to his two younger brothers. The service of the only retail shop on the island would not have been possible if not for his foresight and vision. The big sailing boat carrying merchandise and the island folks between the island and Male' is only his, as he and his family alone could afford such an enterprise.
As the island folks are so heavily engaged with their daily labour, they have nothing to worry about but the means of their livelihood. If any folk gets sick the relatives take him/her to the traditional healer living on the neighbouring island or sometimes in some cases go and plead him to come to this island. In serious cases where the traditional healer is not effective the folks transport the ailing child or the adult to the main island of the atoll to get the services of the health assistant at the atoll health centre. For many folks this suffices the healthcare.

All informed island folks in Haadhoo or any other island, however few they may be, should strive to send their children to Male’ for education. Katheeb Moosa needs no further persuasion and so all his sons were educated in Male’. He knows well that the other folks could not afford to pay for their children’s education in Male’. Besides, they have neither the desire nor the need to do so as it would mean to many folks trespassing on to the forbidden terrain, occupied only by Katheeb Moosa and his family.

Although knowledge is vital, almost all the folks on Haadhoo depend on the knowledge and wisdom so well possessed by the katheeb. On his part katheeb Moosa ensures that he alone possesses the vital knowledge that gives wisdom to acquire strength and wealth.

In the pace of time, news of the poor villagers on these isolated islands apparently reached the ears of the Japanese people, perhaps through the employees of the Japanese companies which came here in the 1970s, to buy fish directly from the fishermen (see Mifco, 2003). Perhaps, along with other generous offers, the Japanese then made a donation of several thousand radios to the people living in isolated conditions. How these radios were distributed is no concern of this work. Nonetheless, the people of this island received one radio which was kept safely at the residence of Katheeb Moosa. At this time, Abdulla (now an employee of the Ministry of Education), a boy from a neighbouring island lived on this island with his aunt who is married to an affluent villager from this island. Abdulla vividly recollects the fascinating scene as the enthusiastic men folks from the village gathered in front of katheeb’s residence every evening just before 7 o’ clock to learn about the news from Male’. These folks were forbidden to come inside the house and so they humbly remained outside the premises waiting for the katheeb to come and tell the stories. Intriguingly, Katheeb Moosa on his part, puts on the radio (presented by the Japanese to the poor people of this island) and brings his ear close to the radio as he keeps the volume down for the sound must not reach the folks waiting outside. When the news bulletin is over he would come out and tell the stories that he thinks fit to his subjects. He could not remain there for long as the late evening prayer draws closer. Most of the stories, therefore, came on their way to the mosque. Whether or not this arrangement suffices the purpose of the Japanese, the village folks had no complaints.

The village folks always knew their place in the society and there never was any ‘evil’ thought of breaking the limits, and to this date they lived practically the same life. Only the old age required Moosa to step down as the katheeb but only to be succeeded by his favourite son-in-law.
Whilst in this description the focus is on one island, there is likely to be several other islands experiencing the same kind of treatment by the existing power bases. I believe this situation can be changed and this will only happen with the development of a system of quality education for children. This might result in raising the level of awareness amongst the people and minimizing their dependency on the dominant elites. Although competent teachers cannot shoulder the burden entirely, they can give an effective education to the children which provides the knowledge and skills that will enable young Maldivians to be critical and to be asking their own questions and find new answers to wider questions of equality and opportunity.

However, effective teachers in sufficient quantities are scarce in the Maldives, and as a result the Maldives has come to depend mainly on India and Sri Lanka for almost all their secondary teachers and also, to some extent, primary teachers for key learning areas like English, Mathematics and General Science. In short there is an acute shortage of teachers in the Maldives – a shortage that has a longer history than we would care to remember. What, then, are the causes for this ongoing issue, and what have been its effects on education over the longer term?

One response might be to see the issue and its response as a question of solving a problem. However, as Cox (1996) has reminded us, problem solving approaches are limited in scope as they tend to isolate the problems from wider contexts. Such an approach, I will argue in this dissertation, would result in the analyst not seeing and taking into account the wider geographical, social and political relations. These, in combination, have been contributing to the problem of teacher shortages over the long term. Indeed, such a perspective will miss the essence and making sense of the basis of the of the problem with the result that the solutions themselves would be inadequate.

1.2. A Critical Theory Approach

Like Robertson (2000) and her study of teachers’ work, I will also argue that it is crucial for us to locate the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives within a wider context and over a long period of time. Rather than focussing the problems at the
level of events, this study will locate the underlying causes both historically and in the present conjuncture. Cox (1996) warned about problem-solving theories; that they are "fragmented among a multiplicity of spheres or aspects of action, each of which assumes a certain stability in the other spheres (which enables them in practice to be ignored) when confronting a problem arising within its own" (Cox and Sinclair, 1996: 88). If this *ceteris paribus* assumption is applied to a recurring problem, its parameter can be limited to the immediate context that will reduce the definition of the problem to a few variables, making it appear appropriate for a limited examination of the case (Robertson, 2000; Cox and Sinclair, 1996).

A *critical theory approach*, on the other hand, does not take institutions and social power for granted but concerns itself with the origin of the problems and directs the enquiry into the social and political complex as a whole rather than to separate parts (Cox and Sinclair, 1996: 89 and Dale, 1994). This approach "locates the world of events within a wider historical, political and social setting" and enquires into "the social relations and frameworks that give rise to particular practices and events" (Robertson, 2000: 8). The problems of teacher supply could not have resulted in their entirety from the events of the present time; rather they have roots linked to a *conjunctural time* (see Robertson, 2000:8). A critical theory approach thus links the study to a *conjunctural time* (ibid) asking us therefore to look back several decades, if not centuries, to the root causes. We must also look at the spatial politics that the geography of the Maldives presents in relation to being able to supply teachers over a very dispersed space. This will help me to unmask the activities which have implications for the present problems of teacher supply and provide a basis for a more realistic approach to policy solutions.

1.3. Taking Context Seriously

In this section I want to lay out some of the basic contextual details concerning the Maldives in order to locate the study geographically, culturally, economically and educationally. While brief, these skeletal details will nevertheless help situate the Maldives.
Geographically, the Maldives is an archipelago of about 2000 small coral islands. 202 of these islands are inhabited by Maldivian people and a further 86 islands (MoT, 2001) make up the fleet of luxury tourist resorts which occupy the only sunny and the bright side of the Maldives. By 2007 the number of islands as tourist resorts had increased to more than 100 as tourism has, recently, expanded.

The islands are clustered in groups in the shape of necklaces of different sizes to form natural atolls. For the convenience of governance and administration the country is divided into 20 atolls (not always natural atolls) plus the capital. Male’, the capital, is not considered as part of any of these atolls although it is within one of the central atolls called, ironically, Male’ Atoll.

Sri Lanka and India are the two nearest countries, located 670 kilometres and 600 kilometres to the east and north respectively. This archipelago is 823 kilometres long and 130 kilometres wide occupying about 90,000 Square Kilometres of sea and land (MoE, 1995: 4). The populations is about 300,000 in 2007.

Culturally, the Maldives is said to have been settled by immigrants from Sri Lanka and the southern coast of India in the 4th and 5th Century (B.C.). There is little or no recorded history available about the Maldives prior to the conversion of the people to Islam. This faith was officially embraced in 1153 (A.D.) during the reign of King Dovemi Kalaminja (MoE, 1995: 5). Although the Maldives was not occupied by any of the invading powers of the time, Maldives did enter into an agreement with Britain in 1887 for the protection of the island nation from foreign invasion. This agreement prevailed until full independence was granted by Britain in 1965.

Perhaps the single most important factor influencing the culture of the Maldives is the Islamic faith (MoE, 1995; Baumgart, 1994). With the embrace of Islam, the prevailing Buddhist culture is said to have disappeared and the relics of the monasteries and some rubble remains as artefacts all buried under heaps of sand. The people have a common language, Dhivehi, which is unique to these islands. Dhivehi is related to an ancient form of Sinhala of Sri Lankan origin, whereas many Dhivehi words come from Tamil, Sinhala, Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Arabic and recently English
Like the language the script, Thaana, is unique to these islands and is written from right to left.

Economically fishing had been and still is the dominant activity for the great majority of the people of the Maldivian islands and until recently was the most dominant factor influencing the prevailing culture of the people. An observer, staying at a tourist island or even living in the Capital, Male', for that matter, could not perceive the real culture or living conditions prevailing in the Maldivian islands. In fact the country may now be experiencing the effects of a dual culture; one overwhelmingly dominated by fishermen and the other, the 'liberated' culture of wealth as a result of the influence of tourism.

The economy is based on fishing and tourism, and to a meagre extent on growing a few crops for domestic consumption. However, both tourism and fishing are environmentally fragile. Pollution, loss of coral, loss of coastal habitat and over-fishing may deplete and threaten the economic base of the nation (MoE, 1995: 19-20). Apart from all other concerns, global warming and environmental catastrophes have threatened even the very existence of these islands.

A major constraint for generating economic activity in the other islands, along with redistribution to the people living in the outer islands is the absence of a proper transport system to this day. As Baumgart (1994: 4) has rightly stated, the transport is a heavy problem. "There is no movement directly between the atolls or even islands within the same atoll" (Baumgart, 1994: 4).

Educationally, the formal school structure is a 7-3-2 system at present. This entails 7 years of primary education, and 3 & 2 years of lower and higher secondary education respectively. As school age begins with 6, children who are 6 years of age and below 7 on the 1st January of each year are admitted to Grade 1. A well established preschool system prevails in the capital, Male’, which outside the formal structure, but is funded by the state creating further issues of equity (see Taylor, 1997). The school system itself is also rather small in comparison. On 1st March 2002 the total enrolment was at 105, 000 and the number of schools are also relatively few – less than 300 in 2002 (MoE, 2002). That said, the problems of teacher supply are not
simply problems of geography or indeed problems of modernisation, however problematic that idea might be. In the following section, I will suggest that it is also a problem of cultural and political attitudes.

1.4. Situating Educating and Education in the Maldives

Education has been a rare commodity in the Maldives. As I will argue in Chapter 7, education appears to be a resource or an asset to be held by a privileged class, mainly, in Male’ and to some extent in the outer islands. Over the centuries, just as Lave (1991) has described, some Maldivians labelled in this research as ‘intellectual warriors’, have travelled overseas to acquire knowledge and made valiant efforts to disperse it (Lave, 1991 is cited in Nuthall, 1997: p. 701). However, education was not accessible to the masses. That is, a small group of elites controlled this important cultural resource while the masses were excluded so that a few (educated elites) certainly had the opportunity to enjoy the full benefits of this limited resource. 

Hoggett (2000: 149) has argued that denying people access to words which give meaning and expression to their experiences is a crucial way in which oppression works in certain communities. Nonetheless, as the few enjoyed the benefits by a process of exclusion and closure, it might also be seen to have had profound implications to teaching as an occupation.

In the past (that is prior to 1961), contrary to the current practice of recruiting teachers to available teaching posts or positions, the tradition was to recruit a few students for, or by, an available scholar. In this situation, the limited quantity and the quality of teachers may not have been perceived as a problem as the need did not arise. Only the arrival of a scholar to an island, possibly by chance, created a learning situation. In these circumstances, according to two of the elderly scholars who provided the data to this research, only a handful of boys, from the class known in this research as ‘Gabulhi- Katheebun’, benefited from such a rare opportunity.

For the first time in the history of the Maldives, in 1961 teacher supply became an important function when the Maldivian Government introduced what is popularly called English Medium Education (see Shihab, 1990 and MoE, 1995) to two government schools in Male’ – Majeediyya and Aminiya. Shortly afterward, one more school was added to the group, this time a Montessori school, however it was
only for a very few privileged infants (age: 2 or 2+) selected from among the elites in Male'. According to one of the elderly scholars entrance to Montessori school was the real doorway for entry to either Majeediyya or Aminiya, under that prejudiced system which had explicitly denied and excluded all outer island children from the imported and priceless education. Teachers, except for Dhivehi Language and Islam, were recruited from Sri Lanka and they were selected by the principals who were also from Sri Lanka. The Maldivian High Commission in Sri Lanka then issued letters of appointment to the selected teachers. Although this may have been noted by historians as another episode among few other activities, it may have had serious implications to the future supply of teachers to the Maldives. The government, for their part, appeared to have been fully committed to the dream they had, and regardless of the consequences, the policy was pursued rigorously. According to one of the senior officials who provided some useful information to this research, teachers' pay was good and the accommodation was excellent. Each of the teachers was also given two servants for domestic and house hold work.

This approach to the provision of schooling – with three schools in Male' and practically none in the outer islands – continued for more than two decades. However, during the 1980s, an upsurge of schooling did take place with massive international pressure. The UNICEF funded project for developing a community school in each of the atolls suddenly became lively and took on uncharacteristic momentum. The Japanese, too, came with assistance. According to the senior officials of the Ministry of Education, the Japanese helped the Maldivians build schools on 16 outer islands. In fact, within a matter of two years, all but one atoll (Fuahmulah) had two government primary schools taking their total from 0 to 37. Although government funded schools did increase irregularly, ownership of the great majority of the schools on the rest of the islands remained, until 2005, with ‘Raiyyithun’ (the community), the masses who have had little or no benefit of the enlightenment prevalent elsewhere in the World (See Chapter 6).

Nearly a quarter of a century later, in 1984, the Ministry of Education of the Maldives took an incredible decision which had enormous implications for teacher supply in the Maldives. This time, once again under enormous international pressure, the decision was to introduce a unified system of education based on a newly developed national
curriculum (Grades 1 – 7) to all the schools in the country. The decision angered the elites in Male' as they had to share a prestigious asset they had enjoyed for themselves for over 25 years, with the masses, understandably with what they saw as diluted quality. Suddenly, a very powerful Education Council was formed with several important Ministers on it, to be chaired by the President in order to curb the powers of the Minister of Education. The Minister resigned in 1991. Nonetheless, the policy decision created a massive space which had nurtured the issues of teacher supply. That space could not be filled by competent Maldivian teachers although the UNICEF project had a teacher training component in it and was being pursued initially by the Project Implementation Unit and later by Educational Development Centre and then finally by the Institute of Teacher Education of the Government of the Maldives (MoE, 1995).

The consequences of deliberate historical neglect of education in the outer islands were felt very strongly. Children in the outer islands had never had a proper primary education. At best they would have attended a Qoranic school or a makthab with a limited curriculum consisting of the reading of Qoran, the basic preliminaries of Islam, and the basics of number and reading and writing of Dhivehi. According to the elderly scholars students educated under such a poorly conducted regime were, in effect, not be suitable to be trained as teachers to deliver the newly produced national curriculum.

At the same time, the Institute for Teacher Education (ITE) was unable to cope with the inflated demand for the supply of teachers and the schools inevitably had to consider different options and seek other opportunities. Many options may have been tried but finally schools had to settle for temporary employees to fill in the teaching posts. In quite a substantial number of cases schools had to do with temporary employees. Even now, thirty years later, some schools are still without a single properly qualified teacher (see MoE, 2002).

Within a few years of the introduction of a unified system, children began to complete primary cycle (Grades 1 – 7) in cohorts. The children were too young to leave school and the island communities had no way of dealing with them. As a result of this vacuum the community, quite uncharacteristically, started to demand passing the
children on to the next stage, which is the lower secondary cycle of three years (Grades 8 – 10). The authorities succumbed to the pressure well ahead of the planned extension of secondary education to the outer islands which would have included only three regional secondary schools. In 1990 this opportunity was given to one school (Atoll Education Centre, Fuahmulah) and then the number steadily increased. According to the information provided by the senior officials of the Ministry of Education, by 2002 the outer islands had 66 schools with extended secondary sections. This number could be as many as 180 in 2007. However, as the elderly scholars strongly felt, this has to be seen as an unplanned, ad hoc, and forced secondary expansion to the outer islands.

At the same time, secondary enrolment had grown substantially in Male'. A steady birth rate and a continued influx of people from other islands to Male' for economic and other benefits has accounted for this increase. With the problems of supplying primary teachers to the outer islands still continuing to be a formidable task, the supply of secondary teachers became an additional burden. A report to the Ministry of Education of the Maldives on teacher demand, supply and training prepared by two World Bank consultants in 1993 suggests that “...the anticipated expansion of student enrolment in Grade 6-7 and the increasing number of classes being introduced in Atoll schools at secondary level, will increase the need for employing more expatriates before national teachers can be trained in sufficient numbers” (Rawlinson and Masters, 1993: 48). The same report also argued that “…the most significant shortcoming of the education system is the absence of any provision for the in-country training of secondary teachers. This has resulted in a heavy reliance on expatriate teachers and the necessity to have nationals trained overseas. Both of these measures are costly” (ibid: iii).

The situation does not appear to have changed significantly whilst in the 10th year (2002) of the report. Notably, however, the Institute for Teacher Education introduced a two year secondary teacher training programme to help alleviate the situation. However, the course did not appear to be popular amongst young people who had completed their higher secondary education. As the entry requirement of two Advance Level passes to this programme which is also good enough for admission to university degree courses, most of the students who met this criterion have sought other
opportunities which had the promise of higher education at recognised universities abroad. Later, as a remedy to this inadequacy, a new programme called the Bachelor of Teaching was introduced. This time it was organized to admit virtually any student with just one Ordinary Level pass to what is called a Foundation to Secondary Teacher Training. With this Foundation Programme of one year, it is expected that the students will acquire the knowledge, skills and the competencies designed to be taught in 3 years of lower and 2 year of higher secondary education in the Maldives. As I am a visiting lecturer to teach Education Sociology on this programme, the quality of the students is quite familiar to me. Yet, teaching has not been an attractive profession, not only because of the low remuneration package and the heavy load of work that go with teaching, but also for the higher demand for trainable people in tourism and business sectors.

The cause of the problem of teacher supply should not be confined to schools. In this dissertation I will be arguing that it is structurally embedded to a wider context of political, economic, and social forces and to a particular geographic setting. Dale (1987) has rightly shown that a state’s education mandate and the capacity to deliver them depend to great extent on a balance of social forces that shape the social formation (Dale, 1987).

In order to understand the forces that had shaped the social formation of our society, this study is making an attempt to analyse the sociology of education and the conditions of the people who inhabit the islands of the Maldives as a continuation of the story of Haadhoo in section 1.1 of this chapter. The sociological analysis of life in the Maldives is contained in Chapter 7. Purely, for the purpose of this analysis, the people of the Maldives across the society are placed in 4 social classes – "Nikametheen", Gabulhi-Katheebun, “Intellectual warriors” and the “Royals”. I perceived these divisions from the discussions I had with the senior officials of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research in the Maldives (see Chapter 3.4) and they will be elaborated in Chapter 7.1.
1.5. Research Problem and Questions

In this dissertation I will be examining the nature and extent of the problem of teacher supply in the Maldives. I will also be exploring whether this is an immediate or short-term problem, or whether it is the result of more fundamental problems in the organisation of education and teachers' work in the Maldives.

This research therefore investigates the real problems of teacher supply in the Maldives taking into account teachers' work, status and the market situation. Two very important policy decisions taken at two different periods appear to have tremendous implications to the supply of teachers in the Maldives. These two policy decisions are as follows:

- Introduction of English Medium Education to the two government schools in Male' – Majeediyya and Aminiya – and opening of a Montessori school again in Male' in 1961 (see Shihab, 1990);
- Introduction of a unified systems of education based on a newly developed national curriculum to all the schools in the country in 1984 (see MoE, 1995).

This research will strive to unravel the complex situation using, mainly, questionnaires and interviews to collect information from as many sources as possible. The purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the situation by highlighting pressing issues and problems. The outcome will reflect on:

- the conditions under which teachers work;
- the status of the teachers;
- the market situation; and
- the political agenda of the regime in power.

1.6. Methodological Map: A guide to the reader

As the causes of the problem of teacher supply cannot be restricted to the school alone, any analyst of this problem has to take into account the wider context of which
the school is only a tiny portion. In this attempt I have collected data from many sources (see Chapter 3) and travelled to 31 islands (Log 1:106) during this study to try to understand the extent and depth of the situation, not only in schools but also the relevant structures and the processes outside of it. The following figure maps the heuristic journey I made from the school to what Dale (1994) calls ‘the politics of education’.

Figure 1.1: The heuristic map of the study

The reader can see that I have not limited myself to the school but extended my study to the prevalent features and the characteristics of the education system and wider society and the capacity of the tiny island communities to exercise influence over the formulation and interpretation of education policy (See Dale, 1994). The outer circle comprises the government agenda which is shaped by and shapes what Dale calls ‘the politics of education’ (Dale, 1994).

1.7. The Structure of the Study

This dissertation is made up of three parts – I, II and III. Part I focuses on the context and the methodology of the study and comprises of the first three chapters of this
study. In this chapter I set out to understand and locate the problem of teacher supply in a wider context taking into account the geographical, cultural and political situation in the Maldives. Chapter 2 takes the study beyond the Maldives to the situation of teachers in general, whilst Chapter 3 presents the methodology and administration of the project.

Part II is titled Teachers’ Work, Market and Status Situations in the Maldives: Evidence. The presentation of data and analysis is in three chapters. These chapters take the reader through the data I have collected from different sources at different levels. The final two chapters in Part III titled Placing Teachers’ Work in Wider Historical and Political Context introduce some ideas about the historic neglect of education for the masses and argues that long term solutions will require not only a realistic appraisal of the causes, but also long term strategies.

1.8. Concluding Statement

In this opening chapter I have outlined the broad contours of teacher supply and argued that, as a problem, it needs to be understood within a wider historical, social and political context if we are to really come close to seeing what is its causal dynamics. Two crucial policy decisions appear to have given rise to the problem. Firstly, the introduction of what is called English medium education to three schools in Male'. Secondly, though at a later period, the introduction of a unified system of primary education based on a newly developed national curriculum (Grades 1 – 7) to all the schools further inflated the demand for competent teachers. Following the introduction of national curriculum and subsequently the completion of the full cycle of the primary education, the demand for the next level of education became too great to resist, resulting in an unprecedented expansion of secondary schools. As Rawlinson and Masters (1993: 48) pointed out, by that time, the absence of any provision for the in-country training of secondary teachers was felt very strongly. As temporary employees and primary trained teachers could not teach for the London O' Level syllabus (Secondary Curriculum in the Maldives), expatriate teachers were to be recruited for the outer islands too. Understanding the root and the ongoing causes of
the problem and its implications for education in the Maldives more generally will be the task of this dissertation.
2.1. Introduction

Education is the foundation for the future and, as the Barcelona European Council on 15-16 March 2002, stated, "...teachers are key actors in any strategies targeted at stimulating the development of society and economy" (Eurydice, 2002: iii). What happens in our schools is a concern of every one of us as the Maldives belongs not only to the influential autocrats controlling our country but also to all the people living in Male' and the outer islands. As it is generally accepted, student learning is influenced by factors such as those related to students, curriculum, school organisation, resources and teachers' skills, knowledge, attitudes and practices (See OECD, 2005). All these factors, collectively and independently, will contribute to the provision and quality of education offered in our schools. However, it is a fundamental requirement for high quality teaching that motivated people with a high level of knowledge and skills choose to become teachers (OECD, 2005: 40). The role of the teachers, as Jacques Delors, (1996) put it, as an agent of change, promoting understanding and tolerance has never been more critical than it is now (Delors, 1996 is cited in Eurydice, 2002: ix).

Whilst the supply of competent teachers is acute in the Maldives, the problem is not unique. Other countries, too, have experienced difficulties in recruiting and retaining competent teachers (See Grace and Lawn, 1991; Menter, et al, 2002; Menter, et al, 2004; OECD, 2005 and UNESCO, 2006). Although the actual situation may differ from country to country and region to region, there still remain common issues of interest for many countries (UNESCO, 2006). However, it is also the case that many of the problems Maldives is facing may not be familiar to the outside world as the remote outer islands of the Maldives are cut off from the rest of the World, not only by distance but also through lack of awareness and ignorance. At the same time, the absence of any materials written on teachers' situation makes it very difficult for me to select relevant information from the available literature. However, in my view, this
study needs to be linked to a wider context as the consequences are much the same in terms of student learning and the quality of education. According to school principals in OECD countries, student learning is hindered by teacher-shortage or inadequacy (OECD, 2005). A quick survey is, therefore, made through the literature to give this study a stronger foot-hold.

2.2. Being a teacher

Many teachers devote themselves to teaching not because they could not think of anything else to do. They like teaching and enjoy being with children (see Taylor, 1980; OECD, 2005). Teaching opens a new world of for them in ways that is not always immediately possible in alternative careers. A student on a PGCE course in one of Taylor’s (1980: 19) case studies has the following to say about teaching:

“It gives me the chance to explore and develop my character and personality in ways you can’t find in an administrative job. Teaching is not just intellectual, it’s very intuitive; you have to give quick responses, and I find I enjoy that” (Cited in Taylor, 1980: 19)

As Nias (1985: 109) also noted, very often children become the ‘potent influence’ shaping and influencing ‘teachers’ values and actions’. These teachers may have developed the desire to give love and affection to children through a strong commitment to their faith and beliefs nurtured within the family and by family upbringing (ibid).

As for autonomy and responsibility, teachers have an incredible amount of power and responsibility unimaginable to others. Indeed, there are rules regulating the activities of a teacher, but when you are in the fertile land all by yourself surrounded by none but the innocent and eager children, as Taylor, (1980:18) said, “you have almost total autonomy”. As is the case in the sociology of regulation, though constrained by a syllabus and several rules, the interpretation of their role and the style (just like in drama) belong to teachers (see MacLeod, 1998). Osborn et al (2000) said being in authority and being in control is a key dimension of teachers’ work. In fact teachers exercise this authority by virtue of their knowledge and skills they gain during their training and socialisation (ibid) – professionalisation.
A Maldivian teacher interviewed for this research mentioned the sweet dreams she has about the children and how she wished to be with them all the time. For her, the school is a garden of joy and fulfilment. But, according to this teacher, other people do not appreciate the key role that teachers play in developing children.

But the situation may be different for those teachers forced to work under very difficult conditions, such as poor discipline, workplace stress, long hours work, low status and poor wage. The following is the feeling of a retired teacher in England:

"At nights I still dream fairly often that I am in school, though the type of nightmare I have had recently hasn’t been as bad as the type I recurrently had during my years of teaching: ... I used to dream I was standing powerless in the middle of a crowd of boys who had got outrageously out of control; whereas during the past weeks I’ve dreamt three or four times that I am hurriedly going up a concrete staircase to take a class I am disgracefully late for, and when I eventually reach the class I find there are no boys in it..." (Cited in Ball and Goodson, 1985:2)

By and large, being with and teaching children is an important motivating force behind why many competent and committed individuals teach for they get the recognition they need from the children (Nias, 1985). In the case of Huberman’s (1993: 113-114) study, ‘contact with youth, at ease with young people’ tops the list of ‘active motives’ for becoming a teacher to be followed by the love of the subject matter. In the OECD Education Committee review of teacher policy launched in 2002, the following two reasons were noted to be important for Australian teachers to enter into teaching (OECD, 2005: 68):

- Enjoy working with children;
- Desire to teach.

