Policy change in literacy education
a multi-dimensional approach to the production of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus in Cyprus

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Policy change in literacy education:
A multi-dimensional approach to the production of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus in Cyprus

Maria Magklara

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the 2008-2010 curriculum reform carried out in the Republic of Cyprus, focusing on the development of the Greek-language syllabus and the resultant impact on Greek-Cypriot literacy pedagogy. The project aims to explore the efforts, tensions and exclusions involved in the introduction of critical literacy pedagogy. This change in policy marked a historical moment for formal Greek-Cypriot education, since, for the first time in the Republic’s history, the Greek-language syllabus focused on developing the critical voice of children, emphasised civic-based virtues and promoted progressive pedagogic practices. These points of emphasis marked a departure from the traditional focus on ethnocentric values, primarily the Greek heritage of Greek-Cypriots.

To investigate the complexities of the policy change, this thesis draws on key policy documents, archives from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), elite interviews with policy makers, and my first-hand experience as an administration officer at the MoEC and a member of the teachers’ committee for the production of the Greek-language syllabus. Drawing on insights from historical ethnography, as well as analytical tools from linguistic anthropology on textual processes and trajectories, my thesis explores the complex politico-ideological and institutional contexts, the peopled and textual processes involved in the curriculum reform, as well as the impact of the above on the development of Greek-language policy.

Academic studies on the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus have focused mainly on text-based analyses of the wider politico-ideological and pedagogical processes. However, it is also important to look at how these processes are manifested in the local practices of curriculum development. I will argue that the policy change involved differing, and at times, competing understandings of the policy process; a strong influence from university academics; and the micro-politics of debates around who should be engaged in the process of curriculum development. This investigation builds upon recent Greek-Cypriot literature which investigates local practices of policy development, but my study looks beyond the role of teachers to the complexity of negotiations among the policy actors of the curriculum review.
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0. THESIS INTRODUCTION

0.1 Introduction

This thesis looks at the processes involved in the development of the Greek-language syllabus and the shift towards a new pedagogic approach — a critical literacy approach — to the Greek-language subject, which took place between 2008 and 2010. It focuses on the link between the wider historico-ideological processes and the local practices of policy development in Greek-Cypriot education, which can be found in institutional, peopled and textual contexts of policymaking.

The critical literacy pedagogy was adopted as part of a wider education reform and curriculum review in the Republic of Cyprus; it is recognised as the first major reform of its kind since the country’s independence in 1960 (Persianis, 2010). The new syllabus was a landmark in Greek-Cypriot education, as it moved away, for the first time in the Republic’s history from an emphasis on national values, and aimed instead at developing the critical voice of children on the basis of civic virtues and progressive pedagogic practices. In examining this innovation, local scholarship has produced mostly text-based analyses of the historico-ideological tensions created by the adoption of this radical approach to the Greek-language subject. We must of course consider political processes from a historical perspective to understand the context in which the syllabus was introduced, but this does not provide an account of the complexities involved in the process of the curriculum review development. This project seeks to combine different ways of looking at the production of the Greek-language syllabus, by paying heed to political ideologies, but also capturing the local practices and the backstage processes involved in the policy change. In order to do so, it focuses on:

1) the history of literacy pedagogy in Greek-Cypriot education;
2) the policy change, as articulated in the education reform’s three key-policy documents (2004-2013);

1 While I do not focus on an exploration of the term “syllabus” in this thesis, I note that in Greek there has been an extensive discussion and a lack of consensus on the definition and use of the term, and its relations (e.g. “curriculum,” “analytical programmes”), due to translational issues. For Greek readers there is a discussion in appendix 1.
3) hidden stories contained in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) archives, which reveal details about the policymaking process and the people involved or excluded;

4) the ways in which policy actors\(^2\) understand the process and their role in it; and

5) changes in the formal characteristics of the Greek-language syllabus, across four versions, and their connection with institutional changes at the MoEC.

This thesis is informed by insights from linguistic ethnography, a research approach that facilitates investigation on the multiple contexts in which texts are produced rather than taking them for granted. It also draws on assumptions from policy sociology studies, which see policies as “voiced” (vs. “silent”) processes, that is, as arenas that reflect negotiations among policy actors in the multiple contexts of policymaking. This view is combined with historical-ethnographic approach, which attempts to reveal the stories that lie beneath the texts. This project also draws on the well-established theoretical framework of “textual trajectories” (and related concepts of linguistic anthropology), which contains analytical tools for capturing change in the uptake of policy texts and ideas as they circulate across sites.

### 0.2 Historical background to the thesis

My research project focuses on the Greek-Cypriot community and looks at the processes involved in the formulation of Greek-language policy as part of a wider educational reform. To provide a brief historical background, Cyprus remains a divided country: Greek-Cypriots control the Republic of Cyprus, which gained independence in 1960 and extends across the southern part of the island; Turkish-Cypriots, meanwhile, live in a separate entity in the northern part\(^3\). While the 1960 constitution included both communities (Greek and Turkish)\(^4\) in a comprehensive republic, intra-communal conflict, which reached its apex with the 1974 war, ended

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\(^2\) According to Birkland, official policy actors are “participant[s] in the policy process whose involvement is motivated or mandated by his or her official position in a government agency or office” (2016: p.108).

\(^3\) The northern part constitutes the self-proclaimed “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (which declared its independence in 1983, but is only recognised by Turkey and Pakistan).

\(^4\) It also recognised three minority religious groups: Maronites (part of the Eastern Catholic Church); Armenian Cypriots; and Latins (who belong to the Roman Catholic Church) (Hadjioannou et al., 2011).
in the de facto partition of the island. From that point onwards Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots diverged in all aspects of public policy, including education. It should be noted that Greek-language education policy consistently meant the teaching of Standard Modern Greek, which traditionally enjoyed an untouchable status in the Greek-Cypriot community, despite the fact that there was also a local spoken variety, the Greek-Cypriot dialect⁵. This practice continued up until the 2008-2013 curriculum reform, when the dialect was introduced alongside the standard: The reform signalled the first dispute around Standard Modern Greek, specifically about whether it should be considered the only legitimate variety for the language subject.

As stated in the introduction, the proposals which put forward by the Greek-language syllabus in order to develop critical thinkers and democratic citizens are connected with a broader shift in the education policy of the Republic of Cyprus towards civic-based and democratic considerations for the education. In other words, the official policy of the Greek-Cypriots moved away from the strong ethnocentrism of the past, which focused on the construction of Greek patriots. Some Greek-Cypriot academics noted that, even after independence (in 1960), the newly-born state was a reluctant republic, with the two main communities (the Greek- and the Turkish-Cypriots), loyal as they were to their respective motherlands, holding back from systematic efforts to strengthen the common Cypriot state (e.g. Ioannidou, 2012; Markides, 1977; Persianis, 1981). In the first decade of the 21st century, however, two events created new political dynamics in Cyprus, which called for a distancing from Greece and an enhancement of Cypriot citizenship:

a) The 2003-2004 political ideology around the prospect of unifying the island, which required Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots to come to the table with their respective initiatives, thus encouraging contact of an unprecedented nature between the two communities since the events of 1974.

b) The 2004 accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union, which created “demands of revisiting citizenship as a condition of EU membership” (Philippou, 2009a: p.199). Regarding education policy, Philippou notes that Europe provided the “framework to legitimise curricular innovation towards

⁵There were also three indigenous languages (Cypriot Arabic, Armenian and Kurbetcha), as well as a multitude of immigrant languages. The Cypriot Arabic and Armenian are recognised as minority languages, whereas Kurbetcha (a Romani variety) is not yet recognised.
tolerance and respect for diversity, human rights and democracy, reconciliation and inclusion” (2012b: p.428).

In order to deal with these two significant political challenges, the Greek-Cypriots made a conscious effort to shift towards a ‘non-ethno-national’ educational design and mission. This orientation was in line with the long-standing agenda of the Cypriot leftist party—AKEL—with which advocated for social justice, inclusion and an emphasis on the common Cypriot identity of all the island’s communities; in contrast, the Greek-Cypriots’ ethnocentric attachment to Greekness was traditionally associated with right-wing parties. The Republic of Cyprus, therefore, in the period of 2004 to 2013, initiated “a radical and revolutionary reform (President Papadopoulos),” in which AKEL exercised an important influence. The education reform was carried out in three stages:

- In 2004, a newly-appointed committee of seven academics published a report, entitled “Democratic and humane paideia in the Euro-Cypriot polity: potential for reform and modernisation”, which declared a move away from the “Hellenocentrism of the past” and towards democratic and humane education, with an emphasis on the cultivation of active citizenship.

- From 2008 to 2013, curriculum review became the leftist government’s top priority: the newly-appointed Curriculum Review Committee (CRC) published a text of principles, adopting the 2004 proposal for a “Democratic and humane School” (MoEC, 2008: 5-6). The text enhanced the vision for democratising education, providing for civic-based virtues and encouraging equal and inclusive participation in education and curriculum development.

- In 2010, twenty-three syllabi were developed for a corresponding number of subjects for pre-primary, primary and secondary education. Among these syllabi, the CRC gave a central role to the Greek-language syllabus. This is mainly due to the fact that this syllabus ‘took over’ the responsibility for introducing critical literacy pedagogy into education.

6 AKEL stands for Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou (Progressive Party of the Working People).

7 Fileleftheros Newspaper, 31/1/2005.
The central role of the Greek-language syllabus was picked up by Greek-Cypriot studies, which mainly focused on policy texts to investigate ideologies, political tensions and pedagogical processes. However, ethnographic studies have yet to document the complexity of the local efforts, tensions and contradictions involved in the process of policymaking, which go beyond the contradiction with wider ethno-national ideals.

0.3 Why I have embarked on this study

My interest in literacy education stems from my role as a Greek-language teacher with academic interest in literacy pedagogy and my service as an administration officer in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) of the Cyprus Republic. In 2008 I was appointed as an administration officer at the MoEC. My appointment period coincided with the launch of the curriculum reform (June 2008). As part of my administrative duties, I had regular contact with educators and administrators from the MoEC, something that helped me establish a rapport with officials who were responsible for the curriculum reform. In conversations with members of the newly-established Curriculum Review Committee, I realised the underlying intention of the MoEC to put forward extensive changes across many aspects of Greek-Cypriot education. As a result, when the MoEC circulated an open call to practising teachers to participate in the policy formulation in January 2009, I volunteered to join the working groups, although I was not at that time a practising teacher. It was in the first meeting with volunteer teachers and academics from the committee for the Greek-language syllabus that I became aware that the academics were designing the Greek-language subject on the basis of current academic trends, which were not often encountered in official policies in education; trends such as the introduction of linguistic variation into formal education, focus on students’ literacy practices, development of students’ critical voice and resistance towards hegemonic positions and power relations.

The above initiatives were in line with international trends in literacy pedagogy, such as critical literacy, genre-based pedagogy and communicative approaches. These trends were subject to academic debates in the University of Thessaloniki, where most of the academics for the Greek-language syllabus were based. Having completed my MA in Applied Linguistics at the same university I strongly felt that
literacy education had to be modernised on the basis of international trends such as the above, and therefore I was very keen to participate in the processes involved in the production of the Greek-language syllabus. In addition, my role as a MoEC administration officer provided me with an inside view of the administration and education of the Republic of Cyprus: I became increasingly aware that Greek-Cypriot education was traditional, centralised (Philippou et al., 2013) and unaccustomed to designing and carrying out major shifts in policy. Therefore, I became interested in exploring how innovative approaches could be implemented in a context that lacked prior experience in education policy shifts of such a magnitude.

When I embarked on this study, I had already two years of experience as an administration officer. Throughout these years of service, I discovered the ways in which things worked (or, in some cases, did not work) in the MoEC. This experience helped me understand the organisational structure of the MoEC and the links between the departments. In addition, I had the chance to see interventions from political parties; but also, negative impact of individuals’ pursuing their own ambitions, and conflicting agendas and priorities influencing the production and promotion of policy. I also managed to gain a good sense of the administration process and the day-to-day workings of the MoEC, through organising or taking part in meetings, writing official reports and letters, as well as liaising with diverse stakeholders within and outside of the MoEC.

With my diverse experiences in the education sector (secondary school teacher, college tutor, ministry administration officer), I became increasingly reflexive on the range of the policy process. On the basis of the above and also motivated by my interest in new approaches to literacy education and my position as a MoEC administration officer, I embarked on a close investigation of the development of the Greek-language syllabus and the adoption of critical literacy pedagogy.

0.4 Research questions and thesis outline

In exploring the development of the Greek-language syllabus and the intricacies involved in this process, I address three broad questions:

a) Which historico-ideological processes and choices in language and education policy provided the context for the 2008-2010 curriculum review? [Chapter 3]
b) What does the empirical investigation of the MoEC archives, coupled with elite interviews, reveal about what goes on behind-the-scenes in the process of the curriculum review and the development of the Greek-language syllabus? [Chapters 4 and 5]

c) What do linguistic and textual choices of the Greek-language syllabus writers tell us about the institutional changes and positions within the MoEC? What does the examination of the various versions of the syllabus reveal about changing strategies around the process of curriculum development within the MoEC? [Chapter 6]

In order to deal with the above questions, my study adopts a multi-dimensional investigation of the curriculum review that explores varying contexts, from the macro-ideological of the Greek-Cypriot educational history, to the micro-practices of policy production and textual processes of the development of the Greek-language syllabus. Although these contexts operate simultaneously, for practical and analytical reasons I discuss these contexts in different chapters, as I present below.

Chapter 1 is a literature review of academic work focusing on the investigation of texts, contexts, institutions and people that can shed light on various aspects of the production of the Greek-language syllabus. In this examination, concepts from policy sociology and public policy formulation create the theoretical basis for the ethnographic enquiry of the Cypriot curriculum development. In addition, analytical assumptions from linguistic anthropology and the theoretical space of “textual trajectories” on the textual processes complement the theoretical apparatus that underpins this thesis’ analytical chapters. Investigation of Greek and Greek-Cypriot literature on the Cypriot policy change reveals a predominantly text-centred focus and recognises a lack of ethnographic studies in the policy development process. Building upon more recent Greek-Cypriot interest in the local practices of the curriculum review, I explore the complexity of the process of developing policy, by taking a close look at the multiple negotiations and tensions among official policy actors.

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8 Policy sociology is a field of policy analysis, described by Ozga, who also named it, as “rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques” (1987: p.144).
Chapter 2 provides a description of the methods and concepts that inform this study’s methodological decisions, as well as a presentation and justification of the ethnographic perspective that guides this project approach to data collection. It outlines the adoption of a multi-dimensional view on data collection, that combines scholarly work on the history of education, MoEC’s archival research, interviews with policymakers, first-hand experience of the curriculum review and comparative document analysis. These methods of data collection, together with the analysis, seek to contribute to Greek-Cypriot studies, by going beyond political and ideological processes to investigate the backstage events and negotiations involved in the policymaking process. They also provide an account of linguistic ethnography as a well-established framework facilitating ethnographic studies that incorporate a linguistic angle.

Chapter 3 examines the evolution of Greek-Cypriot education and language policy from a historical perspective, what Bowe et al. (1992) call the “context of influences”. The chapter focuses on the dominance of ethno-nationalism in Greek-Cypriot education and considers its implications for the diachronic lack of progressive ideologies and practices on the island. It then zooms into the official imagining of an alternative model of education policy, when the government of the Republic of Cyprus decided to introduce radical changes into education, by initiating a major education reform in 2004. The focus is on the institutional context of the policy change — “the context of text production” according to Bowe et al. (ibid) — that will emerge from an examination of three key policy reform documents. Therefore, this chapter provides the basis for understanding the macro-ideological and political conflicts that tend to prevail in the public debate about educational changes in the Greek-Cypriot system. In the next three chapters, I will investigate how these conflicts manifest in local practices of policymaking.

Chapter 4 opens the empirical exploration of the local dynamics of the 2008-2010 curriculum review—the context of practices (Bowe et al., ibid)—by examining negotiations among MoEC-established and emerging policy actors. Following Ball’s idea for a “voiced” and “peopled” education policy research, this chapter looks at the lived experience of the policy-makers, and attempts to reveal backstage stories and tensions among policy groups within the MoEC.
Chapter 5 focuses on the development of the Greek-language syllabus and provides analysis of local tensions between academics and volunteer teachers, who were new to the process of policymaking. It investigates how individual views influence the process of policymaking, indicating in this way the need to go beyond text-based analyses of the political background and ideological tensions, when investigating policy changes.

Chapter 6 moves the analysis to the textual processes of the Greek-language syllabus within the 2008-2010 curriculum review. It firstly zooms into the last version of the syllabus and analyses linguistic and textual choices that are characteristic of its writers’ academic style. It then looks at three previous versions of the syllabus to investigate how textual changes are connected with wider institutional shifts in the design and process of the curriculum review.

Chapter 7 concludes this thesis, by summarising, and further discussing some of the points and findings arising across the chapters. The methodological contribution of the thesis is highlighted in the adoption of a multi-dimensional analysis to policy change that examines policy processes through an ethnographic and linguistic lens. The findings are also placed in the context of contemporary Greek-language policy. Finally, it proposes some potential avenues for future research that build upon the findings.

Across the chapters in response to the aforementioned research questions, I will argue that:

1. Curriculum review was envisioned as a radical reform that would distance Greek-Cypriot education from the domination of the traditional ethno-national ideals. The Greek-language syllabus and the critical literacy pedagogy were intended to have a central role in reconceptualising education along the lines of civic-based and democratic education, aiming to develop the students’ critical voice and resistance towards dominant ideologies.

2. In order to construct the new vision, the government put forward rhetoric for democratic and bottom-up process of policy-making, advertised as a “public endeavour” (MoEC, 2008). There were therefore efforts to create an inclusive
process, by engaging new policy actors in the process, such as school teachers and academics.

3. However, investigation of the local practices of policymaking indicated conflicts between established policy participants, such as secondary school inspectors, and the new vision of the Curriculum Review Committee for a radical and revolutionary curriculum review.

4. This was also the case in the development of the Greek-language syllabus. Despite its democratic, inclusive and radical philosophy, the syllabus reflects the academics’ voice, which dominated over volunteer teachers. Despite the good intentions, the syllabus was technical and gave priority to the academic committee’s views on literacy education.
CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUALISING POLICY AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

1.0 Introduction
This chapter describes the theoretical assumptions underlying my study and discusses how these are employed to address my research questions. Drawing on concepts from diverse (but related) theoretical traditions, it proposes a multi-dimensional approach to policy development as a set of social practices.

Section 1.1 introduces an ethnographic perspective into the education policy research that attends to multiple contexts of policymaking. It takes a “voiced” and “peopled” understanding of the policy process that focuses on the local negotiations of diverse policy actors. It also provides insights for investigating official policy production as a multifaceted and complex process. Section 1.2 combines this ethnographic perspective with analytical tools and concepts on textual analysis that are well established in linguistic anthropology and espoused by “textual trajectories” scholars as capable of capturing textual changes across different documents. Section 1.3 focuses on Greek-Cypriot literature to investigate how far these concepts have been applied in Cyprus. It shows that, while there has traditionally been an emphasis on text-based analyses of historico-ideological processes and pedagogic trends in education, recent literature has started providing a local view, by investigating the role of teachers in the curriculum review process.

