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Redefining the role of the Greek Cypriot professional teacher in an era of educational transformative reform in Cyprus.

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to examine and discuss the controversies consequent upon the recently announced educational reform in Cyprus, in an era of considerable political transformations. The encouragement of a strategic planning based on managerial strategies coincides with the governmental demand for the island's reunification. The rectification of the truth in history teaching has been pursued by some politicians and academics as the cornerstone of building tolerance, trust, and respect between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Thus, the twofold nature of the reform- the penetration of managerialism - and the promotion of values conducive to reunification, is likely to affect teachers' professionalism in the forthcoming future. For this reason, this paper has presented an argument for the development of a new form of teacher professionalism, referred to as 'the ethically discursive professional' drawing on Habermas's notion of 'discourse ethics'.

Keywords: teacher professionalism, managerialism, discourse ethics, cyprus education, globalization, citizenship education.

Introduction

This paper seeks to sketch out a version for teachers' professionalism in Cyprus, taking into account the recent political transformations being undertaken in the Cypriot context along with the latest educational reform entitled as 'Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Euro-Cypriot Society'.

Professionalism in this paper will be identified with those ethics and values that should permeate the teaching profession as to make a teacher worthy of being called a professional. It is widely acknowledged that the teaching profession like the legal, the medical and other professions concerning public service, have sacrificed their sense of professionalism at the altar of commerce (Ball, 2008; Shestack, 1998). The impact of a strong culture of calculation in many educational contexts has led to the emergence of changes in the conceptualization of teacher professionalism. Countries of the English-speaking world having experienced a high culture of calculation in terms of modes of regulation based on rewards and sanctions, namely managerialism and performativity, have witnessed what has been known as teacher de-professionalization (Ball, 2003; Day et al, 2006; Bottery and Wright, 1997). The persisting effect of the new policy technologies of performativity and managerialism, reference to which will be made explicitly later, is to stifle teachers' professional judgement and autonomy, generating in this way a new form of

'entrepreneurial-competitive' identities which are said to be replacing the 'ethical professional identities' that dominated the teaching profession prior to the existence of performance driven reforms (Bernstein, 1996). The managerialist culture leaves no space of an autonomous and ethical self to be developed as it encourages individuals to calculate about themselves and add 'value' to themselves by improving their productivity (Ball, 2003). The ethical self which this paper stands for, embraces a concern and an awareness of the effects and consequences that Greek Cypriot teachers' decisions bring about to all members of society which are likely to be affected. Greek-Cypriot teachers should expand their professional repertoire so as to embrace both Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, within a larger European setting in a global village. Thus, in order for Greek Cypriot teachers to respond professionally to the new managerialist era that is inaugurated by recent educational efforts being proposed by the Greek Cypriot government, this paper will argue that a managerialist approach is inappropriate and one based on Habermas's (1990,1993) theory of discourse ethics is demanded. The Habermasian moral theory of discourse ethics can provide new challenging insights to professional ethics. The communicative approach upon which discourse ethics are founded does not prescribe what is ethical, rather it describes an inter-subjective procedure for discursively testing norms and moral values. According to discourse ethics and the principle of universalization that Habermas employs, claims to validity are intersubjectively and discursively debated by all those who would be affected by the outcome of the claims. Hence, the core argument held by the current paper, is that the nourishment of a culture of peaceful cohabitation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots pledged by the new Greek Cypriot government as one of the main targets of the

educational reform, could not thrive within a forthcoming managerialist framework unless a Habermasian approach to teacher professionalism is taken.

The notion of teacher professionalism in the Cypriot academic literature has not gained much ground. One possible reason for the dearth of literature on professionalism in Cyprus might be the fact that despite the previous governments' efforts to reform the whole educational system, there has been no tangible evidence of change on the administrative educational system in terms of teachers' appointment system, teachers' assessment scheme and objective evaluation of education programs that the recently announced educational reform proposed. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that Cyprus is moving along managerial lines in education and this will become more prominent in the forthcoming years (Stylianides and Pashiardis, 2007; Educational Reform Committee, 2004; MOEC, 2008, a).