In Belgium (French Community), Canada (Quebec), the Netherlands, the Slovak Republic and United Kingdom, working with children, intellectual fulfillment and making a contribution to the society were the main reasons for choosing teaching as an occupation (OECD, 2005). But other considerations, such as relative salaries of teachers, opportunities outside teaching, and working conditions were also factors that affected the decision of a young graduate to become or not become a teacher (OECD, 2005).
2.3. Wage, Status and Social Mobility

In UK, Nickell and Quintini (2002) concluded that the decline in teachers' relative salary has been associated with a decline in the average academic quality of the male teachers entering into teaching profession after their study of new entrants into teaching between 1970s and 1990s (Nickell and Quintini, 2002 is cited in OECD, 2005: 71). This study illustrates the importance of not only an adequate income but the place of the teacher in the market situation. Lockwood (1958) explains market situation as the economic position consisting of source and the size of the income, degree of job security and opportunity for upward mobility. The market situation is closely related to the 'status situation' which is described by Lockwood (1958) as the position of the individual in the hierarchy of prestige in the society. What is important, however, is to know how teachers could improve these situations. Robertson (2000) has described certain assets which may be available for teachers to use systematically and consistently in order to attain and promote a suitable situation for themselves. The following are assets which could be accumulated and utilized by teachers to improve their market and status situations:

- Economic assets - property, source and size of the income (see Robertson, 2000: 12, 190-191 & 210)
- Cultural assets - talent, attitudes, skills and knowledge which the teachers are able to store in their bodies and pass on to their offspring and in reproducing social relations (see Robertson, 2000: 191-194 & 210);
- Organisational assets - school managers, administrators and teachers work in bureaucratic organisations and could use hierarchical position of power to secure advantages for themselves in relation to their subordinates within the same organisation (see Robertson, 2000: 194-200 & 210);
- Social assets - aggregate of the actual and potential resources held together by institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. They consist of social obligations and or 'connections' that are able to facilitate the realisation or achievement of ends unattainable in the absence. (see Robertson, 2000: 200-204 & 210)

If these assets could be accumulated and utilized by teachers then it could be argued that, these in turn might help teachers improve their situation. Some insight into this can be developed by placing teachers' work in a historical context (Grace, 1991). Robertson (2000) compared the situations of teachers during two settlements — of
laissez-faire liberalism and Keynesian welfare statism – in two countries, England and America. The early period in England saw most remarkably the feminisation of teaching in elementary schools. Between 1871 and 1911, while the number of male teachers increased three times, the female number increased twenty times (ibid). This had drastic effects on the overall salaries of females as well as males who were paid a higher wage, despite similar qualifications. Elementary teachers’ have mainly attempted to raise cultural assets in the form of certification and exclusion rather than seeking to improve economic, organisational and social assets (ibid). In the meantime salaries declined and inequitable pay scales for male teachers and female teachers prevailed.

In America, too, during the laissez-faire settlement period, teachers were struggling to realise cultural rather than economic, organisational and social assets which had left them in the bottom of the professional ladder (see Robertson, 2000: 65). Male teachers were able to realise greater economic rewards by market principles. Women had to view their ‘labour as charity rather than as recompense for a ‘fair day’s work’ (ibid: 68). Though (unlike England) female teachers were drawn from the middle class background, they were still unable to realise cultural, economic, organisational and social assets fully and so they found themselves at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy (ibid).

Although during the Keynesian welfare state settlement described by the historians as an exceptional period which had witnessed thirty years of unprecedented economic growth and social stability within the developed economies, apparently, teachers experienced limited success in increasing their economic, cultural, organisational and social assets in the United States. In England, they were more advantaged (see Robertson, 2000). However, for both US and English teachers, the situation began to decline during 1970s (see Robertson, 2000 and Ball and Goodson, 1985).

Ball and Goodson (1985) noted the 1970s in England as a time when teachers were under attack prompted by the publication of the Black Papers which caused a shift in the public perception of the status of the teachers. The great debate, the severe criticism of the teachers and falling rolls causing by a decline of birth rate, provided sufficient ground for the state to pursue, albeit enthusiastically, the policy of financial
cuts (see Ball and Goodson, 1985 and Sikes, et al. 1985). The profound implication this had for teachers’ careers and the subsequent loss of teacher morale was noted by Her Majesty’s inspectors in their report on the effects on the education service in England of local authority expenditure policies 1980-81 (see Ball and Goodson, 1985: 5).

Huberman’s (1993: 139) study asked the Swiss teachers whether they have ever thought seriously of leaving teaching. Forty-three percent of respondents (which was 28.1 per cent of the sample) gave a firm ‘yes’ to this question, whilst 22 per cent of respondents (14.4 % of the sample) also said ‘yes’ with some qualifications. This study also identified several causes for leaving teaching. Forty-four per cent of the respondents wanted to leave for institutional reasons, whilst 43 per cent wanted to leave because of fatigue, routine and frustration (Huberman, 1993: 143).

Currently in the OCED countries the annual salaries of teachers with 15 years of experience range from below US$ 15,000 in Chile, Hungary, the Slovak Republic and Turkey to over US$ 45,000 in Korea and Switzerland (OECD, 2005). The structures of teachers’ salary scales, even in these countries, do not appear to rapidly improve teachers’ market situation (see OECD, 2005: 180). The research carried out in England by Ian Menter and the team also substantiates this claim in connection to the pay condition of teachers in England (see Menter, 2002). In this study, undergraduates who were asked about teaching as a possible career option had negative thoughts about teaching as it did not meet their financial wants and expectations for career advancement (see Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002). In examining the conditions of the teaching profession in the Member States of European Community (Union), Neave (1992: 96) concludes that minimum salary levels of primary school teachers stand more or less on a par with those of manual industrial workers than with the non-manual. The outcome of this, even in these relatively rich countries, is likely to be a rise of the resignation rate of teachers and distraction of high achievers into the professions (see OECD, 2005).

In England, in addition to the proposals for expansion of classroom support to reduce teachers’ workload, a package of new measures, including a proposal to link pay and appraisal, have been put into practice (see Menter, et al, 2004 and Mahony et al,
2004). The idea is to introduce a new pay policy and tighter system of annually assessing individual teacher’s performance based on set targets (Menter, et al, 2004). Within what is called *Performance Threshold Assessment* teachers can submit themselves to “an assessment process on the basis of which, if successful, they receive an additional £2000 per annum and progress to an upper pay spine” (Menter, et al, 2004: 195). However, the study on the impact of *Threshold* on teachers and schools has noted that only four teachers reported a positive feeling about it while the remaining 42 teachers in the study had negative feelings towards the initial announcement of the *Threshold* (Mahony, et al 2004: 439).

It would appear that Australian teachers maintain a reasonably high status in the society (see Besant and Spaull, 1972 and Mackenzie, 2007). They appear to have accumulated for themselves some cultural capital as they become highly qualified in the expectation of making teaching an “all-graduate profession” in the near future (Mackenzie, 2007: 190). According to Mackenzie (2007), in Australia a beginning teacher’s salary compares favourably with some of the other professions. However, it is not likely to be attractive, financially, in the long run as an incentive to retain competent teachers in the profession (ibid).

Despite the fact that Australian society rates teachers highly, according to Mackenzie (2007) recognition of teaching as a profession by reference groups remains ambiguous, although teaching now meets most of the ‘criteria’ of a profession: “practitioner autonomy; higher education; knowledge based practice; a self governing body; and a code of ethics” (Hoyle, 2001 cited in Mackenzie, 2007: 192). Apparently, the status and the power of teachers get reduced because of the nature of their clients—children—who have neither economic nor political power (Mackenzie, 2007). Also, to this date, as was the case in Robertson’s (2000) study, the presence of a large number of female teachers counts against the professional status of teachers (Hoyle, 2001 cited in Mackenzie, 2007: 192).
2. 4. Teachers’ work

A teacher’s work is said to be defined by a job description (see Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1996). But it is a formidable task to understand the complex and multifaceted aspects of a teacher’s day (see Acker, 1999). Contrary to the general view that teachers merely deliver a curriculum, their role is far more critical than this perception as they go on developing, defining and interpreting it daily (ibid). A teacher’s values, morals and ethics along with his attitudes towards, and the mental efforts put into teaching (usually not accounted as work), are vital to shaping the future of the younger generation (see Acker, 1999). Nonetheless, teachers’ work may be accounted for by the number of hours they work every working day and perhaps every week. Hargreaves (1994) says that time is central to the formation of teachers’ work.

In England and Wales, the Pay and Conditions Act requires teachers to teach 190 days a year (see Campbell and Neill, 1994). According to this study a teacher was required to teach for 1265 hours a year, which is equivalent to 33 hours per week, of direct time (ibid) while, any other time is non directed time which may not have been accounted for. Although 33 hours per week may be the statutory requirement, Hilsum and Strong (1978) found that in 1974, secondary teachers’ working week was 46.75 hours of which 38 per cent was in their own time (Hilsum and Strong, 1978 is cited in Campbell and Neill, 1994). For a more detailed picture of teachers’ time on work we can turn to Campbell and Neill (1994). They summarise a teacher’s working day, in hours, as follows (Campbell and Neill, 1994: 17):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional development</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaks free of work</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working breaks</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral care</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration, etc</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Activities</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total time</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28
On this breakdown, a teacher spends almost 11 hours per day working while the time on teaching is just about a half. Teachers work outside the school premises amounting to around 1.7 hours (17 percent) according to Campbell and Neill’s (1994) study. Within the European Community (Union) there is considerable variation in the length of the school year and number of hours teachers work in a week (Neave, 1992). In France the school year is 175 days while it is 240 in Germany (ibid: 76). Greek teachers teach 17.5 hours per week whereas most of the French teachers are required to teach for 27 hours. The average for the European community (Union) is 23 hours per week. Neave (1992) also notes the work involved in the ‘social life’ of the school. Teachers have responsibilities in such work as sports, student associations, and other collective activities which is an integral part of the teachers work.

Teachers’ time is stretched as they regularly stay late in school whilst engaged in activities of a curricular and also non-curricular nature (see Hargreaves, 1994). Many teachers also come to school on weekends for several hours to either get the material ready for the next week or occupy themselves in extra curricular activities (ibid). They also take work home in the evenings or after school and attend to it, either leaving their own children and the household work in the care of other people, or late in the evening after their children have gone to bed (ibid).

Biddle et al (1997: 2) highlights the importance of teachers to a school and the need to recognise the heavy work-load teaches have. They summarise teachers’ work as follows:

"...it is the teachers who do most of the real ‘work’ of the school, who bear primary responsibility for instructing the students who constitute the clients of education. And to structure their activities, teachers are given facilities (such as textbooks and a classroom) and are assigned explicit tasks, ranging from responsibilities for reaching curricular and non-curricular goals, to duties associated with maintaining order, protecting the school environment, meeting with parents, leading extra-curricular events, attending outreach activities in the community and the like."

Today, there are major changes taking place in the way teachers organize their work. As Menter et al (2004) argued, the analysis of such changes not only tells us about teachers and education systems but also about the wider social, political, and economic change taking place. According to Mahony and Hextall (2000: 84), teaching falls within a web of social, economic, cultural, political, and in some cases,
religious expectations, demands and cross-currents. At the same time, in Western economies, education services are influenced by the application of business methods in pursuit of industrial efficiency involving detailed curriculum control and the allocation of tasks in small units (see Lawn and Ozga, 1981). As Lawn and Ozga (1981) argue, this style of the management of school could, in fact, proletarianize teachers, by fragmenting teaching tasks and taking away the skills of teachers, thus reducing them to the execution of work (manual labour) and removing them altogether from the conceptual (mental work) function of educating the young people (see Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Robertson, 1997; Robertson, 2000; Smyth et al, 2000). As Coulthard and Kyriacou (2002) have noted, teaching offers some intellectual challenge but, if removed or reduced, it will not be an option for high achievers.

Helsby (1999) pointed out that teachers work is changing not only in the westernised world but across other countries that follow western models of education, particularly as schools are required to meet the perceived needs of the 21st Century. "Suddenly 'education' and 'schooling' are important topics in the media" and occupies a large space of newspaper columns (Helsby, 1999:1). Schools are compelled to organize themselves to meet these demands, pursuing corporate principles. This affects teachers work in ways noted by Helsby (1999:14):

- firstly, as employees themselves, teachers may be subject to the same increasing demands and constraints as other sections of the workforce;
- secondly, the importation of current business thinking and business practice into the management of all public services and the consequent restructuring of the education service fundamentally change the frameworks within which teachers operate, subjecting their work efforts to the forces of marketization and managerialization;
- thirdly, the discourses of global economic change place new and more pressing requirements upon schools to prepare their students for the fast moving and very different workplace of the twenty-first century.

As teachers get over-loaded with work due externally imposed behavioural objectives and accountability, they are also drawn into the intensification of work (see Hargreaves, 1994) leading to:

- reduced time for relaxation
- lack of time to refresh one's skills
2.5. Career

Employment and work have been a central part of the life of most adults in many societies. As Bennet (1985: 120) notes, many people strive for satisfaction and success from their work. It is also accepted that many professional people will seek upward mobility in terms of prestige and remuneration. In the case of teachers, this sadly appears to be in a conundrum of complexities. According to Ball and Goodson (1985: 22), the concept of career in common use with a commitment to promotion and professional development through work over a long timescale does not apply to all teachers. A study by Lyons (1981) showed not all teachers held a clearly conceived ‘career map’ and many of them had a short term vision of it, like getting through to the end of the term or looking for a scale post of responsibility (Lyons, 1981 cited in Ball and Goodson, 1985: 22). In the same study it was also found that others had long-term objectives, like becoming a head of department, a year tutor and so on (ibid). Acker (1989: 8), in fact, pointed out that the research on teachers’ careers has rarely found a way to integrate these alternative conceptualizations, and while teachers at one end of continuum are plotting so called ‘career maps’, at the other end they simply become ‘victims’ of the system unable to exercise any freedom of choice. As the state controls the demand and supply of teachers (see Robertson, 2000), the state also begins to impose changes in the curriculum, whilst implementing regular external assessment, teacher appraisal and hiring of unqualified teaches to meet the shortages of qualified teachers. Such measures contribute to the loss of choice for teachers. Acker (1989: 8) concurs with Lawn and Ozga (1981:52-61); that it
proletarianises the teachers by removing the skills from work and excluding the conceptual function of work, and by taking what limited autonomy they have (Lawn and Ozga, 1981: 52).

In England, the School Teacher Review Body (STRB) was concerned about the absence of a career progression or recognition for experienced teachers which was identified as a major factor for withdrawing from teaching (STRB, 1994 is cited in Menter, et al, 1997: 61-62). Even in the OECD countries, opportunities for promotion and new responsibilities are limited for those teachers who want to stay in the classroom (OECD, 2005). The outcome of attrition is damaging as teachers leave the profession to pursue another career with better salaries and benefits (OECD, 2005: 179).

2.6. Lessons from other small states

It might also be useful to attempt to draw lessons, if possible, from other small states as the Maldives shares problems of smallness, isolation and dependence, with this group of countries. Despite the proliferation of small islands and their eventual sovereignty in the postwar period, there is not much of literature on small states. Indeed it is fair to say that their educational issues did not become a subject of specialist professional and academic study, perhaps, until recently (see Crossley and Holmes, 1999).

In small states, too, the issues of teacher supply find a place in the national development agenda (see Thompson and Crossley, 2000; Atchoarena, 1993; and Bahamas Ministry of Education, 1994). In the case of the Bahamas for example, as the country believes in education as the principal vehicle for attaining national, social, and economic development, the government is committed to providing adequate facilities and resources to ensure that the teachers are trained and acquired the necessary and varied skills (Bahamas Ministry of Education, 1994:p.1&28). The government has also pledged to implement a rigorous career path for teachers in recognition of the importance of the promitional opportunities and job satisfaction (ibid). At the same time, a system was also introduced to renew teacher certification
after a period of 5 years leading to recertification. Whenever a teacher earned additional required academic or professional qualifications, his salary was reassessed to reflect the new qualifications as an incentive to retain competent teachers (ibid). Belize in Central America is said to have gone to the extent of paying full salaries of teachers to the students during the training period, perhaps in an effort, to attract graduates into the teacher training college (Thompson and Crossley, 2000). Belize is also working collaboratively with external agencies to formulate development initiatives whilst critically evaluating the appropriateness and the relevance of international trends and developments to the perceived needs and the priorities in the Belizean context (see Thompson and Crossley, 2000).

As I have also experienced, small size provides an advantage in the generalization of primary education. However, according to Atchoarena (1993,) small states run into the greatest of difficulties at the level of post-secondary education. The number of potential students is often incompatible with the creation of a university, in turn limiting the potential and the opportunities for the training of teachers (see Atchoarena, 1993).

Atchoarena (1993) has highlighted the need to implement mechanisms, such as indicators, in order to analyse the education situation in small states. In his analyses of the problems encountered by officials responsible for educational management and planning in small states Atchoarena (1993: 32) had chosen the following five aspects:

• the rate of illiteracy;
• the level of instruction of the population;
• the situation of higher education;
• finally, the share of education in the public expenditure.

Other variables, such as historical and cultural heritage and the level of development, also need to be considered in analyzing the situation and formulating policies for improvement (see Atchoarena, 1993). Some very real issues specifically relevant to the small states in implementing the policy decisions also have been brought to the attention by Atchoarena (1993: 37). These are as follows:

• the absence of economies of scale;
• the narrowness of the labour market;
• the significance of emigration;
• extreme dependence on the outside world;
• remoteness;
• territorial fragmentation (the archipelagos);
• finally, vulnerability to natural disasters.

Despite the uniqueness of specific situations in different countries among the small states Atchoarena (1993) has revealed several common problems and features of these sometimes vulnerable states. There are clearly insights to be had, and lessons to be learned by the Maldives from the models and strategies applied in other small states. Though many of small states face problems related to education (see Atchoarena, 1993; Bahamas Ministry of Education, 1994; Thompson and Crossley, 2000; and Ratcliffe and Miller, 1986). in my search I have not yet come across the kinds of programmes or strategies that might be used effectively to resolve the kind of problems of teacher supply facing the Maldives – problems that are the result of both a history of neglect of education and dispersed geographical spread. They are confronted with the above problems as well as regimes of central control which had curtailed not only the efforts of teacher supply but also the development of education in general.

2.7. Conclusion

Working with and enhancing learning amongst children is a driving force behind many committed and hard working teachers much more than the status, wage or promotion. Nias (1985: 109) found out that children, very often, became the 'potent influence' shaping and influencing 'teachers' values and actions'. Huberman's (1993) study, too, shows that contact with youth is a highly motivating factor in becoming a teacher. For others, teaching provides a unique chance to explore and develop his/her character and personality in ways that is not possible in other job (see Taylor, 1980: 19).

The situation of teachers in terms of market and status do not appear to be very promising even in relatively rich OECD counties and within European Union (See, Neave, 1992; Menter, et al, 1997 & 2002;; Robertson, 2000; and OECD, 2005). If highly motivated competent teachers were to be retained, these situations need to be improved. Some governments have been engaged in formulating policies for action, not necessarily for improving these situations per se, but with the aim of retaining
competent teachers and attracting high achievers into teaching. In England, for example, the government has introduced measures, such as reducing paperwork to reduce workload and cutting down class size, so that teaching becomes attractive for graduates (Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002).

Teachers also need to improve their situation by applying any resources that may be available to them. According to Robertson (2000) there are certain assets that could be obtained by teachers. Robertson (2000) has described them as economic, cultural, organisational and social assets. Indeed, as they are not simply granted, teachers may have to struggle to realise them so that they could be used to improve their market, status and work situations.

This survey of teachers and their work has analysed the situation of teachers in many developed countries. However, even in these countries, pay regimes put into place do not appear to rapidly improve the market or the status situation of the teachers (see OECD, 2005). Whilst pay remains unattractive, the workload of the teachers has also become heavy and stressful (See Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Hargreaves, 1994; Helsby, 1999; OECD, 2005) although governments are beginning to realize the importance of reducing the amount of teachers' work (Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002). Unlike many other occupations, career progression or recognition for experienced teachers are virtually non existent, while opportunities for new responsibilities are also limited for teachers who want to stay in the classroom (see Neave, 1992; Menter, et al, 1997 and OECD, 2005).

Teachers, we might argue, are important not only for delivering education, but quality learning requires quality teachers and teaching. The paradox facing developing countries, like the Maldives, is how to secure the basis for quality education, when one side of the ledger, the teacher, seems to be in short supply and yet not the object of major concern to the government. In the following chapters I set out to map the current situation in the Maldives in order to evaluate the basis of the problem and the possible policy options that might be pursued. Given the dearth of studies on the Maldives in the education area, this will require a complex mapping from amongst the various players, as the following chapter reveals.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. Introduction

As outlined above, this research is an investigation of the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives. The methodology, sources – primary and secondary - and methods of data collection are described in detail in this chapter. The methodology describes the broad approach to this study whilst the methods refer to the specific techniques I have used for data collection. As it is an ambitious attempt to collect information from all the sources stated here, the administration and logistics required considerable planning and as the teachers were working in scattered islands.

3.2. Methodology

This section speaks of the theoretical domain within which I have operated to understand and report to the reader, the world of teachers as they experience it in the Maldives.

What lens one uses to look at the phenomena depends on one’s theoretical stance or allegiance. A positivist paradigm strives for objectivity, measurability, controllability, patterning, prediction, determinacy and establishing causality (see Burrell and Morgan, 1979, Bryman and Cramer, 1990, Usher, 1996 and Cohen et al, 2000). On the other hand, the interpretive paradigm assumes “that all human action is meaningful and hence has to be interpreted and understood within the context of social practices” (Usher, 1996:18). In the case of the former, structured interviews, postal questionnaires, standardised tests are examples of tools used for data collection. These methods (see Scott and Usher, 1996) carry a quantitative tag in social enquiry. The latter applies qualitative methods such as participant observation, unstructured interviews and diary keeping (see, Scott and Usher, 1996; Cohen, et al, 2000 and Bogdan and Biklen, 2003).
In this effort, as has already been stated in Chapter 1, I used critical theory approach as a means of “detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom and justice” (Usher, 1996: 22) not because each of the above approaches present an incomplete account of social behaviour (Cohen, et al, 2000: 28) but as it locates the world of events within a wider historical, political and social setting and enquires into the social relations and frameworks that give rise to particular practices and events (Robertson, 2000:8). According to Cohen, et al, (2000:29) Habermas (1972) constructs worthwhile knowledge and modes of understanding around three cognitive interests (Habermas, 1972 is cited in Cohen, et al, 2000):

- prediction and control;
- understanding and interpretation;
- emancipation and freedom.

This conceptualisation encompasses not only the scientific positivist and interpretive styles but adds a dimension of empowerment and emancipation to the enquiry (see Cohen, et al, 2000). A critical theory approach hopes to enlighten and empower the people, perhaps teachers or the outer-island villagers, to emancipate them from a situation of false consciousness or ignorance by the overturn of the arrangements causing their sufferings (Fay, 1993:34).

A critical theory approach has allowed me to use both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. The questionnaire for teachers, which is the main source of data collection contained structured questions and also gave teachers ample opportunity to share their unrestricted views openly on problems of teacher supply (see Appendix A: Q 32, Q 34 & Q 40). Apart from the interviews of senior officials of the Ministry of Education, all interview schedules were semi-structured to allow the participants sufficient opportunity to speak openly to me about teachers’ work, status and market situation. The Ministry officials were approached mainly to obtain additional information on some of the issues raised by the various subjects of the research, and to collect statistics which were not otherwise available. The Minister too made his remarks on these issues.

This approach allowed me to collect data from a wide range of sources, comprising of teachers including those who have submitted their resignation in 2003 and Maldivians
who left teaching as well as headteachers, students, elderly scholars, and through documentation in schools and historical records in the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research. This massive data from such a wide range of sources has enabled me to build a complex picture of what is going on, not only in the world of teachers but also in the wider context of education. The main purpose of the student questionnaire, for example, was to find out if teaching was a preferred occupation for higher secondary students. But the supplementary or subsidiary data cast light over a grim reality that over 75% of higher secondary students actually came from three government schools in Male' although there were nearly 96 secondary schools in the country (See Chapter 4.9) revealing the dismal status of education in general and in particular the lower secondary education in the outer islands. The secondary data, in particular, enabled me to link the prevailing issues in schools to the education system and the wider context of community and the education politics built in Male' and nurtured in the outer islands.

3.3. Primary Sources of Data

This research has attempted to collect data from as many sources as possible in order to go beyond the level of events (see Robertson, 2000) and understand the world of teachers. The primary sources are described in this section as we classify and outline the other sources in the next section.

3.3.1. School Teachers

As this study is on problems of teacher supply, teachers become the main source of data collection. 510 teachers (12.56%) have been selected as a sample to represent a total of 4060 teachers in the country (see MoE, 202). Stratified sampling is used to identify the schools to ensure a reasonable representation of samples from Male' and the outer islands (see Ary, et al, 1990). Teachers are then randomly selected from each group – Male' and outer islands. All but 10 teachers, as indicated in Table 3.1, responded to the questionnaire that was administered with the support and assistance of teachers, headteachers and some close friends. The returned forms have revealed the composition outlined in Table 3.1.
Table 3.1 Information of the teachers who participated in the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No of teachers</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Maldivians</th>
<th>Expatriates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>*254</td>
<td>*193</td>
<td>*207</td>
<td>*239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>*27</td>
<td>*24</td>
<td>*12</td>
<td>*39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>*281</td>
<td>*217</td>
<td>*219</td>
<td>*278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* these figures do not tally with the total because of the missing data)

3.3.2. Students

About 400 to 500 students complete higher education in Maldives annually in the past few years (MoE, 2002). Any teacher training programme should target these students if they aspire to train competent teachers. To ascertain the perception of higher secondary students of teaching as a vocation, a questionnaire was given out. 56 students representing 10.6% of the year group (Grade 12) from the Centre for Higher Secondary Education (CHSE) – the only established higher education centre in the country at the time of data collection in 2003, were identified. Though they were randomly selected the number is almost evenly distributed between girls and boys (26 and 30 respectively).