1.1 From policy texts to policy actors
Until recently, education policy analysis has been little concerned with research questions going beyond text-based analyses on policy’s effects on people (Bowe et al., 1992). Taylor stated that “the traditional models seemed simplistic, and old conceptual tools seemed too blunt” (1997: p.24). Maguire and Ball explain that such research focused on the implementation, either “as part of the agenda of the reform (problem forming) or as critical of the reform agenda (problem making)” (1994: p. 270), and accordingly little importance was given to expanding the scope of policy research to include the actors’ experience (Taylor, 1997: p.23). This lack of
innovation in analysis went hand in hand with a taken-for-granted understanding of policy (Ball et al., 2012), assuming that it “is something that is ‘done’ to people” (Ball, 1997: p.270). However, Ball (1990) comments that policy process is characterised by “messiness” and “complexity” and therefore we need conceptual tools that can analyse it.

From the late 1980s onwards there has been an extensive body of studies which focus on how policies are experienced and interpreted by policy participants. This section draws on well-established frameworks of policy investigation, such as policy sociology and public policy formulation, which allow for an empirical ethnographic exploration of policy change, in order to shed light on the policy actors’ voice, and their multiple negotiations in the diverse levels and contexts of policymaking.

1.1.1 Policy as a “voiced” and “peopled” process

Stephen Ball and other education policy academics (e.g. Ball 1994; Bowe et al., 1992) provide tools for enriching our understanding of policy as a social process. Ball’s work was pivotal in shifting academic attention from a “technocratic and managerialist” orientation (Lingard, 1993: p.36, as cited by Gale, 1999: p.393) to the ways in which people engage in negotiations and struggles. Ball explained that education policy research which focuses on outcome adopts “unreflexive, ‘blame-based’ tactics of policy-makers wherein policies are always solutions and never part of the problem” (1997: p.265). He criticises these approaches as “single-focus” (i.e. disregarding other policies in circulation) and “single-level”, emphasising that policies do not originate from one level of education; instead, they incorporate multiple messages, functioning differently according to context (ibid).

Instead viewing policy as “both text and action, words and deeds…what is enacted as well as what is intended” (Ball, 1994: p.10), Ball (1997) points to a policy analysis that focuses on the ways in which policy protagonists engage with policy change across multiple educational contexts—an approach that he calls a “policy trajectory”. As he explains:

“The trajectory perspective attends to the ways in which policies evolve, change and decay through time and space and their incoherence. Here policy-making is
a process which takes place within arenas of struggle over meaning (Taylor, 1995); it is the ‘politics of discourse’ (Yeatman, 1990).” (ibid: p.266)

What he is underlining above is the importance of two interrelated aspects of policy and policy research. Firstly, he emphasises the essential role of the people involved in the policymaking process. Ball criticises policy research which does not take into account “the people that ‘do’ policy and those who confront it” (ibid: p.270). He, thus, advocates for a “voiced” (vs. silent) understanding of policy (ibid: p.264), which incorporates a range of “influences and agendas” (Ball, 2006: p.45), and explains why a key ontological issue at the heart of the policy trajectory approach is the way “we ‘people’ policy” (Ball, 1997: p.270):

“By thinking about what sort of people and ‘voices’ inhabit the texts of policy analysis we also need to think about how we engage with the social and collective identities of our research subjects—the ‘teacher’, ‘parent’, ‘policy-maker’; their gender, class, race, sexuality and physical ability. It is one thing to consider the ‘effects’ of policies upon abstract social collectivities. It is another to attempt to capture the complex interplay of identities and interests and coalitions and conflicts within the processes and enactments of policy (see Reay, 1991; Gillborn, 1995; Hatcher et al, 1996).” (ibid: p.271)

The second aspect is that policy is not restricted to texts; it is also related to context. Ball (ibid) emphasises that the degree and extent of policy change cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the differing contexts of policymaking, in which negotiations over the new policies take place:

a) “The context of influences”: this involves negotiations between groups competing over the “construction of policy discourses” (Vidovich, 2003: p.74) and “the definition and social purposes of education” (Ball, 1992: p.19). It mainly refers to the historical dynamics between the politico-ideological (groups of) people and discourses which feed into policy change.

b) “The context of text production”: this refers to the official and legal texts (e.g. circulars and public speeches) that “represent” policy (Bowes et al., 1992: p.20). Texts are “not necessarily clear or closed or complete”; they are the “product of compromises at various stages” (Ball, 1994: p.11) potentially incorporating
“inconsistencies and contradictions” (Vidovich, 2003: pp.74-75; see also Bowe et al., 1992), given that “policies are represented differently by different actors and interests” (Ball, 1994: p.17).

c) “The context of practices”: this refers to the multiplicity of practices involved in the different dimensions of policymaking—development, interpretation, implementation. It includes negotiations, conflicts and disputes as different policy actors are trying to be heard in the process of policymaking.

Ball’s insights have been employed mainly to investigate the stage of the relevant policy’s implementation in schools—what is called as “policy enactments”9 (Ball et al., 2012; see also Braun et al., 2010; Braun et al., 2011). Drawing on a set of empirical data (policy documents, interviews and participant observation), policy enactments researchers provided grounded analysis of the ways in which teachers and other educators interpret policies and translate them into educational practice. However, they did not show equal interest for the stage of policy production.

Gale picks up Ball’s ideas and applies them to the examination of the process of policy development. As he explains, the formulation of official policy can be also characterised by complexity and multiplicity:

“...defining policy production as a series of decisions—as the traditions of political science and administration/management tend to do—without also acknowledging that these decisions are influenced by the material and social circumstances within which those decisions are made, is to miss the basic premise of policy as process. That is, policy texts, policy production and policy producers change within and across contexts, so much so that sometimes there is little that is shared from one to another”. (1999: p.398)

Defining policy texts as “products” that “carry meanings representative of the struggle and conflict of their production” (ibid: p.394), Gale argues that we need to first look at the “politics of policy production”, before moving to an investigation of the “politics of policy interpretation” (ibid). Elaborating on Ball’s focus on the different contexts of policymaking, Gale emphasises that research on policy

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9 Ball et al. explain that the emphasis is on “how schools enact [creatively put into action], rather than implement, policy” (Ball et al., 2012: preface).
development should also pay particular attention to the text trajectories across institutional contexts in which policy is formulated. One noteworthy element of this trans-contextual investigation is “policy genres” (Yeatman, 1990: p.60), which “assign specific meanings”, to particular texts (Gale, 1999: p.400), in the sense that:

“...particular selections and orderings of policy texts ‘sediment’ (Ball, 1994: 17) over time and space to form accepted (reproductive of convention) and acceptable (reproductive of dominance) patterns or ‘templates’ of policy production. (ibid: p.399)

Based on the above, my study builds on the views of Ball (and his colleagues) on policy as an ongoing process of interpretations and recontextualisations; and his emphasis on the multiplicity of the policy actors, in order to empirically investigate the policy change in Greek-Cypriot education as a set of social, multi-sited and “voiced” processes. However, my project modifies Ball’s perspective in two ways. Firstly, my thesis provides examples of comparative document analysis conducted via an ethnographic epistemology and also using linguistic tools to investigate the processes of policy change. Secondly, in order to give a better picture of the linguistic dynamics of policy production, I bring in linguistic anthropology and the “textual trajectories” framework, that contain insights and concepts with which to study the linguistic formulation of the Greek-language syllabus and the evolvement of the policy over time (see also section 1.2).

1.1.2 Further insights from public policy researchers

An increasing number of social and political studies on public policy have provided useful insights into what “translates policy ideas into actual policies”, usually referred to as the policymaking process (Birkland, 2016: p.27). Current policy analysis has expanded its focus of enquiry to include all stages of policymaking, and to go beyond an investigation of the outcomes following the implementation stage. According to Sidney, “scholars should look further back in the causal chain to understand why policies succeed or fail, because the original policy formulation processes, and the policy designs themselves, significantly contribute to implementation outcomes” (2016: p.80).
To examine the design and formulation of policy, academics have problematised various issues related to the nature of the policy, the governing practice, and the role of the people and organisations involved. Collebatch has provided a comprehensive account of the current trends in policy formulation, which allow us to further discuss some of Ball’s insights. Firstly, while mainstream policy literature sees policy as “an exercise in informed problem-solving: a problem is identified, data is collected, the problem is analysed and advice is given to the policy maker, who makes a decision which is then implemented” (Colebatch, 2006: p.309), recent studies see policy as a process which “is inherently complex and ambiguous, and resists the attempts to impose a single line of control over it” (Colebatch, 2006: p.317), thus foregrounding a multi-level and complex understanding of policy in Ball’s terms.

Secondly, recent literature in policy development has enriched our understanding of Ball’s “voiced” perspective on policy, by analysing the role of policy actors. Colebatch underlines that, rather than a “rational” and “omnipotent” actor, the government is a “construct around which a variety of participants circle and negotiate” (2005: p.21). Therefore, he argues, policy is a “continuing process involving many hands” (ibid). In such a multifaceted conceptualisation of the policy-making process, the challenge is to acquire more practical knowledge of “the lived experience of policy workers” (ibid: 22), as well as of the “complex and long-running processes of interaction among specialists” (ibid: p.14).

Indeed, many current studies on the formulation of policy focus on the multiplicity and the complexity of the policymaking process. The emphasis has shifted away from documenting the relationship between design and outcomes, which are usually investigated through surveys and other quantitative methods (Yang, 2007). Instead, the focus has now moved to the interpretation of policy as a social process, that is, as a set of meaning-making practices situated in particular contexts (Yanow, 2007). In other words, the importance is on the lived experience of the people involved, with emphasis on how they act and talk about policy (ibid: p.407).

### 1.2 Textual trajectories: capturing institutional processes

The previous two sub-sections (1.1.1 and 1.1.2) set the theoretical foundations for conceptualising policy as a complex, “voiced” and multilevel process, incorporating multiple negotiations and discussions. Ball’s “trajectory” perspective in particular
underlined the need for investigating the ways in which “policies evolve, change and decay through time and space” (1997: p.266).

In addition to this, and in order to capture the linguistic aspect of the policy process, this section brings in the notion of “textual trajectories”/ “textual chains” (Maybin, 2017)—what Silverstein and Urban (1996) call “natural history of discourse”. The concept, which draws on sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography, discourse and literacy studies, captures the “dynamic, processual aspects of texts” (Lillis & Maybin, 2017: p.410). For a general definition of the notion, I draw on Maybin’s study featured in the Special Issue of the Journal Text and Talk entitled “The dynamics of textual trajectories in professional and workplace practice”. Maybin describes the concept of textual trajectories as “an overarching category to signal a cluster of related terms currently employed to capture the changes, movements and directionalities of spoken, written and multimodal texts – and relationships between these – across social space and time” (2017: p.416). The movements back and forth in the connection of texts construct a complex network of practices of re-creation, which can shed light on the ways in which policies are understood locally and invested with particular expectations. It is important to note how these changes and (re)interpretations evolve across time and different contexts. Rampton et al. explain:

“When the relative durability of physical matter is combined with our capacity to inscribe it with meaning, individual events are positioned within much longer spans of time. The production and interpretation of meaning in the here-&-now becomes just one stage in the mobility of signs and texts, and participants are seen as themselves actively orienting backwards and forwards to the trajectories through which their semiotic products travel (Briggs, 2005). Whereas event-centred sociolinguistics had earlier focused on the local use-value of a particular communicative sign or practice, studying its effect within a given encounter, the ‘exchange value’ of a sign, text or semiotic object now enters the reckoning, and ‘entextualisation’ and ‘recontextualisation’ become key terms...” (2015: p.30)

Rampton et al. refer to the notions of entextualisation and recontextualisation, which become important in the dynamic understanding of texts. The two notions have been mainly employed by linguistic anthropology scholars to investigate how texts regulate institutional practices, and are connected with social, cultural and
ideological processes, as they evolve and change with time. Maybin elaborates on the two concepts:

“While entextualization has sometimes been associated with the translation of speech into writing (e.g. Park & Bucholtz, 2009), it can be defined in broader terms as the encoding of some aspect of human experience and the cultural marking of this representation as a text (spoken, written, multimodal) which emerges dialogically, acquires a life of its own and can be taken up and recontextualized in other settings (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Barber, 2007). In the process of recontextualization, texts are resemiotized and often become increasingly abstracted as they move along trajectories across time and space.” (2017: p.416)

In my study, I examine how the adoption of critical literacy pedagogy in the 2010 Greek-language syllabus took place amidst multiple processes. Textual artefacts are one aspect of syllabus development, and my thesis devotes an empirical chapter (chapter 6) to explore the textual changes across four versions of the Greek-language syllabus. In that respect, the notion of textual trajectories and the related concepts of entextualisation and recontextualisation can be used as “sensitising concepts” to use terminology from linguistic ethnography (Rampton et al.[2015]): the emphasis put on the contingencies of here-and-now, coupled with the links these texts establish with other events, processes and activities (ibid), provide the theoretical framework for exploring how modifications across different versions of the Greek-language syllabus point to institutional processes of curriculum reform. In that respect, they can help us to empirically study both the design as well as the potentially multiple designers of texts, allowing us to:

“...address the propensity of texts to be transferred, transposed and transformed by a wide range of text makers and users (e.g. designers, disseminators, users, interpreters) across different contexts, with different resultant meanings, significance and effects. This framework problematizes the ways in which texts – understood as spoken, written and multimodal semiotic artifacts and phenomena – have been analyzed as discrete and boundaried units fixed in time and place. Secondly, it illustrates what a dynamic approach to textual analysis looks like, by offering detailed empirical tracking of text production and uptake
in a number of professional and workplace domains – policing, social work, journalism, medical surgery, social housing.” (Lillis and Maybin, 2017: p.409)

In what follows I will examine some studies that focus on the relationship between texts and institutional processes.

**Case-studies in institutional contexts**

Textual trajectories have been employed mainly by linguistic anthropology scholars to investigate the role of texts in institutional practices, and thus it might worth briefly referring to some of them.

Briggs’ work (1997) in the judicial domain and the construction of indigenous identities has been pivotal in the development of the framework of textual trajectories. In his study on a purported act of infanticide, in which a young mother of indigenous origin in Venezuela is constructed as a murderer of her newborn baby, he established that her ‘confession’ created a specific representation of the way things happened; this was largely done through the incorporation of features of preceding authoritative texts which were developed in various institutional sites (e.g. medical reports). Thus, her ‘confession’ repeated the narratives produced elsewhere without the benefit of being afforded a critical voice. Briggs made the point that this was mainly due to the fact that poor indigenous people did not have access to the conversational devices connected to the voices of authority and in this way they interpellate themselves as the receivers of the production of discourse.

Along the same lines, Mehan, in his study on the construction of a student as learning disabled observed that the textually-mediated communication practices—both person-to-person and person-to-text—in institutions played an instrumental role in the identification of students as “normal” or “deviant”/ “special” (1996: pp.253-254). He argued that the construction of the child’s identity is dependent on a “technical” and “formalised” mode of representation, which prevails over contextualised voices (e.g. the child’s parents). This “loss of contextual material and participant voice” (Maybin, 2017: p.428) through the system was also identified by Blommaert (2001)
and Maryns (2006) in their investigation of the ways in which Belgian asylum-seekers’ identities are constructed.

The idea of entextualisation (and recontextualisation) of texts is similar to Dorothy Smith’s institutional ethnography (e.g. 2005, 2006). Her approach does not theorise the process of textual development (entextualisation) and recreation (recontextualisation) across social and institutional sites (textual trajectories), but rather examines how textual sequences organise people’s lives in institutions. As she explains:

“Discovering, then, how texts articulate our local doing to the translocally organized forms that coordinate our consciousness with those of others elsewhere and at other times is the objective. Ethnography stretches beyond the locally observable to describe and explicate in the text of local coordinating of people’s consciousness that hooks in to the ruling relations within which institutions form functional complexes. Drawing texts into the scope of ethnographic investigation is an essential step in exploring the translocal organization of the everyday.” (2006: p.66)

Although my study does not focus on the (re)production of power/inequality in the process of policy development as the above studies, investigation on the interplay of participating voices as the texts move across stages, can be useful in my research in understanding how changes across versions are connected with negotiations over the syllabus development. Documenting the ways in which the Greek-language syllabus

Maybin summarises the process of their representation:

“Following the initial interview, the asylum seeker’s story goes through a series of processes of displacement and increasing decontextualization as the case travels through the system. These displacements are in terms of language code (multilingual spoken performance is rendered into a monolingual written account); mode (the requested story is recast as a factual account); and view (the asylum seekers’ reasons for seeking asylum are recast to match professional categories of “refugeeness”) (Maryns, 2006)” (2017: p.428)

and

“whether asylum seekers are deemed to be credible is decided through an evaluation process predicated on ideological beliefs which are fundamentally flawed, and Blommaert argues that transformations of meaning across institutional trajectories and unequal control over recontextualizing spaces contribute to larger patterns of social inequality” (ibid: p.429)
changed across four different versions could be also useful to explore the decisions and negotiations and possibly changing positions of the policy actors of the MoEC.

1.3 Academic literature on the Greek-Cypriot curriculum change

Having described in the previous sections the theoretical approaches that underpin this project, in this section I turn my attention to academic studies on the Greek-language syllabus and the introduction of critical literacy pedagogy to investigate how far these approaches apply in the Cypriot context. I first consider studies which provide text-based analyses of the policy change in Greek-language education. I then look at more recent curriculum and education research that highlights the role of teachers in the curriculum review process.

1.3.1 Text-based analyses

The exploration of the policy change in the Greek-language subject has been dominated by text-centred studies, that focus on wider political values and ideologies—what Gee calls “big D” discourses (1999) — and pedagogical processes. As policy change in the Greek-language subject cannot, in fact, be understood without considering these “big D” Discourse processes, my thesis dedicates an entire chapter to this topic (Chapter 3). That said, text-based studies provide only part of the picture, as they do not take into account the role of people and the local practices of policy development.

As a first step, I outline the most important text-centred studies on the policy change in the Greek-language syllabus, which is necessary to reveal the gap in Greek-Cypriot educational studies.

i) Historico-ideological tensions and pedagogical trends

Ioannidou’s study (2012) entitled “Language policy in Greek Cypriot education: tensions between national and pedagogical values”, provided an account of Greek-Cypriot language education across three historical periods. Her study drew on political values and pedagogical ideas proposed by the Greek-language syllabus to document the ideologies, linguistic varieties, pedagogical approaches, curriculum content and actors that are connected with each historical period. Her main aim was
to investigate tensions between old ethno-national policies and new progressive pedagogical trends, reflected in the 2010 Greek-language syllabus.

She first showed that Greek-Cypriot education has been traditionally dominated by ethnocentric values, a reflection of successive governments’ attempts to present Hellenocentrism (i.e. attachment to the values of Greekness) as the only acceptable form of cultural affiliation for Greek-Cypriots. This ethnocentric orientation aimed to strengthen bonds with Greece. Among the most important choices were the implementation of a Standard Greek-only policy (over the local Greek-Cypriot dialect); the dominance of classical education and traditional pedagogical practices, which connected Greek-Cypriots with the glory of the Greek past (‘teacher-oriented’; ‘focus on meta-language’ and ‘grammar-teaching’); and curriculum themes, promoting the core values of a conservative ideology that enhanced the common heritage of Greeks (specifically, family, country and Greek history) (ibid: p.4). Ioannidou further argued that these choices made it difficult to develop progressive pedagogical approaches in Greek-Cypriot education. As a result, no efforts were undertaken to challenge and question the power of national values.