Prominent in the educational reform are the transformation of the existing administrative and evaluation system along managerial and performance driven lines akin to those of the Anglo-saxon and English-speaking countries that initiated it (Eurydice, 2005), as well as measures conducive to the reunification of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. The presidential elections in the Greek-Cypriot southern part on the 24th of February 2008 were decisive regarding the country's educational and political future. For the first time Cyprus will be governed under the presidency of a communist leader. The Greek Cypriot communist party leader Dimitris Christofias once he won the islands' presidency he has taken a firm stand on the issue of education reform and reunification. Cyprus has been split along ethnic lines since 1974 when Turkey invaded after a brief Greek-inspired coup. Reunification efforts broke down in 2004 when Greek-Cypriots rejected the

U.N plan and a divided Cyprus joined the EU soon after. For the first time in the post-invasion era, Greek and Turkish communities will be headed by leaders who are willing to reach a settlement for the Cyprus problem. The president has announced to the Press, the media and the public since July 2008 the fundamental pillars of Greek Cypriot education that should be promoted from September 2008. Further to his decision about speeding up the educational reform which was developed in 2004 and yet not being put into practice, he has pronounced 'the cultivation of peaceful coexistence, mutual understanding and cooperation among the Greek and Turkish Cypriots' (MOEC, 2008, b). The president mentioned among other things that in order for reconciliation to be achieved it is vital that education should seek for the 'reinstatement of the truth' and the elimination of the falsification of history (MOEC, 2008, b). The search for the truth behind the events concerning the Greek coup of 1955-59 that caused the Turkish invasion of 1974, it is believed that will contribute to the rehabilitation of trust among the two communities (Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007; Papadakis, 2008; Cyprus Mail, 2008). The president's suggestion is founded on the conviction held by many anthropologists and sociologists of the country, that most of the textbooks produced in the Greek Cypriot side in the humanities and social sciences, especially the history textbooks, give a distorted picture of Cyprus' past (Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007; Papadakis 2008; Council of Europe and Makriyianni, 2005). It should be noted that the president's declarations have caused many disputes, controversies and reactions. The Greek Cypriot ethnic nationalism right-wing party and the Democrat party have not only been wary of the revision of the history textbooks, but they have also expressed offensive responses regarding the president's determination to rectify the omissions about Cyprus' history and past. To my view this issue of the falsification of

historical facts and the need to approach history in a way relatively new than before for the sake of communal rapprochement, is likely to have many implications for Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism. Even if the president's decisions do not take place, there will always be students who as 'free, democratic and autonomous [European] citizens' (MOEC, 1996, P.17) will seek to challenge and question the truthfulness and objectivity of the historical events being taught. In the same vein, there will be teachers who as active European citizens in a yet divided island will either engage in a 'reflexive', 'intersubjective' and 'noncoercive' dialogue, or they will just ignore the moral dispositions of teaching and follow a mechanistic history teaching in order to be sure that the requirement of the exam-centred system are met. Each of the moral disposition and ethics that should permeate the teaching of the Greek Cypriot teacher will be dealt with in turn in a subsequent section. It should be noted beforehand that some of the moral dispositions mentioned have Habermasian connotations, therefore, for the purpose of this paper, Habermas's (1990,1993) theory of discourse ethics will be employed as to articulate a version of Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism.

Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism is not likely to be affected only by current political and ideological factors. The transfer of business like and managerial strategies from the private sector into education is likely to bring about unprecedented professional experiences and reactions to professionals. Thus, another factor of impact upon teachers' professionalism will be economic and financial as there will be greater influence of the free market and an emphasis on evaluation procedures (Stylianides and Pashiardis, 2007; MOEC, 2007).

It is therefore urgent for Cypriot teachers to realize how professionals in other countries have responded to market driven agendas, that have dominated all public and private domains prior to their becoming popular in countries such as Cyprus, a country which is currently developing certain aspects of its economy. The focus now turns on managerialism and the contexts that initiated its operation along with its impact on teacher professionalism.