3.3.3. Headteachers

In 2003, a sample of 15 headteachers (HT) representing 17.4% of the 86 headteachers in the country (see SOS, log, p.31) have been approached to collect information on teacher related issues in school at the time of data collection (SO5). Table 2.2 provides some additional information about their composition and the number of students in their charge.
Table 3.2 Statistic of the headteachers who have participated in the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Maldivians</th>
<th>Expatriates</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>6918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>8484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>15402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4. Resigning Teachers

As many teachers resign annually this group of teachers were considered as a separate category. This category is described here as the resigning teachers. Names of the teachers who have informed the Ministry of Education of their decision to resign at the end of 2003 were obtained in September 2003. The list contained 101 teachers who were all expatriates. From this list 15 teachers (TR) were randomly selected to collect information on specific issues.

3.3.5. Past Maldivian Teachers

Over the years, hundreds of Maldivian teachers have left the schools they were teaching in. Despite my efforts, it was not possible to get a complete list of these teachers. With the help of the officials of the Ministry of Education, especially the executive director, Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Ali (a former teacher himself), a list containing several important people were drawn (Log 2 pp.11-12 & 151-152). Only 17 of these former teachers (TL) were available at the time of interview. Nonetheless, the information they provided proved to be very useful.

3.3.6. Schools

57 schools have provided data on teacher-turn-over from 1998 to 2003 with the help of a form sent out then.
3.3.7. Ministry Officials

6 senior officials (SO) from the Ministry of Education provided information to this research. 4 of them were at the top of the hierarchy and were responsible for training, supply, recruitment, deployment and retention of teachers in the Maldives. The officials were interviewed in order to cross check the information provided by other sources and also to collect any further information required by this study.

3.4. Secondary Sources of Data

The study also needed secondary data to map the issues of the school and the education system to education politics as it is not possible to see and grasp a complete picture without it.

3.4.1. Elderly Scholars

9 Elderly Scholars (ES) from the list prepared with help of the officials of the Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research were approached and all of them enthusiastically provided vital information about the status of education in the Maldives. ES5 in particular has given more than 12 hours of his time for this study and he kept on feeding additional information from time to time on his own initiative. The scholars were interviewed on a semi-structured interview schedule.

3.4.2. Survey of Historical Records

A survey of the records at the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research was made to learn about the provision of education in the country and the attitudes of the regimes towards the people living in the outer islands. I surveyed the materials in two rounds of data collection. The first period was from 6 April 2003 to 29 May 2003. This was made possible with the support and assistance of the Director General Ahmed Shakir and his secretary Kulsum. During the second time, 10 – 25 September
2003, access to materials was made possible through the Special Adviser to the Centre Mr. Mohamed Waheed (Madulu), and Senior Officer Ismail Waheed.

3.4.3. Pioneer Teachers

When the British Colonial System of Education (BCSE) was introduced to two schools in Male' in 1961, teachers were recruited from Sri Lanka (see Chapter 1). Two of the first group of the teachers – a female and a male – were still working at the time of data collection. They became a useful link between the present system of Education and the past. The pioneer teachers (PT) have readily responded to an interview designed to collect information about the system they introduced. Since then one of them expired in Male' while the other has left Maldives.

3.4.4. Visit to Islands

Although, I had visited all the inhabited outer islands (total of 201) of the Maldives several times in the past, in my capacity as Director/Director General of the School Systems, I visited 31 islands (log1:p.106) during this period to try to understand the general awareness of these villagers and their attitudes on teachers’ issues in particular and on education of their own children in general. Even though I am not making any specific references to what I have learned, these visits have given me, in my view, a deeper understanding of the issues that I have described in this dissertation.

3.5. Methods

For the collection of data from the sources outlined in section 3.2 the following methods have been used.
3.5.1. Questionnaire

Two questionnaires – one for the teachers and the other for the students – have been developed. The background information for teacher-questionnaire, in particular, came from the literature I surveyed during the time of this project. Selected sources have been referred to, mainly in Chapter 2 and elsewhere in this work. In planning and writing the questionnaire, suggestions available in Cohen, et al (2000); Bell, 1993; Bell, et al, (1984); Youngman, (1984); and Sheatsley, (1983), are used as a guide to produce a realistic instrument. It contains closed and open ended questions. The pre-testing of teacher-questionnaire (see Cohen, et al, 2000; and Youngman, 1984), was conducted at Iskandar School in Male’ on 2nd April 2003 with a group of 7 teachers. Their suggestions in terms of phrasing of the questions were accommodated.

3.5.2. Interviews

Asking questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first (Fontana and Frey, 2000: p. 645). No matter how carefully the questions are worded and how carefully the answers are coded or reported, spoken words are ambiguous (ibid: 645). Nevertheless, it is one of the most common and powerful ways in which human beings try to understand each other.

Interviews are conducted to learn about events and activities which could not be observed directly (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). In this study, the interviewees acted as informants to me, and they were, in fact, like my eyes and ears in the field (ibid). Interviews were used to collect data from the following sources.

- Headteachers;
- Resigning teachers;
- Past Maldivian teachers;
- Elderly scholars;
- Ministry officials; and
- Pioneer teachers

In view of the difficulties to be faced by using unstructured in-depth interviews by a new researcher and a structured interview becoming like a questionnaire, this study

43
has used semi-structured form of interviews (see Taylor and Bogdan, 1984 & Wragg, 1984) to collect information from the above sources.

3.6. Administration

The data collection process involved several weeks of planning and a long period of execution. A time line is provided at the end of this section. Although there are several sources of data collected I saw the ‘Teachers’ as the main source of data.

A questionnaire was administered to collect data from the teachers. This, typically, is a common and cheap method of data collection (See Bell, et al, 1984). But in the Maldives, where the islands are scattered with neither regular transport nor a reliable postal service, that process was not so simple. I had to develop a network of my own to distribute the questionnaires to 510 teachers in 55 schools on 44 islands (including Male’) and to collect them (see diagram 3.1). In the extreme South, relatively far from the centre, both Muhibbuddin School and the G.Dh. Atoll Education Centre acted as my agents to the selected schools in that region. The schools in the Northern region were handled by Jalaaluddin School. I administered it personally to the rest of the schools in the outer islands and to the 7 sample schools in Male’ (shown separately – 24, 36 ...42). In every case, the school randomly selected the sample teachers, briefed them, distributed the forms and later collected them for me.
The reader can see from diagram 3.1 the distribution and the return path separately. I, certainly, consider receiving 500 of 510 distributed forms to teachers in 44 scattered islands as a phenomenal success.
On the other hand, administering the questionnaire for the higher secondary students was simple. The principal of the Centre for Higher Education administered it for this research. All the students (53) who were selected for this research filled the questionnaire and returned the individual forms to the school promptly.

As for the interviews, I travelled to 11 outer islands to meet with 8 headteachers and 4 Elderly scholars. The remaining elderly scholars and headteachers residing on outer islands were interviewed in Male'. However, the meetings had to be coordinated as they came to Male' at different times. The headteachers from Male' and all other interviewees were met in Male'. Table 3.3 provides the time line of this research.

Table 3.3: The amount of data and the time line of data collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>The code</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>(T)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>05 April, 2003</td>
<td>07 June, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>05 October, 2003</td>
<td>09 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headteachers</td>
<td>(HT)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19 April, 2003</td>
<td>15 June, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigning teachers</td>
<td>(TR)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>06 October, 2003</td>
<td>14 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>(TL)</td>
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<td>25 September, 2003</td>
<td>31 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly Scholars</td>
<td>(ES)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10 October, 2003</td>
<td>31 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>05 April, 2003</td>
<td>14 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry officials</td>
<td>(SO)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18 April, 2003</td>
<td>31 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioneer teachers</td>
<td>(PT)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>01 October, 2003</td>
<td>31 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of records</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>06 April, 2003</td>
<td>29, May, 2003 &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 September, 2003</td>
<td>25 September, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits to islands</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>05 April, 2003</td>
<td>31 October, 2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7. Analysis of data

As I received a filled questionnaire or had completed an interview I put on it the source-code (T, HT, S, etc. as in Table 3.3) followed by a number identifying the subject (e.g. T1, HT1, S1, S2, S3, etc.). This process began in Male' on 1st June 2003 and I bought SPSS package from a local agent and installed it to my computer so that
the work could go ahead without delay. In order to enter the data I have identified the variables and named them. For example, in the questionnaire for the serving teachers nationality was a variable and I named it as (nat) and the responses to this variable were coded as follows:

- Maldivian 1
- Sri Lankan 2
- Indian 3
- Pakistan 4
- Others 5

In the teacher questionnaire alone there were 110 variables and each variable, especially the ones on open-ended questions, had drawn variety of responses. For instance the second part of the Question 32 (see Appendix A) had 67 different responses, with different combinations and each of them was coded with a number. As all these data were entered using fields for variables and codes the next step was the analysis. In the case of the qualitative data the open remarks and the comments were first recorded on the computer as the data came in the questionnaires and the interview schedules. Then they were classified first under the themes of this study – namely work, status and the market situations. However, in the process of classification other themes such as ‘student indiscipline’, ‘unfavourable living conditions’, ‘tensions between locals and expatriates’ and ‘the problems of school management and supervision, emerged. In writing and reporting, this data is sometimes presented in the form of tables with the numbers and percentages of the subjects or as their comments and recommendations like the following example in Chapter 4 (section 4.3).

"The facilities available in Male' schools and the island schools are very different. For example, computer facilities are provided to all the government schools in Male' to be used by teachers as well as students. But we don't have such facilities." (T153)

As for the quantitative data, mainly descriptive analysis statistics on SPSS were used to obtain frequencies and percentages of coded numbers. In reporting, the numbers were decoded and the results were presented in a tabular form with the number of subjects and percentages they represented based on the samples.

The entering of the data and the analysis continued until I had an accident and broke my arm on 27 February 2004. This was followed by a long break (more than one year) as the initial surgery and treatment in the Maldives did not meet the professional
and the ethical standards of the medical profession. In the meantime my SPSS licence expired, and at the final stage of the data analysis, in 2005, I used University of Bristol computer facilities. The outcome of this analysis is reported as the finding of this research in chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

3.8. Validity and Reliability

Validity must be assured in educational research (see Cohen, et al, 2000). Although absolute validity could not be attained, I have attempted to achieve it, in the first place, by developing appropriate instruments especially for teachers, headteachers, resigning teachers, Maldivians who have left school teaching, and elderly scholars. This was made easier as I was able to focus and pose questions on teachers’ work, status and market situation.

In sampling, randomisation was preferred and reached. However, in order to ensure inclusion of two different categories of teachers and headteachers – i.e., schools in Male’ and the outer islands – stratified sampling was adopted (see Ary, et al, 1990). As teachers were the main source of this data, I took additional steps to ensure the representativeness of the sample to the whole population. With the help of the senior officials from the Ministry of Education (SO2 and SO5), I grouped the outer island schools into the following categories:

- Enrolment 100 or less
- Enrolment 101 – 500
- Enrolment 501 – 1000
- Enrolment 1001 or more

The schools were then selected from each group with the help of the officials (SO2 & SO5) and the number of questionnaires to be sent to each of these schools was also decided on the assumptions of the representativeness. However, each of these scattered and isolated islands will have unique characteristics and problems and a study based on the whole Maldives cannot achieve a full representativeness.

In the case of resigning teachers and higher education students, full randomisation was accomplished. On the other hand, when it came to the elderly scholars and the
Maldivians who left school teaching, the sample had to be confined to the subjects available at the time of data collection – hence it was opportunistic sampling.

It was possible to attain the sample size of 11 – 15% in the case of students, teachers, headteachers and resigning teachers. Their representativeness may also be in that region. A sample of 510 teachers from a total of 4060 may be a reasonable sample (12.56%). However, with smaller numbers, the other samples may lack adequate representativeness of the total (see Cohen, 2000). I tried to minimise this deficiency by collecting data from different sources.

Data analysis provides a sufficient framework to make some tentative generalisations on issues that concern teachers. For instance, 88.9% of Male’ teachers have shown that accommodation is a problem for them. This concern is supported by the following statement made by one of the Maldivian who has left teaching:

"...the living conditions of expatriate teachers are deplorable .......",(TL4 in Chapter 4.7)

The information made available from two different sources allowed me to conclude with some degree of confidence that teachers live in inadequate conditions not only in the outer islands but also in Male’.

Reliability is consistency and replicability over time, over instruments and over groups of respondents (Cohen, et al, 2000). Efforts have been made to attain reliability. This study treated teachers as the primary source of data collection. A questionnaire was given to teachers in groups by a senior staff of the school with a short description of the purpose of the research. Any queries they had about the questions were also answered at this meeting before they dispersed to fill the forms individually.

There is no reason to believe that the same questionnaire administered by some other party on a different project would get a dramatically different set of data. A high degree of reliability should also be attained in the case of the questionnaire given out to the students, as they were not subjected to any form of coercion.
However, there is always the possibility that my purpose, approach and the interpretations may be value-laden. As I have stated clearly in the prologue I have a deep history of involvement in the present education system. Knowing this, I have sought to be constantly reflexive about my own location in relation to the study – the subjects, the topics and questions of interpretation. I have taken great care to avoid my own feelings about the situation in terms of problems of teacher supply in the Maldives, though I realise that these feelings are always present and sometimes close to the surface. As I was describing and analysing the data obtained from the above sources I tried not to allow my knowledge and experience to interfere with this work. If any such information was absolutely necessary, the senior official of the Ministry Education were approached to obtain it.

Furthermore, I had notified clearly to the teachers and the other sources that the purpose of doing this study is to try to understand the real world of teachers and the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives. The message that I did not stand to benefit from the findings of this research also was conveyed to them. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that my position in the Ministry of Education unduly affected the quality of data received from all these sources and that subjects would have reason to be deliberately untruthful. Indeed, being a well-know figure did have its advantages; it facilitated the administration of the data collection process as I knew all the heads of schools and many teachers personally.

3.9. Other Considerations

There are also complex ethical issues in educational research. One of the major problems that confronts the researcher is the need to strike a balance between the demands placed on him/her as a professional scientist in pursuit of truth, and subjects’ rights and values that are potentially threatened by the research (Cohen, et al, 2000: p. 49). In planning any research the researcher has to consider the likely social benefits of their research against the costs to participants which may be in the form of loss of dignity, embarrassment, loss of trust in social relations, loss of autonomy and self-determination, and lowered self-esteem (ibid: p. 50). Codes of ethics provide a
framework for moral principles (see Christians, 2000; Cohen, et al, 2000). Every effort was made to carry out this study under these guidelines.

3.9.1. Informed consent

Social science research necessitates obtaining the consent and co-operation of the subjects and the organizations (Cohen, et al, 2000: p. 50). All those who have participated in this research agreed to give information voluntarily without any form of coercion, and their agreement was based on full and open information (see Christians, 2000). They were briefed about the nature and purpose of this research and their voluntary co-operation was sought.

3.9.2. Deception

In deception, the researcher conceals the true purpose and the conditions of the research (Cohen, et al, 2000). The true purpose of this research was explained to the participants. Everything was made as transparent as possible to those involved.

3.9.3. Privacy and confidentiality

Confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure, and all personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity (Christians, 2000: p. 139). It is not the intention of this study to cause any harm or embarrassment to any official of the MoE, a head teacher, a teacher or any other participant and I have anonymised all interviews that might be judged in this way.

3.10. Conclusion

In the attempt to investigate the problems at this scale, data has been collected from a wide variety of sources - serving teachers, teachers who have left schools, headteachers, elderly scholars, senior officials of the Ministry of Education and
documents available at the Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research and the National Library.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were obtained from these sources and these data were used to attempt to unmask the real world of the teachers in the Maldives. The qualitative data in particular were useful to discover the extent of problem. The qualitative information, on the other hand, generated insights and strengthened understandings about the nature and consequences of the problem.
PART II

TEACHERS’ WORK, MARKET AND STATUS SITUATIONS IN THE MALDIVES: THE EVIDENCE
CHAPTER 4
TEACHERS' WIDER LIVING AND WORK CONDITIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter begins to present the findings of this research project with a specific focus on the infrastructures for teachers – their working and living conditions.

In this chapter the focus is on the infrastructures for teachers – their working and living conditions. This research actually conceives these as problems encircling the school and to a certain extent also underpins the conditions for the management of the school system. As schools are regulated by the government often the Ministry of Education (MoE), the government regulating agency, is perceived as the legal provider of education in the Maldives. At this level some problems have been unmasked and the following issues are addressed in this chapter:

- the quality of physical facilities;
- the quality of educational facilities;
- the issue of untrained teachers;
- the topic of the teachers leaving for better opportunities; and
- the question of unfavourable living conditions.

4.2. Quality of physical facilities

In a school, a staff room, a library, a science room, a computer room and an audio-visual room may be basic facilities, or at least as it is shown in table 4.1, they are common facilities in Male’. Table 4.1 shows the general picture of the physical facilities based on the information received from a sample of 15 headteachers selected from a total of 86 heads in 2003 (source: SO5). Eight of the 10 headteachers from the outer islands and all the heads in Male’ said that they have a staffroom. But that leaves 2 of the outer schools without a staffroom. All the physical facilities noted in this research are adequately provided to all the 5 schools represented here. However, in the case of the sample representing the outer islands, 50% of the schools did not
have a library. A further 70%, 50%, and 60% are without a science room, computer room and an audio-visual room respectively.

Table 4.1: Physical facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilities</th>
<th>Male’ Schools</th>
<th>Outer island schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laboratory/Science room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio-visual room</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/Final</td>
<td>5*</td>
<td>(n.a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Multiple responses do not tally with the total.

Table 4.1 does not tell anything about the quality of these facilities but the next one (Table 4.2) to certain extent does this although adequateness could differ from one headteacher to another. Nevertheless, 3 of the 5 headteachers from Male’ confirmed to have adequate facilities whereas only 2 of 10 outer-island heads said their facilities were adequate. The other striking comparison is on the question of inadequate facilities. Three headteachers from the outer islands have said that the quality of the infrastructure or the physical facilities is not adequate while no headteacher in Male’ is faced with such a hardship.

Table 4.2: Quality of the infrastructure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head type</th>
<th>Adequate facility</th>
<th>Somewhat adequate</th>
<th>Not adequate</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male’</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Quality of educational facilities

The quality of physical facilities may not have a significant impact on the quality of education. Perhaps what matters most may, for example, be books, chemicals and equipment rather than the rooms to house them. As it has been shown in Table 4.3 based on the information received from teachers 67.9% of them in the outer islands (305 out of 449) have reported that the quality of the educational facilities in their schools are either very low or low. Even in Male’ 20 out of 51 teachers (39.2%) said the quality of the educational facilities is low.

Table 4.3: Quality of educational facilities as per teacher survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Very low</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male’</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Islands</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/Final</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 is based on the responses received from the teachers. In their comments to an open ended question some of the teachers have touched on this question apparently with some feelings. One teacher from an outer island school has said the following:

“We do not have enough facilities to conduct group work, playing games, etc. in the classroom.” (T133)

Another teacher from the outer islands also made this remark:

“I [we] need equal resources as in Male’ schools. We need good facilities like good library, etc” (T102)

One teacher also referred to the computer facilities noting the following:

“The facilities available in Male’ schools and the island schools are very different. For example, computer facilities are provided to all the government schools in Male’ to be used by teachers as well as students. But we don’t have such facilities.” (T153)
The views of headteachers are not so different. Their views on the quality of educational facilities are shown in the following table (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Quality of educational facilities as per headteacher interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headteacher type</th>
<th>No of sample headteachers</th>
<th>Not adequate No.</th>
<th>Not adequate %</th>
<th>Somewhat Adequate No.</th>
<th>Somewhat Adequate %</th>
<th>Adequate No.</th>
<th>Adequate %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male'</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/Final</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This data is from a sample of 15 headteachers from a total of 86 teachers in 2003 (S05). The comparison between the schools in Male' and the outer islands are quite striking as 7 headteachers from the outer island see their educational facilities as inadequate, whereas only one headteacher feels the same in Male'. Interestingly, the headteacher from Male' who said that their facilities are not adequate does not belong to the government sector although this is not seen in the table. At the other end of the spectrum 3 out of 5 headteachers from Male' have adequate facilities as against 1 in the outer islands.

4.4. Untrained teachers

One important feature of the outer-island schools is the number of untrained teachers. As most of the untrained teachers are in a category called temporary teachers the situation may actually have eluded the study. In the sample of 500 teachers 35 are untrained and they are all from the outer islands (see Table 4.5)

Table 4.5: Untrained teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School type</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Untrained teachers No.</th>
<th>Untrained teachers %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male'</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/Final</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In fact MoE statistics support this finding. According to 2002 statistics, 25.4% of the teachers in the outer islands are untrained Maldivians who need to be trained or replaced (MoE, 2002: 46). The figure for Male’ is 5% as per official statistics.

4.5. Teachers leave schools for better opportunities

Lack of opportunities to teachers for development is a problem identified by the teachers with 15.2% of the teachers who made comments on problems of teacher supply have stated this as an issue. The remote and isolated islands could face the impact of this problem far more seriously than Male’ with much greater possibilities for teachers. It is no surprise then, that 49 of 330 (14.5%) of outer island teachers who made these comments have stated it as a pressing problem. T405 highlights the deprivation as follows.

"[We] have less opportunity for professional development and less opportunity to keep in pace with the outer world" (T405)

So, opportunities need to be provided to the teachers as T61 has mentioned. She says:

"There should be opportunities for teachers (especially in the atoll schools) to have good prospects in their careers." (T61).

It appears to be necessary to study the situation and give some attention to the outer islands as teachers from outer islands are eager to make their voice heard by any one who might try to help them. T19 says:

"In my opinion the teachers, teaching in Male’, get more opportunities for self development and more staff development programmes than the teachers in the islands" (T19)

This apparent disparity hurts the teachers in the outer islands. T307 says:

"Refreshing programmes and other such opportunities should be forwarded [given] equally to all teachers." (T307)

If opportunities are not provided in the outer islands, as T308 has pointed out they will be compelled “to go to Male” in search of opportunities or as T281 has stated, they may have “to go for other jobs rather than teaching” for better opportunities.
If opportunities are not provided in the outer islands, as T308

4.6. Unfavourable living conditions

This study gave an opportunity to the teachers to comment on problems of recruiting and keeping competent teachers in their schools and in the Maldives. Teachers have, indeed, made very useful and encouraging remarks. In fact 382 of the 500 teachers responded to these open ended questions. Out of them 152 teachers (134 from outer islands + 18 from Male') have stated inadequate living conditions as a problem for recruiting and keeping competent teachers. As living conditions in the outer islands could be quite different from Male' this study has gone back to the data again to explore these differences. This comparison reveals some interesting patterns, as shown in Table 4.6. The percentages are based on total numbers of teachers who have indicated living conditions as a problem and they are cross tabbed for Male' and the outer islands. Hard conditions which include inadequate facilities in the available housing and poor living standard in the islands top the list with 70.1 per cent to be followed by isolation in the islands (50%). As hard conditions, isolation, transport, communication, health facilities, non availability of basic food items, banking, and postal services are given as problems in the outer islands they are unimaginable in Male'. The situation is summarised in Table 4.6. The percentages are based on 134 and 18 for outer islands and Male' respectively because these points were made as independent remarks on an open ended question.
Table 4.6: Living conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Conditions</th>
<th>Outer-island teachers (out of 134)</th>
<th>Male’ teachers (out of 18)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard conditions</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal service</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Multiple responses and so the percentages exceed 100 per cent.

As Table 4.6 shows, teachers do not find suitable accommodation for an affordable rent in Male’ and it is very expensive to live there. The accommodation problem in Male’ is alarmingly precarious, demanding immediate response from the authorities. This point is eloquently made by a Maldivian teacher (TL7) whose desire for higher education ‘deported’ [term used by the teacher who had to leave teaching in schools] him to another institution. This Maldivian said:

"The living condition of expatriate teachers is deplorable. It needs to be improved. The housing allowance + food allowance given to expatriate teachers do not match reality. They need to be increased" (TL7)

One of the past teachers (TL7) further goes on to say that “expatriate and local teachers should not be differentiated in their treatment with regard to the pay and allowances, etc”.

60
The Ministry’s inattentiveness to some schools also causes problems. There is a growing anxiety over the disparity among different schools. A teacher (T133) noted her inability to find space to organize her work. Another teacher (T153) from a different school highlighted the need to have a suitable system in place for the provision of the basic facilities. As she said unless there is a suitable system for supplying the material resources some schools in isolated islands can easily get overlooked.

The hard living conditions, in certain islands, could be a deterrent for many teachers. 152 teachers have raised these issues in this research (see Table 4.6). In the outer islands, in general, the living conditions do not appear to be suitable to attract competent teachers. In Male, the accommodation has reached to a critical situation, demanding immediate response from the authorities. One past Maldivian teachers (TL7) noted that the living conditions of the expatriate teachers is deplorable and needs immediate improvement.

We may fail to take notice of these difficult and hostile conditions. But they contribute adversely to the supply of competent teachers. As we saw in Huberman’s (1993) study the teachers will leave this occupation because of exhaustion, fatigue and frustration. At this level, it might also be useful for heads of schools to study the situations carefully and come forward with new ideas and proposals to improve the conditions of the teachers. Ideas could be obtained by understanding the measures that
other schools or even other countries take to help the teachers to adjust to the prevailing conditions and to enhance their overall situation. In many OECD countries, for example, a mechanism called 'teacher mobility' is employed to overcome certain difficulties and share resources most economically and efficiently (see OECD, 2005:159). As there are several schools in Male' within reach of each other such possibilities could be explored. In the case of the outer islands new possibilities of time tabling could, for example, open new avenues of sharing scarce resources between islands. In fact, the European Commission supports variety of exchange schemes with the European Union to provide different opportunities for teachers in other countries (see OECD, 2005: 161). It may be irresponsible even for school heads not to explore the possibilities of supporting the teachers. However, it will be much more difficult for the foreigners, in these positions, to be proactive in the present circumstances. Yet, in the views of the teachers, the school heads can play an important role to reduce the problems of teacher supply in their schools.
CHAPTER 5
TEACHERS' LIFE IN SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM

5.1. Introduction

In our attempt to examine the nature and the extent of the problems of teachers supply in the Maldives we collected data from teachers (present and the past), complemented by other sources, and began to reveal the conditions under which the teachers work. In the last chapter we saw that the teachers are living and working under difficult and harsh conditions. Many teachers live in isolated islands with limited facilities in terms of healthy food, education, transport, communication, and healthcare. These are basic human needs. An absence or the scarcity of these basic needs will cause problems not only to teachers but also to other human beings.