Following an examination of the ethnocentric choices that had dominated education prior to the curriculum review, she moved on to examine the dynamics education associated with new approaches to literacy education that were introduced by the Greek-language syllabus. She highlighted that the curriculum change promoted democratic cooperation, inclusion and active citizenship, and challenged ethnocentric values through the development of students’ critical voice:

“… it becomes evident that there are efforts to include in the language curricula ideas and concepts regarding language pedagogy that are novel and, for some educators, innovative. The wider philosophy of critical literacy is new to language education in Cyprus, since it dictates a questioning and deconstructing of texts and traditional values, including core values such as ‘Greekness’, ‘national identity’, and ‘religion’.” (ibid: p.12)

She explains that the syllabus differentiates itself from its predecessors not only in terms of its wider philosophical orientation, but also with reference to the education practice, especially as regards: a) the recognition of the Greek-Cypriot dialect alongside Standard Modern Greek for the first time in the history of Greek-Cypriot
education: this choice removes the stigma from the dialect, and in addition the comparative study between the two varieties helps students’ develop their “metalinguistic awareness” and strengthens their competence in both (ibid: p.10); b) the “interaction of structure and meaning in language teaching” (ibid): grammar, syntax, texts and genres are studied together and the focus is on the grammatical choices and their implications for the (re) production of ideologies; c) no specific textbooks are provisioned for the language subject, as “content is not predetermined” (ibid: p.11): instead, authentic material is introduced by the students and teachers in class. Because of the new syllabus’ novel ideas, Ioannidou predicts that the progress of the reform will raise certain issues:

“What remains to be seen, is the actual implementation of the new curriculum for the third period [2008-2010]. Social turmoil resulting from the implementation of different language policies in the past (Daoust, 1997) is to be expected, especially if we take into account the possible connections made by various opposition groups between the critical literacy model and a hidden curriculum of the left-wing government to castigate the national-Hellenocentric educational policies of the past.” (ibid: p.12)

Overall, Ioannidou’s study provides a valuable analysis of the politico-ideological framework in education and juxtaposes it with the advent of new progressive pedagogical trends, which is important in revealing the institutional context of the policy change. However, her study does not capture the role of policy agents in the policymaking process, although she concludes by recognising the need for qualitative studies that focus on the implementation stage and “document the reactions of pressure groups, opposing political parties, the church and the educators themselves” (ibid: p.12).

**ii) Pedagogical processes**

The introduction of new pedagogical ideas and developments in literacy pedagogy were also studied by Greek and Greek-Cypriot researchers (e.g. Hadjoannou et al., 2011; Hadjisavvides, 2014; Kostouli, 2015; Tsiplakou, 2015). In general, these studies draw on policy texts, textbooks and the Greek-language syllabus and elaborate on pedagogical approaches and innovations, such as the new functional
approach to teaching grammar\textsuperscript{11} and the development of students’ critical stance towards the hegemonic ideologies that circulate across texts.

More specifically, Hadjisavvides (2014) provided a historical overview of Greek-language education focusing on teaching grammar. He examined Greek grammar books published in recent decades, and described the shift from traditional approaches to communication-based in the 1990s to functional grammar teaching of the late 2000s and early 2010s. He also employed teaching material from Cypriot implementation of critical literacy pedagogy, to propose ways of teaching grammar within the framework of critical literacy pedagogy.

Kostouli provided several accounts around the Cypriot policy change, describing pedagogical choices made in the syllabus, and also discussing how these were connected with wider trends of language teaching and processes of identity construction (e.g. Kostouli, 2015; Kostouli and Stylianou, 2015). In her study “From linguistic-textual homogeneity to the exploration of hybridity of local communities: ways of shaping and teaching the dominant variety” (2015), drawing on policy texts and documents —the Cypriot Greek-language syllabus and relevant teaching material, as well as mainland Greek textbooks— she focused on the introduction of the Greek-Cypriot dialect in the Greek-language education, which had an impact on the pedagogical approaches and issues of identity construction. She first discussed the ways in which the recognition of the dialect was integrated into and proposed under the framework of critical literacy pedagogy and the related concepts of “dialogicality” and “hybridity”. This is to say, in a bidialectical environment such as that of Cyprus (i.e. Standard Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect), the mix of voices and varieties can be used pedagogically to make students realise the correlation between code-switching and identity issues. She then used Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate what the inclusion of the dialect in the Greek-language syllabus reveals about language teaching models: for example, the introduction of the dialect is indicative of a language teaching model that allows for the development of the Cypriot students’ voice. In contrast, the pre-2010 policy, as

\textsuperscript{11}In 2011, Hadjisavvides and Hadjisavvidou produced a functional grammar on the basis of Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar, which is principally employed in critical literacy pedagogy.
manifested in Greek textbooks, is associated with policy models that reproduce the “construction of docile and obedient people” (ibid: p.163).

The integration of the Greek-Cypriot dialect in the Greek-language education was also examined by Tsiplakou (2015). Following a document-centred analysis, she first provided an overview of the Greek curricula and textbooks (also used in the Cyprus Republic) from the 1980s up to the 2010 Greek-language reform, and then elaborated on the new pedagogic ideas proposed by the critical literacy syllabus. As she explained, the syllabus put forward a pedagogical programme that not only recognised the Cypriot linguistic variation but also used it as a vehicle for developing students’ critical language awareness and their critical voice in general: through their contact with diverse texts and genres written in both varieties, students are made aware of the ways in which linguistic choices function as “indexes of attitudes, identities, ways of representing/constructing social reality” (ibid: p.187). Drawing on teaching material from the implementation of the dialect in Greek-Cypriot education, she argued for pedagogical benefits from the integration of the dialect.

The policy change in education was also briefly presented by Hadjioannou and Tsiplakou (with Kappler) (2011) in an article that provided a panoramic account of the sociolinguistic situation and language policy in the island of Cyprus. Tsiplakou (and her colleagues) called for qualitative studies—as Ioannidou also did in the previous section—to investigate the Greek-Cypriot reactions and document “whether the new language curriculum will longitudinally have an effect on the linguistic situation in the Republic of Cyprus” (ibid: p.533).

**Summary**

Section 1.3.1 considered Cypriot academic literature on the Greek-language education reform. Any project that embarks on an investigation into policy change, such as the current one, has a lot to gain from academic treatments of the 2010 syllabus, that analyse wide historico-ideological processes and pedagogical trends. However, it is worth going beyond the “big D” discourses to focus on the tensions and efforts that can be found in the local policymaking practices. Is ideology universal or does it operate in specific sites? Which ideological processes emerge when we examine the development of language policy, taking into account the multiple contexts of production, in which “agents with expectations and repertoires”
(Rampton, 2009: p.1) operate? Are these processes only related to political parties and other opposition groups, as Ioannidou describes here, or are other processes, tensions and conflicts involved? What do efforts to introduce new policies in education look like when we cast an ethnographic eye on the negotiations among policy actors?

Although Tsiplakou and Ioannidou stressed the need to examine the views of diverse stakeholders and their reactions towards the new policy, at the same time they made certain assumptions about the policy production process, and did not explore the above aspects. This thesis will try to shed light on the official process of the official formulation of the Greek-language policy which preceded implementation, and especially on the interplay of local actors and institutional processes.

1.3.2 Investigating teachers’ views

Although most of Greek-Cypriot literature has provided text-based analyses of wider processes, there have been some studies which have researched the views of teachers regarding the curriculum review. Most have focused on their views regarding the implementation stage (e.g. Kontovourki & Ioannidou, 2013; Kontovourki & Poyiadji, 2014). However, a recent study by Theodorou, Philippou & Kontovourki (2017) has provided an analytical account of local practices of policy development, by examining teachers’ participation in the process. Their empirical analysis included the examination of policy documents produced by the MoEC (e.g. circulars, the Curriculum Review Committee’s principles) and interviews with primary school teachers regarding their engagement in the curriculum review. The principal aim of their investigation was to explore the MoEC’s intention for a bottom-up policy process and compare this with the teachers’ experience and views regarding their participation. Drawing on a Foucauldian

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12 Following the 2008 publication of the “text of principles” of the Curriculum Review Committee, which announced a participatory and inclusive process of policymaking, the MoEC extended an open invitation to teachers to join academics in the working groups for each of the 23 syllabi being developed. As such, the curriculum review was expected to break away from the traditionally centralised practices of policy production, which only allowed MoEC technocrats and teachers unions representatives at the table. The invitation reached the teachers via a circular sent across the primary and secondary schools on 30/1/2009, Theodorou et al. (2017) report this as a move featured in ‘partnership models’ (i.e., models that emphasise the participation of teachers in curriculum development, see for example MacDonald, 2003; Priestley, 2011).
perspective\textsuperscript{13}, the study set out to analyse the ways in which teachers were constructed as “subjects and were subjected to institutional(ized) power relations” and looked for “possibilities for resistance and openings for the destabilization of those institutionalized hierarchical relations” (ibid: p.217).

Their investigation showed tensions between the teachers’ views of their own experience and the MoEC’s intention to carry out an inclusive process in the course of the curriculum review. The tensions within the syllabus committees came to the surface in the form of disputes between academics and in-service teachers; these mainly emanated from divergent understandings of who is best placed to develop the syllabi, as well as whose knowledge should be more valued. While teachers expected their voices to be heard, in line with the MoEC’s effort to democratise education, Theodorou et al. explain that “[T]he majority of teacher experiences were described as ones of minimal contact, cooperation, and communication with academics who were seen by teachers as having no sense of accountability or in certain instances even respect towards them” (ibid: p.230)\textsuperscript{14}. This dominance was mainly due to the view of academics that they had more expertise regarding curriculum design:

“In most cases, as teachers reported, tensions were not resolved through dialogic processes and democratic deliberation but were rather “settled” through the discursive (mis)positioning of teachers as less knowledgeable subjects of academic expertise, and the affirmation of academics’ disciplinary knowledge as the epitome of (legitimate) expertise. This meant that, as roles and modus operandi within committees were never clarified in ministry guidelines, academics would often exercise their power to confer changes in the curriculum texts that in certain cases would discredit, disagree with or even completely disregard the work produced by teachers.” (ibid: p.231)

\textsuperscript{13} They drew on Foucault’s (1982, 1990) framework for the investigation of issues of power, subject construction and resistance.

\textsuperscript{14} The 2004 report of the Curriculum Assessment Committee makes similar observations to Theodorou et al. (2017). As noted in the Assessment Report, “there was no coordination and guidance for the development of the new analytical programs, and that is why the different teams worked in different ways, processes and way of thinking. The process of design and development of the new analytical programs ranged from processes imposed by the academics to autonomous work of the teachers, without serious monitoring or even development of programs by only one person” (2014: p. 315).
In an earlier study, the three academics (2013) also showed the discrepancy between the policy design and teachers’ experience of the implementation stage\textsuperscript{15}. Although they refer to the ways in which teachers tried to deal with the new policy when it was introduced at schools, the findings of this study can also inform our understanding of the development stage. Specifically, they explored the ways in which the curriculum change formally constructed the identity of teachers as pedagogic professionals, setting the expectation that teachers would develop increased autonomy in designing educational practices. They then compared this proposal with the ways in which the teachers negotiated their position across the continuum of minimum and maximum autonomy. The findings showed that teachers did not perceive themselves as possessing maximum autonomy, despite the official rhetoric. One example of this mismatch can be found in the training seminars that the MoEC organised for in-service teachers. Instead of taking the lead to develop initiatives, the teachers had to participate in training seminars organised by the inspectors. Concurrently, the teachers themselves were reluctant to make decisions on curriculum development and design\textsuperscript{16}.

In conclusion, Theodorou et al. provided valuable insights into the process of the curriculum development, by focusing on the teachers’ experience, views and the ways in which they negotiated their participation. Unlike text-based studies, their findings emphasised the role of policy actors in the various stages of the policymaking process. My study builds upon this perspective on the local practices of policy production, but seeks to look beyond the role of teachers. By adopting Ball’s understanding of policy as a “peopled” process (which involves a variety of voices and people who are engaged in arguments), it seeks to capture the multiplicity of negotiations among diverse official policy actors via ethnographic examination enriched with a linguistic analysis. In this way, it attempts to extend Theodorou et al.’s findings mainly in the following two directions:

\textsuperscript{15} Other studies on the implementation of critical literacy include Georgiou (2014), Kostouli and Stylianou (2014); Stylianou (2014).

\textsuperscript{16} According to Philippou et al., teachers' reluctance to be more flexible and take initiative was “an indication of the ways in which teachers have internalized, and thus contributed to, the continuation of their positioning as at the bottom of existing hierarchies of control, though also often challenging these hierarchies” (2013: p.19).
a) Theodorou et al. showed that negotiations between academics and teachers, resulted in conflicting views on who is best placed to contribute to the process of syllabus development. Can we detect such negotiations between other groups involved in developing the curriculum? Apart from teachers, are there any other groups who were sidelined in the process of policymaking?

b) Theodorou et al. revealed a discrepancy between the vision and the practice of policymaking. Was this only related to the people engaged in the process, or did it also manifest in other aspects, such as textual and linguistic?

My empirical analysis will seek to address the above research enquiries, which hitherto have not been investigated.

1.4 Conclusions

This chapter presented and discussed the theoretical assumptions and analytical principles that underlie my research into the development of the Greek-language syllabus in Greek-Cypriot education. In line with linguistic ethnographic assumptions for investigating the multiple processes and contexts of (textual) communication, my research adopted a multi-dimensional approach.

Section 1.1 outlined conceptual and analytical frameworks which allow for investigation of the development of the Greek-language syllabus as a social process that is, as a set of local practices of policy actors involved in the process of curriculum development. Section 1.2 introduced tools and concepts to capture the dynamic nature of texts, which will then guide the empirical investigation of the four sequential versions of the reformed Greek-language syllabus. The last section, 1.3, described the Greek-Cypriot literature, which focused on a text-focused investigation of the ideological and historical context in which the policy change took place in the Republic of Cyprus. I claimed that a discussion of the historico-ideological processes of Greek-Cypriot education is important to better understand the tensions involved in the introduction of a radical policy change, which will be analysed in the empirical chapters. However, the section revealed a gap in Greek-Cypriot educational studies and more specifically in the Greek-language policy change. My study extends the work of recent Greek-Cypriot curriculum studies focused on local processes, by
looking beyond the role of teachers to investigate negotiations between multiple policy actors and the linguistic aspect of the policy reform.
CHAPTER 2

APPROACHING THE FIELD: METHODS AND DATA

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter described the policy conceptualisation that drives the empirical analysis of this thesis, highlighting the need to investigate the complexities of the curriculum review process. This chapter outlines the methodological assumptions and concepts that underpinned this study's empirical research and directed the data collection methods. An ethnographic perspective was settled upon as the most suitable research approach to data collection and analysis. Drawing particularly on two research traditions, linguistic ethnography and historical ethnography that both provide epistemological assumptions for a situated exploration and analysis of texts and archives, this thesis investigates policy development as a “voiced” process in which policy actors engage in multiple negotiations.

Section 2.1 opens this chapter by discussing the ways in which ethnography, as both a methodology and a perspective, has guided the exploration of Cypriot curriculum development. The section further elaborates on assumptions from well-established research frameworks developed in linguistic ethnography. This latter combines empirical research with linguistic analysis and is also informed by insights from historical ethnography, a research perspective that is valuable in uncovering some of the tensions and negotiations in policy production that would otherwise be challenging to identify using textual analysis alone. Section 2.2 then gives an account of the ways in which the empirical research was organised by describing the research field-sites, as well as outlining the diverse data-collecting methods and tools that were chosen to address the research questions in this thesis. Finally, section 2.3 provides a reflexive account of the outsider-insider interplay, which emanates from my dual role as a MoEC officer and a researcher, and discusses the relevant ethical implications.
2.0.1 A note on the research focus: the policy development process

The following sections will elaborate on the main choices made prior to the commencement of fieldwork and data analysis. It is first worth explaining why I decided to focus solely on the stage of policy development, as opposed to that of implementation, which can also provide important insights on policy change. This is probably the most important choice I took in the early stages of my thesis that had an impact on the preferred methods and techniques, the recruitment of participants, as well as the data collection process.

My research plan was to investigate the introduction of the new Greek-language syllabus in Greek-Cypriot education in 2010. This exploration would include research material from the development period, as well as the implementation stage in Greek-language classes. Although I gathered data from both stages, in this study I decided to focus on the design and development of policy. Studying the relevant literature on education reform (e.g. Ball and colleagues) I realised that an overwhelming number of studies have examined the agentive practices of teachers and other educators upon introduction of policies at schools. Such a focus, other than for academic reasons, is also due to the fact that researchers rarely have access to decision-making sites or elite participants. While the doors remain closed to most researchers, things were different in my case: due to my administration work at the MoEC, I was able to draw on my experience and existing relationships with policy actors to examine the policymaking process from within the institution (this is further elaborated on in section 2.2.2). The more I dug into the policy production process, the more convinced I became that investigating the curriculum review processes would be an interesting endeavour in itself. In addition, such insights could inform the implementation period, and therefore be of use to other Greek-Cypriot studies which also look at education policy of the Cyprus Republic.

2.1 An ethnographic perspective on policy production

In the previous chapter I described my research interest in the complex Cypriot curriculum review process by focusing on the tensions between policymakers in their efforts to introduce the new Greek-language syllabus. I also outlined Greek-Cypriot studies that provide mainly text-based data analyses of historico-ideological “big D” Discourses of the reform. However, I argued that focusing on the broad politico-
ideological framework reveals only part of the picture. Backstage negotiations among policy actors, the exclusion of certain policy groups and conflicts between individuals need a close analysis of local practices.

In order to do so, ethnographic methodology was chosen as the most appropriate approach, as it can provide detailed accounts of situated practice and is also particularly helpful in “addressing complexity” (Blommaert, 2007b: p.682). More than just a “description” of the practices examined, ethnography provides a “general theoretical look” (ibid: p.684), which takes certain methodological and analytical commitments. Blommaert explains:

“in an ethnographic perspective one should never have to argue for the fact that social events are contextualised, connected with other events, meaningful in a more-than-unique way, and functional to those who perform the practices that construct the event. One should not have to argue for the situated nature of any knowledge of such practices… And one should not have to argue, consequently, for the fact that ethnographic knowledge is interpretive and hypothetical and escapes any attempt at positivist circumscription.” (ibid)

Drawing on the methodological apparatus of ethnography, researchers can capture “the sometimes chaotic, contradictory, polymorph character of human behaviour in concrete settings” (ibid: p.682), features that are also characteristic of the process of policy development. This attention to the actions of policy actors is in line with Ball’s emphasis on policy “practices” and contexts in which policy agents operate. That is to say, policies are not abstract entities which are only implemented; they also involve agentive practices and recreations in the multiple contexts of policymaking.

Ethnography is a type of qualitative research and shares many of its principal features with qualitative research. Silverman describes the qualitative perspective as “an empirical, socially located phenomenon” (2011: p.119), which allows for detailed documentation of social processes and their situatedness in certain contexts. Therefore, both ethnography and qualitative research take context very seriously, and try to do justice to “how people see things rather than focusing on what is observable” (ibid: p.150; see also Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Maynard, 1989). Vidovich (2003: pp.76-77) discusses the usefulness of qualitative research in policy studies and explains the four dimensions of its appropriateness:
1) it provides “context-specific” accounts of the policy process,
2) it works with “small samples of people nested in their contexts” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: p.27),
3) “the qualitative researcher has an obligation to be methodical in reporting sufficient details of data collection and the process of analysis to permit others to judge the quality of the resulting product” (Patton, 1990: p.402), and
4) it advocates for the researcher to develop a reflexive stance towards him/herself, as well as the research process and products (see Jordan and Yeomans, 1995; Tritter, 1995).