Managerialism and its impact on teacher professionalism

Professionalism is a social construction, a shifting phenomenon defined by whatever people think at any particular time (Hanlon, 1998). The extent to which teachers can exercise professional discretion has proved to be severely curtailed within a managerialist paradigm and the spectrum of approaches that it offers such as performance management, total quality management and the like (Hall and Schulz, 2003;Whitty,2006; Day et al, 2006). Commentators on the management of change have cast managerialism as a set of beliefs and as an ideological orientation for it has an impact on the structure of social groups. Pollitt (1993) has illustrated this social transformation superbly:

Managers themselves are the heroes....The villains are more various. They include, on occasions, trade unions (with their restrictive work practices), professionals (ditto), politicians (who meddle and fudge) and bureaucrats (who slow everything down and are usually inefficient). (Pollitt, 1993, p.8)

Bottery (2000) highlights the anti-humanistic nature of managerialism as he describes it as 'economistic', 'directive' and 'controlling' for 'it sees human beings as resources for its defined ends rather than 'resourceful humans' (p.58,63). In a similar vein, there could be

identified many paradoxes lying within the managerialist framework. One such paradox concerns the managerial prerogative as the 'right to manage'. As Pollitt (1993) has argued, managerialism is founded on the idea that managers must be given the 'right to manage', the freedom and empowerment to make decisions about the use of organizational resources to achieve desired outcomes. The 'right to manage' in conjunction with the recurring discourse of managerialism such as 'quality assurance', 'reporting', 'inspection', 'improvement', 'benchmarking', 'performance standards', 'league tables' and the like, make up a disguised freedom as these discourses point to compliance in ensuring that the 'right' things are being done in the 'right' way.

Notwithstanding the irrationalities of the 'rational' management strategy, managerialism grants itself a sort of prestige and for this reason it has found its enthusiasts and adherents. The latter refers to those who have been seduced by the 'discourse of change', one of the key promises in the managerial mantra. Clarke and Newman (1997) have employed the word 'change agents' to refer to those who have been proselytised to the managerialist view of how to deal with the ills of the old welfare state. Thus, according to Clarke and Newman advocates of decentralization and of greater choice have found themselves co-opted to the managerialist discourse. Change is thus represented as a point of attraction for those who feel disenchanting with the inefficiencies of the old bureaucracy. Gunter (1997) reproduces this view for the educational context as well:

The growth of the management imperative is so often presented as an optimistic and positive development in schools and colleges that it almost seems strange to raise questions about it. While we may consider that there have been benefits for teachers as a result of educational changes, we do need to consider *what may*

have been lost and how teachers can understand how professionalism is being reconstructed by the management project. (Gunter,1997, p.1) (my italics).

The argument made by Gunter above echoes the very idea of de-professionalization and this will concern the remainder of this paper.

Much of the debate about teacher professionalism over the past two decades or so has centred around the de-skilling and deprofessionalization of teachers consequent upon the growing performance management policies and managerialist agendas that have penetrated education in the UK, New Zealand and all the English-speaking world. This does not seem to be happening only in the field of education. The audit culture of managerialism and new public management has invaded various fields in the countries mentioned above such as health, public services and agencies (namely the police, fire department) as well as consumer services (trains, buses, planes and supermarket checkouts). Such performance 'standards' of service and delivery imposed by management policies are publicly audited, collated, presumably because it is deemed to be 'in the public interest' (Apple, 2001). Thus the rhetoric of standards and improvement has been used to pacify public demands, on the one hand (Thrupp, 1998), and on the other to ensure teacher alignment and compliance to performance management policies and practices that would lead to student effectiveness.

A widely accepted outcome generated by the process of marketisation and growing performativity described above, has been the transformation of teachers from 'professionals' into 'technicians' (Tomlinson, 2001; Wright, 2001). The latter has been captured powerfully by Fishman (2006) as he asserts that in much the same way that the number of items pass through the checkout operator's hands might be counted ,

examination marks as well as other indicators such as increases or decreases in literacy and numeracy levels are used to make judgements about teacher's performance. The managerial like approach to teacher practice has broken through teacher in-service training and training frameworks for headship as well. Teachers' in-service training in the U.K as well as elsewhere can be characterized by short-termism, 'just-in time' training, an absence of macro-social considerations and an emphasis on the practical implying a technical rational approach to dealing with current issues (Bottery and Wright, 1996; Wright, 2001). Such managerial approaches to training focusing on the here and now deprive teachers from coping with the 'unknown' (Wright, 2001).