This chapter focuses on teachers' work life in the school more generally and in the classroom and links the problems of teacher supply. Each of these issues is discussed under a separate section.

5.2. Attrition of teachers

In order to assess the situation, this study sought information from as many schools as possible on teacher turn-over. In fact the Ministry of Education assisted the research in dispatching the form designed for collecting the data with their seal of authority as it could very well be restricted for internal use. Almost all outer-island schools with facsimile facilities and many schools in Male' returned the forms with the required data. Total number of forms thus received was 57, while according to MoE statistics in 2002 total number of schools excluding outer-island private schools is 253 (MoE, 2002: 35). Sixty-nine outer-island private schools are not counted as they are mainly pre-schools (MoE, 2002: 41). If then 253 is treated as the total number of schools a sample of 57 comprises 22.5% of them which will most probably give a reasonably comprehensive picture of all the schools.
Table 5.1 shows a clear picture of teacher turn-over for both Maldivian and expatriate teachers. The crisis appears to be worse than originally thought. The turn-over is very high, not only for the expatriate teachers but also for the Maldivians. At the end of the five year period under consideration – 1998 to 2002, the turn-over rate for the expatriate teachers remained approximately 25%, suggesting that almost a quarter of all expatriate teachers left every year. The turn-over for the Maldivian teachers, too, remained very high. Nearly 20% of the Maldivian teachers left teaching annually. In fact, if a fifth of all the Maldivian teachers leave teaching every year, it is not good news for anyone who wants to promote teaching as a credible occupation for the educated Maldivians.

Table 5.1: Teacher attrition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Maldivian teachers</th>
<th>Expatriate teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No. left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table provides useful information to the Ministry of Education for planning the annual recruitment of teachers. Apart from the requirement caused by increasing enrolment they have to account for the annual attrition. For this period there is an average annual attrition of 19% and 23% for Maldivians and expatriates respectively.

The next table (Table 5.2) unfolds yet another dismal story. The annual rate of increase in the number of Maldivian teachers remained low but for one extraordinary year. The rate of increase in 1999 was at a low 4.3% compared to 23% for the expatriates and by the end of 2002 the rate of increase is 2.5% whereas it remained high (14.7%) for the expatriate teachers. 2001 was an extraordinary year, not only because it saw an increase of Maldivian teachers by 8.4% but also as it demonstrated a fascinating relationship of the increasing rates for the locals and the expatriates. A
significant increase of 8.4% for the locals in that year saw a dramatic fall of the rate of increase for expatriates to 7.5% from an incredibly high 25.5% in the previous year. However, in the following year (2002) the Maldivian increase rate plummeted giving way to the expatriate rate to rise to 14.7% of the previous total. If this trend continues for another few years, the Maldivian teachers will clearly be outnumbered by expatriates. In 1998 the ratio of the Maldivian teachers to expatriates was 65:35 in favour of the Maldivians and this proportion dropped to 55:45 within 5 years, in 2002.

Table 5.2: The annual rate of increase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Maldivian teachers</th>
<th>Expatriate teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total No.</td>
<td>Incr. No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my view, Table 5.2 gives useful information for the Ministry of Education to estimate the cost of transport, accommodation, and visas for the expatriate teachers on the basis of the annual increase, which is 17.5% for the last 4 years (1999 – 2002).

Table 5.3 also provides useful information for schools and the Ministry of Education and to some extent to the parents and the students too. A Sri Lankan is likely to stay longer in the Maldives than other expatriates. In general, they have stayed in the Maldives for 6.6 years whilst Indians, who are by far the largest group of the expatriate teachers, stay for a much shorter period (4 years). The Pakistanis can, it looks, stay only for 3 years on average. Nevertheless, based on information provided by teachers of all nationalities, on average, an expatriate teacher survived in the Maldives for 4.4 years.
Table 5.3: Duration of stay in the Maldives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of teachers</th>
<th>No. responded</th>
<th>Mean stay (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings suggest that if teachers are recruited from Sri Lanka, the turn-over rate of the expatriate teachers could be reduced significantly.

5.3. Recruitment

Teachers, mainly expatriates, expressed concern over recruitment of teachers. So, despite the concern of this study on the overall recruitment, selection and appointment of teachers, the findings have to be confined mainly to recruitment and selection of expatriate teachers.

Twenty-two teachers (T85, T104, T422, T423, etc.) have said, though it was specifically not asked, that schools have no authority to recruit teachers and that recruitment is a function of the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, it is the Ministry of Education who recruits and sends the teachers (T85) while schools can only accept them. Teachers indeed see flaws in the present procedure. Some of their comments are as follows:

- Selection procedure is not competitive (T12);
- Subject experts do not select teachers and teachers with specialist knowledge are not put to proper use (T198, T199, T346 & T384);
- The Ministry is sending teachers without a proper interview (T71 & T176);
- Recruiting through agencies, the vested interests of agencies and the involvement of middle men between the Ministry and teachers are [causing problems] for recruiting and keeping competent teachers (T88, T91, T93, T108, T110 & T114);
• Due to unfair [procedure of] recruitment of teachers, inefficient teachers increase resulting in the failure of recruiting and keeping good teachers in the system (T229, T233, and 16 others).

Table 5.4 shows the general picture of the feelings of the teachers about the present system of recruiting teachers from their own countries and the recruitment in general. The data is based on the number (i.e. 382) of teachers who made their own comments about problems of teacher supply. As Table 5.4 shows teachers are, apparently, not satisfied with the present system of recruiting teachers. Moreover, as the percentages are all above 25 from countries where teachers are recruited it demonstrates a very strong feeling on the part of the teachers.

*Table 5.4: Teachers who reported recruitment as a problem*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of teachers</th>
<th>Problem identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers not only highlight flaws but they also have suggestions as to how to overcome the problem. Some of them are listed below:

• A single oral interview is not sufficient to select a competent teacher (T377 and 17 others);
• Vigorous selection procedure and a suitable induction programme for the newly recruited teachers (T318);
• Recommendations should be avoided, retired persons should not be recruited and preference should be given to fresh and energetic post graduates (T228);
• While recruiting teachers, the authorities have to be careful. Bad teachers can do a lot of harm to the system and unsuitable teachers need to be removed as soon as they are discovered or identified (T103 & T351);
• If good teachers are recruited they will be accepted by the students and parents (T301);
• The school should recruit teachers who are dedicated to the job (T459).
Even if recruitment is not a serious problem in the view of the authorities, teachers have indeed been at pain to highlight some areas of their concern as they are keen to see an improvement of the system.

5.4. Involvement in decision making and Autonomy

This research assumes that involvement in decision making and autonomy in organising activities will enhance the motivation of teachers in turn contributing to prolonging their stay in the school. As we look at Table 5.5, Eight headteachers reported that the teachers' involvement is either high or very high in the decision making process. In sharp contrast to this report, 279 of 460 (60.6%) of the teachers who responded to this question stated that their involvement in decision making process is either low or very low.

Table 5.5: Teachers' involvement in decision making – views of the teachers and the heads compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Headteachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. responded</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very low level</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low level</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very high level</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As there is such a big discrepancy it is necessary to see if a particular group of teachers is contributing to this view. As Maldivians and Indians comprise the largest segments of teachers (Maldivians: 43.8% & Indian 45%) within the sample of 500 teachers, these two groups are compared in Table 5.6 to clarify the situation. Apart from involvement in decision making they are also compared for the autonomy in initiating extra and co-curricular activities. Here, we find a notable similarity of opinion between the two groups in both decision making and autonomy. In decision making, we find 32 Maldivian (15.8% of 202) in the 'very highly involved' category, twice as many as Indians. Over the years the system could have created a group of
very dedicated local teachers who get involved in school affairs irrespective of the conditions. They are the teachers who contribute a great deal to the schools and to pupil learning. The in-balance in this category in favour of Maldives adjusts well when we look at the next category – high involvement. Similarly, in the case of autonomy for initiating extra and co-curricular activities, highly motivated group of locals in the category of ‘very high autonomy’ is 22% against 11.3% for the Indians. Even in autonomy, the percentage of Maldivian in this category is almost twice as Indians.

Table 5.6: Teachers' involvement in decision making and autonomy – Indians and Maldivians compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Decision making</th>
<th>Autonomy for teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maldivian</td>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teachers No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very low</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having compared the levels of involvement in decision making and autonomy in initiating activities in schools for Maldivians and Indians, Table 5.7 is presented to show the similarity between male and female teachers. There is slight difference in the category of ‘high involvement’ in decision making in favour of male teachers. Otherwise the pattern is almost the same for both men and women.
Table 5.7: Level of involvement in decision making and autonomy by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Involvement in decision making</th>
<th>Autonomy for teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male No.</td>
<td>Male %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, then, no significant difference of opinion between any of the teacher segments, Indian/Maldivians and males/females, in Table 5.6 and Table 5.7 regarding decision making and autonomy in initiating activities. However, as it has been noted earlier, the teachers have a difference in opinion with regard to the involvement of teachers in the decision making process (see Table 5.5). The following comments made by headteachers shed light on the situation.

"The Ministry of Education has set definite guidelines to be followed. The teachers could make suggestions informally to the management and formally at the staff meetings" (HT13);

"Teachers give their ideas and suggestions to their grade co-ordinators" (HT9).

Headteachers also appear to have an explanation for the lack of involvement by teachers in decision-making and other activities which are associated to teacher types and attitudes. Following comments are to this effect.

"Most of the teachers do not want to be involved in anything else but teaching" (HT12);

"As most of our teachers are expatriates and part time teachers their involvement in school administration is minimal" (HT10).

If we try to further understand the meanings of these comments it becomes apparent that headteachers have a different view of involvement of teachers, especially in decision-making. Basically, decisions are taken at a higher level (see the comment
from HT13) and teachers could perhaps express their concerns if they have any at staff meetings and to the grade co-ordinators which may or may not influence the consultations the headteachers have with the Ministry of Education.

However, it may be worthwhile listening to the opinion of one of their colleagues who takes a somewhat different position. In that school “teachers are directly involved in implementing all decisions and therefore they are always consulted in making decisions” (HT15). In this case, at least, teachers are always consulted at school level although the final decisions may still come from the Ministry of Education.

5.5. Student discipline

“Discipline of students – good teachers leave the place due to this” says T169. The following comments support T169’s views on student discipline.

“Teachers leave due to discipline problems” (T67 & T196);

“Frequently teachers leave due to indiscipline of students” (T194);

“Teachers leave due to disruptive/savage behaviour of students” (T110);

“Teachers leave due to the rapid fall of academic and disciplinary standards of students” (T351);

“A good teacher will think twice or thrice to stay here because of student discipline” (T354);

“The indiscipline among students is the main cause of losing job satisfaction. If this problem is solved most of the teachers will be happy” (T156 & T8).

Some teachers also have tried to explain the seriousness of their claims. The following comments appear to be to this effect.

“Sometimes it is difficult to control a few learners who create problems to expatriate teachers by disturbing their work” (T256);

“They [students] show perverse character in the classroom and they cannot be controlled” (T120)

“I, as a teacher at times feel totally helpless when facing a group of students who DO NOT WISH [inscription by the teacher] to study” (T65);

“I feel that the students must be told and encouraged to respect and love their teachers more. There should not be a difference because we are expatriates and to think as not teachers [italic by the writer]. I miss this very much here in the Maldives” (T346);
“Due to classroom disciplinary actions, the teachers are insecure outside the school premises” (T68).

As teachers have so strongly commented on student discipline in schools, it was necessary to summarise some of the statistics. As many as a third (33.2%) of 382 teachers who made independent and open comments on problems of teacher supply have stated student discipline as a problem. Even if the total sample of 500 teachers is taken into account they represent a very high percentage (25.4%). As these teachers are cross-tabulated for Male’ and the outer islands, there is, remarkably, no difference (32.6% and 33.3% respectively).

It would seem that the female teachers in this study have coped better with the discipline of the students than their male counter-parts. As Table 5.8 shows 24.7% of the female teachers saw discipline as a problem whilst it is a problem for 39.2% of the male teachers.

Table 5.8: Indiscipline in view of male and female teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Discipline as a problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male teachers</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female teachers</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Problems of indiscipline are compared in Table 6.9 among Maldivians, Sri Lankans and Indians, and a pattern appears to emerge. In the case of Maldives it is 15% of them who have stated it as problem whereas nearly half (49.2%) of Indian teachers state that they have discipline problems. Sri Lankan teachers lie somewhere in the middle with 36.1%.
Table 5.9: Indiscipline in view of teachers by nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Discipline as a problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As all figures for discipline show a major concern from teachers, especially foreign teachers, it is necessary to explore this problem further. Some of the ideas are listed below:

"Because of the policies of "student discipline" in the Ministry of Education, the school finds it difficult to keep good teachers" (T354);

"Indiscipline among the students – no corrective punishment is given & parents have no control over the students" (T271);

"Lack of interest from students; and parents have no control over the children" (T120);

"Students should be more disciplined: can be achieved either through effective specialist counselling, punishment (as of now not allowed), parents need to be counselled, they should be given more power/freedom on their children" (T316);

"Teachers should be allowed to have a greater role in the general discipline and guidance of students" (T376).

These comments from teachers also appear to be consistent with the advice from those who were leaving at the end of 2003. Table 6.10 shows that these teachers' final words to the Maldivian students lay around discipline and commitment to studying.

Table 5.10: Advice of teachers who were leaving, to students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advice</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discipline should be improved</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to studying</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Maldivians who left teaching (i.e. before 2003) were asked if they could be encouraged to go back to teaching, the remarks made by one of them shows that discipline is a real problem in Maldivian schools and his remarks appear to be a suitable point for concluding the section on student discipline. He says:
"The same basic problems exist as when I left teaching; teaching large groups of students most of whom do not want to study and do not want to be in school is not very satisfying" (TL5)

5.6. School Management and supervision

In England, Leithwood, et al (2006) discovered a correlation between students' learning and effective leadership in school and further. Leithwood, et al (2006) also believed that leadership serves as a catalyst for unleashing the potential capacities that exists in any organization. However, in this study, heads of schools hold a rather difficult position which could inhibit them from providing the quality of leadership required for a successful school. One teacher (T400), in this study, recognises this difficulty and highlights the fact that the heads do not have real authority and that the schools are managed by very strict rules from the Ministry of Education.

High turn-over of the headteachers and unstable management (T1, T2, T3 & T339) also support this view as such a frequent transfer of heads may be associated with strong central control. As this study has data from headteachers, the truth of the high turn-over of the heads could be verified. Table 5.11 clearly demonstrates the instability of the headteachers' position with a high turn-over. Sixty per cent (60%) of all headteachers in this sample have only been in the school for less than year whilst all of them have served as headteachers for a longer period (Table 5.11). The anomaly of one headteacher in a single school for over 20 years needs to be clarified. In going back to the data it was possible to see that the headteacher was, in fact, the head of a private school where the central control could be minimal or nil.
Table 5.11: No. of years as the head of the present school and as headteachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of years</th>
<th>As head of the present school</th>
<th>As a headteacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 4 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14 years</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 or more years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the difficulty of unstable management, teachers expressed other concerns. Some of them are listed below:

- "Good teachers are never satisfied [cared] by the management in terms of making their stay in the island comfortable and to some extent by haphazard decision making" (T47);
- "They [heads] never bother about improving, never set goals and never set standards" (T473);
- "No proper relationship between management and teachers" (T48, T74, T113, T352 & T399);
- "Misunderstanding between teachers and school management" (T51, T318, T319 & T378);
- "Biased and prejudiced opinion of the HoDs [dept.heads]/supervisors/school management against teachers" (T243 & T322);
- "Management must appreciate teachers' problems and support them in their effort to achieve results" (T27).

Teachers appear to be worried about the high turnover of the heads and the difficult relationships they had with the heads of schools (T88 & T91). HoDs and the supervisors too make teachers work to policies which are not practical at all (T88 & T91). Nevertheless, 57.9% of 382 (44.2% of the total sample) teachers who have made independent comments on problems of teachers supply have stated management and supervision as a problem. Table 6.12 gives the breakdown for men and women in which there is little or no difference.
Table 5.12: Issues of management & supervision as a problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers by gender</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no &amp; Av. %</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Maldivians and Indians are the two major groups, the figures are also compared against each other (see Table 6.13). Here, again, there is not so much of a difference in their views of management and supervision in schools as a problem. 58.8% of Maldivians and 61.6% Indians face this problem.

Table 5.13: Problems of management & supervision – Maldivian & Indian teachers compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of teachers</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivians</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To find out if management and supervision in schools is a problem to the outer islands alone they are also compared with Male’. Table 5.14 shows 59.6% of teachers in the outer islands and 44.2% teachers in Male’ see it as a problem.

Table 5.14: Problem of management & supervision - by school type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of the schools</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male’</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the outer islands are scattered and far from the controlling centre (T400) they appear to have other problems, as many of these schools are headed either by supervisors or assistant headmasters (based on the list of heads - 2003 obtained from the Ministry of Education). This study asked teachers resigning at the end of 2003 what advice they would like to give to the school management. The following are the ones which have appeared more than once.
• Better communication with the teachers (26.7%);
• Any genuine work should be recognised (20%);
• Take care of the teachers (13.3%).

The same question was also asked from the Maldivians who left teaching. Those which appeared more than once are listed below.

• Offer frequent staff development courses. Recognise the dedicated services of such teachers through verbal/certificates at the appropriate places. Hold such teachers as examples. Offer them responsibility; provide them monetary incentives if possible, etc. (23.5%);
• Do not over load teachers with extracurricular matters especially overtime; do not hold back from paying overtime when that is due; do not ask teachers to work during school holidays because that is one big incentive that teaching offers. (17.6%);
• Give attractive salary, accommodation, and further studying opportunities. (11.8%).

The comments from these two groups who left teaching in the Maldives appear to be relevant to the conditions prevailing in the Maldives. These comments and the remarks by the serving teachers selected to be quoted below provide a useful basis of a framework for the school management to reach closer to the standards set by model schools (see, DES, 1977 cited in Holly and Southworth, 1989: p.3). The first of these two quotes follows:

"The management has to be more considerate, they should work with the teachers, rather than finding faults, threatening them and warning the teachers unnecessarily." (T154). 

The next quote pertains to the supervisors and it is for the attention and subsequent action of the higher authorities as neither supervisors nor the schools are, in general, capable of acting on it. This teacher (T169) observes:

"The supervisors should receive proper management training since their dealings with the staff are very important. They should be well qualified and well experienced. Improvement is sought in this area. Many of them lack management skills and communication skills." (T169)

5.7. Care and attention

"As human beings we like to have a bit of thankfulness, gratitude and recognition of our work. We do not get this here. [At least] when we go to the Ministry, please do something on your part with this regard." (T76)
As this comment above suggests, there is a plea for care and attention not only from the schools but also from the Ministry of Education. The following comments may help the reader understand the feelings of the teachers.

"Teaching is a noble profession but over the years I have been here I have sometimes felt like an imported vegetable" (T47);

"Teachers are inappropriately dealt by the authorities" (T153);

"The authorities are not able to understand the problems faced by the teachers" (T186);

"The Ministry of Education does not understand the grievance of the teachers and the society does not respect them" (T187);

"Immaturity and lack of understanding of the teacher and his problems and the harsh treatment by the school and lack of a grievance-redress mechanism at the Ministry of Education" (T188)

Indeed, the following statistics give the general picture of the whole situation. Fifty-four per cent (54.5%) of the teachers (382) who made additional comments on problems of teacher supply (41.6% of the sample) reported lack of care and attention by schools, community and the higher authorities as being part of the problem in keeping competent teachers.

Although teachers in the outer islands are confronted with severe living conditions Table 5.15 shows that there is practically no difference between teachers in Male' and the outer islands in their desire to get care and attention. 53.5% from the former and 54.6% from the latter have expressed their desire for more care and attention.

Table 5.15: Lack of care & attention in Male' and the outer islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of schools</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male'</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly as Table 5.16 clearly demonstrates, lack of care and attention is not only a problem for expatriate teachers. 53.1, 54.8 and 55.6 per cent of Maldivian, Indians, and Sri Lankans have respectively expressed their dissatisfaction for the current level of care and attention.
Table 5.16: Lack of care & attention against nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of teachers</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivians</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankans</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study the teachers demonstrated the need to look after the teachers if the system were to retain competent teachers. One teacher stated that the "Ministry of Educations is supporting the schools well but I would like to request them to give more attention to teachers" (T358).

5.8. Tension between locals and expatriates

'Take measures to root out some of the prejudices against the expatriate teachers' – this comment came from an expatriate teacher (T93). Tension between Maldivian and expatriate teachers may not have been thought of as a problem. However, this study reveals that it is certainly emerging as a potential problem. One teacher, concerned with the prevailing situation, said that there was a real possibility of the eruption of an impending upheaval in sight (T26).

Teachers from all nationalities stated that there were tensions among Maldivians and expatriates and that this was a problem affecting teacher supply in the Maldives. Twelve per cent (12%) of all teachers who commented on problems (comprising 9.2% of the sample) have, in one form or another, highlighted tensions. Table 5.17 gives a breakdown for teachers from different countries. Maldivians appear to be less sensitive to the problem than the others whose percentages (16.9, 16.7 &16.7) are remarkably similar though the numbers vary according to the total number of teachers from each country represented in the sample.
Table 5.17: Tension as a problem by nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of teachers</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivians</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table may not show the true feelings of the teachers but Table 6.18 to some extent does.

Table 5.18: Tensions between Maldivians and expatriates in some depth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concerns of teachers</th>
<th>Expatriate teachers</th>
<th>Maldivian teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equity of treatment</td>
<td>You are showing no difference [in pay] of a boy of 20 years and a man of 55 years with MSc or MA (T94). There should not be any difference between natives and expatriates. All teachers are equal – some are not more equal than others (T347).</td>
<td>Comparatively Maldivians do much more work than the expatriates but expatriates are been paid much more salary and even allowances too (T195). Maintain a balance between locals and expatriates so far as salary is concerned (T318).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>The expatriates are considered by many as people who rob their wealth (T411). Foreigners are not well respected by locals (T206).</td>
<td>Expatriate teachers also should involve in school activities. When they don’t it deprives the students and the school of adequate services of their staff and their pay is also higher (T127).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>Instil reverence in the community, particularly on expatriate teachers. Curb egoistic tendencies by the local authorities. Eliminate religious chauvinism (T226).</td>
<td>Expatriate teachers who get recruited look for better opportunities and when they find a better place they leave the Maldives (T16).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positions</td>
<td>Foreigners should be placed in top positions both at management and supervisory levels in order to increase the efficiency of schools (T229).</td>
<td>I strongly feel that unless, Maldivian teachers make the majority in Maldivian schools the working conditions will not be smooth (T303).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have put the feelings under four categories in Table 5.18 – equity of treatment, participation, attitudes and positions. How each of the groups may have perceived these may have been different. For example, locals see equity in pay whist expatriates see the issue as equity of treatment. Maldivians may have developed a certain feeling of dislike toward expatriates as they do not get involved in certain activities as much as locals would have wished. Similarly, when expatriate teachers travel abroad during the course of the academic year, for personal reasons locals appear to develop unfavourable attitudes towards expatriates and they become very unhappy.
The conflicting attitudes of the two groups of teachers may ultimately cause an eruption well foreseen by T26 mentioned earlier. Maldivians seem to think that this eruption can be averted by increasing the number of Maldivian teachers in schools whilst expatriates may assume placing expatriates in top positions as the solution (see Table 5.18 for the position of each group).

5.9. Conclusions

This chapter revealed that teacher turn-over in the Maldives is very high, and that this had critical implications for quality and the provision of education. The teacher turn-over is not only for expatriates who are recruited on contract basis but also for the Maldivians. From 1998 to 2002, the average turn-over was 19% and 23% for Maldivians and expatriates respectively. The annual increase of Maldivians was low at 4.3% while the percentage for the expatriates was alarmingly high with 17.7%.

This situation may have been the result of several causes. The discussion of this chapter uncovered several issues which may have led to the problems recruiting and retaining competent teachers in schools. In view of the teachers, it is necessary to put in place a proper system to select, recruit and develop teachers. Presently, the schools have no authority over the selection and recruitment of their own teachers. Unless, that function is devolved, the schools could not take effective measures to develop and retain effective teachers. Consequently, the teachers detached from the school and complained of harsh treatment by the school authorities. The schools also distanced the teachers by not involving them in decision making and other conceptual work. This process will aggravate an already bad situation as teaching tasks get fragmented and teachers are left to deal with the execution of the work without the mental involvement (see Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Robertson, 1997; Robertson, 2000 and Smyth et al, 2000). The teachers will begin to leave in large and visible numbers if the economy grows and provides employment in other sectors.
CHAPTER 6
TEACHERS' WORK, MARKET AND STATUS SITUATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on teachers' status, work and market situations and their relationship to teacher supply. Specifically, this chapter deals with the issues picked up from the literature described in the chapter on the wider context. These are issues that relates to teachers' work, status and the market situations. However, the analysis will begin with the emerging need to train competent Maldivians as teachers.

6.2. The need for training of teachers

The data indicates a clear need for the training of Maldivian teachers for secondary as well as primary schools. Table 6.1 shows a dramatic picture. Seventy-two per cent (72%) of Maldivian teachers of the sample have been absorbed into primary schools or in the primary sections of the schools. Their percentage (28%) is low in secondary schools compared to teachers of other nationalities. This figure also may be misleading as almost all Maldivian teachers in secondary schools will be teaching two subjects – Dhivehi Language and Islam – which could not be taught by foreigners. In the sample, the figures for Indians and Sri Lankans in secondary schools are exactly same – 79%. The few teachers from other countries are also not far behind as their percentage is 77.8 at this level. Expatriates are not only dominant in secondary schools but they are also well represented in primary schools or in primary sections of the schools. Table 6.1 depicts the total picture quite clearly.
Table 6.1: Nationality of teachers by levels (primary/secondary)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Primary (Gr. 1 – 7)</th>
<th>Secondary (Gr. 8 – 12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of expatriates and locals in both primary and secondary schools are shown in Table 6.2. According to the sample (S=500) available to this research, 78.1% of all secondary teachers are expatriates leaving only 21.9% for the locals. Furthermore, as one of the senior officials (S02) informed this research the locals teach mainly Islam and Dhivehi Language. Contrary to what may have been generally perceived by the Maldivian people a large proportion of expatriate teachers in this sample teach in primary schools. In fact more than a quarter (26.9%) of primary teachers are expatriates.