Picking up on all four dimensions, my study seeks to produce a contextually situated account of the Cypriot curriculum review, by looking at the choices and actions of MoEC policymakers (1st and 2nd dimensions). With reference to methodology, this chapter gives a detailed description and discussion of the methods used for data collection and analysis and provides a reflexive account of my role as a researcher, as well as my choices and their implications (3rd and 4th dimensions). Therefore, my study satisfies all the features referred by Vidovich above, and meets the general criteria of qualitative research.

What makes my study ethnography then? According to Heath and Street, qualitative studies are generally distinguished from the ethnographic in that the former are sometimes not established “in theoretical perspectives or conceptual frameworks from a particular social science discipline” (2008: p.29). My study combines ethnography with linguistics, by drawing on epistemological assumptions from linguistic ethnography and linguistic anthropology, two research frameworks that provide concepts and tools for investigating the dynamic nature of texts. Rampton (2009), in his paper “Linguistic ethnography and the analysis of data”, explains that linguistic ethnography deals analytically with “situated encounters” and more specifically with “actions, sequences of actions and the use of semiotic materials (signs, languages, texts, media, etc), as well as “how signs, actions and encounters fit with interactional and institutional processes over longer and broader stretches of time and space” (ibid: p.1). As my study looks at the ways in which the Greek-language syllabus was developed, and the ways in which it was recreated across four
versions, it fits well with the abovementioned theoretical emphases of linguistic ethnography.

Green and Bloome (1997) also make a distinction between “doing ethnography”, the traditional type of ethnography, used by classic anthropology; and “using ethnographic tools”, which is limited to the methods and techniques employed in the data collection stage. Green and Bloome propose an in-between type, described as “adopting an ethnographic perspective”. As they explain:

“by adopting an ethnographic perspective, we mean that it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e. do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnographic perspective is the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology or sociology to guide the research.” (ibid).

My project cannot be regarded as a comprehensive ethnographic study. Instead it identifies as an applied linguistics study which has adopted an ethnographic perspective, as it draws on concepts from policy sociology, as well as linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography in its empirical data analysis. More particularly, based on my personal experience as a MoEC administrator, I decided to look at the “everyday” institutional practicalities and textual processes involved in the policymaking process, while retaining an interest in the policymakers’ views, understandings and actions, by using the ethnographic tools of data collection and analysis (i.e. first-hand experience and interviews).

For the presentation of the empirically-obtained data, I use content analysis, which allows for “a careful and socially sensitive study of a text in close connection with the historical events (Bonidis & Hontolidou, 1997: p.198, as cited by Argyrou, 2013: p.146). I also carry out linguistic analysis, by employing a genre-based framework and other tools of linguistic analysis, which are further elaborated on in chapter 6.

2.1.1 Linguistic ethnography

Drawing on first-hand experience at the MoEC, as well as interviews with policymakers and policy documents and archives, my study seeks to address the complexities of the Cypriot curriculum change and deal with the institutional
negotiations and tensions between policy actors. In order to do so, it combines ethnographic and linguistic analysis, drawing on concepts and assumptions from theoretical and analytical frameworks that advocate for a local view of the social actors’ practices across contexts, specifically, such as Ball’s invitation for ethnographic accounts of policy enactments; Ginzburg’s idea for ethnographic archival research that looks for the hidden story beneath the surface of the text; and the emphases provided by textual trajectories in capturing the dynamic nature of texts as they are recreated and recontextualised.

I judged linguistic ethnography, as a methodological space that provides assumptions and tools enabling the investigation of ethnographic data together with linguistic (and textual) processes, to be a suitable framework for my study. In this section, I further elaborate on linguistic ethnography focusing on two of its guiding principles that are in congruence with my thesis aims: 1) interdisciplinarity17, and 2) a preference to move from the “familiar” to the “strange”.

Firstly, linguistic ethnography is described by Rampton as “a site of encounter where a number of established lines of research interact” (2007: p.585), and, in doing so, it allows for a combination of related concepts emanating from diverse research traditions, such as curriculum studies, education policy, language policy and literacy education. As my study is not tied to one research tradition, adopting instead a multidimensional approach to policy change, linguistic ethnography’s commitment to interdisciplinarity is of vital importance. Rampton remarks however that this interdisciplinary dialogue is not chaotic, but exhibits an “overarching intellectual warrant for this interaction” (ibid), which resides in two broad research aims:

1) “The contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and

2) Analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world.

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17As Rampton et al. (2004) explain, UK linguistic ethnography draws on a range of different traditions, such as US-based linguistic anthropology, New Literacy Studies, interpretative applied linguistics (for language teaching), Critical Discourse Analysis and interactional sociolinguistics.
Meaning is far more than just the ‘expression of ideas’, and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain” (ibid).

It is evident from the excerpt above that linguistic ethnography scholars consider contexts of language use extensively, guiding their exploration through ethnography. Rampton emphasises that ethnography enables “reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets out” (ibid: p.596). Accordingly, my study reflects on the Cypriot curriculum review from the inside, using my experience as a MoEC administration officer. It looks at the backstage processes and choices of policy actors, their “expectations and repertoires” as Rampton notes above, an approach that is in congruence with Ball’s understanding of education of policy research as “voiced” or “peopled”. In addition, responding to Rampton’s emphasis on the linguistic and textual “fine-grain”, my research examines the textual trajectory of the Greek-language syllabus. By exploring four sequential versions, it seeks to understand “what is left out” in the gradual construction of critical literacy pedagogy (exclusions and strategic moves are also observed in the empirical data of the MoEC-based policy groups).

Secondly, linguistic ethnography shows a preference to move from the “familiar” to the “strange”. Unlike traditional anthropology that explores “exotic/distant locations”, Rampton remarks that linguistic ethnography researchers often follow a “from-inside-outwards trajectory” (2007: p.591). By focusing their research on institutions and people in the location and area where they are based and work (see also Hymes, 1969), Rampton explains that:

“researchers have tended to develop their commitment to ethnography in the process of working from language, literacy and discourse outwards, and so even though they have varied in just how far ‘outwards’ they reached, for the most part the ethnography has taken the narrower focus that Hymes calls ‘topic-oriented’ (Hymes, 1996: p.5)” (ibid: p.600).

In this way, linguistic ethnography researchers do not seek to produce “a comprehensive ethnography...documenting a wide range of a way of life (Hymes, 1996: p.4)”, which is often associated with classic anthropology. Coming from
applied linguistics, linguistic ethnography researchers draw on ethnography “as a way of enriching a fundamentally linguistic project” (Rampton et al., 2015: p.18), and, by using anthropological concepts, they provide detailed and nuanced study of phenomena encountered in their own country, institutions, etc.18. Along the same lines, my study is an applied linguistics project which seeks to capture the complexities of the policy change in the Greek-language subject. Drawing on my personal experience at the MoEC, I follow an “inside-outwards directionality” (Rampton, 2007: p.591) and I investigate the Cypriot curriculum review, with the ultimate intention of theorising the policymaking process, language and education policy and literacy education.

2.1.2 Historical ethnography/anthropology

While linguistic ethnography provides the methodological umbrella for the combination of ethnographic method with linguistic analysis, scholarly work of historians and anthropologists such as Ginzburg, Fabian—to name two19— have been pivotal in introducing an ethnographic perspective to the study of historical data.

Ginzburg’s work (1980), along with other colleagues, played an important role in the emergence of “micro-historical” analysis 20. Micro-history is an interpretative approach, that moves away from the macro-perspective analysis of historical data to “history from below” (Kokkinos, 1998), attaining to reveal “factors previously unobserved” (Levi, 1991: p.97). More particularly, Ginzburg’s research on historical texts that narrate episodes from the Medieval Inquisition went beyond the study of big historical events, associated with “high culture” and looked for one peasant’s beliefs, who was accused for violating catholic dogma. Through this investigation, Ginzburg managed to reconstruct two different worldviews—the recognised worldview of Inquisition judges and the invisible one of peasant. His particular interest, as Kokkins explains:

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18 According to Rampton, ethnography provides to linguistics—among others— “a sense of the cultural & personal perspectives/experiences that participants bring to interactions, and take from them” (2009: p.2).


20 According to Kokkins (1998), micro-history is a move in historiography that emerged from the theoretical crossroad of history, cultural anthropology (especially Geertz), theory of literature (especially Bakhtin) and meta-structuralism (especially Foucault).
“... it is not the impersonal masses, but the people who through the adventure of their lives and their thoughts lead us from the individual to the general and collective. In this way, history is transformed from a single process and a universal narrative into multi-centric dynamic and multifocal analysis, breaking in this way the interpretative perspective of macro-historical narratives and highlighting the multiplicity of social representations” (1998: p.269; my translation).

Ginzburg’s study of historical records of medieval Inquisition made systematic use of ethnographic principles, although he did not explicitly identify his work as ethnographic. For example, he paid tribute to details and otherwise hidden signs included in the beliefs of a certain peasant. He also explained his process as a historian-anthropologist and reflected on his enquiry’s limitations and affordances—bringing in mind the ethnographers’ emphasis on reflexivity. As Ginzburg explains:

“The obstacles interfering with the research were constituent elements of the documentation and thus had to become part of the account; the same for the hesitations and silences of the protagonist in the face of his persecutors’ questions—or mine. Thus, the hypotheses, the doubts, the uncertainties became part of the narration; the search for truth became part of the exposition of the (necessarily incomplete) truth attained. Could the result still be defined as “narrative history”? For a reader with the slightest familiarity with twentieth-century fiction, the reply was obviously yes” (1993: pp.23-24).

Fabian (1986) also, in his research of language policy in colonial Africa, took a close ethnographic look at textual processes. He focused on historical documents (e.g. grammars, dictionaries) found in governmental, missionary and other sources which documented the imposition of colonial power through the development of a variety of Swahili as a common means of communication, a colonial lingua franca. In order to achieve this, he employed a “processual interpretative frame” (ibid: p.9), explaining that his interest was on the practices of the people who adopted the language, rather than providing general information about ‘when’ and ‘where’ this happened (ibid). This means that his research aim was to “identify processes, spheres of interaction and sets of conditions” (ibid), further explaining:
“the problem is not so much in describing points and routes of infiltration as in identifying an arena of interplay between historical events, political decisions and socioeconomic.... conditions” (ibid);

He also emphasised about his data (especially dictionaries produced by amateurs) that they were approached as “historical accounts, not just as sources of historical information” (ibid: p.10). This means that linguistic variation included in dictionaries was not seen as feeble data since it was not developed by linguists. Instead such data were regarded as an “indicators of a communicative praxis” and he concluded that “If properly interpreted they can be made to reveal what they hide and to release what they control at least to some point” (ibid: p.11).

As my study is interested in revealing untold stories of the curriculum review, it draws on insightful analyses such as the above that can illuminate the micro-practices of policy agents. Looking at archival data through a micro-historical perspective, that focuses on the details and the small, and interpreting them as indicators of negotiations and other policy practices, we can investigate behind the scenes to find stories of the Cypriot curriculum review, that are disguised in the official MoEC documents. Much like Ginzburg’s protagonist, who was riddled with doubts and uncertainties, MoEC archives are replete with tensions, silences and absences, contradictions, as well as insufficient responses to the requests of policy actors. In conclusion, archival research is needed to reveal portions of hitherto ‘invisible’ parts of the complex negotiations and tensions between policy groups, and give an idea of covert agendas of key policy actors.

2.2 Data collection: field-sites and methods

Blommaert comments on the process of collecting data:

“In ethnography...the history of data is acknowledged as an important element in their interpretation. It is recognised that the way in which data have been gathered, recorded, and treated by the analyst influence what these data tell us (e.g. Bauman, 1995; Silverstein, 1996; Haviland, 1996; Urban, 1996). The time, place, and occasion at which data are being gathered have an effect on the data: they are what they are because they occurred in that shape in that context” (2005: pp.64-65).
On this basis and having described the ethnographic perspective as the most appropriate methodological approach in the investigation of curriculum review development, this section presents and discusses how the data collection process was designed and shaped. My fieldwork took place between 2012 and 2017:

- In 2012-2013, I conducted interviews with 25 policy actors involved in the 2008-2010 curriculum review, with 5 follow-up interviews between 2016 and 2017.

- In 2016-2017, I conducted an investigation of MoEC archival material.

- My research design and interpretations were also informed by my first-hand experience at the MoEC, where I worked from 2008 to 2016\(^{21}\) (with a one-year hiatus to work on this thesis) as well as by my participation in the volunteer teachers’ committee for the development of the Greek-language syllabus between March and June 2009.

Section 2.2.1 first gives an account of the field-sites. Section 2.2.2 focuses on the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus as the primary site for data collection and outlines my personal experience of the field as one of the methods of data collection. Sections 2.2.3 to 2.2.5 describe and discuss further methods used to address the thesis research questions. I argue that a combination of four types of methods—first-hand experience, elite interviews, archival research and comparative analysis of documents—can support a multi-dimensional methodological approach, as according to Lillis:

“…multiple data sources help to build rich descriptions and understandings of the particular material conditions in which people live and work, and to help the researcher maintain an openness to what may be significant to participants” (2008: p.372).

The use of varied theoretical frameworks and methods—widely known as “triangulation”—is emphasised in social research literature as a necessary principle for qualitative research (e.g. Flick, 2004; Steinke, 2004). Although triangulation has received a significant measure of criticism as a validating strategy (e.g. Fielding & Fielding, [1986] accuse it of “extreme eclecticism”), recently, researchers have

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21 In 2016, I chose to be transferred to a secondary school as a Greek-language teacher.
recognised its potential as a “strategy for justifying and underpinning knowledge by gaining additional knowledge” (Flick, 2004: p.179; see also Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In that respect adopting a multi-dimensional approach to data collection can help me capture the multiplicity of practices and negotiations involved in the Cypriot curriculum review.

### 2.2.1 Sites for data collection

The primary goal of this thesis is to investigate the process of curriculum development carried out in the Cyprus Republic between 2008 and 2010. To serve this goal, I chose the following sites:

i) **The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC):** the central administration of the MoEC of the Republic of Cyprus was my primary field site. Since its foundation in 1965, the MoEC has been the Greek-Cypriot institution solely responsible for the design, development and implementation of education policy, as well as for the administrative governance of schools and teaching staff (Theodorou et al., 2017). Although pressure groups have also simultaneously played a role in curriculum reform (i.e. the Church, teachers’ trade unions, parents’ associations), the MoEC has held the primary role in the development and dissemination of new policies (Ioannidou, 2012), including, of course, the 2004-2013 education reform. Having worked as an administration officer from 2008 to 2016, I have a first-hand experience at the MoEC. In the course of my employment, I conducted interviews and collected archival material on the curriculum review (e.g. announcements about the makeup of the policy bodies, letters from stakeholders, etc.).

ii) **The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (CPI):** the CPI is under the administrative umbrella of the MoEC of the Republic of Cyprus, but is located on separate premises outside Nicosia. Between 2012 and 2017, I visited the CPI several times to attend meetings and interview high-ranking policymakers. Specifically, I conducted three interviews, two with high-level CPI officials, and the other with the Chairman of the Curriculum Review Committee, whose office was located at

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22The central administration of the MoEC is located at the centre of Nicosia (Corner of Kimonos and Thucydides, 1464, Nicosia). It consists of a block of three buildings, each on four levels, except for the middle block which has five levels.
the premises of the CPI. In 2009, prior to embarking on this PhD or conducting any interviews, I visited the CPI several times in the course of my participation in the committee of volunteer teachers for the development of the Greek-language syllabus. This experience enriched my understanding of the curriculum review process, and in addition allowed me access to the four versions of the Greek-language syllabus, which were distributed to volunteer teachers as myself.

iii) I also interviewed policy actors in the following locations:

   a) **A secondary school**: the leader of OELMEK (secondary school teachers’ union) was interviewed in his office at the Kykkos A secondary school, where he served as a headmaster;

   b) **A university campus**: two of the CRC members were interviewed at their offices at their university;

   c) **Remotely**: the follow-up interview with the Chairman of CRC, as well as with one member of the academic committee for the Greek-language syllabus was conducted through Skype.

Having presented the field-sites, in the following four sections I elaborate on the methods employed for data collection.

### 2.2.2 My first-hand experience

In line with linguistic ethnography’s emphasis on conducting research from the inside out, I built this thesis on questions about the MoEC as my workplace, and then—as Tsitsipis remarks about such studies—I “turned to ethnography to find answers” (2007: p.397). More specifically, my role as an administration officer guided me within the research site to formulate research questions, especially the second research question which concerns the investigation of the backstage processes of policy development (see section 0.4). In what follows, I give a detailed account of my posts and duties at the MoEC, while outlining the ways in which my daily interaction with educators and administrators gave me a good sense of policy development priorities.

Throughout my seven years of service, I was posted at the Department of Secondary Education, which is located in the central buildings of the MoEC. Although my
Office was on the second level, I would often carry out administrative work, cooperate with colleagues or attend meetings in other departments. Although most of my administrative work was related to problem-solving (e.g. disputes between the MoEC and private schools), I would also attend meetings on policy issues, such as the development of new regulations for private schools. These meetings did not directly address the education and curriculum review, but, as I was in charge of planning and carrying them out, they helped me understand the MoEC policy development process. For example, I observed that some committee members had close personal ties with MoEC officials. I came to realise that such links are highly relevant in a small state such as Cyprus, where issues of familiarity often impact the public sphere in general, and policy issues in particular. On the one hand, it is easier and more efficient to create new policy when using a consistent and small group of people already in-the-know, but on the other, such an insular setup not only presents a high level of risk to the necessary concept of meritocracy, it also sacrifices the opportunity to hear a diversity of voices.

I may not have been able to engage with the education reform directly, but I would frequently converse with members of the education and curriculum review committees. For example, Dr Katsonis, my first supervisor at the Department of Secondary Education, was also member of the Education Reform Committee. Katsonis and I would often discuss the progress of the reform, which took place throughout his service and after his retirement in 2009. When I embarked on the current project, I would often ask him questions about general policy reforms, and twice secured recorded interviews with him. I would also talk with teachers who were seconded to the Minister’s office. In this manner, certain colleagues became key research participants, in the sense that they illuminated aspects of the reform (albeit without disclosing sensitive or confidential information), and helped me make links between aspects of the review otherwise invisible or hidden. For example, one

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23 According to the Cyprus Ministry of Finance (www.mof.gov.cy), administration officers are those responsible to “collect and analyse data and information; keep notes, produce memos, reports and keep minutes; submit proposals to address administration problems, and execute administration decisions”.

24 Seconded teachers are those from primary/secondary/vocational education, who are selected upon application to be temporarily posted at a MoEC or Cyprus Pedagogical Institute department. They usually carry out administrative or educational duties.
of the seconded teachers told me that disagreements between the Chairman of the Curriculum Review Committee and the government had led the former to resign and leave Cyprus. While the participant did not know or perhaps want to reveal the reason(s) behind the disagreements, the information provided led me to think about the nature and intensity of disputes and conflicts between policy reform actors. This resulted in my integrating this aspect in my interviews with Tsiakalos (see section 7.4.2).