The scene delineated so far in this section has sought to provide a brief overview of the discontents of managerialism to professionalism. The latter should not be offered as a solution to be consumed for the short term. Education involves more than just ready-made technical chunks of knowledge which should be consumed in relatively short amount of time before they get expired. Professionalism, should be defined in the light of reflexivity, self-understanding and the acknowledgement of the limitations of human expertise. As Giddens (1991) has put it,

The reflexivity of modernity actually undermines the certainty of knowledge, even in the core domains of natural science. Science depends, not on the inductive accumulation of proofs, but on the methodological principle of doubt (Giddens, 1991, p.21).

Giddens's major suggestion is that one of the basic characteristics of high modernity is that individuals no longer 'trust' expert systems. Modernity's reflexivity engages people to question and learn from the interaction with society. Managerialism leaves no space for

people to question expert solutions, a space for what Bottery (2000) called 'public discourse', putting aside the unknown, the unmeasurable which make up the moral dimensions of teaching. It is to these normative moral dimension of teaching which the next section now turns as to articulate these later to the formation of the Greek Cypriot professional teacher.

Modelling teacher professionalism along moral values and ethics.

As a response to the managerialist impact on teacher professionalism, there has been an active discussion about the moral basis of teaching. Several authors who have entered into this arena have sought to attack the view of the managerial professionalism and recast the role of the professional teacher to that of a more proactive one in terms of public accountability. For the purposes of this paper, the focus will be on those professional models that emphasize those moral aspects and ethics of teaching which need to underpin the professional practice of the Greek Cypriot teacher of the future.

The professional of the future which this paper seeks to provide, involves more than the creation of collaborative and activist professional networks. Teachers should not collaborate because they share common concerns, interests and values, rather they should seek for partnerships that will be build upon the synthesis of the controversial values that each one of them holds. Sachs (2000) drawing on Giddens active trust, puts forward a model of the activist professional as she advocates that:

Recasting teacher professionalism in a more activist form calls for new kinds of social and professional relationships where different parts of the broader

educational enterprise work together in strategic ways. Rather than sectional interests working independently and sometimes oppositionally, active trust requires that a shared set of values, principles and strategies is debated and negotiated (Sachs, 2000, p.81).

While Sachs is certainly correct in arguing for an 'activist professional' and the active trust that is brought by such a version of professionalism, hence, her argument as quoted above must be held with suspense. What if all parties who collaborate happen to be adherents of a managerial strategic planning? Is it necessary for all parties working collaboratively to share the same values?

Professionalism requires more than the formation of collective and collaborative cultures and the opening of school to society.

In somewhat different contours, Bottery marshals a description of the post modern professional in what he called 'five ethics for professions of the third millennium' (Bottery, 1998). The five ethics he has proposed in redefining the professional's practice of the future concern a) *an ethic of provisionality* which admits the existence of different paths to the solution of a problem and at the same time implies the limitation of human understanding in regards to 'truth'. It is an emancipatory perspective for it recognizes the contribution that diverse viewpoints can have for the transformation of a more tolerant society, b) *an ethic of truth searching* which acknowledges the latent uncertainty of professional practice and thus occupational disclosure should take precedence and override personal advantage. In other words, because the professional cannot be certain what is fact and what is still opinion for the time being, he/she is obliged 'to speak out upon issues which may be politically

uncomfortable' (Bottery, 1998, p.167), c) *an ethic of reflective integrity* which draws upon the notion of professional artistry elucidated by Schon (1983) and suggests that the professional should reflect upon the client's opinion about the problem under concern as to reach to a point where both are satisfied with the final framing of the problem. Bottery (1998) adds to the art of problem framing the ecological dimension which transcends technical practice as the professional unfolds to the client 'the multi-layered value laden nature of the reality of such practice and of the society within which it takes place' (p.168). The fourth ethic is that of *humility* where the image of the infallible expert is challenged. The professional in adopting the lenses of provisionality, discovers that his expertise and knowledge is not secure enough to define and solve a problem. Thus he has to shift his role and responsibility from being a practitioner and educator to becoming a learner. The fifth ethic is that of *humanistic education* where the task of the professional is to pass on to the client the competency of the reflective practitioner. In this respect, professionals should disclaim the mastering of the situation and develop the technique of contemplating various reference frames by exchanging information with the client rather than 'selling their already decided approach to them' (p.169). The outcome of such an ethic of humility is not only empowering for the client but for the educator as well, for the client is pre-armed as to be able to solve the problem himself in the future and the educator benefits from such an exchange in that he gains into a process of understanding himself and his practice.