Table 6.2: Teacher representation in primary & secondary schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Primary (Gr. 1 – 7)</th>
<th>Secondary (Gr. 8 – 12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate teachers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 appears to explain one factor contributing to a large presence of expatriate teachers especially in secondary schools. 93.6% of Maldivian teachers in the sample are either trained non graduates (78.1%) or unqualified teachers (15.5%) who could not be accommodated to teach a specialist subject like Mathematics or English Language. The rest (6.4%) are the graduates trained (2.7%) or untrained (3.7%). Table 6.3 also shows a high percentage (57.1%) of trained non graduates from Sri Lanka teaching in Maldivian schools. This study was not able to learn the reasons for the presence of so many non graduates from Sri Lanka. It could be a problem of
recruitment or it could even be historical as the modern education system in the Maldives, to begin with, was staffed by Sri Lankans who taught all school subjects except Dhivehi and Religious knowledge.

Table 6.3: Qualifications of teachers by nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Trained graduates</th>
<th>Untrained graduates</th>
<th>Trained non graduates</th>
<th>Unqualified teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on this sample, the figures in Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 show a need for training of Maldivian teachers. Even if 78.1% of expatriate secondary teachers could not be replaced in the near future 26.9% (both figures from Table 6.2) of the expatriates teaching, perhaps, in primary schools could to be replaced by focussing on training of suitable Maldivians. 15.5% of unqualified local teachers may also have to be trained and at least some of the teachers from 78.1% non graduates (both figures from Table 6.3) might also have to be upgraded.

Teachers themselves have indicated a lack of trained or competent Maldivian teachers as a problem of teacher supply. Nearly 24% (23.8) of the teachers who made comments on problems have stated that the lack of trained Maldivians is a problem. Table 6.4 shows the general feeling of teachers on lack of trained Maldivians as a problem of teacher supply.
Table 6.4: Lack of trained Maldivians as a problem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Total No</th>
<th>Perceived the problem No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Teachers</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total/Final</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When it was asked from the Maldivians who had left teaching, what advice they would like to give the Ministry of Education, 6 of them (sample = 17) emphasised the urgent need to train suitable Maldivians as teachers. It is of interest to note at this point that 13 of Maldivians who had left teaching were trained graduates showing, firstly, the importance of retaining these trained graduates and, secondly, the difficulty of retaining them in the school system.

The same question was asked of those expatriate teachers who resigned at the end of 2003. Their comments regarding training and professional development are summarised here (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Advice to local teachers by expatriates who resigned in 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advice</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Get training as secondary teachers to replace expatriates</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve English and acquire knowledge and skills</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other advice</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These observations were by the resigning teachers who have seen and observed Maldivian teachers and their performance for several years. Therefore, these observations could be particularly valuable for taking effective action. However, the present Maldivian teachers could not be trained as secondary teachers as most of them
would not have the necessary educational background. Only the higher secondary students will qualify directly for the training.

This study reached 56 students (a sample of about 10% of the second-year students) who were about to complete their higher secondary education (see Chapter 5.8). Only 3 (5.4% of the sample) expressed any interest in teaching. Whist one of them was looking for teaching as an interesting career, the other two wanted to take it as their duty to help the school and the students. One of them noted:

"Sufficient Maldivian professional teachers are not available in our school. Students need good educated teachers" (S36)

This study asked the students to give reasons for not selecting teaching as an occupation. Table 6.6 presents these reasons. The reasons stated by a single student are grouped as ‘other reasons’. As this table clearly shows, teaching is not liked by many students. Moreover, teaching is seen as a difficult job bringing very little income.

Table 6.6: Students' reasons for not choosing teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I never liked teaching to be my occupation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching is a tough job</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't have the aptitude for teaching</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since childhood this [occupation] is my dream</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough income</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These responses suggest how difficult it may be to convince them to become teachers. Certain other conditions appear to be crucial as incentives to attract high quality students “or else teaching will continue to remain more of an option for those students who are not good enough to get into any other profession – a second or third choice for less-than-the-best candidates” (TL5).
However, one of the senior officials (SO1) from the Ministry of Education who was interviewed for this study views the problem of training from a contrasting perspective. This section is concluded with his reaction to the problem. The senior official (SO1) noted:

"I think basically, one of the gaps we have is the fact that we don't have sufficient number of placements for students who wish to take up teaching as a career. It is extremely expensive for students to travel outside the country to get basic training. So far as possible we are trying to expand the types of scholarships and funding opportunities available for students who wish to travel outside of the country and to expand the scope of the programmes within the country" (SO1: 1.2)

6.3. Work

Teaching is a tough job (very hard work) as perceived by 19.6% of the students who responded to this study (Table 6.6). The responses from the current teachers illuminate the nature and the load of work that teachers undertake both during the week and holidays. Some of them are listed below.

"Teachers spend a lot of time on planning, preparation, correcting students' books, project work and extra-curricular activities" (T333, T258 & T402);

"Teachers in this school work for more than 51 periods [a period is 35 minutes] a week" (T97, T98 & T99);

"Teachers have to work continuously for 6 periods without a break. This doesn't bring out the full potential in them" (T396 & T399);

"Teachers work in two shifts" (T398);

"Teachers have to spend about 10 hours a day on normal work and extra-curricular activities" (T89 & T100);

"Teachers have a lot of work to do in schools during normal school hours, in the night, and during the vacation and public holidays" (T196 & T422);

"Sometimes even if we are not in school we take home our work" (T383);

"As teachers we are working very hard to give service to the country and we don't even spend enough time with the family" (T151);

"A teacher has very less time for leisure" (T227);
"Unlike doctors, a teacher treats several patients at the same time. If the patients are not properly treated it might break a community" (T214);

"We are teachers; our work is to teach not to do other things like cleaning, repairing, washing, etc." (T72 & T74).
It appears from these remarks that teachers in the Maldives work longer than other government workers; the latter category are required to work 7 hours a day and will sometimes have the flexibility of moving around during the working hours. Teachers, on the other hand, work 10 hours a day (T89 & T100), often continuously without a break for at least 6 periods (T396 and T399); they also work in the night, during public holidays and also in their vacation (T196 & T422). Table 6.7 confirms the position of those teachers who said that teachers work for 10 hours a day (i.e. T89 & T100). Table 6.7 is based on data provided by all the teachers. They were asked to give the data separately on classroom-related work and extra-curricular activities. The monthly mean for classroom related work is 155.8 hours while the mean for the extra-curricular activities is 41.6. These two figures, when combined, give a total of 197.4 per month which means that in the Maldives teachers work 45.9 hours per week (divide monthly figure by 4.3 weeks in a month). We also get 9.2 hours per day if we divide the weekly figure by 5 working days.

Table 6.7: No. of hours teachers spend in school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Hours/month</th>
<th>Hours/week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching related work</td>
<td>155.8</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra-curricular activities</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>197.4</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As teachers undertake many other activities in school, apart from teaching, the headteachers were requested to specify this work. The following activities have been noted by the headteachers regarding teachers' extra work the school:

- Involvement in the activities of cadetting, scouting and school band (reported by 14 of 17);
- Involvement in the activities of clubs like swimming and environment (reported by 14 of 17);
- Involvement in house activities and sports (reported by 14 of 17);
• Filling in records, checking neatness/cleanliness, organising class level activities, training students for interschool activities and helping students with prayer recitals (reported by 1 of 17).

The teachers expressed the need to distribute the work equally among all the teachers. Some of these comments are listed below.

“Good teachers are always given more work than others without any incentives. Every teacher gets the same salary and good teachers get discouraged, sometimes, after the hard and dedicated work since most other teachers do less work and enjoy all the benefits available whereas good teachers are burdened with grade 10 and 12 where they have to produce results for nothing extra “(T25 & T23);

“Classes should be equally divided among teachers so that almost all the teachers have the same amount of work and benefits” (T197);

“Our work is not appreciated by the community. They don’t realise that we think of their welfare all the time – even have dreams about them” (T383);

“There is no incentive for dedicated work” (T21 & others);

“Sincere and dedicated work should be appreciated and rewarded” (T138 & others);

“A good teacher should be recognised, appreciated and rewarded” (T341);

“Teachers build the people of the nation. The quality of their work depends on the encouragement that the nation gives to them” (T323).

Sixty teachers (12% of the sample of 500) have made specific comments regarding the difficult conditions of work. Table 6.8 highlights the issues and the extent of their anxiety over those issues.

Table 6.8: Responses of teachers on problems related to work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response type</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hard work</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult conditions of work</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of recognition, appreciation and incentives</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unequal distribution of work among the teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Multiple responses from open-ended section of teacher questionnaire
It is crucial to note, at this stage, that 4 past Maldivian teachers (out of the sample of 17) have stated that 'hard work' in schools as a reason for leaving the schools. They have advised the schools not to overload the teachers with extra-curricular activities and not to force teachers to work during school holidays as it is one of the incentives for teachers to continue in teaching (TL.5). They also remind the schools to recognise dedicated work and to offer incentives verbally or through a signed statement issued, if monetary incentives are not within the limits of the schools (TL.7).

Some of the present teachers might soon follow the teachers who have already left. They too make a note of the amount of hard work teachers do during the academic year with little or no time to spend with the family (T200 & T201). They also note:

"Compared to the hard work the teachers have to do the salary is very less. That is one reason why teachers are changing to other jobs" (T200 & T201).

6.4. Status

This study has asked the headteachers, currently employed teachers, and from those teachers resigning in 2003, how well they thought teachers were regarded by the parties noted in Table 6.9. They were asked to respond on a 4-point (1-very low, 2-Low, 3-high and 4-very high). Table 6.9 shows the combined figures for very low and low regard from this data.

Headteachers appear to be very positive about the status awarded to teachers by the school, students and the parents as the percentages in these categories are nil or very small whist they tend to show a modest agreement with the view of the teachers on other categories which also include the Ministry of Education. The students rank highest (73.3%) in their low regard to their own teachers in view of the resigning teachers. In view of the teachers (present and resigning the parents and the community attribute a lower status to the teachers. All three groups (represented by Table 6.9) have felt quite strongly that teachers are not awarded a high status by the island authorities (this body consist of island chiefs and their assistants).
Table 6.9: Low status awarded to teachers in view of the headteachers and teachers-present and resigned in 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Headteachers (out of sample 15)</th>
<th>Present Teachers (out of sample 500)</th>
<th>Resigned teachers (out of sample 17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island administration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers also have expressed their views regarding the status given to teachers in the Maldives. Some of their comments are listed below.

"Teaching is a noble profession. Teachers should be treated nobly" (T34);

"In [my country] teaching is a noble profession but over the years that I have been here it is different. Perhaps as years go by you get respect I guess" (T47);

"We as teachers compared to India or Sri Lanka are not respected by students, parents and other locals" (T64);

"Things are slowly declining as a whole whether it is respect on teachers or any other thing and I am really sorry to give this comment" (T354);

"Teachers should not be let down at home and students should be taught that teachers are respected people. Then only will the students respect them" (T245).

These statements show that teachers are less respected by students in the Maldives than they were in either India or Sri Lanka. Apparently these attitudes are developed from within the community. Data from the teachers who were resigning in 2003 appear to support this view. Many of their responses (73% & 60%) indicate low respect to teachers by students along with the community (Table 6.9).
This study has enquired from elderly scholars (ES) in the Maldives about the status of the teachers during the present time and the past. From a sample of 9 scholars 7 responded to this question. Table 6.10 displays a summary of their responses. The percentage points are based the total sample.

All but one scholar stated that the status of teachers during the present time is very low representing 66.7% of the sample. ES2 considers the status of teachers even at this time as high. For this scholar, the outer-island teachers are held in high regard in the community.

Table 6.10: Status of teachers in the Maldives during different periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Very high status (of sample 9) No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>High status (of sample 9) No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Low status (of sample 9) No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Very low status (of sample 9) No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present period</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the past</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elderly scholars also gave some reasons for the low regard of the teachers. Their views are presented in Table 6.11. The low standard of education (55.6% of the responses) tops the list followed by low moral standard and behaviour (44.4%). The scholars also think that lack of commitment to work also contributes to low status.

Table 6.11: Reasons for low regard to teachers in view of the interviewed scholars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low standard of education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low moral standard and behaviour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of commitment to work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As most teachers are very young when they start teaching</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As there are too many teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As there are many foreigners as teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of government policies</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• 2 scholars did not participate in this. But % is based on the sample size (9)
One scholar (ES3) stated that government policies were a contributing factor to low regard for teachers. This scholar notes:

"The government could raise the status of teachers if they wanted to. According to the present policies, for example, they could not give promotion to teachers, keeping them as teachers. This is one of the reasons why educated and well qualified competed teachers are leaving teaching profession to work in other sectors where they are well recognised and/or highly paid." (ES3)

This study requested a senior official (SO2) to describe the status of teachers in the hierarchical structure of government posts. According to him (SO2), teachers and other government staff are on two different hierarchical structures and so their status cannot be compared. A teacher training certificate does not qualify a person to be posted as an official of a government department. It is the other qualifications which are counted if such a situation arises. A teacher (irrespective of experience or achievement) without at least two passes at the Ordinary Level of a recognised examination board (e.g. London & Cambridge) would not qualify to become a secretary to an official of a government department (SO2) although a secretary’s post in the government is a lower ranking post. However, a teacher without this qualification can become an assistant to a secretary or a clerk (further down the hierarchy) like any other person without any educational qualification.

Collective bargaining may be a strategy that teachers may mobilize under difficult circumstances. This study asked the teachers and headteachers if there was any association or union in the Maldives to fight collectively to safeguard teachers’ interests. 64.3% (9) headteachers and 99% (488) of teachers who responded to this question have reported to this study that teachers’ interests are not represented collectively in the Maldives. One teacher (T446) notes:

"I think it will be very beneficial for teachers to have an association or a union to fight for us and for our needs [interests]." (T446)

I note with some pride here, that the present writer and two other colleagues have managed with much difficulty to form a collective body for teachers as “Professional Association of Teachers” in 2005. By now the membership has grown to 900 and further efforts will be made to organize the body, increase the membership and improve the situation of the teachers.
6.5. Pay

This section begins with an illustration of the pay structure and hierarchy for teachers in the Maldives (Table 6.12) to make it simple for the reader to understand and make sense of the views expressed by teachers regarding salary and allowances. As Table 6.12 demonstrates teachers in the Maldives have 5 grades in the hierarchy. Grades 1 & 2 comprise unqualified teachers - mainly Maldivians – hence no allowances are allocated there. Maldivian teachers are paid no allowances though they were paid a teacher allowance until November 19, 1996 (SO2, 18/5/2003, p.7). However, all government employees with a training certificate or an academic degree, irrespective of the work, job or occupation get a certificate allowance ('professional') or degree ('higher education') allowance.

Table 6.12: Basic monthly pay structure and hierarchy for teachers in the Maldives (2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Grade</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Basic Salary (MRF)</th>
<th>Foreign Teacher Living allowance (MRF)</th>
<th>Foreign teacher allowance (MRF)</th>
<th>Foreign teacher allowance (MRF)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assistant teachers - O/L 2 passes</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Temporary teachers - 2 passes Teacher Training Certificate (at least 1 Year)</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A graduate in a subject taught in school</td>
<td>2110</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A graduate with teacher training qualification</td>
<td>2340</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2560</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* £1 = 26.42 MR (1/12/2007)

This study now presents the views of expatriate teachers as they compare the pay in Maldives with the pay and benefits they get in their respective countries or in the countries they have most recently worked. Regarding the pay in the Maldives, one teacher (T25) has the following to say:
"The pay is fairly high compared to a school in [my country]. But the living allowance is not sufficient as the things are expensive on these islands. A government teacher [in my country] gets around 4000 – 20000 Rupees per month. In the Maldives they get around 6000.00 Maldivian Rufiyaa per month if they work in an atoll school (inclusive of allowances). Due to the differences in foreign currency exchange rates a teacher [from my country] gets around 29,000.00 Rupees [in the Maldives] as 'take home salary' after spending living allowance and the food allowances (MRF 1950.00) in full in the island itself." (T25)

In view of T12, salary is high in the Maldives but teachers have many other benefits in their countries which are not available in the Maldives. He notes:

"I was working as a teacher in a government school in [my country]. There the salary was 1/3 of that here. But when the expenses like house rent (which I didn't have to pay as I was living in my own house) and living expenses are paid they exceed the allowances. Here, as I am on annual contract there are no service benefits. In [my country] we get pension after retirement and also there is an annual increment during the period of service." (T12)

16 expatriate teachers (T51 & others) have compared teacher's salaries in their country/countries with that of the Maldives. In those countries the salary is slightly less for a government teacher while they have several other benefits. They might not want to lose the job by coming to the Maldives. The following statement is a summary of their views:

"Government salary is reasonable but it is slightly less than in the Maldives (excluding pension and other benefits and advantages such as contributing to a provident fund, loan facilities at an incredibly low interest rate, increment every year, higher grades after completing certain number of years of service and promotion to higher posts). A person with a government post will not come for employment as getting a government job is difficult [in my country]." (T51 and 15 other teachers)

The views of the expatriate teachers are summarised in Table 6.13. According to this data 43.2% of the teachers (120) revealed that the pay in the Maldives is better than the pay they get in their countries while 25.9% of them (72) stated that it is almost the same. Seven per cent (6.5%) of the teachers (18) said that the pay is less for experienced teachers in the Maldives.
Table 6.13: Maldives pay compared within the regional market by expatriates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summarised responses of the teachers</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>% of sample (278)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – teachers' pay is better than my country</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – teachers' pay is almost the same as my country</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – teachers' pay is less for experienced teachers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My country – government pay is reasonable but slightly less than Maldives.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But we get pension, other benefits and advantages such as contributing to the provident fund, loan facilities at low rate, annual increment, higher grades after certain no. of years, promotion, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – pay is more or less same as government school but much less than well established private schools and international schools in India</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – pay is better than government schools and less than the prestigious private schools and international schools in Sri Lanka</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives – pay is almost same as federal and provincial government schools in Pakistan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India – government teachers get Rs 10,000 -25,000 monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka – government teachers get around Rs 4,000 - 20,000 monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan – government teachers get Rs 10,000 - 20,000 monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutan – teachers’ pay is about 60% of the Maldivian pay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 MRF =3.08 INR; 1 MRF =8.60 PKR; 1 MRF=4.77PKR (1/12/2007)

This study will now focus on the adequateness of the salary paid in the Maldives to cover the monthly living expenses for the teachers. 495 teachers have responded to this question. A summary of their responses are presented in Table 6.14 by nationality. The responses received as 'barely adequate' and 'not adequate' are combined in the table. The percentages are on the total sample size (500).

The data in Table 6.14 seems to suggest that the Maldivian teachers are hardest hit by the inadequateness of the salary. Nearly two-thirds (65.4%) of the Maldivian teachers have said that their salary is either 'barely adequate' or 'not adequate' to meet their monthly expenses. 55.8% of Sri Lankans too report their salary as barely adequate or not adequate while the corresponding figure for the Indian teachers is 44.4%.
Table 6.14: Teacher responses on adequateness of salary in the Maldives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Adequate No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Barely &amp; not adequate %</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teachers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adequateness of the salary paid in the Maldives to meet the monthly expenses may have implications for teacher supply. Teachers who have commented on problems of teacher supply have stated salary as a problem of teacher supply in the Maldives. Table 6.15 summarises their responses by nationality. Others represent Pakistani teachers one French teacher and 3 teachers who have not stated the nationality. Sri Lankan and Indian teachers appear to feel very strongly about the impact of the salary on teacher supply. The responses from 55.8%, 51.1% and 35.6% of Sri Lankan, Indian and Maldivian teachers respectively demonstrate the importance of an adequate wage for teachers if the schools are to recruit and retain competent teachers.
Table 6.15: Teachers responses about salary as a problem to teacher supply

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>No responded</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers who commented on problems of teacher supply in the Maldives appeal to the authorities to consider revision of the pay for acceptable reasons. Their claims are based on the work they do, the quality of education, and because of the rising cost of living and the devaluation of Maldivian Rufiyaa in 2001. Their comments are listed below as they demonstrate the situation of the teachers more vividly.

**Work**

"Teachers have to be paid for the amount of hard work they do" (T323, T340, T284, T78 & T73)

**Quality**

"An attractive pay revision will encourage competent locals and expatriates to be working as teachers so that the quality of education could be improved" (T290)

**Cost of living**

"Cost of living has increased every where. So the scale of pay has to be revised" (T177, T191, T247, T276 & T360);

"We are paid MRF 1000.00 as ‘home rent’ allowance but all we get is just a room for the amount. Paying MRF 100.00 to expatriate teachers towards dependent allowance and charging a visa fee of MRF 250.00 sounds very unfair" (T242);

"Teachers should be given decent accommodation and better pay scale as the cost of living in the Maldives is very high" (T372);

"Accommodation is a major problem. Teachers are forced to give tuition to make for any savings at all" (T248).

**Devaluation**

"I would like to draw attention of the authorities about the need for a revision of pay due to the devaluation of MRF in June 2001" (T32)

**Better pay in some other countries**
“Compared to other countries who recruit expatriate teachers pay in the Maldives is less. In those countries it is possible to earn $1000 a month or more” (T187);

“When good teachers get better opportunities they leave as monetary benefits are not good here while teachers have a heavy work-load” (T245);

“Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry teachers are leaving because of higher income elsewhere” (T302).

This research has discovered that 76.5% of the Maldivians who left teaching were graduates with teacher training qualifications and that 31.3% of them left because of low pay. 11.8% of the higher secondary students also have stated that they were angry about the low pay and 21.6% of them gave hard work as a reason for rejecting teaching.

6.6. Back to teaching

According to one foreign teacher (T320) pleasant waves, pure oxygen and true affection of the people of the Maldives are a source of attraction to the Maldives. The pleasant natural environment may have contributed to the well-being of teachers on these islands. This study asked the teachers to rate their life on the islands from a range of 1 to 4 (1 being very uncomfortable, 2 – uncomfortable, 3 – comfortable and 4 – very comfortable). Table 6.16 represents the combined views of teachers who have indicated life as ‘comfortable’ or ‘very comfortable’. As it is shown in the table, a very high percentage of teachers from the three major countries (Maldives, India and Sri Lanka) felt that their life was either ‘comfortable’ or ‘very comfortable’.

Table 6.16: Responses of teachers for comfortable life on the islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>No. responded</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>76.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teachers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In response to the questionnaire designed to identify problems of teacher supply in the Maldives, 3% (10 teachers) of those who made comments have specifically stated that they are satisfied with the conditions of work, status and the pay in the Maldives. One teacher (T53), for example, said the following:

"I am happy to be teaching Maldivian students as it expands the boundaries of my career" (T53)

This study has asked teachers whether, if they had a chance to choose again, they would choose to be a teacher in the Maldives. Table 6.17 summarises the views of teachers on this question. It shows that 78.1%, 78.2%, 67.4% and 69.2% of Maldivians, Indians, Sri Lankans and others respectively are apparently prepared to become teachers in the Maldives if there is an opportunity for them to decide again. The table also shows a very small number of teachers who would not join if they had to choose once again. Among Sri Lankan teachers, a significant percentage (27.9) is undecided.

Table 6.17: Responses of teachers about a possible decision to come again

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Responses to 'Yes'</th>
<th>Responses to 'No'</th>
<th>Response to 'Don’t know'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldivian teachers (219)</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian teachers (225)</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan teachers (43)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teachers (13)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same question was asked of teachers who were resigning at the end of 2003; Table 6.18 summarises their responses. As we can observe from the table, resigning teachers are more positive about a possible return to teaching in the Maldives. 86.6% of them will choose to come should they get a chance.
Table 6.18: Possible return of the resigning teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response of teachers</th>
<th>No from sample of 15</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, definitely</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, definitely not,</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The resigning teachers in 2003 do not include Maldivians as information was not available at the time of data collection in April, May and September in 2003. Thus data presented in Table 6.18 are all from expatriate teachers. Nevertheless, this study was able to attain the views of the Maldivian who left teaching in schools before 2003. In fact they were asked if they could be encouraged to go back to teaching in schools. Table 6.19 summarises their responses. 70.6% of those who responded (12) have said they would definitely not go back to schools to teach whilst 3 of them (17.6%) said they could consider with changed conditions. Those who said they might reconsider, think teaching to be rewarding. They could go back to teaching if career prospects and chances of scholarships are high and if circumstances require them (TL1, TL7 & TL10).

Table 6.19: Possible return of the Maldivian who left teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses of the Maldivians</th>
<th>No. from sample 17</th>
<th>% of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, with conditions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, definitely not</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a very large percentage of Maldivians who have left teaching have stated that they are definitely not going back, it is necessary for this study to go back to the reasons given by them. Reasons seemed to be based on their own experiences. Those that relate more closely to teaching and schools are listed below to end this section as it could be a key information to be considered as we attempt to resolving problems of teacher supply in the Maldives.
"Teaching does not appear to be very easy for me" (TL2);

"Heavy workload (setting papers, marking large number of papers/books); extra curricular activities; most of the weekends are occupied (for extra curricular activities)" (TL16);

"Teaching is a routine job with limited scope for my preferred self development" (TL17);

"I will be paid less if I returned to school as a teacher" (TL3);

"This is a better job" (TL4) in view of the present job;

"The same basic problems exist as when I left teaching; teaching large groups of students most of whom do not want to study and do not want to be in school is not very satisfying" (TL5);

"Not with the present situation in schools" (TL11).

6.7. Conclusion

The large amount of data received from the teachers (present and past) and the other sources described in chapter 3 illuminate the complex world of teachers’ situations in the Maldives. As the sample of the teachers for this study were stratified into Male’ and the outer islands and then randomly selected, the composition came out like this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Islands</th>
<th>Male’</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldivians</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriates</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>*497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*497 because of the missing data

According to the present sample it is a world dominated by expatriate teachers not only because Maldivians are unqualified to teach key subjects in the secondary schools but also because the Maldives does not have accomplished primary teachers capable of teaching all the subjects from year one-to-seven. In fact, in this sample, expatriates constitute 78.1% and 26.9% of all secondary and primary teachers respectively (Table 6.2). Moreover, 93.6% of Maldivian teachers in this sample do not have any graduate qualifications although it may be necessary, especially, for secondary schools. Furthermore, 15.5% of teachers do not have any training.