My first-hand experience at the MoEC therefore played an important role in my research. As I worked, the nature of my observations evolved to be more and more systematic, conscious and focused. While my dual role of researcher and practitioner presented certain challenges (i.e. ethical issues, which will be considered in the reflexivity section 2.3.2), it also worked to reduce the “observer’s paradox”, as talking about the curriculum review was part of my everyday interaction with fellow co-workers. Milroy and Gordon note that “many speakers will tend to shift away from their casual usage in situations where they are being recorded by a stranger” (2003: p.49), often resulting in a change in behaviour (Charalambous, 2009: p.102). There was a marked difference in my case: I was not a stranger to the field-site. This means that I did not have to make much effort to establish rapport with my participants, nor to convince them that our discussions on policy issues were part of my research interests.

2.2.3 Archival data

Archival research was chosen as one of the methods to interpret the curriculum review process, and a list of archives used for the purposes of this thesis can be found in appendix 2.

Several documents covering the period of the education reform (2004-2013) were obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture with written permission. As this thesis investigates negotiations among the Cypriot curriculum review policy actors, the focus is on documents produced during the two-year period of syllabus development, that is from 2008 (the appointment of the Curriculum Review Committee) to 2010 (the publication of the syllabi for pre-primary, primary and secondary education). Archival material was selected and studied at length and I chose eight documents to directly refer to. I managed to find my way through
numerous documents by taking advantage of my administrative background and my familiarity with the MoEC filing system. Although my initial intention was to find data about the composition of the policy committee, I soon realised that the field was rich with sometimes conflicting information, as well as evidence of disputes among policy actors. As a result, the archival material that was ultimately used for the purposes of this thesis falls into two main categories:

i) Documents that communicate and analyse the MoEC philosophy and choices regarding the curriculum review process: i.e. newsletters, annual reports, press releases that provide information about aspects of the policy change (e.g. the criteria used for the appointment and make-up of the curriculum policy bodies, statistical data around MoEC policy actors and their involvement in the policy change); these documents, examined together with interviews and in light of my personal experience at the MoEC have helped me document the events and developments of the curriculum review.

ii) Correspondence between the MoEC and stakeholders/policy actors: several letters were exchanged between MoEC-based groups (e.g. inspectors)/ external stakeholders (e.g. the Church) and the Minister and the Permanent Secretary of the MoEC. By examining their views and complaints, we can extract information about micro-political issues, i.e. negotiations around policy body candidates.

Archives have been used extensively by historians and anthropologists as a source of historical data regarding past generations’ events and actions. However, from the 1970s onwards, a growing number of critical historian voices, who had been influenced by cultural studies, have challenged the dominant ways of conducting historical research. King remarked, “how information is presented within the archives it is at least as important as what information was being presented” (2012: p.23). He went on to elaborate:

“By drawing attention to archival principles of collection, selection, arrangement and control, a new generation of historians began to render archivisation and archival research as historical processes, subject to a range of temporal, political and practical concerns, rather than self-evident details....it has since become routine to recognise how acts of producing, organising and classifying archival
documents constitute forms of knowledge in and out of themselves, which archival collections as a whole constrain the types of histories made possible and impossible through them” (ibid: p.17).

When I started collecting archival material, I was not familiar with the above scholarly criticism on archives. However, based on my experience as an administration officer (by reading letters from citizens/other MoEC departments, and myself producing official documents in the course of my employment), I became aware that archives do not necessarily contain objective facts, but may instead reflect their writers’ micro-political agendas and thus carry tensions and conflicts within. Although administration practice is generally carried out along specific guidelines and templates for each genre (e.g. notes, circulars), there is some flexibility in the content, the form and the structure of official documents. This small measure of freedom, which usually goes unobserved, can conceal a writer’s intention to obfuscate or avoid responsibility. For example, in the case of a reply to a citizen’s letter taking longer than what is considered acceptable, Ministry workers can sometimes mark the letter with an earlier date than the actual date of reply. Or replies to demands made by stakeholders/citizens may include vague information and weak references to MoEC policy, in order to discourage the recipient from investigating the case further. In all cases, good administration experience is needed to spot these details, combined with an ethnographic sensitivity to be able to analyse the reasons behind such choices.

2.2.4 Greek-language syllabus versions

Four versions of the Greek-language syllabus were also deployed to investigate negotiations among policy actors and strategy shifts in a key period. In January 2009, I responded to MoEC’s invitation to volunteer teachers to participate in the Greek-language committee. In the course of my participation, I was given access to four versions of the Greek-language syllabus, which were all disseminated to volunteer teachers or, in the case of the final version, were made available to the public. I present them briefly here, since they will be analysed empirically in chapter 6 (section 6.2):

**Version 1**: this was communicated to volunteer teachers in April 2009; it was distributed prior to the first meeting between the academics and the volunteer
teachers, and presented the main principles of the new approach to the Greek-language subject, which was later called “critical literacy pedagogy”;

**Version 2**: this was provided to volunteer teachers in June 2009, prior to the 2nd meeting;

**Version 3**: this was provided to volunteer teachers in September 2009, before the first round of training seminars which were conducted by the Greek-language committee academics;

**Version 4**: this is the published version of the syllabus, which was included in a two-volume publication by the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute.

### 2.2.5 Interviews

Data collection also included interviews with policy agents across the site fields (described in section 2.2.1) and a list of interviewees can be found in appendix 3. Interviews were conducted in two rounds over the course of my research: a) in the initial stages (2012-2013), and b) during the final year (2017)\(^{25}\).

Most participants were high-level policymakers, that the relevant literature describes as the “elite”. Harvey notes that there is not a “clear-cut definition of the term ‘elite’” (2011: p.432). He refers to many definitions, of which I favour Zuckerman’s (1972), who said that elites are “individuals who hold a significant amount of power within a group that is already considered elite”. In the context of my research, this meant participants who played (or were expected to play) an important role in the process of the curriculum development. In total, I conducted 30 policy actor interviews who fell under the following categories\(^{26}\):

i) Top-level MoEC officials, i.e. the Minister of Education and Culture, the Chair of the Curriculum Review Committee and the Head of the Pedagogical Institute;

\(^{25}\) It should be noted that I had regular discussions and contact with many of my research participants between the two official rounds of interviews (e.g. Stylianou, the former MoEC General Secretary; Katsonis, the seconded inspector at the Minister’s office).

\(^{26}\) I interviewed 25 participants and I also conducted 5 follow-up interviews, in total around 28 hours of recorded material. A detailed list of interviewees is provided in appendix 3.
ii) Senior administrators, i.e. the Permanent Secretary and the Director of Secondary Education;

iii) Academics, i.e. two members of the Greek-syllabus committee;

iv) Representatives of teacher unions, i.e. one former leader of OELMEK;

v) Teachers seconded to the MoEC and the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute.

Interview participants were generally recruited with ease, especially those officials with whom I had had regular contact during my time at the MoEC. I emphasised the aims of my research and confidentiality procedures (see also appendix 7 for the consent form): I clarified that under no circumstances would I take advantage of my position as a MoEC administrator to ask for confidential data, or share with other MoEC officials sensitive information obtained during the interview process. In addition, I explained that I did not intend to evaluate the curriculum reform, nor assess the degree of their participation in the curriculum development, but rather that I intended to build an understanding of the reform, in order to tell its story.

The vast majority of the interviewees were willing to participate in the research and give an interview, as we already enjoyed a strong interpersonal relationship and mutual trust through our daily contact at work. Also, for the most part, participants did not object to me recording our conversations, as most of them were well-educated, had conducted research themselves or were familiar with being interviewed. The interviews were all scheduled as informal conversations and conducted in my office or the participant’s office, with both parties usually sitting in the same position as during the work day. Most interviews were carried out after working hours, increasing in this way their informality. During the interview, I used specific strategies so that the interviewees would not feel threatened. For example, by following Harvey’s suggestions I employed “appropriate language” and tried to be “sensitive with the tone of the questions” (2011: p.438). In order to make them feel more comfortable, I also included more open-ended questions: e.g. instead of asking them to rank the most important factors that could have influenced the

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27 I also had an informal conversation with another former leader of OELMEK.

28 Some of the participants were explained the research procedure orally and their consent was recorded.

29 In just two interviews informants asked me to take notes, instead of recording the conversation.
outcome of the curriculum review, I encouraged them to share their experience of the Curriculum Review Committee meetings.

One important feature of elite interviews is that “elites will often try to control an interview, and be more particular about the questions they are willing to answer than other interview subjects” (Harvey, 2011: p.439). I did, in fact, have participants who tried to control the interview and push their own agenda by emphasising their contribution to the reform. For example, on three different occasions, and before I could ask a single question, participants started expounding on their vision of the policy change and dedicated almost a quarter of the allotted schedule to talking about their role in the curriculum review. Being aware of the elite tendency to lead the conversation, I let them articulate their views. However, in the course of the interview I tried to negotiate my role and get back to my own questions. In the follow-up interviews, I reduced the number of questions and only included those that referred to the policymaking process, rather than their vision regarding the curriculum review.

Interviews were semi-structured from the beginning. Ahearn notes that this type of interview contains a “list of general areas the researcher would like to discuss, but no strict order or wording” (2012: p.35). Interviews like this combine a degree of flexibility and garner detailed responses from the interviewees, while revealing information about themes closely connected with the research questions (Rabionet, 2011: p.564). Semi-structured interviews are also particularly suitable for elites, who are used to employing their time efficiently (Bernard, 2013; Harvey, 2011). Aberbach and Rockman advise researchers to opt for open-ended questions and semi-structured interviews, giving elites “latitude to articulate fully their responses” (2002: p.674). In the period of data collection (2011-12), the curriculum reform was already in progress, marking a year after the publication of the syllabi and coinciding with the first two years of implementation. I was therefore interested to see how the policymakers talked about their role in the reform. I used the interviews mainly as a way to gather information about how they had experienced the process of the curriculum development and to document the changes in their participation in the reform process (from 2004 to 2012-3).
On this basis, my questions for the first round of interviews were organised under the following three categories:

a. **biographical data**: e.g. education, posts occupied in the MoEC or in secondary education, in order to gather data about the policymakers’ background and degree/status of participation in the education/curriculum reform;

b. **administrational/bureaucratic information about the curriculum reform**: as my primary interest in the curriculum reform was focused on the way in which this was designed and developed, I included questions about the role and status of the policymaking sites under investigation (e.g. the MoEC, the CPI); possible changes to their role; also, questions about the priorities of the reform; the timeframe of its development; the people involved and the criteria for their selection.

c. **the policymakers’ experience of the reform**: e.g. their role in the process of the curriculum production; negotiations among competing groups; questions geared towards the ways in which specific policy groups emerged or were sidelined in the course of the curriculum development from 2008-2013.

Interviewing is among the most commonly used methods in empirical research across the social sciences (Bernard, 2013; Silverman, 2011), often treated as a “window in the world” of the participants (Hyman et al. 1975, as cited by Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). Many scholars highlight the interactive status of interviews and thus advise researchers to take into account their own positionality and reflect on their role while conducting interviews and interpreting data (see for example Briggs, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Gubrium & Holstein, 2011). Being a MoEC administration officer, I had a good knowledge of the MoEC structure, the bureaucratic practices governing policy reforms and the (groups of) people involved. On the one hand, this inside perspective saved me time, as the informants

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30 Starting the interview with questions that the interviewer feels more comfortable to answer is a common strategy followed by many qualitative researchers (Longhurst, 2009: p.580)

31 Questions in this category were mostly addressed to high-level policymakers who were making decisions about the initiation, design and procedural aspect of the reform, such as the Minister of Education and Culture; the MoEC General Secretary, the Director of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, as well as relevant seconded teachers who were posted in the offices of the aforementioned and had knowledge of the decision-making.

32 Other aspects of my identity, such as my mainland Greek origin, and my dual role as a researcher and a practitioner are discussed in section 2.3.
did not have to concern themselves about providing background information about the process of the curriculum development or the groups of people involved. On the other hand, my professional status had, at times, an effect on their responses: some answered in the way they believed I hoped for, for example I noted an overemphasis on the role of MoEC policymakers with whom I had strong interpersonal ties and some focused-on aspects of the new Greek-language syllabus that they assumed I favoured.

Being mindful of these limitations, I used the data collected from interviews as complementary to empirical data, drawing on my first-hand experience, on archival research and on comparative document analysis. Denzin and Lincoln point out that the combination of multiple methods of data collection and analysis, known as triangulation, can provide researchers with “an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (2008: p.7), which, according to Flick (2004), can serve as an alternative strategy to validity. The triangulated nature of my research project involved an iterative process using texts (policy documents and MoEC archives), interviews, and my personal experience, a strategy that is fundamental to qualitative analysis as Berkowitz (1997) points out. Iteration is not seen as a “repetitive mechanical task”, as Srivastava and Hopwood highlight, but as “a deeply reflexive process”, which involves “visiting and revising the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to focus and understanding” (2009: p.77).

Putting iteration in practice, I tested the empirical data obtained through interviews regarding the role of specific policy groups through reflexive questions about my participants (e.g. “What is the status of the participants?” and “how do they know what they know?”). These questions then led to self-reflexivity (“Does my personal experience contradict or confirm the interview findings?”)33. Next, I complemented the process with archival research and policy document analysis. At times, I also revisited the interview data to try put together the pieces of the policy reform puzzle (see for example section 4.2).

Having outlined my choice of methods, the following section closes this chapter with a further reflexive account on my ethnographic practice and role.

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33 These questions are in line with Patton’s (1990) reflexive questions for triangulated research.
2.3 The researcher’s role and ethical considerations

Ethnographers have emphasised reflexivity as a way to respond to criticisms that participant observation lacks objectivity (Wilkinson, 1995). Clifford recognises that an examination of cultures and communities should be seen as “partial truths” (1986: p.7). However, this recognition does not diminish the importance of ethnographic research, because, as Clifford emphasises “a rigorous sense of partiality can be a source of representational tact” (ibid). According to Etherington, researchers now understand that “personal, social and cultural contexts affect our conduct, interpretations and representations of research stories (2007: p.601). Therefore, in order “to make ethnography at least quasi-objective”, Foley argues that researchers should be much more reflexive about “all ethnographic practices – from field relations and interpretative practices to producing texts” (2002: p.473). In the following two sections I reflect on all three of these aspects.

2.3.1 A mainland Greek’s perspective

My theoretical and methodological assumptions have been described and explained both in this chapter and chapter 1. Responding to Hymes’ suggestion that ethnographers should be aware that they are “part of the social world they study” (1996: p.16), I acknowledge that many aspects of my identity, especially my mainland Greek origin, have played a role in the research process and my interpretive practices. In that respect, being a mainland Greek had an important impact on my research.

Firstly, local ideologies of collective identification became relevant in the context of a research process that involved a mainland Greek researcher and Greek-Cypriot participants. During my research, some of the participants who subscribed to a Hellenocentric ideology differed in their stance towards the process and interpretation of my intentions, to those who were supporters of a Cypriocentric ideology. The former regarded my origin and my use of the Standard Greek language in my speech as a guarantee of substantive research warrant for a valued research, and were therefore willing to contribute to its success. The latter were doubtful towards my intentions, and queried whether I felt uncomfortable with a curriculum review that rejected Hellenocentrism. In order to deal with these divergent stances, I
tried to be transparent about the purposes of my study and explain to all participants that I aimed to describe, rather than evaluate the process of curriculum development. In this way, I tried to show that my origins were neither an advantage nor a threat to the way I addressed them, as well as the way I answered my research questions.

Secondly, elite participants sometimes wished to push their politico-ideological agenda when talking about education reform as it pertained to the review of the Greek-language syllabus. When talking to a researcher who was not familiar with local ideological conflicts, some participants thought it would be easier to influence me to adopt their view of the curriculum review. I can still hear a seconded teacher’s words as she encouraged a colleague to participate in my research: “It would be a good chance to project our side of the story regarding the curriculum review, especially in a sponsored research by King’s College”. I therefore had to carefully avoid expressing any political leanings. Instead, I emphasised that my study was interested in putting the different pieces of the puzzle of the curriculum review together, and thus looked to collect diverse views regardless of political background.\(^{34}\)

Thirdly, the fact that I was not a Cypriot helped me distance myself from the field and better observe certain established MoEC practices. As of my first year of service in the MoEC, I realised that there were background processes, with which most of my Cypriot colleagues were familiar, that merited equal attention to the official processes of policy development. For example, teachers seconded to various MoEC departments were ‘invisible’ participants involved in the policy change, because they did not belong to the official MoEC organisation chart. In this way, some of my MoEC colleagues wondered why I was interested in interviewing them, as opposed to solely focusing on the top policymakers (e.g. Minister of Education and Culture, Permanent Secretary). However, as I will further elaborate in chapter 4 (section 4.3.1), the role of the former was important in the curriculum review process and merited the due attention.

\(^{34}\) It is unsurprising, however, that most of the policymakers I interviewed were affiliated with the political party in power, as these were the actors actively engaged in the 2008-2010 curriculum review.
Being reflective on the process also means considering ethical issues, and the next section addresses this aspect.

2.3.2 My dual role as a practitioner and a researcher

In the previous section I reflected on the implications of being a mainland Greek. However, being a MoEC administration officer provided me with an insider’s look at the MoEC processes described in section 2.2.2. Although being an insider gave me easy access to MoEC officials and other policymakers, doing research in my workplace was not unproblematic: being a researcher and practitioner had implications for the data collection and analysis process, and at times made the insider-outsider interplay challenging.

Reflecting on the researcher’s dual identity has attracted attention of ethnographers in other professional settings, such as medicine, counselling and psychiatry. Drawing on her personal experience as a counsellor and researcher, Arber suggests that researchers can “enhance [the] credibility” of their ethnographic research study, by employing “methods of reflexive accounting”, such as sharing their lived experience and discussing the limitations and difficulties of their research (2006: p.147). In what follows, I discuss how I navigated the dual role and the ways in which I was constrained by confidentiality issues.

My ethnographic research was governed by international ethical guidelines and conducted only upon securing all relevant permissions. Archival research was designed and completed upon written permission from the MoEC. This permission gave me access to MoEC archives and the versions of the Greek-language syllabus and allowed me to study, photocopy and use them in my research. Furthermore, my study was approved by the King’s College Research Ethics Panel (Education and Management). Regarding my relationship and responsibilities towards participants, my study is in line with BAAL’s ethical guidelines published in 2016 (section 2)35. Prior to conducting interviews, participants were informed about the aims and processes of my research, as well as the confidentiality guidelines I was bound to follow. Consent forms ensured the voluntary and informed participation of the participants; these forms provide evidence that certain participants gave their

permission to use their real name. Pseudonyms were used for the rest of my participants that did not want to be quoted by name\textsuperscript{36}. My participants were high-level officials, usually very well-educated, who were accustomed to public speaking, and therefore were generally agreeable to me recording our conversation (only two participants asked me to only take written notes).

Apart from recorded material, some information was given to me off the record. I put much thought in to how to treat such information. Taking into serious consideration Hertz’s suggestion that “ethical and moral dilemmas abound in the social research enterprise” (1996: p.3) and that researchers have responsibilities and obligations towards their participants (ibid: p.4), under no circumstances did I take decisions that would put participants in a difficult position. For example, I was not involved in producing documents referring to their decisions, nor did I ask for access to confidential files. My access to MoEC archives was governed by the same guidelines as any other researcher who was interested in doing archival research. As regards the information that participants shared with me, I only used it when the participants agreed to it (applying rules known as ‘Chatham house’)\textsuperscript{37}. Since I would chat to many MoEC officials on a daily basis, it was not easy for somebody to trace the person who had given an off-the-record piece of information about the curriculum review development. When it was easy to work out who could have given a particular piece of information (e.g. if a meeting was attended by three people) I chose not to use the information directly, but instead let it guide my attention to specific directions and conduct further investigation on my part. For example, were I told that certain MoEC-based policy actors were in conflict with the Minister, I would conduct archival research looking for evidence of such conflict.