The nature of the Greek Cypriot reform is twofold as a large part of it focuses on technical, logistical, management and legal dimensions, whilst the rest part deals

with the social and cultural fabric of Cyprus the main priority of which being the elimination of cultural myopic viewpoints along with the pursuit of mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. A question thus arises: under which ethical requirements the two bipolar dimensions of the reform can be reconciled? What kind of ethical responses should be taken by the Greek Cypriot teachers of the future? The remainder of the paper will now seek to address these questions elaborating on Habermas's theory of discourse ethics. Before achieving this aim it is essential that more information about the reform be provided as to highlight its main controversies.

Managing the inter-communal impasse at the altar of educational management?

A number of scholars on globalization have noted that economic and political global forces have brought increasing sameness and homogeneity of policy making and of the way organizations emulate one another, leading to the creation of organizational isomorphism (Bottery, 2004; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Just as many restaurant chains and business in many parts of the world are operating on the basic system of McDonaldization, educational systems grow increasingly homogenous in much the same degree (Ritzer, 2007). Other writers have also noted that England has been influential in developing centralizing educational legislation over the last two decades (Bottery, 2004; Gibton, 2004).

Cyprus has not remained unaffected by such global forces and this is reflected in the recent proposal for educational transformation. The need for reforming education in Cyprus is driven by four challenges.

The first challenge emanates from the international economic and technological arena, driving the Cypriot economy to be adapted to the free market and neo-liberal ideologies 'as it is small, very open and increasingly reliant on its human resources' (MOEC, 2008, a).

The second driving force stems from the State as it realises that the upgrading of Cyprus to an international and regional centre of services, makes readjustments in the educator sector a demand.

A third pressure arises from the European Union as the most important challenge for the Cypriot educational system springs from the strategic goal set by the Lisbon European Council for the European Union to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society in the world by 2010 (European Commission, 2000). Further to the Lisbon European Council demand, the UNESCO report on a study regarding the appraisal system of Cyprus has expressed great dissatisfaction of the overall way evaluation procedures and promotions are being carried out in Cyprus, for school leaders are selected on the basis of their seniority in the profession and not according to their managerial abilities. The fact that in Cyprus there is no such a thing as training teachers for a post and that teachers' promotion is based on seniority, has driven academics and UNESCO to criticise the system for producing a

demoralised profession and stagnating schools (Drake et al, 1997; Pashiardis and Ribbins, 2003; Thody et al, 2007).

There is a fourth force impinged upon the demand for change and that is social mobility. Following the accession of Cyprus to the EU, the number of European citizens who live permanently on the island has risen dramatically. Further to the increasing multicultural nature of Cyprus society, the unresolved political problem and the ethnical partition of the island with Turkish Cypriots occupying the north part and Greek Cypriots residing the south, has resulted in the need for social cohesion and has triggered an emphasis on reviewing citizenship identities. The ideal of a 'Greek national identity' is challenged by that of a 'neo-Cypriot identity' (embracing both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots) under a more inclusive umbrella that of a 'European identity' (Koutsellini, 2007). The involvement of many supra-national organizations has been decisive in facilitating this identity reconstruction process. Pioneers from the UN and other American-based institutions have been collaborating in the context of 'Civil Society Dialogue' aiming to aspire and re-mobilize peace builders across the borders that will seek to structure dialogue sessions that will envision and design their future worlds.

All four challenges facing Cypriot education today, are reflected in the educational reform proposal launched in 2004 from the then president of the Republic of Cyprus Mr Tasos Papadopoulos. The government of the latter hired what became known as the team of the 'seven wise' experts to design on paper the transformation process. The proposal among other things, provides for a new teachers' appointment system to replace the existing system based on a waiting list, a new teacher's assessment

scheme, administrative and educational autonomy of school units, an extended responsibility and 'power' to head-teachers, the establishment of horizontal administrative structures, possibility of secondment of teachers to the Ministry of Education in order to exercise specific duties for a predetermined period which means that teachers will be given specific posts such as teacher counsellors in order to mentor and inspect the work of their colleagues, training for the preparation of headteachers and in-service training of administrative staff, the decentralization of local school boards and the introduction of a computerised automation system in schools. All these changes concern the financial and administrative developments which fall under the strategic planning of the reform and are on the way of becoming implemented shortly.