These teachers, Maldivian or expatriates, work hard and spend several hours on planning, preparation, correcting students’ books, project work and engage
themselves in extra-curricular activities. They work in the night, during public holidays and also in their vacation. Whilst teachers have a heavy load of work, as in England (see Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002) and in the Member States of the European Community (Neave, 1992: 96) the salary regime (MRF 2560 = £ 96.90 p/m) of the Maldivian teachers is too weak to stand on its own and attract higher achievers. The higher secondary students who provided data to this study said they will not become teachers as teaching is hard work without an adequate income. The higher education students comprise a very small pool in the Maldives. Unless the authorities take proactive measures education will easily be deprived of the most competent people in the country. Other countries have come up with new proposals to introduce new measures to attract competent graduates and to retain them. In England, for example, a package of new measures, including a proposal to link pay and appraisal, have been put into practice (see Menter, et al, 2004 and Mahony et al, 2004). The School Teachers Review Body (STRB) was established under the School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act in 1991 as an advisory body to examine the pay, duties and other conditions of work (OECD, 2005: 145; Menter, et al, 2004).

As we saw from the data presented in this chapter the teachers have pleaded to the authorities to review their conditions of work and pay regime with good reasons. If the authorities are genuinely concerned about the problems of teacher supply, some kind of an independent body needs to be created to study the issues of teachers’ work, status and market situations. The action, not words, must speak for itself.
PART III

PLACING TEACHERS' WORK IN WIDER HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT - AGAIN
CHAPTER 7
UNDERSTANDING A FURTHER BASIS FOR THE HISTORICAL NEGLECT OF EDUCATION

7.1 Introduction

“Well done! Now give me your suggestions and recommendations for action!” will be the positive response from the Honourable Minister as I present the findings of this study described in the previous 3 chapters. I may well be rewarded by a promotion for the painstaking efforts made over the last 4 years to uncover the problems of teacher supply.

I have uncovered shocking realities pertaining to the outer islands such as a dire shortage of physical and educational facilities and unfavourable living conditions. All these undermine the possibilities of recruiting and retaining competent teachers in the outer islands. The school environment is exposed to be unsuitable to perform the critical function assigned to them. The management in charge of the schools nevertheless tends toward finding faults and threatening teachers rather than supporting them in difficult situations. The Ministry of Education, for their part, has shown no real predilection to listening to the grievances of the teachers, the schools and the communities they serve. Above all, the society, by and large, downgrades teachers and treats them like ‘tomatoes’. Student discipline appears to be horrendous and many competent teachers are forced to leave schools and the Maldives due to ‘disruptive and savage behaviour’ of the students. In essence their status and work situations are impossible.

Yet, despite this, I have also witnessed that teachers spend a lot of time (almost 12 hours a day) on planning, preparation, teaching, marking students’ books, project works and engaging in extra and co-curricular activities for which they are paid a meagre salary. According to the teacher-salary structure of 2003, the highest paid Maldivian teacher only gets a basic salary of MRF2560 (£96.90) per month whereas a salary of at least MRF15,000 (£567.75) will be a suitable salary based on the study the present writer carried out for the Villa College, Male’.
In respect of these and other problems, an author of this kind of work may be in a position to write several papers of recommendations (See Neave, 1992; Eurydice, 2002; Menter, et al, 2002; Menter, et al, 2004a; Menter, et al, 2004b; OECD, 2005; and UNESCO, 2006). In fact, the Maldivian government did commission eminent people of authority to study the problems and make recommendations for improvement (see Rawlinson and Masters, 1993). Such recommendations do not appear to have done much by way of either improving the conditions of teachers or the recruitment and retention of competent Maldivian teachers. In the light of these experiences I am compelled to take a different stance with regard to the outcome of this study. I began to believe! 'Alas! These are not real causes of the problems'. They are not self created problems as there are structures and underlying causes giving rise to them. That is why I have decided to locate these events within a wider historical, political and social setting and enquire into the social relations and frameworks that give rise to these practices and events (Robertson, 2000; Cox and Sinclair, 1996 and Dale, 1994) rather than adopt a problem solving approach which in essence would limit the scope of understanding and isolate the problems. In short, my preferred option is the critical theory approach (see Cox, 1996, Cox and Sinclair, 1996; Robertson, 2000). I am using a critical theory approach for detecting and unmasking the beliefs and practices that limit the freedom and justice for all (see Usher, 1996). The purpose is also to help me think about what might be the basis for enlightening and empowering not only the teachers but also the villagers (see Fay, 1993).

I am compelled to believe that the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives could not be fully understood without actually knowing the education background of the people who inhabit these islands (see Dale, 1994). In essence, I will be arguing that in order to understand this situation we need to see how this problem was created. The dearth of information and lack of informed scholars made this task almost impossible. However, with the support of the sources cited in chapter 3 it was possible to gather some useful information about education and the conditions of the Maldivian people drawing also from true example of people of Haadhoo described at the outset.

The information is collected from very reliable sources but it could be incomplete and may contain several gaps which need to be filled. Nevertheless, the pathetic status of education and the limited awareness of the Maldivian people are revealed in the rest of the chapter purely from the present writer's own perspective. Indeed they can be
challenged and criticized from a different perspective. The purpose of this presentation is to illuminate the background (see Dale, 1994) that will provide a useful basis for understanding the real causes. At the same time, I recognise the fact that this controversial analysis of the situation creates space for severe criticism from some affluent quarters of our society. But the writer is prepared to take the challenge and face the consequences.

7.2. The Sociological Analysis

The Maldives does not have a caste system. However, as far back as Maldivian could remember, the society has been stratified in one form or another. According to the elderly scholars who provided information to this research, it is a general belief among the people of Male' that the outer-island folks have several cultural deficiencies and so they are not considered as equals (ES2, ES3 & ES5). These folks are referred to, in the local dialect, as "beerathehin" which literally means strangers in English while the young people, especially, the girls, in Male' are discouraged from getting married to those folks (ES2 & ES3).

As I have stated in Chapter 3 (section 3.4), I had the opportunity of surveying the records of the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research with the assistance of some senior officials. During the first period I had number of occasions to discuss the educational issues recorded as history of the 20th Century with one of the co-authors - Ahmed Shakir - of the collections. During these discussions the seeds of the present discussion were sown in my mind and I studied them in depth with the help of the elderly scholars. In fact, they were a constant source of support and inspiration to me as many of them (e.g. ES2, ES3 & ES5) kept feeding me consistently to this date.

For the present analysis, and based on the discussions and advice received at the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research and the data from the elderly scholars, I have located the people in the Maldives into four stratified classes or castes, as in India. In the case of the first two categories I could not find suitable English words to replace them - i.e. "Nikametheen" and "Gabulhi-Katheebun".
However, with the following descriptions, the reader should be able to identify the group of the people in each category.

- 'Nikametheen': this consists of ordinary fishermen, field workers in the cultivation of crops, general servants and many other people lower down in the income scale or status. Over 80% of the population in the past could be categorised in this lower class.

- 'Gabulhi-Katheebun': this class consists of island chiefs, ‘naaib’ (magistrates), ‘mudhimu’ (muezzin), store keeper of the community store house, owners of fishing boats, recognised owners of large number of coconut palms and other precious trees (mainly breadfruit and timber) and the middle class in Male'. About 15% of the people may fall into this class.

- The ‘intellectual warriors’: this is a unique group of people. Strictly speaking, they do not come from a particular class per se and they may have been drawn from any fold of the society. What is special about them is that having realised the value of education they have sacrificed their families and their lives - first to acquire knowledge and then disperse it. Their percentage can vary from time to time. As this is a very small number a figure could not be ascertained.

- The Royals: These are the royals and the other members of the ruling class in Male'. They will probably constitute a very small percentage and here again no particular figure is established.

In this chapter the development of education during this period will be looked at under the above mentioned classes as each of them, apparently, have had a different taste for it. This will be followed by a link to the present period where some of the recent developments are highlighted. The chapter will be concluded by a summary.

7.3. Nikametheen

This class of people constitute the masses. There is basically no information available about the real status of education for the masses. I have gone through the pages of
writings of historian like Ahmed-Manik (1978) and Hussain-Manik (1984) to look for any traces of basic education in the Maldives. Apparently some form of religious education was given by the past Kings and Queens as a duty to the God Almighty through reading of *Naib Faiy Kolhu* which is read, ironically, like a sermon at a mass gathering on the 6th day of the 7th month of the Islamic Calendar (NCLHR, 2001). It talks of basic rituals and practices that the subjects are required to follow. (ES5).

Buddhism may have brought along with it some enlightenment but with the conversion to Islam those values would have lost significance. Learning ‘Thaana’ scrip would not have served any purpose at all as there were no books or any other material published or even written in Dhivehi (see Ismail-Didi, 1961:7). Then, the truth of the matter is that the masses of the people who inhabited these islands were illiterate during this period and remained without any benefits of enlightenment prevalent elsewhere in the world including the closest neighbour, Sri Lanka. The historian, Hussain-Manik (1984) gives a vivid comparison of the situation of the Maldives in 1933 with Sri Lanka.

In 1933, Mohamed Ismail Didi, the distinguished Maldivian scholar and the historian was sitting on the veranda of the “Zion House” in High Street, Colombo. As he sat there countless number of children carrying school bags passed this house daily, making him wonder about his own children back in Male’ (Ismail-Didi, 1933 was quoted by Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23). He thought of his children and wondered that all children of their ages went to school in Ceylon, possibly without any exception. As Ismail-Didi (1933) was thinking about the future of his own children he was struck by the efforts made and the amount of money spent by the then Ceylonese government on education while the country was still under foreign rule, (Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23). Unlike Ceylon, the Maldives has been ruled by their own people over 800 years, and so no wonder Mohamed Ismail-Didi (1933) asked himself if the ruling dynasties have ever spent anything to educate *children in Male’* (ibid, italics: present writer). He thought they were not under any foreign power but the minds of their children were stained with apprehension and timidity as the air they breathe in was not free from suppression (ibid).
Hussain-Maniku (1984) claims that Ismail-Didi's (1933) account of the status of education at that time could not be anything but truth as he belonged to the then ruling dynasty. Furthermore, if we probe the deeper meanings of the feelings expressed by Mohamed Ismail Didi, the following interpretations could be made.

- By 1933, in Sri Lanka at some level, most probably at the primary level and possibly, at the secondary level, education was almost universal and state funded;
- At this time, Male' lying only about 400 kilometres away from Sri Lanka, had no provision of general education at all;
- Ismail-Didi thought of *children in Male'* and so it shows the place the outer-island children had in the minds of the ruling class and the people of Male';
- Though the prestigious learning centre called Al Madhurasathul Saniyya (now Majeediyya School) had apparently been established in 1927 (see Mohamed, 2003 for the date) six years later in 1933 not even the children of the royals had schooling there. Most probably at that point it was not a centre for general education but a centre for matured students for Islamic Studies (see 3.3 of this chapter about Al Saniyya)

It, then, emerges as a truth that people who lived on these islands have had no education at all either to fulfil their religious duties or to improve their conditions intellectually or socially. The masses have been reduced to mere workers, toiling hard for their subsistence and for the joy, happiness and prosperity of their masters (ES5).

Probably, when Maldivians talked about education of that period, they might have meant education of the class of the people named here as 'Gabulhi-Katheebun' (ES5).

7.4 Gabulhi-Katheebun

For the Maldivian historians and writers the genesis of education in the Maldives is the conversion of its people to Islam (see Ahmed Manik, 1978 and Jameel 1985) officially in 1153AD (548H). This is indeed an axiomatic statement in the Maldives and perhaps it can never be challenged. But they may have to be reminded that these
islands were also occupied by Buddhist settlers from India who may have left their
country due to religious persecution caused by the teachings of Buddha. The official
conversion of the Maldivians to Islam marks a new epoch in the history of the
Maldives. Yet, after the conversion, the expected flurry of religious activities and
teachings has never been either reported or recorded.

The first sign of any teaching was recorded, after 530 years of conversion, in the reign
of Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar (see Jameel-Didi, 1985). In 1668AD/1078H (Jameel-Didi,
pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return from Hajj, with some inspiration, he ordered
his ‘ministers’ to open a small learning centre to give religious and Arabic education
to his subjects at the entrance of the main mosque in Male’ (see Jameel-Didi, 1985).
This tiny initiative probably did not last long after his death as the state had no
interest in the education of its citizens (Jameel-Didi, 1985).

For another two hundred years no initiative of either the government or of any
individuals has ever been reported until the beginning of the 14 th C (H). According
to Mohamed (2003), NCLHR (2001) and Jameel-Didi (1985), a bandaara edhuruge
(bandaara means state funded or owned and edhuruge is a learning house) was set up
in each of the four wards of Male’ in or around 1897AD (early 14C (H)). Education
was based on learning to read and write Arabic and Thaana script, reading of Qoran
and the basic practices of Islam (Jameel-Didi, 1985). Nothing has been said about the
students (gender, class or the number) who attended these learning houses but this
study strongly believes that they can only be male students from the class of Gabulhi-
Kathee bun (ES5). Apparently this initiative for the Gabulhi-Kathee bun of Male’ was
sustained, in one form or another, and later they were upgraded to ward schools
(ES5).

The next move was highly important. It was widely reported in almost every
document on education. That was the introduction of the so called first government
school, Al Saniyya (see Mohamed, 2003; NCLHR, 2001; Shihab, 1991b; Jameel-
Didi, 1985; Ahmed-Manik, 1978; and Hussain, 1977) in Male’ on 19 April 1927 (17-
10-1345H). The foundation of this school could indeed be a milestone and a great step
forward for the education of the ‘Gabulhi-Kathee bun’ in Male’. The evidence shows
that it was meant for matured students from the Royals and the Gabulhi-katheebun (See Ismail-Didi, 1933 in Hussain-Manik, 1984).

In the case of the outer islands very little information is documented and so we have to depend on the elderly scholars to relate the stories from the past. But the paper written by Ahmed (1984) is illuminating. In the past in all the islands “Mauloodhu and Zikuru” [in remembrance of Prophet Mohamed, his life story is read and songs in praise of him are sung in groups on many occasions and for various purposes] had been an integral part of life. The people engaged in this performance and practice were held in high esteem (Ahmed, 1984) and hence mastering the art and practice of “Mauloodhu and Zikuru” had been the main focus of education (ES1, ES3, ES4 and ES5) which is not only important for the individuals but also for the community. Without this art and practice communities were deprived of the heart and soul of life (ES5). As the art and practice of “Mauloodhu and Zikuru’ were so important in almost all islands learning centres were in place under different names – ‘edhuruge’, ‘kiyavaage’, and ‘makthab’ (ES5) for ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’. The NCLHR (2001:29) study also has mentioned some of these learning centres. But they were never meant for the ‘Nikametheen’ (ES1, ES3, ES4 and ES5)

We need to make a special note here as some kind of awareness has grown among the ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’ in Male’ during 1930s on the importance of learning a foreign language as it opened them to literature and higher levels of learning. These people began to learn English, Arabic and Urdu (ES1, ES2, ES4 and ES5) from the few scholars who have mastered these languages (warriors reported in 7.3). But these efforts were soon crushed and wiped out with force (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4 and ES5) by Hassan Fareed Didi who was the strongest leader from 2/10/1934–16/3/1944. Shihab (1997) has put it mildly about this time:

“.... the government banned teaching of all foreign languages”

This policy may have shattered of the aspiration of the few ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’ who tried to be smart by learning a foreign language. But such measures will not deter the ‘warriors’ from learning.
7.5. The ‘intellectual warriors’

I have called them the ‘intellectual warriors’. The origin of an ‘intellectual warrior’ could be traced back to any class. As opportunities are rare for the ‘Nikametheen’, most of them came from ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’. They represent distinguished scholars and learned people. The warriors traveled across the seas to other islands and across the oceans to other countries seeking knowledge, especially Arabic Language, Islamic Studies, Medicine, Philosophy, Astronomy, and Navigation. These are the people who sacrificed their lives and those of their families for education. Whenever, the Maldivians talk of education they appear to talk of these distinguished scholars, their achievement and the service they rendered to the people. But they are only a handful of people. Nevertheless the mission they accomplished by passing on, from one generation to the other, the thin thread of enlightenment without really breaking it is extra-ordinary.

After nearly half a century of total darkness (see Mohamed, 2003) the thread of enlightenment is said to have been ignited in the early 1570s (AD) by the great scholar and educator Al Sheikh Al Allama Mohamed Jamaaluddin Vaadhoo Dhanna Kaleygefaan (see Mohamed, 2003; Saeed, 1994; Shafeeq, 1992; Shihab, 1991b; Jameel-Didi, 1985; Ahmed-Manik, 1978, Hussain, 1977b and Ameen, 1951) who spend 30 years for his education in Yemen and Saudi Arabia (Jameel-Didi, 1985). Al Sheikh Jamaaluddin returned to the Maldives in the year (981H/1573AD), when the Maldives was liberated from Portuguese occupation by Utheemu Mohamed Thakurufaanu who later became Sultan Mohamed Thakurufaanu Al Aul’am (see Shihab, 1991a, Jameel-Did, 1985 and Ameen, 1951).

Soon after, Al Sheikh Jamaaluddin established himself in the Southern island of Vaadhoo with the assistance of Al Khateeb Mohamed Fadiah Thakurufaanu (island chief) and remained there until his death in 1582AD/990H (see Jameel-Didi, 1985 and Ahmed-Manik, 1978). Jamaaluddin started his work immediately and his first student was Fadiah Thakurufaanu’s son, Ali Naaib Thakurufaanu. Other students joined soon after. Among Jamaaluddin’s eminent students three outstanding and famous scholars – Huvadhoo Aboobakuru Fadiyaaru Thakurufaanu, Mohamed Shamsuddin (Addoo Bodu Fadiyaary Thakurufaanu) and Fuahmulaku Dhoondigamu Eduru Kaleygefaanu.
fly high and above the others as they were known to have worked hard to pass on the legacy of their great teacher and the scholar (see Jameel-Didi, 1985). This research has dug into this great legacy of the teachings of Jamaaluddin that was passed on by his greatest follower, Mohamed Shamsuddin Al Kabeeru (Addoo Bodufadiyaaru Thakurufaan). Saeed (1994) said, Shamsuddin to Jamaaluddin was like Aristotle to Plato.

Perhaps it is now appropriate to visit the royals to examine the educational provisions they have had during this period.

7.6. The Royals

This is actually the ruling class in the Maldives which was a product of family or dynasty rule in the Maldives (see Shihab, 1991a). A big chunk (nearly 200 years) of the Early Period has to be recorded as the reign of the famous Huraagey Dynasty which extends from 1759AD to 1957AD (see Hussain-Manik, 1984). The royals in general were taught at the royal court. They did not have to attend any learning centers as tutors came to the royal-household to teach the young royals (ES3). The tutors were chosen from and among the best of the ‘intellectual warriors’ to suit the royal requirement. Apart from the conventional knowledge and skills, the young royals also mastered such skills as marshal art and military exercises to prepare them for the vital functions of strengthening and maintaining the power and the dominance of dynasty rule (ES3 and ES5).

1887AD opens a new chapter for the education of the royals as Maldives became a British Protectorate (see Shihab, 1997 and Ahmed-Manik, 1978). Learning English Language became the training and induction for governance (see Shihab, 1991a and Jameel-Didi, 1985) and hence it was restricted to the sons of the King and Chief Ministers. Ahmed Dhoshimeyna Kilegefaanu (Mohamed Ameen Didi’s father and the great grand son of the first Maldivian who is said to have learned to speak English) was the first royal who got formal education in English (see Shihab, 1997, 1991a and Ahmed Manik, 1978). He studied at Richmond College, Gall, in Sri Lanka (ibid). Notable other royals – namely Ibrahim Faamuladheyri Kilegefaanu, Hussain Hilmy
Didi and Ahmed Kaamil Didi – hastened to go abroad for studying English (Shihab, 1997). Ibrahim Faamuladheyri Kilegegaanu first studied at St. Thomas College, Colombo, Sri Lanka and later at American College, Cairo in Egypt (ibid). Hussain Hilmy Didi and Ahmed Kaamil Didi studied in India at Poona and other cities.

The next wave of the real royals to go abroad for studying English were the following:

- Prince Hassan Izzuddin (the Sultan’s son)
- Al Ameer Mohamed Fareed Didi (the chief Minister’s eldest son)
- Al Ameer Hassan Fareed Didi (the chief Minister’s second son)
- Al Ameer Mohamed Ameen Didi (the chief Minister’s nephew)

Prince Hassan Izzuddin, Ameer Mohamed Fareed Didi and Ameer Hassan Fareed Didi studied at the Royal College, Colombo, Sri Lanka; at Lahore in India; at Cairo in Egypt, at Oxford in England and at Paris in France (see Shihab, 1997). Mohamed Ameen Didi studied at two colleges in Sri Lanka one of them being St. Joseph College and then at Aligarh University in India (ibid).

As we reach the pinnacle of the education for the royals in the Maldives it is possible to have a quick glance on the other classes especially ‘Nikametheen’ and ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’. While the royals had the best of Education in the World these classes were basically in the Dark Age (see Hussain-Manik, 1984). There were reasons for keeping the masses in dark. We quote Nunan, (1999) for just one of them.

“For many people, education is about knowledge: What it is, and how it is to be acquired by succeeding generations of learners, and thus by succeeding generations of humanity. Politically, education has been a perennial hot topic, because those who control knowledge have potential access to privilege and wealth” (Nunan, 1999: 3-4)

In this present analysis, the royals controlled education so that they could control power and maintain the dynasty rule while the warriors and Gabulhi Katheebun may have done their part, as Nunan, (1999) has pointed out, to control access to privilege and wealth as far as possible.
7.7. Charting to the present

The dark ages of no education for the masses and scant learning for the ‘Kabulhi-Katheebun’ continued until Mohamed Ameen Didi became the ruler in 1944. As MacLeod (1998) referring to Jenson’s (1990) work has pointed out, that though the actors or important persons are constrained, they are not completely limited by the social structures while they create history as do the actors in the theatre. Similarly, Ameen Didi seems to have created in an uncertain environment.

Ameen Didi, for the first time in the history of Maldives, introduced basic primary education soon after he became the effective ruler of the Maldives in 1944 (Mohamed, 2003; NCLHR, 2001; Shihab, 1991b; Jameel-Didi, 1985; Ahmed-Manik, 1978; ES1; ES2; ES3; ES4; ES5; ES6; ES8 and ES9). The island halls, used for “Mauloodhu” (see section 3.3) were quickly converted to schools (ES4) in the outer islands. On islands where competent scholars were not available, teachers from other islands were sent with suitable incentives (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5, ES6 and ES9). In Male’, ‘bandara edhuruge’ (see section 3.3) were upgraded to primary schools (see Mohamed, 2003, NCLHR, 2001 and Shihab, 1997). At the same time a division was created in Al Saniyya for girls’ education, making history (Ahmed-Manik, 1978).

These initiatives did not last long. The royals deposed Ameen Didi on 21 August 1953 (see Shihab, 1990) with violence. He died of injuries caused by the attacks on his body. Schools were stopped immediately (NCLHR, 2001). Even Majeediyya and Al Saniyya, the two prestigious schools in Male’, were affected (see Mohamed, 2003 and NCLHR, 2001).

The next move came in 1961 with the government’s decision to introduce the British Colonial System of Education (BCSE), known in Maldives as ‘English Medium Education’ and prevalent in Sri Lanka to two schools in Male’ (see Shihab, 1990 and PT1). It is a decision precipitated by a need to find suitable students to get admission into training institutions in other countries. Trained people were required in vocation like, medicine, law, business and engineering which were viewed as important for
developing Male' as a metropolitan city. This situation, in fact, gave rise to the problems of teacher supply which became the title of this work.

7.8. Summary and Conclusion

The Maldivian people, in general, were, undoubtedly, deprived of basic education, until primary education was introduced in the 1980s and 1990s (ES2). In order to describe and better understand the situation I have identified 4 distinctive groups across the population – ‘Nikametheen’, ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’, ‘the intellectual warriors’ and ‘the royals’ – to study and analyse the provisions available to the people.

‘Nikametheen’ had virtually no education until Ameen Didi’s time (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4 and ES5) but that period did not last for long. The school system created during that period collapsed as communities and the poor villagers could neither raise money nor obtain goods to support education (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4 and ES5).

Throughout the history ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’ have had some form of learning based on the needs of the communities. During the late 1930s, a rise in awareness had been noted among ‘Gabulhi-Katheebun’ in Male’ on the need for education and they began to learn foreign languages like English, Arabic and Urdu. The government soon realized the critical implications of such an endeavour and banned learning of foreign languages altogether depriving even that small group of education and enlightenment.

The absence of general education, and the deliberate marginalization and suppressions of the Maldivian people by succeeding generations of autocrats have reduced them to ‘alhun’, slaves. This is indeed a very hard statement to digest as we always claim that Maldivians are very intelligent and resourceful people. Perhaps, such a claim may hold weight in reference to the group of intellectuals called ‘intellectual warriors’ in this work. But I have several reasons for making that statement. It is accepted in general that the provision of primary education reached the outer islands, only towards the end of 1990s. If this is to be taken as a fact, then full benefits of that achievements could not have reached the masses even to this date. On this premise it could be said that the masses of the people were illiterate, ignorant and
uneducated until the 1980s. In 1933 the great Maldivian historian, Mohamed Ismail-Didi, put it on record that although Maldivian people were ruled by their own people, the ruling dynasties have never invested anything to educate the children in Male’ and so their minds were stained with apprehension and timidity as the air they breathe in was not free from suppression (Ismail-Didi, 1933 cited in Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23). The reader also saw the status of the people of Haadhoo and how Katheeb Moosa was able to manipulate the lives of all those people during the 1970s. Above all, regime after regime and one dictator after another was able to overpower the people and sink them into a state of helplessness. The people were denied access to knowledge and words that form ideas and give expression of their thought and experience so that the regimes could continue with oppression and further suppression (See Hoggett, 2000).

Finally, let me make it clear to the reader that the purpose of this discussion is not necessarily to expose the real level of the education and awareness of the Maldivians or to produce a critique of the successive autocratic regimes in power and in total control of the people, but to report to the reader the views of the elderly scholars regarding its critical implications to teachers supply (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5, ES6 and ES8). I find it most appropriate to conclude this chapter with the following observations from the elderly scholars:

• The Maldives has not produce a pool of educated trainable young people as teachers (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5, ES6 & ES8);
• The few students who manage to study in higher secondary schools will be drawn by the commercial sector rather than the education (ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5 & 6);
• Due to the shortage of qualified young people to be trained as teachers, education has to struggle with mediocre students and the quality of education will remain to be poor for a long time (ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5 & ES8).