\textsuperscript{36}In addition to using pseudonyms, I usually referred to their professional post (e.g. inspector, seconded teacher), apart from instances where the participants would be easy to identify through the process of elimination (e.g. by going through the list of committee members), in which case, I would use vaguer characterisation (e.g. a high-level official).

\textsuperscript{37}‘Chatham house rules’: “a rule or principle according to which information disclosed during a meeting may be reported by those present, but the source of that information may not be explicitly or implicitly identified”

(www.google.com.cy/search?q=chatham+house+rules&oq=chatham+house&aqs=chrome.1.69i57j0i5.5091j0j8&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8) [accessed 15/6/2018].

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2.4 Conclusions

This chapter discussed methodological concepts and principles that were judged as most suitable for the research purposes of this thesis. Taking an ethnographic perspective was selected as suitable approach to data collection and analysis. Drawing on assumptions from research frameworks of linguistic ethnography and historical ethnography, it discussed the importance of looking beyond the official rhetoric and explored the backstage negotiations among policymakers in the process of the curriculum review.

Moreover, it presented and discussed the data methods that were employed to address this thesis’ research purposes. First-hand experience of the MoEC, apart from providing me with contacts and access to high-level policymaker, helped me formulate my research questions and turn my attention to aspects otherwise invisible. Three more methodological strategies enriched the data collection and analysis process, and contributed to the exploration of the MoEC as my primary research field. Elite interviews with diverse policymakers, research of MoEC’s archival material and comparative investigation of four drafts of the Greek-language syllabus were judged as appropriate methods in this endeavour.

This chapter also provided a reflexive account of my research interpretative practices and discussed the interplay between being insider-outsider to the field. It finally considered ethical issues and discussed the implications of holding a dual identity as a practitioner and a researcher.
CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY IN GREEK-CYPRIOT EDUCATION: ETHNO-NATIONALISM AND RADICAL PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES

3.0 Introduction

Chapter 3 builds upon Ioannidou’s text-based analysis of the historico-ideological tensions and pedagogical trends in language education policy. In line with Ball’s (1992) suggestion for education policy research that looks at the historical context in which negotiations between diverse politico-ideological groups have taken place, in this chapter I focus on the historical development of Greek-Cypriot literacy education across three post-independence periods.

Section 3.1 looks at the curriculum orientation and language and pedagogic choices over the first two periods of the Greek-Cypriot education policy (1960-1974; 1974-2004). It describes the dominance of core ethno-national elements, resulting in corresponding choices in education prior to the education reform (2004-2013). Against this background, section 3.2 addresses the education and curriculum reform and the related policy change in literacy pedagogy, and thus focuses on the key policy documents of the reform; in particular it explores the tensions which emerged in the efforts to move away from ethnocentric values. Analysis of this literature will show that the reform envisioned radical changes to Greek-Cypriot education, based on contemporary pedagogic approaches, which advocated for a child-centred and critical literacy education. This philosophy was in line with the vision for a democratic and civic-based orientation in education, put forward by the leftist government of AKEL. For an examination of the broad historical processes in policy and education in Cyprus, I draw on four types of data:

1. academic work on the history of Greek-Cypriot education, curriculum change and language policy in education;
2. policy documents, specifically the 2004 education reform manifesto; the 2008 CRC “text of principles”, and the 2010 Greek-language syllabus;
3. official documents such as annual reports and circulars; and
4. Interviews with policymakers.

3.0.1 Ideology and discourse

The term ‘ideology’ is found in several academic traditions, such as political and social theory, philosophy, linguistics and discourse analysis. There is much debate on its use and relationship with the term ‘discourse’ and therefore it is necessary to clarify the way in which I employ the two terms in this chapter.

On the one hand, social and political traditions have often centred their debates around their choice between two “competing terms” (Pennycook, 2001). Linguistic traditions, on the other hand, have tended to consider the terms as complementary in the study of language and social processes. According to van Dijk, ideologies are “foundational beliefs that underlie the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups” (2006: p.120), while discourses are social practices that “express, reproduce or enact them” (ibid: p.117). To capture this relationship between ideologies and discourses, Gee (1999) also distinguishes between “big D” Discourses —understood as different perspectives, worldviews, or ideologies— and “little d” discourses which are the linguistic component of “big Ds”.

In this chapter, I intend to map out the context of political history in Cyprus in order to understand the ways in which issues of ideology and (language) education policy are connected. As sociology of education has long emphasised, there is something “inherently ideological and political” in education reforms (Apple, 1990: p.vii), especially in conflict-ridden areas, such as Cyprus (Murray, 2008). Therefore, I employ the concept of ideology— what Gee calls “Big D” Discourses — to refer to broad political values developed in Cyprus over a period of five decades (1960-2013). Since my data analysis in this chapter does not focus on the ways in which broad ideologies are semiotically enacted in talk-in-interaction, I avoid using the

38 Gee further explains that big Ds are seen as “different ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing....and using symbols, tools and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to enact and recognize different identities and activities...and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over other” (1999: p.13).

39 Alternatively, as Blommaert points out, discourse should not be limited to the linguistic component, but should instead be more widely seen as “a general mode of semiosis” (2005: p.2).
term discourse; it only appears to describe how national ideology was expressed in education through choices that stressed the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots, known as *Elliniki paideia* discourse (for further analysis of the term, see section 3.1).

**3.1 The historico-ideological context**

In line with Blommaert’s emphasis that, in the investigation of language texts, we need an analysis that “takes into account the historiography of the context of production” (1999: p.5), this section deals with the historical development of the national values in Greek-Cypriot education across two of the three historical periods considered in this chapter: a) from 1960 (when Cyprus became independent and declared itself a Republic) to the 1974 war, and b) from 1974 to the launch of the 2004 education reform. More specifically, drawing from Greek-Cypriot scholars, I will describe why Greekness dominated over local Cypriotism as a primary link of collective identification in the Greek-Cypriot community, and will overview the resultant implications in pedagogical education and language choices.

In order to better deal with the politico-national dimension in education described in this section, I would like to briefly refer to two important terms, Hellenocentrism (or Hellenocentric ideology) and *Elliniki paideia* discourse, which both focus on the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots. Hellenocentrism is used to describe a form of collective identification that advocates for a close connection to mainland Greece. Peristianis describes this ideology as promoting the “nationality of all *Hellenes* aiming at the legitimization of the role of the Greek state as coordinator of the liberation project of all unredeemed Greeks” (2008: p.132). In education, Hellenocentrism takes the form of *Elliniki paideia*. I draw on Charalambous, who gives a succinct description of the term:

> “Paideia⁴⁰ (*παιδεία*) is usually understood in Greek as a concept much wider than Education (*ekpedēsē [ἐκπαίδευση]*) , a term which has a more narrow and institutional sense. Being typically linked to the Ancient Greek meaning of the word evoking intellectual and spiritual cultivation towards humanistic values,

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⁴⁰ *Paideia* is “the classical Greek system of education and training, which came to include gymnastics, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, mathematics, geography, natural history, astronomy and the physical sciences, history of society and ethics, and philosophy - the complete pedagogical course of study necessary to produce a well-rounded, fully educated citizen” (Tarnas, 1991: pp.29-30; see also Jaeger, 1986).
Paideia is rather a general and life-long aim of Education. The humanistic values that Paideia is oriented to include the notions of ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’ ‘morality’, ‘nobility’ etc. With the insertion of the adjective ‘Hellenic’ (Ellinikí [Ελληνική]), Paideia gains also a sense of referring to a Greek ‘cultural heritage’, and as an educational objective, is considered to be the means of transmitting to the youth the values and ideals of Ancient Greek civilisation. Especially when used in the context of Greek-Cypriot education, Hellenic Paideia has been regarded as both a goal and vehicle through which young people could be educated -or even enlightened- along with the idea of Greekness” (2009: pp.119-120).

3.1.1 1960-1974: the dominance of national values in education

Post-independence Greek-Cypriot education was characterised by a Hellenocentric orientation, as it was influenced by the national ideology of the mainland Greek education. Hellenocentrism is connected with early nationalistic ideas in Cyprus, which are part of the late 19th century irredentist campaign of Meghali Idhea (The Great Idea), that promoted the “vision of an extended Greece incorporating all the lands traditionally associated with Greek history and culture” (Horrocks, 2010: p.428). According to Papadakis, Meghali Idhea emphasises:

“1) the synchronic unity of people in space as members of the same nation; 2) the diachronic unity of the narrative of Greek history from the classical glory of the ancients through the grandeur of the Byzantine Empire and the modern state; and 3) the concomitant unity of the core values of Greek national identity as ‘Hellenic-Christian’ (Dimaras, 1985: pp.325-419)” (1998: pp.154-155).

These broad nationalistic ideas, that combined the glorification of Ancient Greece and the establishment of a “national” church in 1833 (Peristianis, 2008: p.284)\(^{41}\).

\(^{41}\) The terms Hellenic-, Helleno-, and Greek- (when combined with Christian) are used interchangeably.

\(^{42}\) The clergy already had an established position in the Greek-Cypriot community, as religious affiliation (along with the language) was for centuries the most important form of collective identification on the island (Peristianis, 2008; Pollis, 1979). This position became more powerful when the Archbishop’s status shifted from the leader of a religious community to the leader of a nation (Ethnarch) (Peristianis, 2008: p.130), and the Greek-Cypriot identity was constructed along ethn-national lines. Under the Ottomans (1570-1878), the different communities of the Empire were politically organised in the millet (religious community) system (Dionyssiou,2007). Conflicts that occurred in this period were not along ethnic lines (Kizilyürek & Gautier-Kizilyürek, 2004; Papadakis, 2005: p.64; Pollis, 1979), as nationality did not play a role in the communal affiliation of
began to circulate in the Greek world in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. In Cyprus, they were appropriated mainly by the Greek Orthodox Church that saw a significant growth in influence. In 1935, the clergy were engaged in a conflict with the British, when the latter attempted to transform the curriculum, by downplaying classical education (along with the teaching of the high culture of Ancient Greek), in favour of the English language (Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997b). The religious leaders expressed their opposition, fearing that these changes would lead to the “de-hellenization” (\textit{afellinismos})\textsuperscript{43} of education (Bryant, 2004: p.160).

The ethno-national considerations are particularly salient in the post-independence era, as the new born state prioritised a union with Greece, rather than building an autonomous state. Despite the Cyprus Republic declaring its independence via the London and Zurich agreements (1959)\textsuperscript{44}, the majority of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots considered statehood to be a compromise on the ideology of \textit{enosis} (union), rather than the result of a “shared vision” for a new nation (Peristianis, 2008: p.167). This is connected to the fact that most citizens of the new state did not see themselves as Cypriots, but rather sought to express “their loyalty to their respective motherlands, Greece and Turkey” (Ioannidou, 2012: p.5). Therefore, the new state’s need to establish itself based on its own powers and ensure economic development was in conflict with the desire for union with Greece. Persianis (1981) notes that, although Cyprus needed technicians to modernise itself, national values and Hellenocentrism were deemed more important and thus prevailed in policy and decision-making. This resulted in the enhancement of classical gymnasia and the teaching of Ancient Greek (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007). Persianis also explains the attachment to classical education as a reaction to the fear held by many Greek-

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{43} According to Bryant, “the British were accused of attempting to spread the “gospel of mishellenism” as early as 1903, when an uproar was created over use of Edmond About’s popular novel \textit{Le roi des montagnes}, in the English School (SA1/3237/1903). However, it was not until the early 1950s that the term “dehellenisation” (afellinismos) came into use as a fully formed explanation for British action with regard to the schools” (2004: pp.288-289).

\textsuperscript{44} The agreements were made between the Cypriot leaders (Archibishop Makarios and F. Küçük), and the three guarantor forces (Greece, Turkey and Great Britain).}
Cypriots that Cyprus was “more susceptible to foreign influence” something that could “destroy the Greek character of the island” (1981: p.14).

In that respect, public debate on the issue of language education revolved exclusively around the most faithful replication of *Elliniki paideia* in the Cypriot context, so much so that in 1962, the Director of Education underlined that schools “had to avoid any action that contributed to the formation of Cypriot identity” (as cited by Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997b). In addition, the Greek Communal Chamber for education (the Greek Ministry of Education) stressed in 1964 that the Education policy was organised in “full identification…with that in Greece” (as cited by Karageorgis, 1986: p.37). It is worth noting that the constitution provisioned separate bodies for the two communities in education with the establishment of two Communal Chambers, something that further discouraged bi-communal integration (Kizilyürek & Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 1997). Helleno-centrism was reinforced after the unilateral establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1965, which replaced the Greek Communal Chamber for education. In April 1970, the cabinet further consolidated ‘Hellenic-Christian culture’ in the official definition of education policy and declared that “Cypriot education falls under the Greek Education” (Maratheftis, 1992: p.38).

**Curriculum**

The spread of Hellenocentric nationalistic ideas in Cyprus was closely connected with the establishment of *Elliniki paideia* in education. From the mid-19th century onwards, education was fully entrusted to the Orthodox Church that led the Greek community in Cyprus and promoted Greek-Orthodox ideals and bonds with Greece. In keeping with this principle, the majority of those who were to become school teachers in Cyprus, were selected from Greece on the basis of their devotion to national ideals (Peristianis, 2008: p.135). In the period leading up to the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute (1975), curricula and specifically

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45The Ministry of Education was only responsible for the Greek-Cypriot schools, while the Turkish-Cypriot schools continued operating under the Turkish Chamber.

46 Most of principals and teachers of the Pancyprian Gymnasion in Nicosia, which is the oldest gymnasium in the island, were from Greece: Peristianis reports that, since its foundation (1893) up until independence (1960) 12 out of 14 principals, 151 out of 428 teachers (35,3%) and 87 out of 133 (65,4%) Greek language teachers came from Greece (2008: p.135).
textbooks for secondary education\textsuperscript{47} were consistently imported from Greece. This applied even during the Athens Colonels’ dictatorship (1967-1974), despite the books’ low quality in terms of “content, methods and language” (Karageorgis, 1986: p.51).

Koutselini-Ioannidou (1997b) explains that Ancient Greek and classical education were historically at the heart of Greek-Cypriot education, as this subject “has been very closely tied to the mechanisms responsible for ensuring cultural continuation and diversification” (ibid: p.396).\textsuperscript{48} Post-independence, the English language was abolished from elementary schools as it was considered a symbol of colonial rule\textsuperscript{49}. Peristianis (2008: pp.135-136) also describes how a hidden curriculum (i.e. other aspects of educational practice) was deployed to reinforce the Hellenocentric orientation of Greek-Cypriot education, such as: a) celebrating Greece’s national days (e.g. 25th of March, the symbol of the 1821 Greek struggle for independence) through patriotic practices, such as poems, commemorative speeches, national hymns and dances, parades with Greek flag holders dressed in national costumes (see Persianis, 2006: p.37-38); b) performing ancient and modern Greek dramas with ‘patriotic messages’; c) displaying drawings of heroes of the Greek revolution and the Greek king (see Persianis, 1978: p.160); and d) constructing schools using neoclassical architecture and naming them after ancient gods or philosophers.

**Language policy and literacy education**

Along the same lines, choices in language policy and pedagogy mirrored and reproduced an emphasis on national ideals and an aspiration for union with Greece.

\textsuperscript{47}The Ministry of Education of the Cyprus Republic produced textbooks only for the following subjects in primary education: Mathematics, Grammar and Spelling.

\textsuperscript{48}Koutselini-Ioannidou explains that the importance given to the subject of Ancient Greek was due to the fact that “it enables the Orthodox church language to be understood, it connects modern Greece to ancient Greek civilisation, and it assists in learning modern Greek; therefore it has been seen as a means of giving Greek Cypriots the consciousness of their Greek origin and as a way to maintain the Greek identity and culture in Cyprus. [...] Therefore, in constructing a history and politics of curriculum in Cyprus, the role of Ancient Greek is significant and revealing” (1997b: p.396).

\textsuperscript{49}However, Karyolemou notes that despite this abolition, “the English language has consolidated its position in the last 40 years. Through the creation of English-based elementary and, more recently, nursery schools, it has expanded its sphere of influence downwardly. By becoming the language of instruction in most private and public tertiary education establishments [...] it has also extended its sphere of influence upwardly” (2001: p.30).
Specifically, the Standard Greek of the time, Katharevousa was established as the medium of instruction and correspondence between educational authorities and schools. It should be noted that the first constitution after independence recognised “Greek” and “Turkish” as the two official languages, without making explicit reference to Standard-Greek or Standard-Turkish. However, it went without saying that the constitution referred to the two standard varieties of the respective languages, despite the presence of two locally-spoken varieties in Cyprus. Arvaniti attributes the erasure of local varieties to the pervading language ideology that had imposed the uniformity and continuity of the Greek language throughout the centuries—what Christidis called the “linguistic mythologies” of Greeks. Therefore, the vernacular was not considered as a choice of teaching and learning language in Greek-Cypriot schools.

In addition, pedagogical language techniques were strongly influenced by classical and religious education, which are connected to the national narrative around the diachronic unity of Greek history. What Bryant mentions about the British colonial period remained characteristic of the educational system long after independence in 1960: pedagogy was affected by common practices in Greek Orthodox education, which included “rote memorisation”, recitation of Ancient Greek, along with “extreme discipline”. Therefore, language education was dictated by traditional teaching techniques, an attachment to grammar and meta-language, with separate cultivation of grammar and syntax (Ioannidou, 2012). In addition, textbook content focused on family, religion and patriotism (Papoulias, 2001).

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50 Katharevousa was a purified variety based on elements of Byzantine and Ancient Greek, as opposed to Demotiki, the spoken variety, “the language of the people” (Horrocks, 2010: p.423).

51 According to Karyoleoum, although the two languages (Greek and Turkish) were recognised, this did not result in the establishment of a bilingual society but rather in the development of two distinct linguistic communities, a Greek-speaking and a Turkish-speaking one (2001: p.27).

52 Several Cypriot scholars relate the emphasis on the standard language policies to the 20th century nationalist ideology, which discouraged the construction of a common Cypriot identity and encouraged the long-term conflict between the two communities (e.g. Attalides, 1979; Bryant, 2004; Charalambous, 2009; Kitromilides, 1979; Kizilyurek, 1999; Mavratsas 1997; Papadakis, 2005; Peristianis, 2008; Pollis, 1979).

53 Bryant points out that memorisation along with the “extreme discipline” were common practice both in the Greek Orthodox education and the Ottoman Muslim education:

“Muslim children spent years learning proper Qur’anic recitation while understanding almost nothing of that they learned; Orthodox children spent years learning to recite Ancient Greek while comprehending virtually nothing of that they memorized” (2004: p.141).
and teachers had to reinforce the “moral conclusions” of each lesson (Persianis, 1978; see also Koutselini-Ioannidou & Persianis 2000), in order to enhance the feeling of connection with the national heritage of the Greek-Cypriots.