Further to the overhaul and the pursuing of full exploitation of human resources as described above, the manifesto-report produced by the seven wise experts comprising the educational reform committee, argues for the ideological re-orientation and restructuring of the educational system for as the committee has put it: 'the general orientation and ideology in Cypriot education remain largely based on Greek values and knowledge' (Educational reform committee, 2004, p.4). As far as the teaching of history is concerned, attention is paid to the teaching of history through educational programmes and textbooks that correspond to European standards (peaceful coexistence, multiculturalism, respect for difference, and the elimination of nationalism and inter-communal hatred). For the accomplishment of these aims, the proposal calls for the formation of joint educational programmes and teacher training seminars in cooperation with Turkish-Cypriot schools, teachers and

pupils to develop a European dimension and rapprochement among all communities towards a peaceful and viable solution of the Cyprus problem (Educational reform committee, 2004).

As mentioned in the introduction the recently elected president has stressed the need for speeding up the implementation of the Educational Reform proposed by the previous government. In addition the new government has promised to expand and deepen the reform as during the past four years there has been no tangible evidence (Laouris et al, 2008). Thus, with the start of the new academic year (September 2008), the Minister of education distributed a circular to all state schools outlining two principle aims: the development of innovation and creativity in schools and the cultivation of a culture of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots (MOEC, 2008, b). The circular received many reactions from some teachers and politicians accusing the Minister of derogating the nation's Hellenic identity (Cyprus Mail, 2008). The Minister's response has been that history text books had remained virtually unchanged for decades, notwithstanding modern history teaching practices being implemented in the rest of Europe. He also assured that all school books would be revised by a committee of experts that had yet to be created, based on historical **truth** and **accuracy**. In order to make his argument more sound he expressed the view that 'My personal commitment firstly as a scientist and then as a minister, is that **there is nothing like the truth**', meaning that the previous history curriculum did not represent the truth, as the history of Cyprus of the last 50 years is not included, thus important aspects

which blame the Greek Cypriots for the outbreak of the 1974 Turkish military intervention are omitted. (Cyprus Mail,2008).

Despite all reactions ensuing from the Minister's declarations, change seems to be the only stable factor, irrespective of the approach that various political parties back up. The overall Cypriot educational system is on the way of being transformed due to the four challenges given at the outset of this section. What cannot be guaranteed is whether change will be sustained or failed. What educators politicians and educational policy makers seem to have failed to realise is the consequences that are likely to emerge by following managerial like strategies. The new management panopticism with all its monitoring systems and mechanics of performativity (appraisal meetings, annual reviews, report writing, regular publication of results, promotion applications, inspections, peer reviews) brings to individuals a sense of insecurity along with a high degree of uncertainty and instability, producing what Sennett (1998) has called 'the corrosion of character' . Accountability relies only on what is countable and this drives one's sense of self-worth uncertain. Furthermore, the work of performativity has been captured by a number of scholars as time and energy consuming for teachers (Elliot, 1996; Lyotard, 1984). There is an increase in the volume of first order activities such as curriculum management, direct engagement with students. There is also an increase in time and energy of second order activities such as the work of performance monitoring and management. If Greek Cypriot teachers succumb to the altar of managerialism, then their energy that is supposed to be consumed for the sake of inter-communal values, will drastically be reduced and consumed by the cogs of management technologies.

Another thing of concern might be that there has not been any true engagement of all stake holders in designing the reform proposal. Those who designed the 'strategic planning' part of the reform seem to be adherents of the new managerialism alluded to earlier in this paper. One can say this by scrutinizing the way they have sought to devise the new evaluation mechanisms , which resemble the neo-liberal and market-led agendas initiated in England under the Thatcherite government of the 1990s.

The 'seven wise experts' when they set out to design the reform, they had not been aware that the lives of those who will be affected might be alienated. This now shifts the focus on the need to redefine Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism in a forthcoming era of external control and accountability concomitant of the proposed educational reform, while at the same time, they are faced with the challenge to inculcate a multi-level conception of citizenship in the minds of young people (a Greek Cypriot identity, a neo-Cypriot identity which presupposes an acceptance of the Turkish Cypriots, a European outlook, a profile of citizens in a global setting) .