The elderly scholars are keen to locate the problems of teacher supply within the wider context rather than confining these problems to the schools. We saw in chapters 4, 5 and 6, the schools had serious difficulties of obtaining (rather than recruiting as schools do not exercise this function) and retaining competent teachers. Whilst
recognising these difficulties as problems, the elderly scholars call to the authorities to address the problem holistically (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5, ES6 and ES8). The elderly scholars believe that issues found in the schools are not the real problems but symptoms of a grave situation prevailing in the folds of the society.
CHAPTER 8
LONGER TERM STRATEGIES FOR LONGER TERM SOLUTIONS

8.1. The preface to the final chapter

The final chapter of this dissertation both summarizes and concludes the research carried out in the Maldives on problems of teacher supply in relation to teachers’ work, status and the market situation. The policy decisions, to introduce the British Colonial System of Education (popularly known in the Maldives as English Medium Education) to the schools in Male’ in 1961, and (though several years later) to embrace a common system of schooling for all the islands, have generated problems in terms of teacher supply. Apparently, the Maldives is attempting to resolve these problems by recruiting more and more teachers from neighbouring countries, mainly from Sri Lanka and India. However, in the long term it could be costly to the national economy and to the cultural capital of the society. It is therefore essential to illustrate the gravity of the problems and to attempt to identify, at least, some of these problems.

Using the critical theory approach as the methodology and employing several methods described in Chapter 3, this research collected extensive data revealing several problems. The issues that relate to teachers’ work, pay and status are the primary issues of this study. There are also problems which can be associated only with certain schools and islands. These problems come under a secondary category. At the same time, there are critical structures within our society which give rise to some of these problems. Sometimes, they may be observable but often many of them are not transparent. Although, as Sayer (2000) has elucidated, observability makes one more confident about what exists, existence is not entirely dependent on observability. Therefore, with this understanding, and using the principles of a critical theory approach, this study also attempted to reveal the structures which generate these problems.

As this chapter concludes the research project it is necessary, once again, to highlight the magnitude of the problem by showing the figures of the annual attrition of
teachers in the Maldives. After that, the reader will be taken through the primary and secondary issues of teacher supply to the incredible reality of the situation.

8.2. Attrition of teachers

Before turning to the primary and secondary issues, the gravity of these problems is once again highlighted by the enormity of attrition. Data collected from 57 schools (22.5% of primary and secondary schools in the country) has uncovered a very high rate of attrition not only for expatriate teachers but also for the locals. The percentage for the locals stands at an alarming rate of 19 over five years beginning from 1998 while the percentage for the expatriates over the same period was 23 (see Table 5.1). Almost a quarter of all expatriate teachers and a fifth of all local teachers left the schools annually. At the same time, the annual rate of the increase in the number of Maldivian teachers has declined to 2.5 per cent in the year 2002 from 4.3 per cent in 1999 (see Table 6.2). These trends will have implications for the stability of the schools and the services they are supposed to provide.

The next two sections will attempt to summarize what are called primary and secondary issues starting with secondary issues.

8.3. Secondary issues

The secondary issues, in general, relate to individual schools and the schools system. The discussions extract issues from these two areas of the heuristic map drawn in chapter 1 of this dissertation (Figure 1.1). This segment of the map is figure 8.1 and within this terrain problems may be treated with the strategies of a problem solving framework (see Cox, 1996). These issues have been analyzed to some depth in Chapters 4 and 5.
At the levels of the school and the education system issues concerning physical (i.e. staff room, a room for the library, science room, computer room and audio visual room) and educational (i.e. adequate library, science laboratory and computer and audio-visual) facilities have been highlighted by the teachers. Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 have not only demonstrated prevailing discrepancies, in terms of the facilities provided to teachers in Male' and their counterparts working in the outer islands but also the inability of the outer schools to carry out teaching/learning activities due to dire shortage of these facilities. Very often problems prevalent at this level could be dismissed as mere occurrences linked to certain incidents or people which do not deserve so much of time and energy of the key personnel in the school or the system. However, Huberman's (1993) study is an 'eye opener' for those who tend to ignore such issues. According to Huberman (1993), 44 per cent of the respondents who wanted to quit teaching had institutional reasons for it (Chapter 2).

As for teachers' involvement in decision making, 60.6 per cent of teachers in the sample (314 teachers) have reported that their involvement in this critical function of the schools is either low or very low (Table 5.5). Decision making in these schools appears to be an exclusive function of the management. However, non-involvement of teachers in the decision making process not only contributes to loss of choice for
teachers, as Acker (1989) pointed out, but also, as in the view of Lawn and Ozga (1981), *proletarianises* teachers by excluding them from the conceptual functions of the work (see Chapter 3).

Viewed in this way, it could be argued that the Maldivian teachers also face processes of *proletarianization* in the sense that the discretion over conception and execution of teaching is significantly diminished. As the schools are managed by strict directives of the Ministry of Education sent regularly to the schools, the teachers are not required to be involved in conceptual work – decision making and initiating activities. According to one of the headteachers (HT9) the teachers can only give their suggestion informally to their grade coordinator to be passed on to the principal. This is followed by lack of care and attention by the schools and the Ministry of education although teachers have strongly felt this need. Fifty-three per cent of teachers from Male’ and 54 per cent from the outer islands, in this sample, have noted that there is lack of care and attention to their needs not only in their own affairs but also in matters related to their work (Table 5.15). This fact has been highlighted not only by foreign teachers but by locals too (see Table 5.16).

Many teachers (14.5% of outer-island teachers) are depressed by the lack of opportunities for professional and career development (Chapter 4.7). As one of the teachers (T19) has reported, teachers in the outer islands have considerably less opportunities for career development compared to their counterparts in Male’ (Chapter 4.7).

Nearly 40% (39.8) per cent of the teachers (152) who have made comments on specific problems, reported that hard living conditions in the outer islands does, indeed, discourage competent teachers to work in the outer islands (Chapter 4.8). While hard living conditions, isolation, and lack of health, transport and communication facilities have been noted as severe problems in the outer islands it is the accommodation which is of the same magnitude in Male’ (see Table 4.6). As noted earlier in Chapter 4.8, living conditions (i.e. accommodation, water and sanitation) of expatriate teachers and the great majority of non-residential local teachers are deplorable in Male’.
According to the elderly scholars, student discipline had never been a problem before the 1980s, since then, over the years, it has grown to be a disturbing reality. A third of the teachers who made comments noted student discipline as a strong factor for many competent teachers to leave the schools (see Chapter 5.5). The competent teachers frequently leave due to disruptive and savage behaviour of students as one teacher (T110) strongly put it (Chapter 5.5). Indiscipline could be attributed to poor management of the schools and the low status of teachers.

Leithwood, et al (2006) demonstrated the strategic importance of the school leadership for students' learning and utilizing the potential resources and the capacities. Despite the importance of an effective leadership in schools, this research was able to extract several problems of the school leadership in the Maldives. The following are some of the causes identified:

- schools are managed by direct directives and strict rules by the Ministry of Education and the school heads, in effect, have no real authority over the management of the schools;
- high turn-over of the heads;
- headteachers lack adequate of training; and
- headteachers are immature and they are often biased and prejudiced against certain teachers.

57.9% of 382 teachers (44.2% of the total sample) have expressed these concerns over the management and supervision of the schools (Chapter 5.6). These teachers appear to be in deep anxiety and sooner or later they may decide to leave teaching.

This discussion will now be continued in the next section under primary issues. These issues have deeper roots and extend to the community and the education system in general.

8.4. Primary issues

As we turn to the primary issues it is important to note that the prevailing conditions in the community not only affect but also generate issues pertaining to the education of our children. The absence of education and the inability of the community to understand and claim their own rights provide an adequate breeding ground for autocrats to manipulate the villagers. However, at this point, I move to the community
This research demonstrates the gravity of the shortage of trained Maldivian teachers in both primary and the secondary schools. In the sample 26.9 per cent of all the primary teachers (Grades 1-7) and 78.1 per cent of the secondary teachers are expatriates (see tables 6.2). At the same time, a large number (15.5% of all locals) of untrained temporary teachers are also exposed in the sample (Table 6.3). Two groups of teachers, Maldivians (37.5%) and expatriates (60%), who have left the schools, have emphasized the need to focus on training of Maldivians as teachers (see Chapter 6). However, this research has discovered that the pool or total numbers of trainable youth (i.e. those with a higher secondary education) are limited and these limited number students have little or no interest in teaching. Out of the 56 students (about 10% of the Twelfth year students in the country) only 3 students have shown any interest in teaching (Chapter 6). The reasons that these higher-education students gave as deterrents may be worth looking at (see Chapter 6). The following reasons explain some of these deterrents which are also consistent with the findings of the literature.

- 21.4% of students would not choose teaching for a career as teaching itself is a deterrent (see Table 6.6);
- 19.6% would not go for teaching because of the hard work (see Table 6.6);
- 16.1% would not choose teaching because they have other interests as childhood dreams (see Table 6.6); and
- 10.1% students would not take teaching as a career because of the low income (see Table 6.6).

The deterents appear to be associated with the status of teaching as an occupation, the hard work involved in teaching and finally the low income. In view of the present teachers and those who have resigned in 2003, both the government and the society have a very low regard for teachers (see Table 6.11). The comments made by two teachers, T110 and T354, demonstrate the treatment that the teachers get daily (Chapter 5.5).

"Teachers leave due to disruptive/savage behaviour of students" (T110)

"A good teacher will think twice or thrice to stay here because of student discipline" (T354)

When competent teachers find themselves exploited in the class and in the community they leave the schools as they have many other options. This also deters other potentially trainable young Maldivians from entering into this occupation as the responses by the higher education students clearly demonstrate.

In Australia where teaching occupation is rated high in general ranking of occupations, teachers, still, have a low status in the professional category (see Bessant and Spaull, 1972 and Mackenzie, 2007). There, again, the primary teacher is at the bottom, below the nurse and even the librarian (Chapter 3.3).

Whilst status is low, ironically, the teacher has a demanding work-situation. A teacher's role is not merely to deliver a pre-set curriculum. In the class and among the
students he/she is the specialist entrusted to interpret, define and develop the curriculum. Apart from all these, the teacher's values, morals, ethics and the mental efforts go a long way in shaping the destiny of any country (see Acker, 1999). Moreover, as Helsby (1999) noted teachers work is changing to meet the perceived needs of the 21st Century.

The present study shows that in the Maldives, teachers' work is stretched to 45.9 hours a week (Table 6.9). It comes to 9.4 hours a day although this falls short of 10.8 hours in England and Wales (Campbell and Neill, 1994). In fact, as teachers, T196 & T422, reminded us, they have loads of work in schools during normal school hours, in the night, and during the vacation and public holidays (chapter 6.3). Many teachers also take home some of their work in the evening or after the school as there is no way that teachers could afford to accumulate unfinished work.

Despite the hard work and the tiring efforts made by the teachers in the class, in school and at home on working days, during the weekends and the vacation, as of the teachers (T340) reported to this research, sincere and dedicated work is neither recognised nor appreciated (Chapter 6.3). This kind of treatment results in loss of motivation and the lack of drive to continue with their work. From the sample of the Maldivian teachers who have left the schools, 23.5% put forward hard work as the reason to leave teaching (Chapter 6.3). At the same time, from the present teachers 43.3% have stated hard work as a problem (Table 6.10). In the case of Huberman's (1993) study of Swiss teachers, 43 per cent wanted to leave because of fatigue, routine and frustration. As teachers are over-burdened with heavy loads of work they are drawn into what is called intensification of work (see Hargreaves, 1994) leading them to loss of skills and reduced time for relaxation and rest making many of them eternally sick.

Whilst competent teachers may be compelled to give up teaching because of hard work and the lack of reward for the patient labour, teaching does not appear to be attractive to trainable young people. In fact 19.6% of the higher secondary students have noted hard work as a reason for not thinking of teaching as a prospective career (Table 6.6). It strongly suggests, then, that hard work with no real incentives will be a deterrent for competent young people to take up teaching and so the schools, where
The future of a nation is supposed to be shaped, will be deprived of the best people (see Menter, et al, 1997; Coulthard and Kyriacou, 2002; OECD, 2005), only to be left with mediocre students.

Meanwhile, the buying power of teachers is not at all attractive. Both locals and expatriates have expressed concern over the inadequacy of their pay to meet the daily expenses. In fact 65.4% of the Maldivians, 55.8% of Sri Lankans and 40.4% of the Indians in this sample aid that the salary they get from the schools is either inadequate or barely adequate, demonstrating the pathetic situation of the teachers (Table 6.14). At any given opportunity teachers appear to be ready to make a strong case in their course based on their heavy load of work, high cost of living in the Maldives and the devaluation of the Maldivian Rufiyaa in 2001.

Although salary scales in place, in most of the countries, have not been particularly attractive (See OECD, 2005), the present writer is obliged to present to the reader a pay structure suitable to the Maldives (Figure 8.3) based on the ideas and the suggestions offered by the Maldivian teachers who left school teaching. In fact teachers - present and past and from all parts of the country - and the higher secondary students have stressed the need to review and overhaul the salary structure to provide not only a reasonable wage to teachers for the hard work they do but also as an adequate incentive to attract best students to this occupation.
The expected outcome of this progressive salary scale structure is to attract competent Maldivian graduates into the teaching profession. As many respondents of this research have strongly stated an adequate salary is critical for improving the situation of the teachers. As the research shows an attractive salary will be a key factor which will influence young people’s career decisions. However, apart from the salary other incentives have also been noted in research (see Neave, 1992; Eurydice, 2002;

- Intrinsic factors (enjoyment of working with children, intellectual fulfillment, job satisfaction, etc.);
- Salaries;
- Job flexibility;
- Job security;
- Public perception of teachers and teaching; and
- The structure of initial teacher education;

8.5. Looking into the future

This discussion completes the heuristic map with education politics (see Chapter 1). The map and the discussion that follows should assist the reader to locate the terrain and the sources of persecution and oppression by a process of denying education not only to all the children in the outer islands but also thousands of children who live in Male’ (Ismail-Didi, 1933 cited in Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23 and Ahmed-Manik, 1978). As Mohamed Ismail-Didi (1933) said Maldivian people were ruled by their own people for thousands of years. However, “the ruling dynasties have never invested anything to educate the children in Male’ and so their minds were stained with apprehension and timidity as the air they breathe in was not free from suppression” (Ismail-Didi, 1933 cited in Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23). The great historian’s statement itself emphasises a point when he deliberately speaks of children in Male’. As this research has maintained all along, truly, the children in the outer islands have been underrated as ‘alhun’, slaves not only in the minds of the elites but in reality (ES3).
In the developed economies of the West, the Keynesian welfare state settlement has been described by historians as an exceptional period of economic growth; genuine prosperity and social stability (see Robertson, 2000). Similarly, at the turn of the new Millennium, the Maldives too had passed through two decades of economic growth and prosperity unprecedented in history. As has been noted earlier (Chapter 1), during this period, schools have been built on a number of islands under the assistance of UNICEF, the Japanese Government and international NGOs. The Government’s investment too on education of the outer-island children from this massive wealth is also on infra-structure visible to the marginalized villagers which are also often projected as achievements. The design and the quality of this infra-structure can be seen from picture 8.1 without a need to further explanation.
Though it may not be important for this discussion it could still be interesting to juxtapose this structure against the fine school buildings in Male'. The following two pictures show the front and the side views of a school in Male'.

**Picture 8.1:** *The common school structure in the outer islands (front view)*

**Picture 8.2:** *A sample school building in Male' (front view)*
The data collected for this research (see Chapters 6.2 and 7.2) suggests that the government has not invested adequately on basic education and training of teachers. Despite the vital role teachers play in developing productive attitudes and building the character of the students (see Delors, 1996 cited in Eurydice, 2002), the teaching profession has not benefited from this wealth.

In case the reader has doubts about this argument, the true picture of the period following the prosperous years is drawn with the actual figures published in 2002 by the Ministry of Education (see MoE, 2002: 3-4).

Table 8.1: The Flow of education provision from primary to the key stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Primary enrolment Total(1-7)</th>
<th>Yr. Av.</th>
<th>Lower secondary enrolment Total(8-10)</th>
<th>Yr. Av.</th>
<th>Drop (primary to secondary)</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Higher secondary enrolment Total (11-12)</th>
<th>Yr. av.</th>
<th>Drop (Lower secondary to higher secondary)</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>68208</td>
<td>9744</td>
<td>23903</td>
<td>7968</td>
<td>1776</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>7402</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male'</td>
<td>13355</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>9497</td>
<td>3166</td>
<td>(^1258)</td>
<td>^65.9</td>
<td>1028</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>2652</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer islands</td>
<td>54853</td>
<td>7837</td>
<td>14406</td>
<td>4802</td>
<td>3035</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4750</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^ This shows a reverse of the situation (an increase)

As for Maldives, in 2002 the total primary enrolment was 68208 which give an average of 9744 for any year group at that level. When these students move to the next key stage, lower secondary, the year-group number reduces by 18.2% to a total
of 7968. As they proceed further, to the next key stage - higher secondary, this figure dramatically drops by 92.8% bringing the total number of students remaining to a meager 566. As this research has maintained throughout the study, the figures reveal the gloomy situation of the outer islands just 5 years ago in 2002.

Because of the provision of primary education 54853 children were enrolled in some form of schools (see picture 8.1). The mean for 7 years provides the year-group figure for this stage which is 7837. This number dropped by 38.7% to 4802 as they move to the next key stage, lower secondary. In other words, 38.7% of students who reach the final year of the primary are excluded from lower secondary education in the outer islands. Furthermore, even if 4802 students reach Ordinary level at the end of Year 10 a staggering 98.9% do not get an opportunity to do higher secondary education. As Table 8.1 demonstrates only 514 students in Male' and 52 students in the outer islands were enrolled in higher education in 2002. Actually the high achievers from this group must be drawn into teaching if competent teachers were to be supplied to schools. Six elderly scholars (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5 and ES6) stated that it is impossible to draw high achievers from these 566 students. According to the elderly scholars, the higher achievers normally go into medicine, law, engineering, accounting and civil service. The poor performance is a manifestation of the quality of education in our schools.

According to the elderly scholars (ES1, ES2, ES3, ES4, ES5 and ES6) exposure of the youth to the materialism brought by tourism, without a strong educational foundation will destroy the established fabrics of the society and the Maldives could as well become uninhabitable. The elderly scholars have emphasized some of the problems already prevalent, especially, among the youth. They are as follows:

- Absence of a strong value system ((ES2, ES3, and ES 4);
- Use of hard drugs (ES2, ES3, ES4 & ES6) – it is estimated that 63% of the population below 30 years of age either take or have taken drugs (see SO6 & Ali-Naaz, 2004:2);
- Concentration of population to Male' causing enormous social problems (ES1, ES2, ES3, & ES4);
- Gang violence is rampant in Male' and is spreading to other heavily populated islands (ES2, ES3, ES4 & ES5);  
- Sexual harassment of children (ES1, ES2, & ES3);
• Religious extremism has become critical in Male' and is spreading to other islands (ES3, ES4 & ES6);
• Fraud, bribery, theft, burglary and other such crimes are rising within the society with several consequences ES3 & ES4)

As one of the elderly scholars (ES5) stated that this ‘monster’ (grave situation) has been created by successive regimes by denying education to people and it has now struck with serious consequences. Although the Maldives had been ruled by their own people, the successive dynasties and the regimes to the present day — as outlined in Chapter 7 - did not invest on education of the children not only in the outer islands but also in Male’ (see Ismail-Didi, 1933 cited in Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23) because they knew that knowledge have potential access to privilege and wealth (see Nunan, 1999: 3-4). This study has shown how Katheeb-Moosa accumulated wealth and prestige for him and his family using the same principles and the processes. In fact denying people with essential knowledge and words they need to express their feelings and experience (see Hoggett, 2000) has sunk the masses of the Maldivian to a status of ‘alhum’, slaves to be exploited by successive regimes (ES5).

The present situation is created by successive regimes and the following quotation from Mohamed Ismail-Didis (1933) is, once again, used here to reiterate the point:

“...the ruling dynasties have never invested anything to educate the children in Male’ and so their minds were stained with apprehension and timidity as the air they breathe in was not free from suppression” (Ismail-Didi, 1933 cited in Hussain-Maniku, 1984: 22-23).

Thus, it might be imprudent to assume that any autocratic regime, in power, will take a sincere action to reverse the situation as it might not be in their interest to do so (see Nunan, 1999). The international community might have to intervene and put intensive pressure on the authorities to change the dismal state of education in the Maldives. But as one of the elderly scholars (ES5) noted, the international community is cleverly misled by the autocrats who represent the Maldivian people at international forums. Moreover, the Maldives is too small and has no vital resources to attract the attentions of the international community. Hope lies, possibly, by exploring the opportunity of forming a force or movement within the country to combat the
situation. This might not happen without the consciousness of emancipation (see Fay, 1993: 34) that does not exist.

The elderly scholars consistently reported the critical need to create a pool of competent trainable youths as the first and foremost step in addressing the issues of teacher supply (Chapter 7.7). Table 8.1 reveals the total number of students studying in the final year of the higher secondary education in the Maldives in the year 2002 (MoE, 2002). In view of the elderly scholars, not all these students will qualify to be called competent students for various reasons including the ineffective education system. Secondly, they consider that number (i.e. 566) as too small to consider it as a pool. This depressing situation is likely to remain for an unforeseeable future unless some solid measures are taken to change the structures which are producing and reproducing the problems.

However, I am not prepared to conclude this work with a pessimistic note. I want to visit the international review on teacher policy, to help countries share innovative and successful initiatives, and to identify policy options for attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers which was launched by the OECD Education Committee in 2002 (OECD, 2005: 3). Towards the end of the report several key areas have been highlighted to provide an insight into teacher policy issues. According to OECD (2005: 218), a framework of indicators to inform teacher policy should describe the following:

- The societal and school factors that contextualise the teaching profession.
- Overall trends in the teaching profession and a profile of the teaching workforce.
- Trends, institutional structure, and outcomes of the preparation and development of teachers.
- Trends and factors in attracting individuals into the profession, including determinants of demand and incentive structure.
- Structural elements and outcomes of the teacher labour market, including recruitment procedures and selection criteria.
- Trends and factors in retaining effective teachers in schools, including school processes that shape teachers’ work.
It is on the basis of these indicators that the authorities are urged to draw teacher policy decisions to train, attract, develop and retain competent teachers who will shape the future of the Maldives. Indeed, as Delors (1986) stated teachers play a critical role in developing productive attitudes and building the character of the students.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Questionnaire Survey of Teachers
On Problems of Teacher Supply in the Maldives: A Critical
Account of Teachers’ Work, Status and Market Situation

Thank you very much for giving assistance for this research by taking part in the
questionnaire survey of the teachers on teachers’ work, status and market situation in
relation to the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives. Your co-operation in this
research is highly valued and the responses you give will be treated in strict
confidence while anonymity is preserved.

Section 1: Your Background

1. Are you? Male □ Female □
2. Are you a Maldivian? Yes □ No □
   If Yes: Please state your island.
   If No: Please state your nationality.
   If No: How many years have you served in the Maldives as a teacher.

3. Are you single or married? Single □ Married □
4. How many children do you have?

5. In which of these age groups are you? [Please tick]
   25 or under □
   26 - 30 years □
   31 - 35 years □
   36 - 40 years □
   41 - 45 years □
   46 - 50 years □
   51 - 55 years □
   56 - 60 years □
   Over 60 years □
6. What is your educational qualification? [Please tick one]
   - Graduate degree/s with teacher training qualifications
   - Graduate degree/s
   - Teacher training qualifications
   - None of the above qualifications
   If 'None of the above qualifications', go to question 7.

7. If you are a teacher with no teacher training qualifications or a graduate degree, what is the highest level of education you have? [Please tick]
   - Higher Secondary (Class 12)
   - Lower Secondary (Class 10)
   - Primary Education up to grade 7
   - None of the above
   If it lower secondary (Class 10), please specify the exam taken.
   ................................................................................................................
   ...... If it is 'None of the above', please specify
   ................................................................................................................
   ...... 

8. How many years have you been a teacher? [Please tick]
   - Less than 1 year
   - 1 - 4 years
   - 5 - 9 years
   - 10 - 14 years
   - 15 - 19 years
   - 20 years or more

9. How many years have you been teaching in the present school? [Please tick]
   - Less than 1 year
   - 1 - 4 years
   - 5 - 9 years
   - 10 - 14 years
   - 15 - 19 years
   - 20 years or more

10. In how many Maldivian schools have you taught before coming to this school? [Specify]
     ................................................................................................................
     ......
Section 2: Teacher’s Work Conditions

11. Did you apply to be appointed as a teacher at this school? [Please tick]
   Yes ☐ No ☐
   If ‘Yes’, please give the main reason for applying to be appointed at this school
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

12. How do you rate your life on this island from a range of 1 to 4, (1 being Very Uncomfortable to 4 being Very Comfortable).
   ..........................................................................................................................

13. Is your school salary adequate to cover your monthly living expenses? [Please tick]
   Adequate ☐ Barely adequate ☐ Not adequate ☐

14. Do you have another job? [Please tick]
   Yes ☐ No ☐
   If ‘Yes’, please specify the nature of your work
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................
   ..........................................................................................................................

15. Is your spouse employed? (Please skip the question if you are not married) [Tick]
   Yes ☐ No ☐
   If ‘Yes’, specify the work ...................................................................................

16. Children and their employment status. [Please tick]
   I have no children ☐
   My child/children does/do not work ☐
   My children/child work/s ☐
   If your children/child work/s, please specify the number of working children
   ..........

The following question is intended only for non Maldivian Teachers
17. How does your pay in the Maldives compare with teachers’ pay in schools in the country of your nationality? Please comment specifying the type of school.

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

Section 3: Teaching and Responsibilities

18. What grade/s do you teach (state one or more between grades 1 and 12)

......................................................................................................

19. What statement below best describes you? [Please tick]
   A specialist in a subject and I teach that subject only
   A specialist of a subject but I teach other subjects
   A generalist and I teach practically all subjects
   None of the above

If it’s ‘None of the above’, please specify

......................................................................................................

20. To whom are you accountable in your school? (If more than one give the first two in order)

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

21. How would you describe the range and quality of education facilities (such as library, laboratory, computers, etc.) in your school? Please give a rating from 1 to 4 (4 being Very High and 1 being Very Low):

................................................................