3.1.2 1974-2004: competing ideologies

Cyprus continued modelling its language education on the practices and policies of Greece even in the post-1974 period, when the ideal of union with Greece was abandoned. There was a measure of decline in nationalistic aspirations, until the 1990s, at which point Hellenocentrism made a return (Mavratsas, 1997; Peristianis, 2008). The temporary decline of ethno-nationalism was due to the general feeling of bitterness towards Greece, specifically the Greek Colonels’ decision to launch a coup against the legitimate President of Cyprus, which paved the way for the Turkish troops to attack and led to the de facto territorial division of the island (Mavratsas, 1997; Peristianis, 2008). Following Ioannidou (2012), I describe below two periods in language and literacy education: a) “the turn into civic” of the 1980s; b) the “new focus on the nation in the 1990s”.

Following the 1974 war, the wounded Cyprus Republic tried to re-design Greek-Cypriot education policy by downplaying the core ethno-national elements in its official rhetoric. The aim was to construct democratic citizens of Cyprus (vs. the previous aspiration to construct Greek patriots), who would protect the independent Republic. Elliniki paideia discourse was “challenged by an emerging Cypriocentrism” (Philippou & Klerides, 2010: p.224), which invested in local common citizenship instead, and aimed to strengthen Cyprus as an independent state (Mavratsas, 1997; Panayiotou 2006; Papadakis, 2005). The first Minister of Education after the 1974 war, Chrysostomos Sofianos, attempted to abolish the terms “Helleno-Christian education” and “Helleno-Christian ideals”, which had been associated with the Greek Colonels’ coup against the Cypriot government (Sofianos, 54). Turkey as one of the three guarantors of the Republic invaded Cyprus, by sending its troops in August 1974, which led to the occupation of about 36% of the island. The official Turkish-Cypriot narrative characterises this operation as an “intervention”, aimed at protecting the Turkish-Cypriot community from Greek-Cypriot ethno-nationalism, whereas the Greek-Cypriot narrative talks about invasion as “a pretext by an already expansionist Turkey” (Philippou, 2009b: p.119). The relations between the two communities were disrupted in the tragic course of the 1974 war, when about 3,000 Greek- and 500 Turkish-Cypriots were killed (Peristianis, 2008: p.356), one-third of Greek-Cypriots (180,000-200,000) were uprooted and forced to re-settle on the southern part of the island, and conversely, around 38,000 Turkish-Cypriots in the northern part (Canefe, 2002).

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1977, as cited by Ioannidou, 2012). For the first time, the Cypriot flag was placed next to the Greek one in the Minister’s office. As elements of this period’s educational priorities can also be found in the civic-based and democratic orientation of the 2004-2013 education reform, I quote Philippou and Klerides who provide a succinct summary of the 1974-1994 educational ideology:

“the aim of education during the period between 1974-1994, as stated in official policy documents and in the new primary curricula (1981), no longer had as a prerequisite to reproduce and cultivate Helleno-Christian ideals and values, which placed Cyprus within the symbolic boundaries of the Greek nation; on the contrary, it stressed the preparation of democratic citizens, the preparation for occupations and life, the enhancement of Cyprus as an independent state, the promotion of tolerance and respect for Cypriot cultural diversity and the cultivation of friendship among the various communities on the island, especially Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots” (2010: p.224; see also Sofianos, 1986; Kazamias, 2010; Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997b).

However, Hellenocentric education was challenged more robustly in rhetoric, rather than on a practical level. According to Ioannidou, the “core values of the ‘Greek’ identity of the Greek Cypriots and the close bonds with Greece were never abandoned” (2012: p.7) and “what was halted therefore was the strong nationalistic rhetoric prior to the partition and intolerance towards aspirations for a Cypriot state and a Cypriot civic identity” (ibid: p.8).

Following this brief deviation, Hellenocentric education made a comeback, when in 1993 the newly elected right-wing government promoted a policy called “Greece-Cyprus Unified Education” (Koutselini-Ioannidou & Michaelidou, 2004). The Minister of Education, Klairi Angelidou (1993-1997) stated that the 1993 agreement constituted “a co-ordinated effort between Cyprus and Greece to maintain the historical identity of the Greek ethnos by protecting and developing the language and all the strengthening elements of our culture in general” (Mnimonio, 1993, as cited by Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007: p.87). *Den ksehno kai agonizome* [I do not forget and I struggle] was introduced as an educational objective, appearing in posters and textbooks in post-war schools as “unmindful reminders” (Billig, 1995: p.58) of the occupied area in the north. Through the motto, national values were reinforced once
more through education, “aiming to construct a collective memory of the occupied areas in the north and teach students about the Turkish invasion and its tragic consequences” (Charalambous et al. 2012: p.6).

Curriculum

The civic turn in education also carried implications for curriculum design in the 1980s. The first curriculum reform in 1981 downplayed classical education (Koutselini, 1997a), with Ancient Greek removed from the curricula of the three first grades of secondary school (Gymnasium). The reform also adopted civics in secondary education and instituted “History of Cyprus” as a subject (Klerides & Philippou, 2010: p.224). In addition, it sought to democratise education through the establishment of a new type of high school, the “Lyceum of subjects selection”, which gave students a free choice of modules according to their interests (MoEC, 2004b: p.51). Furthermore, the establishment of the Pedagogical Institute in 1975 and the Curriculum Development Unit in 1979 allowed for the local development of educational material for certain subjects, and for the organisation of optional and mandatory training seminars for teachers (Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997a).

However, the changes to curriculum content made by the previous centre-left government were repealed when the right-wing party came to power in 1993, with the new curriculum reintroducing Hellenocentrism. The main aim of the Greek-language subject was to make students “acquire self-awareness and sense of the self-reliance of Modern Greek culture and, thus, to be intellectually equipped to meet the ancient Greek culture and the culture of other people” (MoEC, 1993: p.30).

Language policy and literacy education

During the 1980s and 1990s, language and education policies were heavily influenced by Greece’s language education practices. Language education reforms introduced in Greece were consistently embraced by successive Greek-Cypriot governments: Demotiki (the language of the people) became the official language of the Republic of Cyprus in 1979, following the language policy reform in Greece in

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55According to the annual report of the MoEC: the ‘Unified Lyceum’, which brought together general and vocational education as of the 2000/2001 school year, was associated with “new challenges of the international world, the general policy and the orientations of the government, the social expectations of the Cypriot people, the discussion after the UNESCO Report and the new pedagogical theories” (MoEC, 2005: p.72)
1976. Furthermore, the stress diacritics system (connected with Ancient Greek and Katharevousa) was also abandoned in Cyprus in 1981 (Karyolemou, 2001: p.29).

In the mid-1990s, the Greek-language curriculum at the secondary level continued promoting traditional pedagogic techniques. The main focus was on the decontextualised study of grammar, as well as syntax and spelling, although there was some interest in engagement with texts and the cultivation of oral and written skills (Menoikou, 2016).

Although the curriculum continued reflecting traditional pedagogic practices, the Greek-language textbooks used in Cyprus throughout the 1980s presented a different picture. The Cypriot Ministry of Education imported textbooks on Neoelliniki Glossa (Modern Greek Language) from Greece, which in fact reflected progressive pedagogic trends. Textbooks followed a “communication approach”, one that originated from mainland Greek universities and became the official policy of the new socialist government of Greece in the early 1980s. According to Karantzola (2000), literacy education shifted away from classical language teaching methods, such as memorisation of grammatical rules and recitation of examples from inflectional morphology, which promoted a fragmentary examination of language; instead it turned to communication-oriented and child-centred practices and communicative skills. Koutsogiannis, who analysed pedagogic discourse across three Greek-language textbooks (published in 1985, 2001 and 2006) notes that the textbooks all integrated elements from the communication approach, such as the study of language use through text (2010: pp.8-9). The 2006 textbook in particular, which is still in use in both Greece and Cyprus, attempts a unified (as opposed to a fragmented) treatment of the different areas of language, by proposing a contextualised study of the grammatico-syntactical phenomena within texts and by attending to different textual types and processes (ibid: p.11).

But how can the 1993 Cypriot curriculum be called traditional, when Greek-language textbooks were, in the meantime, reflecting progressive trends? For one, the fact that the curricula and the textbooks are produced in countries with different socio-political histories played a role in setting education priorities. In addition, we must take into consideration that Cyprus had an almost complete lack of academic
tradition in approaches to literacy pedagogy until very recently\textsuperscript{56}, while in Greece, academic discussions were ongoing as of the 1980s. Even nowadays, although there are public university positions on language teaching/literacy education for primary schools, very limited engagement is seen from Greek-Cypriot academics regarding this area in secondary education\textsuperscript{57}.

In the next section, I will describe the ways in which the Republic of Cyprus imagined a re-orientation of Greek-Cypriot education from 2004 to 2013, from ethno-national values to a civic-based and democratic education, and how this vision was in congruence with explorations by mainland Greek academics for new pedagogic approaches to literacy education.

\textbf{3.2 The education policy reform (2004-2013)}

The previous section focused on the historico-ideological context in Cyprus and showed that traditional ethnocentric values of Greekness dominated Greek-Cypriot education. It also highlighted Cyprus’ dependence on Greece for curricula and textbooks, concomitantly importing the traditionally teacher-centred and decontextualised teaching of texts and grammar, which prevailed in literacy education until recently. It was also shown that efforts to introduce civic-based elements in Greek-Cypriot education had been dominated by ethno-national values.

This section moves to investigate the education reform, which took place from 2004 to 2013, examining particularly the process for the production of the new syllabi from 2008 to 2010. The focus, as Ioannidou (2012) also discussed (see section 1.3.1), is on the efforts and tensions that emerged in the introduction of novel approaches into Greek-Cypriot education. Drawing on the three documents described at the start of this chapter, I give an account of the efforts made by the official policymaking bodies to remove the emphasis on Hellenocentrism from Greek-Cypriot education and move towards a socially sensitive and civic-based orientation, introducing democratising practices that encouraged flexible and inclusive teaching and learning practices. International trends in (critical) literacy pedagogy, as well as shifts in pedagogic practices towards a participatory and student-centred model, were central

\textsuperscript{56} I note that the University of Cyprus was the first university to be founded in the Republic in 1992.

\textsuperscript{57} For example, the Philological Department of the University of Cyprus has three linguists (of whom one is sociolinguist), but no academics specialising in applied linguistics.
innovations in Greek-language education; these included the development of students’ critical voice through deconstructing dominant ideologies (e.g. Hellenocentrism), which circulated within and across texts. My analysis will show that the heated debate which emerged revolved predominantly around ideological conflicts related to the move away from Hellenocentrism, rather than a true opposition to the use of innovative pedagogical methods.

Specifically, section 3.2.1, looks at the Education Reform Committee’s 2004 report, a document that is the foundation for the re-conceptualisation of Greek-Cypriot education along civic-based virtues, active participation and child-centred pedagogic practices. Section 3.2.2 focuses on the 2008 “text of principles” of the Curriculum Review Committee, which forms the basis upon which the Greek-language syllabus was developed. As I will describe, the “text of principles” adopts the government’s vision for education, and also applies this vision to curriculum development, by conceptualising policy change as an inclusive and bottom-up process. Finally, section 3.2.3 examines the Greek-language syllabus. I will show that, drawing on a host of related progressive traditions on literacy pedagogy, the syllabus proposed a sophisticated version of critical literacy, which links the deconstruction of texts to the promotion of citizenship, while also introducing the Cypriot dialect and other progressive pedagogic practices into Greek-Cypriot schools.

3.2.1 The report of the Education Reform Committee (2004)

In this section I focus on the proposals of the Education Reform Committee (ERC), which consisted of seven academics. The proposals were put forward in a report, entitled “Democratic and Humane Paideia in the Euro-Cypriot Policy”. Synopsis of this report was provided in a shorter document, which was entitled “Manifesto”. Table 3.1 provides some background to the development of the report (including the

Table 3.1 provides some background to the development of the report (including the

58 The 2004 committee for the education reform comprised the following academics:
- Andreas Kazamias, Prof. of Comparative Pedagogy and Education Policy (University of Wisconsin and Emeritus professor of the Academy of Athens);
- Athanasios Gagatsis, Prof. of Maths Education (University of Cyprus);
- Elpida Keravnou-Papailiou, Prof. of ICT (and Deputy Dean of the University of Cyprus);
- Sifis Mpouzakis, Prof. of Education (University of Patras);
- Georgios Tsiakalos, Prof. of Education (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki): he played a major role in the 2010 curriculum reform as the president of the committee;
- Georgios Philippou, Prof. of Maths Education (University of Cyprus);
- Kristis Chrysostomou, Lecturer of Civil Engineering at the Higher Technological Institute.
manifesto), specifically an outline of education reform events and actions, as well as how these are sequenced with certain political events:

**Table 3.1: The most important events/actions/documents (2004-2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions/documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[April 1997]</td>
<td>UNESCO report on the education system of Cyprus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2008</td>
<td>Coalition government of DIKO (centre-right wing) &amp; AKEL (leftist): President Tassos Papadopoulos (the leader of DIKO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2003</td>
<td>Opening of Buffer Zone crossing points, contact between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots for the first time since the 1974 war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2004</td>
<td>Greek-Cypriots reject the UN-sponsored Annan Plan, which provisioned for a federal solution to the Cyprus problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2004</td>
<td>EU accession of the Cyprus Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2004</td>
<td>Report of the Education Reform Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2005</td>
<td>Official launch of education reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2005 - April 2006</td>
<td>Council of Education meetings to conduct Education Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>MoEC report: “Strategic planning for education: a comprehensive review of our education system- our vision”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the table above, it is worth noting that the newly elected government of President Papadopoulos prioritised a comprehensive modernisation across educational levels (Presidential Campaign, 2003), against the backdrop of the two most salient events of the political scene of the time:

- a) the opening of crossing points on the Buffer Zone (also called the Green Line or Dead Zone) in April 2003, which increased contact between the two communities (Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots). A bi-communal movement was allowed to flourish, which created opportunities for Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots to engage in pro-peace activities and to construct civil society (Loizos, 2006); and
- b) EU accession, which President Papadopoulos (2003-2008) called the “most important moment in the history of Cyprus after the 1960 declaration of

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39 Dimokratiko Komma (Democratic Party) is a centre party.

60 Papadopoulos was President from 2003-2008. He was considered to belong to the ‘patriotic right’, an ideology which is close to Hellenocentrism and favours Greekness for Cyprus.

The launch of the education reform was announced by the President himself on the occasion of (Greek) Day of Letters in January 2005. According to MoEC Permanent Secretary Stylianou, the fact that the announcement was made by the President “express[ed] in the most formal way, the political will of the Government to promote the effective modernisation of the educational system” (2012: p.57). In addition, the importance given to education reform was also shown in the first meeting of the newly appointed Council of Education on 25th February 2005, where the President of the Republic acted as chair. Subsequent meetings were chaired by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Pefkios Georgiades.

In what follows it will be shown that the Education Reform Committee envisioned broad and radical changes for the content, mission and practices of the educational system.

**The ideological re-orientation of Greek-Cypriot education**

In section 3.1, I explained that Greek-Cypriot education was attached to Hellenocentric ideology that emphasises the Greekness of the Greek-Cypriots. This national orientation was mainly a result of Greek-Cypriots’ need to connect with the metropolitan centre: before the 1974 war, this took the form of a desire for political unification with Greece; after 1974, when the union ideal was abandoned, this need was expressed as a desire for the cultivation of a common cultural heritage. This section focuses on the ERC’s 2004 manifesto in order to investigate the importance of education reform in the political and ideological re-positioning of Greek-Cypriots from patriots to citizens of a separate political and cultural entity within the EU. Document 3.1 below presents the first section of the ERC manifesto, which sets the foundations of this vision:

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61 His speech on EU accession can be found online: http://www.tassospapadopoulos.com/easyconsole.cfm/id/101 [accessed 23/1/2018].

62 The Orthodox Church celebrates the commemoration of the three Hierarchs on the 30th of January. This day is called the ‘Day of Letters’ and is a holiday for schools.
**Document 3.1.1 ERC Manifesto**

### Manifesto- Ideological re-orientation (introduction)

“The ideologico-political framework of the current Cypriot education remains Hellenocypriocentric, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic. The current ideological framework ignores the interculturalism and multiculturalism of the Cypriot society, as well as the europeanisation and internationalisation of the Cypriot education.

The aim of formative education policy, as has already been stated, is to transform the Cypriot school of the future, not as one serving a market economy school, but one that is built on democratic values, a democratic school of the market of demos. To construct the democratic and humane school of the future, an ideological re-orientation and reform of the aims of Cypriot education is required.” (MoEC, 2004a: p.4)

This is the first official document in the Republic’s history that rejected Greek-Cypriot identity and education as exclusively Greek, and “directly challenged previous official policies of nationalism and patriotism” (Philippou, 2012: p.434). Instead of ethno-national education, the manifesto proposed a post-national citizenship, constructed on a European-centred discourse that regards Europe as “historically bound to modernist constructions of the ‘good citizen’ which draw form the Enlightenment” (ibid: p.441). The manifesto did not make any reference to the Turkish occupation or the need to fight against it, thus marking a significant shift from the Den Ksehno (= I do not forget...), which had been dominant educational objective in Greek-Cypriot education. This new vision led to the development of a “democratic and humane school”. As both key terms were then adopted in the curriculum review that followed the 2004 manifesto, it is worth investigating them a bit further. Drawing on the manifesto introduction above, I give a brief description of the characteristics that are ascribed to these two concepts:

- **Democratic is a notion that** is mainly connected with a) inclusiveness: “public education is a social and cultural right for all”; b) combating “social exclusion” and reducing school dropout rates; c) respecting cultural, language and religious “diversity” and “pluralism”; d) cultivating “skills”, “attitudes”, “political virtues”, “values”, by offering not only training but also a general *paideia*; e) promoting active participation of teachers and students in the formation of the educational processes (MoEC, 2004a: p.3).
• Democratisation of the educational system: a) in the administration/governance; b) access to education and school knowledge; and c) pedagogic/didactic process, e.g. the relationship between teachers and students, the teaching environment (MoEC, 2004a: p.3);

• These aims are pursued through “neo-humanism” that advocates for critical thinking and general education (conceptualised through the terms “morphosis”/“paideia” 63). The vision for a neo-humanist education is frequently in opposition to neo-liberal economic discourses over education (MoEC, 2004a: p.2).

The manifesto excerpt in 3.1.2 below explains the main steps needed to achieve the vision of a “democratic and humane school”. The terms “democratic”, “civic”, “citizen”/“citizenship” and “humane”/“anthropocentric” are salient in the document64.

**Document 3.1.2 ERC Manifesto**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manifesto- Ideological orientation (the steps of the reform)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) The elimination of narrow ethnocentric, mono-cultural and, by extension, ethno-economic elements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) The addition of objectives such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Intercultural and multicultural ideology that will link the Cypriot tradition to the knowledge of the culture of others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The formation of people-citizens with democratic spirit, democratic values, civic virtues and attitudes (such as justice, solidarity, “friendship”, tolerance, cooperation, sensitivity, wisdom), and with critical and humane mind/thought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The incorporation of the principles of “inclusive democracy”, including the ethnic group of Turkish-Cypriots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The promotion of the European Dimension in Education (EDE), with emphasis on educating free democratic citizens of a united Cyprus; citizens of the new European Union; and, more broadly, “citizens of the world”, according to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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63 *Paideia* and *morphosis* are two terms connected to “intellectual and spiritual cultivation according to humanistic values” (Charalambous, 2009), and therefore refer to general education, as well as the cultivation of virtues and certain attitudes (MoEC, 2004b: p.127). Both terms are wider than the word “education” that is mainly related to a “narrow concept of school training and the pedagogic process” (ibid).