The seven experts comprising the reform committee have failed to take into account any unforeseeable consequences for teacher professionalism as well as for all members of the Cypriot society including both Greek and Turkish – Cypriots whose life will be affected in the future by such transformations. This should form an alarming issue for Greek Cypriot teachers , for their engagement in transforming the citizens of the future should be tightly committed to the lives of 'those who are concerned'. The latter has Habermasian connotations and it is to Habermas's discourse theory that the final section now turns in order to sketch out a professional profile of the Greek Cypriot teacher of the future.

Redefining the role of the Greek Cypriot professional teacher

This section aims to outline the basic principles forming Habermas theory of discourse ethics (1990, 1993, 1995) that will be articulated in the development of Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism. The basic assumption underlying Habermas's (1990) theory is that justifying the validity of moral norms can be done in a manner analogous to the justification of facts. Basic to his assumption is the idea that the validity of a moral norm cannot be justified in the mind of an isolated individual reflecting on the world, rather the validity is justified only 'intersubjectively' in a process of argumentation between individuals, in a dialectic. In other words claims to truth depend upon the mutual understanding achieved by individuals in argument. A communication of this kind came to be called by Habermas as 'communicative action' which he contrasts to what he has called 'strategic action' for as in the latter case 'one actor seeks to *influence* the behaviour of another by means of the threat of sanctions or the prospect of gratification in order to *cause* the interaction to continue as the first actor desires' (p.58). In developing his argument further, Habermas has coined the principle of 'universalization' which he extracts from the notion of 'ideal role taking' pioneered by Mead (1985). The principle of universalization according to Habermas, requires 'a universal exchange of roles' so that none of those affected will be constrained to adopt the perspectives of all others in the exchange of reasons. In addition to these principles, Habermas employs the concept of 'the moral point of view' as a prerequisite in the process of a cooperative search for truth. The 'moral point of view' as formulated by Habermas (1990), arises

out of the multiple perspectives of those affected by a norm under consideration where 'nothing coerces anyone except the force of the better argument' (p.198). The essence of the moral point of view lies in the fact that it is not the individual property of an individual subject but the property of a community of interlocutors seeking to define 'what is equally good for all' (Habermas, 1993, p.151). What underlies his theory is a sense of solidarity inducing participants in argumentation 'to become aware of their membership in an unlimited communication community' (Habermas, 1993, p.154).

Considering Habermas's theory as explained above along with elements of the professional versions described earlier in this paper, it seems possible to develop a perspective for an 'ethically discursive professional teacher'. Thus, the model put forward in this paper should embrace the following attributes:

A search for truth in an ethically discursive manner

Since the major dispute arising from the Greek Cypriot reform proposal has been centred on the teaching of history and the restitution of truth, educators' role becomes decisive in contributing to the reconstruction of historical truth. A number of Greek Cypriot academics share the conviction that history teaching in Cyprus is based on what Lowenthal (1998) has called the 'heritage approach' according to which exclusive myths of origin and continuity are transmitted premised on a dogma of roots and origins which must be accepted on faith (Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007; Papadakis,2008). This approach facilitates the utilitarian and mechanistic role of

education in general as it authorizes teachers to fill the student's minds with predetermined set of values (Massialas and Flouris, 1994; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007). The unwarranted claims of objectivity in history teaching, corrode rather than enhance the democratic ideals upon which the rapprochement of the two communities will be based. Thus Greek Cypriot educators should base their educational praxis in a sphere where communication emerges in a symmetric dialogue which presupposes that participants are 'unconstrained from coercive forces' in a Habermasian sense, whereas in asymmetric forms of communication beliefs are transmitted from the more powerful to the less powerful.