22. Do you have additional duties and activities in your school aside your teaching? [Tick]
   Yes ☐ No ☐

If ‘Yes’ please list the 3 main ones, and estimate the hours per month you spend on them.
23. What level of autonomy do you have in initiating and organizing extra-curricular activities in this school? Please give a rating of between 4 (4 being Very High and 1 being Very Low).

24. Please specify the hours per week or hours per month you spend on the following activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Pds or hrs/week</th>
<th>hrs/month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual classroom teaching [Give in periods]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation for teaching [Give in hours]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking students work [Give in hours]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations with supervisors [Give in hours]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations with head teacher [Give in hours]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative work with other teachers on teaching [Give in hours]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. How many periods do you spend generally, using the following teaching methods over a week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>pds/week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole class teaching – interaction between teacher and the whole class at the same time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative group work – children working together on shared task</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual work – children working alone on individual task</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A period is .......... minutes in this school.

26. How would you describe the opportunity to participate in decision making in this school. Please give a rating between 1 and 4 (4 being Very High and 1 being Very Low)
27. How important are the following to you? [Please tick]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Fairly Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge of the subjects/s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving teaching skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving assessment skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving classroom organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge about children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing communication skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing social skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in deciding the subjects taught in school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in allocation of periods for subjects taught</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. How often do you participate in these activities in this school? (Please tick)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>At least 2-3 times/week</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>Once a fortnight</th>
<th>Once a Month</th>
<th>Annually</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge of the subjects/s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving teaching skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving assessment skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving classroom organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge about children</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Developing communication skills</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Involvement in deciding the subjects taught in school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in allocation of periods for subjects taught</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. How many hours of school work do you do on average over a week in school and at home? ................. Hours per week

30. Do you teach in your area of expertise?

   Yes, all of the time  □ No, never  □
   Yes, sometimes        □ Please tick]
Section 4: Reflection

31. In your opinions, what are the three key features of a 'good' teacher?

.................................................................

.................................................................

.................................................................

.................................................................

In your view, what percentage of teachers at your school are 'good' teachers?

......%  

32. Does your school have any difficulty in recruiting and keeping 'good' teachers?

[Tick]
   Yes, always
   Yes, sometimes
   No, never

If 'Yes' (always or sometimes), please give three reasons why you think this is so

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

33. Does Maldives have any difficulty in recruiting and keeping 'good' teachers in the school system?

   Yes, always
   Yes, sometimes
   No, never
   Don’t know

If 'Yes' (always or sometimes), please give three reasons why you think this is so

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................
34. Do teachers leave this school every year?
    Yes    ☐
    No     ☐
    Don’t know ☐

If ‘Yes’ in your view, is this level of turnover acceptable?
    Yes, it is Acceptable ☐
    No, it is Unacceptable ☐

If your view is unacceptable, what strategies do you think will reduce teacher turnover in this school? (Please give 3 possible strategies)
........................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................

35. How well regarded are teachers in general by the following groups? (Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very highly regarded to 1 for very low regard).

Ministry of Education 4 3 2 1
School Management 4 3 2 1
Parents 4 3 2 1
Community 4 3 2 1
Students 4 3 2 1
Island administration (in outer island schools) 4 3 2 1
Others (e.g. Health assistants, business community etc) 4 3 2 1

36. How supportive are the following groups to teachers in this school (e.g. in helping to find accommodation, fund raising, organizing activities, providing materials and even goodwill? (Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very supportive to 1 for very low support).

Ministry of Education 4 3 2 1
School Management 4 3 2 1
Parents 4 3 2 1
Community 4 3 2 1
Students 4 3 2 1
### Colleagues (other teachers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Island administration (in outer island schools)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Others (eg. Health assistants, business community etc)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. How disruptive are the following groups to the teachers in this school? (e.g. unnecessary complaining, trouble making, etc? (Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very disruptive to 1 for not).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island administration (in outer island schools)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. Is there an association or a union to fight collectively for teachers' condition of work, status and pay?

**Yes** [ ]

**No** [ ]

If ‘Yes’, specify

...................................................................................................

39. If you had a chance to choose again, would you still choose to be a teacher/teacher in the Maldives?

**Yes** [ ]

**No** [ ]

**Don’t know** [ ]

40. Is there anything about teachers (conditions of work, status and pay) that you have not had a chance to say but would like to share your views?

...................................................................................................

...................................................................................................

...................................................................................................
You have been profoundly helpful and I thank you most sincerely for your kind assistance and co-operation – Ahmed Anwar
Appendix B

Headteacher Interview Schedule
On Problems of Teacher Supply in the Maldives: A Critical Account of Teachers’ Work, Status and Market Situation

Date: ........................................................................................................................................
Name: ....................................................................................................................................
School: ....................................................................................................................................

Section 1: Head teacher’s background

1.1. What is your age group?
   - 25 or under
   - 26 - 30 years
   - 31 - 35 years
   - 36 - 40 years
   - 41 - 45 years
   - 46 - 50 years
   - 51 - 55 years
   - 56 - 60 years
   - Over 60 years

1.2. Are you a Maldivian? Yes ☐ No ☐
   If Yes: Please state your island.
   If No: Please state your nationality.

1.3. What is your educational background?
   - Primary
   - Secondary
   - Tertiary

1.4 How long have you been a head teacher?
   - Less than 1 year

155
1.5 How long have you been the head teacher of this school?

- Less than 1 year
- 1 - 4 years
- 5 - 9 years
- 10 - 14 years
- 15 - 19 years
- 20 years or more

1.6 Did you apply to be appointed at this school?

- Yes
- No

If 'Yes', please give three reasons for applying to this school


1.7 How do you rate your life on this island from a range of 1 to 4, (1 being Very Uncomfortable to 4 being Very Comfortable).

Section 2: The School

2.1 Enrolment:

2.2 Level of Education (highest grade):

2.3 Physical facilities (e.g. number of classrooms, library, laboratory, computer room, audio-visual room, toilet, drinking water, etc.)

......
2.4 Number of classes (1A, 1B, 2A, etc.):

2.5 How would you describe the general conditions of the infrastructure?

Adequate
Somewhat adequate
Not adequate

2.6 How would you describe the educational facilities (e.g., library, laboratory)?

Adequate
Somewhat adequate
Not adequate

Section 3: Teachers

3.1 Teacher composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Are there ever problems covering classes?

Yes
No
Sometimes

3.3 Are there ever problems getting reasonable teachers?

Yes
No
Sometimes

3.4 How many teachers have left the school in the following years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local number left</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.5 How many new teachers did you get during these years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6 Do teachers give reasons for leaving?

- **Yes**
- **No**
- **Sometimes**

If 'Yes' or 'Sometimes', what reasons do they give?

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

### 3.7 If there are unspecified or hidden reasons apart from what are given by the teachers, can you specify around three main ones?

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

- ......................................................

### 3.8 Has your school terminated any teachers in 2002?

- **Yes**
- **No**
If 'Yes', how many?

..............................................................

Can you give the reasons for their termination?

..............................................................

..............................................................

..............................................................

3.9 How would you describe a 'good' teacher in your school?

..............................................................

..............................................................

..............................................................

..............................................................

3.10 What in your view is the percentage of 'good' teachers in your school?

| Local teachers | % |
| Expatriate teachers | % |

3.11 How many periods or hours do you estimate that an average classroom teacher in your school spends over a week/month on the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Pds or hrs/week</th>
<th>Pds or hrs/month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual classroom teaching [periods]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation for teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marking students work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations with supervisors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations with head teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative work with other teachers on teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.12 What proportion of teaching time do you estimate that classroom teachers in this school spend using the following teaching methods over a month?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole class teaching – interaction between teacher and the whole class at the same time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative group work – children working</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.13 What additional duties and activities do classroom teachers have apart from teaching (e.g. organising games, cadetting, scouting, literary activities, etc)?

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3.14 What percentage of the classroom teachers in your school do you think are overworked?

......................................................................................................

Can you give me reasons for this?

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

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......................................................................................................

3.15 What percentage of the classroom teachers in your school are assigned the right subjects and/or the right classes?

......................................................................................................

Can you comment on that?

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................

......................................................................................................
3.16 How would you describe the level of participation of the classroom teachers in school decision making? (Please give a rating between 1 to 4, 4 being Very High and 1 being Very Low):

Can you give me a reason for this?

3.17 How often does this school organize the following activities for the classroom teachers?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>At least 2-3 times/week</th>
<th>One a week</th>
<th>One a fortnight</th>
<th>Once a Month</th>
<th>Annually</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge of the subject/s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving teaching skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving assessment skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving knowledge about children</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing communication skills</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in deciding the subjects taught in schools</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement in allocation of periods for subjects taught</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.18 Is a teacher’s pay sufficient to lead a reasonable life?
Yes 
Somewhat 
No 

Please comment
.......................................................................................................................
......
.......................................................................................................................
......
.......................................................................................................................
......

3.19 How well regarded are teachers generally by the following groups? (Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very highly regarded to 1 for very low regard).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island administration (in outer island schools)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (e.g. Health assistants, business community etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If it is Low, can you suggest reasons?
.......................................................................................................................
......
.......................................................................................................................
......
.......................................................................................................................
......
3.20 How supportive are the following groups to the teachers in your school? (Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very supportive to 1 for very low support).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Management</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleagues (other teachers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island administration (in outer island schools)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (eg. Health assistants, business community etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If it is Low, can you suggest reasons?

......................................................................................................
......................................................................................................
......................................................................................................
......................................................................................................

3.21 How disruptive are the following groups to teachers in your school? Please choose and circle from a range of 1 to 4, 4 being for very disruptive to 1 for not)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Colleagues (other teachers)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island administration (in outer island schools)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.22 How well regarded are expatriate teachers in this school? (Please choose from a range of 1 to 4 with 4 for Very Highly Regarded to 1 for Very low regard?)

.................
3.23 How well regarded are local teachers in this school? (Please choose from a range of 1 to 4 with 4 for Very Highly Regarded to 1 for Very low regard?)

Please Comment
......................................................................................................
......................................................................................................
......................................................................................................
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3.24 Do you have problems of teacher supply in this school?
   Yes  
   No   

If 'Yes', what are the reasons for the problems? What are their implications on pupil learning?
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3.25 Are there problems of teacher supply in the Maldives?
   Yes  

No

If 'Yes', what are the reasons for the problems? What are their implications on pupil learning?

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3.26 Do you get an opportunity to be consulted by the Ministry of Education about the problems of teacher supply in the school?

Yes  
No  
Sometimes

3.27 Are teachers interests (conditions of work, status and pay) represented collectively?

Yes  
No  
Sometimes

Please comment

.................................................................

.................................................................

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.................................................................

3.28 Do you have any other comments about teachers' conditions of work, status, pay and market?
Thank you very much for taking part in this study. You have been extremely helpful. I am profoundly grateful to you.
Appendix C


Section 1: teacher’s Background

1. Name of the teacher: ..............................................

2. Gender: ..........................................................

3. What is your age group from this list?
   <25  26-30  31-35  36-40  41-45  46-50  51-55  56-60  60+

4. Nationality: ......................................................
   If you are a Maldivian can you specify your island?
   ..............................................................

5. Are you single or married?
   ..............................................................

6. Do you have children?
   ..............................................................
   If ‘Yes’ how many?
   ..............................................................

7. Can you identify yourself with one of these groups?
   • A graduate or post-graduate with teacher training qualifications
   • A graduate or post-graduate without teacher training qualifications
   • A teacher with only a teacher training certificate
   • A teacher with none of the above qualifications
   ..............................................................
   If you are a teacher with none of the qualifications can you specify your qualifications?
   ..............................................................

8. How many years have you been a teacher?
   ..............................................................

9. How many years have you been a teacher in the Maldives?
10. How many years have you been a teacher in the last Maldivian school?

11. In how many Maldivian schools have you taught altogether?

12. Can you specify the school you are resigning from?

Section 2: Working conditions of the resigning school

13. How would you rate your life on this/that island?
   - Very comfortable
   - Comfortable
   - Uncomfortable
   - Very uncomfortable

14. Are/were you satisfied with your salary and allowances?
   - Very satisfied
   - Satisfied
   - Not satisfied

   If ‘Not satisfied’, what additional percentage will make it a reasonable?
   - Salary
   - Allowance/s

15. How well regarded are the teachers by the following groups? [Very highly regarded, Highly regarded, low and very low]
   - Very High
   - High
   - Low
   - Very Low
Ministry of Education
School management
Parents
Community
Students
Island administration
Others (like doctors, health assistants, business community, etc.)

16. Are/were you satisfied with the support you got as a teacher from the following groups? [Very satisfied, satisfied, not satisfied]

Very Satisfied, Satisfied Not satisfied

Ministry of Education
School management
Parents
Community
Students
Island administration
Others (like doctors, health assistants, business community, etc.)

Section 3: Reasons for the Resignation

17. Could you please give me the reason/s for resigning from your post?

........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................

18. Is there anything that could be done to reverse your decision? If 'yes' what is it?

........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................

Section 4: Reflections

19. What advice would you like to give the school management on retention of competent teachers?

........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................

169
20. What advice could you give the Ministry of Education regarding recruitment and retention of teachers?

21. What advice would you like to give the parents to ensure that competent teachers are retained by the community?

22. What advice would you like to give the students to ensure that teachers remained teaching in their community?

23. What advice would you like to give expatriate teachers to ensure that they are aware of the needs and aspirations of the island communities?

24. What advice would you like to give Maldivian teachers to ensure that they are encouraged to contribute to the ongoing development of the teaching profession?

25. If you had a chance to choose again would you still choose to be a teacher in the Maldives?
26. Is there any other information about teachers (conditions of work, status and pay) that you would like to share?

I thank you profoundly for your kind assistance and co-operation.
Appendix D

Problems of Teacher Supply in the Maldives: Interview schedule of the Maldivian who left teaching before 2003

Section 1: Background

27. Name:

28. Present Employment:-
   Nature of the work

   Designation

   Place of Work

29. Gender:

30. Can you specify your island?

31. What is your age group from this list?
   <25  26-30  31-35  36-40  41-45  46-50  51-55  56-60  60+

32. Are you single or married?

33. Do you have children?

   If ‘Yes’ how many?

34. What are your educational qualifications?
   • A graduate or post-graduate with teacher training qualifications
   • A graduate or post-graduate without teacher training qualifications
   • Teacher training certificate
   • Any other qualifications
If any other qualifications can you specify?
...............................................................................................................................

35. Could you specify your post secondary education institutions and the respective countries?
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................

36. How many years were you a school teacher?
.........................................................................................................................
Can you specify the approximate period?
.........................................................................................................................

37. In how many schools did you teach?
.........................................................................................................................
Can you specify the school/s?
.........................................................................................................................
.........................................................................................................................

Section 2: Reasons for leaving teaching

38. How would you rate your performance in the present job?

Very satisfied ..........
Satisfied ...........
Somewhat satisfied ........
Not satisfied ........

39. How helpful is your course in education for your present work?

Very helpful ........
Helpful ........
Somewhat helpful ........
Not applicable ........

40. How helpful is your teaching experience in schools, to your present work?

Very helpful ........
41. Could you give 2 reasons for leaving teaching in schools?

..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................

a. Where were you teaching when you left teaching?

..............................................................................................

42. Would you be encouraged to go back to teaching in a school?

... Yes, specify the reasons
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................

... No, specify the reasons: ..............................................................
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................
..............................................................................................

... Don't know

43. Under what conditions would you consider going/go back to teach in an outer island school?

..............................................................................................

Reflections

44. What advice would you like to give the management of the schools on retention of competent teachers?
45. What advice could you give the Ministry of Education regarding supply of teachers to the schools, especially secondary schools, and retaining them in the system?

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46. What advice would you like to give teachers who teach in schools which will help them build a positive school culture that will retain teachers in the system/Maldives?

...........................................................................................................................

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47. Is there any other information about teachers (conditions of work, status and pay) that you would like to share?

...........................................................................................................................

...........................................................................................................................

...........................................................................................................................

I thank you profoundly for your kind assistance and co-operation.
Appendix E

Problems of Teacher Supply in the Maldives: Questionnaire for the Higher Secondary Students

Thank you very much for giving assistance for this research by taking part in the questionnaire survey of the secondary school students on the problems of teacher supply in the Maldives. Your cooperation in this research is highly valued and the responses you give will be treated in strict confidence while anonymity is preserved.

Section 1: Background

1. Are you? Male [ ] Female [ ]
2. What is your age group?
   - 20 or under [ ]
   - Over 20 years [ ]
3. Can you specify your island?
   ..................................................................................................
4. Can you specify your previous school?
   ..................................................................................................
5. Please indicate the elective subjects you are doing at this centre?
   ..................................................................................................
   ..................................................................................................
   ..................................................................................................
6. Could you indicate the grades you obtained in the three elective subjects mentioned above, at the Ordinary Level/IGCSE?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. What grades do you expect to get in the three elective subjects you are studying at this centre?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 2: Prospective Career

8. What profession/occupation would you select as your career? [Please Tick one]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession/Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Hardware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If 'any other' specify your preferred profession/occupation

..................................................................................................

9. If your choice is not teaching could you give one reason why you would not prefer teaching as your occupation?

..................................................................................................

10. If your choice is teaching could you give two reasons for the preference of teaching for a prospective career?

..................................................................................................

..................................................................................................

You have been profoundly helpful and I thank you most sincerely for your kind assistance and cooperation

Ahmed Anwar,
Graduate School of Education
University of Bristol, UK

177
Teacher Supply in the Maldives:  
Interview schedule of the Senior Officer of the Ministry of education

Section 1: Background

- Name: ...........................................................................................................
- Gender: .................
- What is your age group from this list?  
  <25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 51-55 56-60 60+  
- What is your present designation?  
  ...........................................................................................................
- How long have you been in the present post?  
  ..........................................................  
- How long have been in the service of education?  
  ..........................................................

Section 2: Responses to teachers' views

Teachers have expressed their views on teacher supply in the Maldives in a questionnaire responded by more than 500 teachers and the themes highlighted here, have emerged from their comments.

1. Shortage of trained Maldivian as secondary school teachers
   - Do you see this as a significant issue for your Ministry?  
     ...........................................................................................................
   - If 'Yes' what might be the steps that the Ministry is taking or contemplate to take in future?  
     ...........................................................................................................
     
     ....
• Would it be possible to replace the expatriate teachers in a foreseeable future?

• Would it be possible to expand secondary education with the level foreign teachers presently in the system?

• Could you share your own views on this issue?

2. Teachers’ salaries

• Maldivian teachers state that there are salary differentials between themselves and expatriate teachers. Is there substance in this claim? Does the government see that this will continue in the future?
• Many teachers have stated that teaching is taxing them both physically and mentally and that their salary should be revised at regular intervals in lieu of their hard work. Could such a scheme be in place?

3. Promotion and career development

• Teachers, especially the Maldivians, see that there is limited promotion and career development opportunities. Could teachers expect a different career structure in a near future?

• What might you see it as looking like?
4. Over-time

- Teachers feel that over-time policy for teachers needs to be revised. Might it be possible in a near future?

5. Expatriate teachers leave as other opportunities arise

- Expatriate teachers appear to leave in significant numbers as other opportunities arise. What might be the steps that the Ministry is taking to retain competent expatriate teachers?

6. Expatriate teachers’ contract

- Expatriate teachers claim that in certain situations the Ministry may not be meeting the terms of the contract signed with them. It was stated as an example that the contract speaks of salary and allowances for the period of contract whereas food, accommodation and island allowances are usually held back in November and December. Do you see this as a fair claim?
7. Student discipline

- What might be the response of the Ministry if teachers claim that indiscipline is a very serious problem in schools? If so, does the Ministry see this as an area for a new/different policy?

8. Management of schools

- It is the opinion of the teachers that many heads of schools, especially young Maldivians, lack knowledge skills and experience to manage secondary schools. Might the Ministry be looking for upgrading the competencies and the skills of primary trained headteachers in charge of secondary schools?

9. Supervision of teaching and supervisors

- Do you think there is any substance in the view put forward by some expatriate teachers that experienced expatriate teachers are harshly treated by inadequately trained and inexperienced local supervisors?
• What is your view about having an internal supervision framework in place for secondary classes in outer island schools in order to guide, give feedback and support secondary teachers?

10. Fair treatment between schools in Male’ and in the outer islands, and within outer islands

• Are there policies in place to bridge the gap between government maintained schools (commonly referred to as community schools) in the outer islands and the ‘adequately equipped’ and ‘well managed’ government schools? If so, how effective are these?
• Teachers working in government maintained schools (community schools) claim that they have to do such work as cleaning the classrooms and sweeping the floor apart from teaching. Is this practice likely to change in the future? Could teachers in these schools expect to get the services of support staff such as cleaners in a near future?

11. Working conditions

• Do you think there is any substance in the claim by the teachers that some of the outer island schools lack essential facilities like library, laboratory and computers? If so, could teachers anticipate any significant improvements in working conditions of the schools in the outer islands?

12. Living conditions

• Foreign teachers claim that the living conditions in the outer islands are not favourable for effective work. They have mentioned inadequate medical facilities, communication difficulties, non availability of vegetables and isolation as examples. Could the Ministry take some measures to alleviate their current difficulties in remote outer islands?
13. Recruitment procedure of foreign teachers

- Could the expatriate teachers expect any revision of the current recruitment procedure?

14. Curriculum

- Would it be fair for teachers to say that curriculum does not integrate well from grade 1 to 10? Are there policies in place seeking to address this issue?

- Could there be some additional measures in place to improve English across the schools?
15. Care and attention by the Ministry of Education

- In your view is there a suitable framework or a structure for teachers to communicate with the Ministry and for the Ministry in their turn to hear the grievances of the teachers? If not, what structure do you feel would work best (from your perspective)? What conditions might need to be in place in order to bring this about?

16. If you were in this post for a 5-year period what would you like to be your legacy in regard to education in the Maldives?

I thank you most sincerely for your kind assistance and co-operation.
Appendix G

Questions to pioneer teachers about the introduction of a new system of education to some schools in Male'

Section 1: teacher’s Background

48. Name of the teacher:

................................................

49. Gender:

................................................

50. What is your age group from this list?

<25  26-30  31-35  36-40  41-45  46-50  51-55  56-60  60+

51. Nationality:

................................................

If you are a Maldivian can you specify your island?

................................................

52. Could you specify your qualification?

...................................................................................................

...................................................................................................

......

53. How many years have you been a teacher?

................................................

54. How many years have you been a teacher in the Maldives?

................................................

55. How many years have you been a teacher in the last Maldivian school?

................................................

Section 2: Introduction of a new system of education

56. Could you specify the year you came to the Maldives as a teacher?

....................................................................................................

187
57. Are you familiar with the system of education that was introduced to Majeediyya School and Aminiya School in Male' in the early 1960s?

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58. If 'yes', could you describe the new system of education that was introduced to Majeediyya School and Aminiya School at that time?

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59. Was it the system (Q11) that was followed in Sri Lanka at that time?

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.....

60. What name or label could we give to that system (Q11 &12)?

........................................................................................................................................

.....

61. If the system of education that was introduced to Majeediyya and Aminiya was different from the prevailing system in Sri Lanka, what made it different? Could you specify these differences?

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I thank you very much for kind assistance and cooperation
Appendix H

Problems of Teacher Supply in the Maldives: Interview schedule of elderly scholars on the evolution of education in the Maldives

Section 1: Background

1.1 Name

....................................................

1.2 Could you specify your island?

....................................................

1.3 The present employment:-
   Nature of the work
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   Designation
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   Place of work
   ...............................................................................................................................................  

1.4 What is your age group?
   <25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 51-55 56-60 60+

1.5 Can you tell me about your educational background?

Schools  No. of years
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   ...............................................................................................................................................  
   Certification
   ...............................................................................................................................................  

189
1.6 Were you a teacher at any time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>No. of years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

1.7 What is your career?

|                                      |

Section 2: Evolution of education

2.1.1 Could you describe the educational provisions available on your island and in the atoll before Hassan Farid's time (before 2/10/1934 – the day that Sultan Shamsuddin was deposed)?

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....................................................................................................................................
2.1.2 Schools:

...

2.1.3 Cost of school construction, maintenance and other expenses:

...

2.1.4 Teachers:

...

2.1.5 Teachers’ wages:

...

2.1.6 Teachers’ status:

...

2.1.7 Curriculum:

...

2.2.1 Could you describe the educational provisions available on your island and in the atoll during Hasan Farid’s time (2/10/1934 – 16/3/1944)
2.2.2 Schools:

2.2.3 Cost of school construction, maintenance and other expenses:

2.2.4 Teachers:
2.2.5 Teachers' wages:

2.2.6 Teachers' status:

2.2.7 Curriculum:

2.3.1 Could you describe the educational provisions available on your island and in the atoll during Amin's time (17/3/1944 – 22/10/1953)
2.3.2 Schools:
2.3.3 Cost of school construction, maintenance and other expenses:

2.3.4 Teachers:

...

2.3.5 Teachers' wages:

....

2.3.6 Teachers' status:

...

2.3.7 Curriculum:

...

2.4.1 Could you describe the educational provisions available on your island and in the atoll during Nasir's time (22/12/1957 – 10/11/1978)?
2.4.2 Schools:

...

2.4.3 Cost of school construction, maintenance and other expenses:

2.4.4 Teachers:

...

2.4.5 Teachers' wages:

...

2.4.6 Teachers' status:

...

2.4.7 Curriculum:
2.5.1 What are your views about the present provisions on your island and in the atoll from 11/11/1978?

2.5.2 Schools:
2.5.3 School construction, maintenance and other costs of education:
............................................................................................................

2.5.4 Teachers:
............................................................................................................

2.5.5 Teachers' wages:
............................................................................................................

2.5.6 Teachers' status:
............................................................................................................

2.5.7 Curriculum:
............................................................................................................
............................................................................................................

Section 3: Problems of teacher supply

3.1 What are your views about the problems of teacher supply, especially secondary teachers, in the Maldives?
............................................................................................................
............................................................................................................
............................................................................................................
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Thank you very much for your assistance and cooperation.
Appendix J

**Teacher Turn-over**

Dear colleagues,

As part of my research on problems of teacher supply in the Maldives the following data is required for analysing the situation. I will be grateful if you could fill in these two tables and send me the filled sheet at your earliest convenience. If you could fax this to **332512** it will safely reach me and the information will be treated confidentially.

Thanking you,
Ahmed Anwar

Name of the school ...........................................
Address..................................................................

**How many teachers have left the school in the following years?**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local total</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local number left</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expatriate number left</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**How many new teachers did you get during these years?**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriate new</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Date ............