An epistemological turn towards a stance of reflective reasoning

The search for truth and evidence in history teaching implies an epistemological stance. Greek Cypriot educators in an upcoming era of managerialism should become sceptical about merely delivering unchallengeable and external pre-defined solutions to Greek Cypriot pupils who will have to live with Turkish-Cypriot peers, possibly in a bizonal, bicomunal federation within the EU, in a global setting. Therefore, this paper calls for a stance of reflective reasoning. The latter implies of what Bottery (1998,2004) has called 'provisionality', a reflective process of decision making that requires to recognize 'a degree of uncertainty in the personal –or group- perception of the situation, and of a tolerance a welcoming even, of others' views' (p.131). Greek Cypriot educators need not only to internalise this epistemological approach but also to pass this onto pupils by placing this in the middle of a continuum between

the two extremes of the radical epistemological positions –naive realism- and naive relativism. They should frame the issue as such as to demonstrate that naive realist pupils assume that all the documentary sources, and in the present case history sources, are essentially authorless and describe reality in an unmediated manner, whilst naive relativist pupils think that because accounts conflict in their testimony, understanding an incident is all about whose opinion you believe and one opinion is good as another. In a case of pupils' or teachers' adherence to either one of the two extremes, the possibility of an active and critical citizenship will be hindered. If both teachers and pupils become proponents of the third way between the two extremes then the outcome will be of one that Habermas (1995) has envisaged:

An ideally extended 'we perspective' from which all can test in common whether they wish to make a controversial norm the basis of their shared practice; and this should include mutual criticism of the appropriateness of the languages in terms of which situations and needs are interpreted. In the course of successfully taken abstractions, the core of generalizable interests can then emerge step by step (p.117-118)

A commitment to communicative action for the development of a 'thin trust'

In considering the notion of a 'controversial norm as the basis of a shared practice' to which Habermas pinpoints in the above quotation, the formation of the 'ethically discursive professional' will not suffice if reference is not made to the issue of

appreciating diverse viewpoints. This third attribute of professionalism builds upon Habermas's (1990) emancipatory premise that human beings are unique rational creatures that possess the ability to converse with each other without necessarily being dominated by coercion or instinct. He puts forward a conceptualization of an 'idealised life world' where cases of disagreement ought to be brought to agreement by argument as much as possible. In his notion of 'idealized life world' he seeks to prove his ethics to be *universalist* and not just the prejudicial reflection of an adult, well educated, white, Western male of today. What he means with this, is that communicative action engages participants of different colour, gender and race to reach out to an agreement build upon tolerance, dialogue, thought and reflection. This final point recalls for the notion of 'thin trust' provided by Uslaner (2002). Trust is a prerequisite condition for the development of a 'neo-Cypriot' citizenship identity within the EU in a broader global setting. The development of trust does not imply that individuals have to share strong values, aspirations and ideologies. 'Thick trust' is for Uslaner a form of trust seen between those who share strong tastes and values, members of strongly inclusive communities which exclude all who do not conform to such values, whereas 'thin trust' bridges racial, religious, cultural and any other kind of differences. Thus, as a final requirement for the Greek Cypriot professional is that of his/her ability to expand his/her frame of reference by promoting possible examples of the development of 'thin trust'. One such an example could be the recent efforts taken up by supra-national organizations to call upon economic and environmental issues for providing a common interest for both communities.

Concluding remarks

This paper has sought to examine and discuss the controversies consequent upon the recently announced educational reform in Cyprus, in an era of considerable political transformations. The encouragement of a strategic planning based on managerial strategies coincides with the governmental demand for the island's reunification. The rectification of the truth in history teaching has been pursued by some politicians and academics as the cornerstone of building tolerance, trust, and respect between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Thus, the twofold nature of the reform- the penetration of managerialism - and the promotion of values conducive to reunification, is likely to affect Greek Cypriot teachers' professionalism in the forthcoming future. For this reason, this paper has presented an argument for the development of a new form of Greek Cypriot teacher professionalism, referred to as 'the ethically discursive professional'.

The role and task of all teachers in Cyprus, is faced with many challenges and need to be redefined. Unless teachers in Cyprus do not realize the extent of how other countries have been affected by managerial approaches in education and public policy in general, they will commit themselves in what other professionals of other countries have witnessed: a process towards de-professionalization. Bottery and Wright (1997) have been quite correct in stating that:

If teachers and schools continue to lower their heads to pull their classroom or management carts, it will come as no surprise if they end up at destinations they did not select (p.11)

Thus, unless teachers in Cyprus be acquainted with the unwanted side-effects of managerialism to professionalism, and unless they get to know themselves better

and consider about what kind of citizens they want to nurture, it will become exceedingly hard to follow a clear path in sustaining their professionalism.

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