64 Philippou notes that the investigation of circulars and annual reports from the 2003-2013 period of educational reform showed that the terms “inclusion, diversity, democratic-active citizenship and intercultural dialogue” appeared frequently to describe curricular aims or directions envisioned because of the broader context of ‘Europe’, and thus appeared as strong influences from both the European Union and the Council of Europe” (2012: p.435).
Looking at the document above, we see an interplay between European identity and local Cypriot citizenship. In the wider context of Europe, the ERC re-envisioned Greek-Cypriots as “free democratic citizens” who are connected through their participation in the construction and protection of the same polity. Taking into consideration the ongoing federal problem, the manifesto in this way advocated for the integration of principles and measures of “inclusive democracy” that would ensure equal rights and peaceful co-existence in a “united Cyprus”. This dialogue between Europe and Cyprus in the re-definition of the Greek-Cypriot identity is explained by Philippou:

“[the Report] invited a conscious shift towards Europe and the EU as discursive sources for more inclusive definitions of Cypriot citizenship which would enable students to participate in the ‘cosmopolis’ of the EU as ‘homo Europaei’, as active and democratic citizens.” (2012: p.434)

**Curriculum, language policy and literacy pedagogy**

The ERC report emphasised the need to make important changes to curriculum, due to the fact that “the linkages between timetables, the proportion of teaching time afforded to the teaching material, the purpose and content of General Education and scheduling of Primary, Gymnasium and Lyceum timetables have remained virtually unchanged” (MoEC, 2004b: p.126). The ERC report underlined the need for a general review, as up to that point:

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65 These proposals are put forward in Chapter 6 of the report, entitled “Analytical programs, educational knowledge and pedagogic-didactic process”.

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“the curriculum and the pedagogical process are not implemented in the framework of a democratic programme nor a modern democratic participative teaching action...” (ibid).

On the basis of the above, the democratic conceptualisation of Greek-Cypriot schools had to be promoted through curricular choices. The new vision hinged upon two key points: a) shift the mission of education towards morphosis/paideia, away from an emphasis on the construction of national values; and b) adjusting the content of the subject-areas to align with a democratic and civic-based education. According to the ERC report, literacy pedagogy should no longer aim to convey the patriotic content contained in textbooks with themes focusing on the common heritage of Greeks (MoEC, 2004b: p.124). Instead, schools of the future should aim to cultivate “free and democratic citizens, with general paideia and critical thinking and a complete personality” (MoEC, 2004b: p.129).

As a result, democratic virtues led to changes in the content of the curriculum, by removing the “traditional Hellenocentric elements “across subjects. There was also a move to replace “outdated pedagogic practices” with “modern and progressive ideas” (MoEC, 2004a: p.8). For example, the cultivation of students’ critical thinking (MoEC, 2004b: p.133) was considered a priority to be achieved through the adoption of child-centred approaches (ibid: p.170) and “interdisciplinary” neo-humanistic education. With regards to the curriculum structure, the ERC report promoted—among others—an emphasis on ‘citizenship education’, along with a review of the Greek-language subject to include civic-based virtues (ibid: p.171). In order to achieve a democratic co-existence with Turkish-Cypriots, the document promoted a review of the History curriculum and the introduction of Turkish in the high schools66 (ibid).

As we will see in the following section, democratisation and critical-thinking were integrated by the curriculum review policymakers to construct a radical, inclusive and participatory process of policymaking.

66In her PhD dissertation, Constantina Charalambous also described government measures to provide support to Turkish-Cypriots through the “establishment of ‘Other-language’” as part of “the Government’s commitment to the two communities’ rapprochement” (2009: p.129)
3.2.2 The Curriculum Review Committee’s curriculum (2008)

In the previous section we saw that the government adopted the 2004 ERC report as the basis for radical reform in education. However, it took four years for the education reform to gain momentum; in 2008, the leftist AKEL government embarked on a curriculum review, on the basis of the 2004 report to achieve a “democratic and humane school” (MoEC, 2008a).

This section looks at the curriculum, published in 2008 by the newly-appointed Curriculum Review Committee (CRC). This document contained “the principles that formed the theoretical basis for the formation of the new syllabi for all subjects”, including the Greek-language syllabus. It will be shown that the CRC curriculum (which is referred as “text of principles”) aligns with the 2004 vision for a civic-based and democratic education, but nevertheless displays weaker opposition to Hellenocentrism, a trend that provoked much ideological controversy between 2004 and 2008.

In order to provide background to the development of the “text of principles”, in Table 3.2 I repeat some of the important political events, along with policy change actions and texts of the same period:

67 Kazamias (2010) quotes a statement of the leader of AKEL, Kyprianou, who succeeded Christofias, in the Haravgi newspaper:

“the main pillar of the program is the implementation of a radical reform both in the structure and the content of education ...a reform that will open fronts against conservatism, anachronism and regression, by bringing the change” and emphasising on “democratic and human education ...which will be human-centred and will provide overall morphosis (Haravgi newspaper, 15/12/2009).

68 The government gave to the Curriculum Review a central role in the entire education reform:

“curriculum reform is particularly important for the entire educational system, since it is the starting point and point of reference for any change in the educational system: assessment, premises and infrastructure, teaching materials and textbooks, in-service training etc. are fully dependent on the content of curricula” (MoEC, 2008: p.10).

69 Klerides and Philippou quote an excerpt of a press report, in which President Christofias stated:

“[T]he Government adopts the principles of the ERC's Report on the Education Report, sharing the ERC's vision for a democratic school serving the needs of the people/the agora of the demos, a democratic school for the citizen and not a school serving the market economy” (2015: p.60; see also Klerides, 2014: p.33).

70 The http://www.moec.gov.cy/analytika_programmata/istoriko.html [accessed 15/1/2013].
Table 3.2: The most important events/actions/documents (2008-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions/documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Report published: “Strategic planning for education: a comprehensive review of our educational system- our vision”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2008- Feb 2013</td>
<td>Coalition government: AKEL (leftist) and DIKO (centre-right wing): President is Christofias (leader of AKEL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-communal talks with Turkish-Cypriots: adoption of the reconciliation/ rapprochement policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2008</td>
<td>Appointment of the Curriculum Review Committee (CRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>Official declaration of 2008-09 as the “Year of the Education Reform”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Peaceful coexistence” on the island set as the priority/goal of the school year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2008</td>
<td>CRC report for a democratic and humane school is published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2010</td>
<td>Publication of the syllabi of all subjects on the MoEC website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2013-Feb 2018</td>
<td>Coalition government of the right-wing party of DISY and the centre-right DIKO: President is Anastasiades (leader of DISY).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the Table above, we see that the launch of the curriculum review ran parallel to and was connected with political events in Cyprus, such as the bi-communal cooperation towards a federal solution. Specifically, the initiation of reconciliation talks with the Turkish Cypriots is associated with the desire of the leftist government to enhance the local Cypriot citizenship of all communities that would strengthen the common Cypriot state (Philippou & Klerides, 2010).

In section 3.1, I pinpointed the historical emergence of the curriculum review. I now examine how the “text of principles” interpreted the vision for a new “democratic and humane school”, with a focus on the ways in which the mission of Greek-Cypriot education was conceptualised, along with related pedagogical approaches. Finally, I discuss the way in which the “text of principles” applied this new vision to the policymaking process.

71 Dimokratikos (Democratic) Sinagermos (Rally) is a Greek-Cypriot right-wing party.
The ideological conceptualisation of Greek-Cypriot education

Overall, the “text of principles” encourages a progressive approach to curriculum development, which includes democratic and inclusive participation, and “cooperative, multisensory and experiential learning” in a student-centred curriculum (Klerides & Philippou, 2015: p.61). These key principles provided the foundational basis upon which to develop the syllabi, along the lines of three general goals: a) the cultivation of democratic attitudes that lead to the development of active citizenship; b) the development of key skills and abilities that are necessary for 21st century citizens; and c) provision of an adequate body of knowledge in and across different disciplines. All three objectives were intended to change the mission of education from the transmission of knowledge to the cultivation of student skills. To provide more detail on the first two goals:

Document 3.2.1 Curriculum for the public schools of the Cyprus Republic

- Acquisition of knowledge and development of attitudes that are part of modern democratic citizenship:

  They are citizens who:
  a) are characterised by a democratic ethos, a fighting spirit, outspokenness and social responsibility, and are imbued with the values of social justice and solidarity,
  b) form and experience gender equality and navigate the diverse nature of present-day multicultural society with insight and sensitivity,
  c) respect and protect the natural and cultural environment and promote sustainable development;
  d) base their personal mental and physical ability on self-knowledge; physical exercise; balanced diet and living; on making good use of leisure time as a period of creative activity and pleasant social interaction; on their ability to take care of their health and deal with external influences and manipulation.

- Cultivation of the skills and abilities for the society of the 21st century (key-skills):

  They have the highest level of key abilities and skills, which are required in the 21st century society, namely: a) creativity; b) critical thinking and reflective management of knowledge, c) theoretical thinking and ability to convert theory into practice; d) skills for analysis and design; e) willingness and ability for teamwork and exchange of information; f) ability to problem-solve and at the same time to be ready to search for alternatives; g) proficient and knowledgeable use of information and communication technologies; h) empathy and interpersonal skills of communication” (MoEC, 2008: pp.19-20)

It is evident from the Document 3.2.1 above that the “text of principles” resonated with the 2004 manifesto’s emphasis on European discourses for democratic and post-
national citizenship. These are expressed in the notions of inclusion, equality (i.e. equal access to knowledge; and the opportunities for success), respect for diversity and the cultivation of critical thinking, as well as other virtues which encourage cooperation and social justice (e.g. empathy; problem-solving skills; design and analysis). In addition, the “text of principles” aligned with the concomitant departure from national values, associated with Hellenocentrism and Elliniki paideia discourse. However, it downplayed the 2004 report’s strong rhetoric against Hellenocentrism, by including in the preface:

Document 3.2.2 Curriculum for the public schools of the Cyprus Republic

“Education occurs in the framework of Greek civilisation/culture as it was developed throughout the years primarily in contact with other cultures. In this framework, the children of the Greek-Cypriot community are encouraged to develop autonomously with confidence in their identity (ethnic, religious, cultural), by learning to respect the different characteristics of the identity of other communities of the Republic of Cyprus [meaning the 3 recognised communities, namely the Armenians, the Maronites and the Latins], as well as of their classmates that come from other countries. There is also a provision that children with different origin will be able to develop their own distinct identity”. (MoEC, 2008: pp.3-4)

One could argue that the statement “education occurs in the framework of the Greek civilisation/culture” does not specify the exact nature of the relationship between education and the Greek culture. We also observe that this is followed by an emphasis to develop autonomously their identity in the framework of “multicultural education”, something that moves the focus away from national values. Nevertheless, it does not share the intensity of the statement of the 2004 manifesto, which stressed that Greek-Cypriot education should move away from being “Hellenocypriocentric, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic” (MoEC, 2004a: p.4). Furthermore, the authors have also included the “fighting spirit”, which is strongly reminiscent of the former educational objective, Den ksehno (=I do not forget) and the struggle against the Turkish occupation.

In addition to key skills and citizenship, the “text of principles” also prioritises the transmission of knowledge, valuing it as an indispensable part of the citizen of the 21st century in the new ‘knowledge-based society’. In document 3.3.2 we see how the “text of principles” envisions the third aim of Greek-Cypriot education:
Document 3.2.3 Curriculum for the public schools of the Cyprus Republic

- An adequate and coherent body of knowledge from all sciences
  They will possess a coherent and sufficient body of knowledge from all subjects in order to be able to:
  a) understand and interpret the phenomena of their social and physical environment, and to change them for the benefit of society;
  b) communicate equally and creatively with others and to shape their lives with the help of scientific and cultural achievements of humanity;
  c) to continue their studies and to contribute to the development of human knowledge
  d) to exercise any profession they choose, to be able to keep up with the developments of their profession, and if they wish, to contribute to it.

We expressed the desire, across all consultation sessions, to strengthen the humanitarian dimension of education, so that the humanitarian character permeates all areas. (MoEC, 2008: p.18)

Looking at the document above, we see that the CRC diverged from the 2004 vision. Unlike the ERC’s document which saw “knowledge-based society” as antagonistic to general morphosis and humanities, the CRC “text of principles” embraced the European prioritisation of scientific, technical and professional knowledge. Nevertheless, the latter document tried to combine the European emphasis on knowledge and the 2004 vision for general morphosis. Indeed the “text of principles” urged not to lose sight of community values and democratic feelings cultivated by general paideia and the humanities, as this is the vehicle to achieve a common citizenship and “build a common future together”. Although it was not made overly explicit, the construction of a common future is a strong reference to the reconciliation movement between the Greek-and the Turkish-Cypriots and the policy of rapprochement adopted by the leftist AKEL government.

**Literacy education and language policy**

The CRC promoted child-centred pedagogic principles in education, in order to ensure children’s school inclusion according to their personal needs. Emphasis was put upon the students’ childhood and adolescence, construed in the “text of principles” as critical periods, which should be celebrated and not subjected to continuous pressure around academic success. The “text of principles” also put forward a proposal for differentiated pedagogy, which sought to match students’ level of readiness (e.g. their learning pace; their previous literacy experience); this was done by adopting democratic pedagogic practices, such as enhanced
cooperation, interaction, participatory decision-making in schools and reflexivity on the teaching process.

Furthermore, the “text of principles” emphasised scaling back the volume of taught material and students’ heavy workload, both of which were previously established school practices. Instead, it proposed to engage students in meaningful projects, which would cultivate their participatory skills. There was also an emphasis to provide support to teachers, so that they would be able to develop flexibility and autonomy in preparing and assessing the teaching process; this was seen as crucial for the design of projects that would respond to students’ needs and interests. The “text of principles” placed great importance on the repositioning of teachers as professional pedagogues in the traditionally centralised Cyprus educational system.

**The new policymaking process**

The “text of principles” favoured a democratic, participatory and inclusive process of curriculum development, which was termed as a “public endeavour” (MoEC, 2008: p.14). The second half of the document (9 out of 35 pages), entitled “Curricula reforms: our way”\(^2\), was dedicated to a comparative presentation, constructed on the following pairs: “traditional”/ “conservative” vs. “progressive”/ “radical”; and “other approaches” vs. “our way” respectively. In the table below I briefly present what each approach includes, according to the “text of principles” (2008: pp.7-11):

**Table 3.3: Approaches to curriculum review**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches to CR</th>
<th>Type of society</th>
<th>Mission of education</th>
<th>Role of teachers</th>
<th>Policymaking process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional approach</td>
<td>This approach “characterise[s] static and conservative societies that resist radical changes” (ibid: p.7)</td>
<td>The mission of education “remains unchanged over time” (ibid: p.8)</td>
<td>The “participation of teachers, when provided, is reduced to the role of executing pilot applications”</td>
<td>“[P]olitical leaders assign to the competent educational services the task of designing and implementing the predetermined changes and taking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\) The section includes four sub-sections: a) “traditional approaches”; 2) “progressive approaches”; 3) “processes for identifying the objectives and principles of education”; and 4) “our way: curricula reform as a public project”.

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the necessary steps to ensure that the changes will be accurately implemented by the teachers” (ibid: p.8)

➢ reforms are therefore limited to making “predetermined changes”/adding teaching material/textbooks/teaching methods” (ibid: p.8)

| **Progressive approach** | **Societies that are “not afraid to change, but, on the contrary… seek changes as necessary processes within a socially planned pathway to human progress” (ibid: p.9)** | **Educational mission changes over time. As there are many views on what human progress means, curricula come principally as answers to fundamental questions, which are political in the literal sense**<sup>73</sup> (ibid: p.9) | **Teachers are not specifically mentioned, but it might be the case that they are included in the notion of citizens, mentioned in the ‘policymaking process’ section.** a) There must be “broad consensus in education: everyone [i.e. all citizens] is able to participate in the definition of the goals’ of the curriculum review” (2008: p.11) b) “the transformation of aims into teaching actions, requires specialised knowledge, derived from scientific research and school experience. That is why, curricula should be… placed in the exclusive domain of specialised scientists and teachers” (ibid: p.11) |

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<sup>73</sup> The political questions asked in the document are the following: a) “What characteristics do we wish for future society? b) What role do we wish for education in our vision for the society? c) What are the characteristics we would like for the educated person in the world we wish to build?” (MoEC, 2008: pp.10-11).
After having presented the differences between the two approaches, the “text of principles” explicitly identified its own development process, as well as that of the 2010 syllabi as progressive, that is, as public endeavours that include the characteristics mentioned in Table 3.3. On the basis of the above, the new approach to policymaking changed the process in the following ways:

- from predetermined policies, to an active policy process;
- from teachers having a limited role, to their active participation;
- from an understanding that education has one mission, to having diverse missions and views;
- (from an understanding that the mission of education is something neutral) to the recognition that curricula have a political character. This means that curricula are answers to political questions;
- (from an absence of connection between different aspects of education) to the interdependence of educational aspects, e.g. the mission of education is now connected to its content, teaching/learning methods, modes of assessment and relations between teachers/parents;
- (from the curriculum reform being treated as a single aspect of the educational reform) to understanding curriculum reform as having a central role in the entire education reform;
- (from predetermined government decisions) to the participation of all the citizens, in order to achieve consensus.

The policymaking process was presented as something that had to be the product of public consultation and a bottom-up process; a public project, which engaged all Cypriots. Indeed, drawing on a collection of interviews and publications from the CRC chairman’s personal website, it is clear that he tried to engage a multitude of stakeholders, such as parents and students. In an interview, Tsiakalos underlined that he went across Cyprus, wherever he was asked to, to inform all citizens about the CR (Interview with Tsiakalos, CRC Chairman, 26/2/2013).

### 3.2.3 The Greek-language syllabus (2010)

Following my investigation of the “text of principles” and how it imagined the new curricula and the process of their development, in this section I examine the Greek-
language syllabus, focusing on the pedagogical proposals put forward under the title “critical literacy”. I first sketch the background of the syllabus production, with reference to milestone events. The process of curriculum development started in 2008, when, as aforementioned, the CRC published its principles, containing the foundational proposals to review all subjects and develop syllabi for pre-primary, primary and secondary education. The syllabus development process began in January 2009, when the MoEC announced the syllabus committees, and lasted until September 2010, when the syllabi were published by the MoEC. The Greek-language syllabus was intended to play a central role in the review’s philosophy, content and pedagogical practices.

The “Greek Language” syllabus was the largest (in word count) among the 23 that were developed. The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute officially published the final version in September 2010 as part of a two-volume publication: the Greek-language syllabus was contained in the first volume. It was divided into four main sections, and shared a general structure with the majority of other syllabi. It drew on a number of approaches to (critical) literacy pedagogy, and genre-based models to language teaching, which were developed outside Cyprus (Ioannidou, 2012), and generally emphasised the ability of language to construct and deconstruct dominant ideologies.

I first elaborate on the general ideological orientation of the syllabus, encapsulated in the promotion of students’ voice and enhancement of their resistance towards inequality and critical evaluation of power relations. I then focus on more specific proposals about literacy and language education, which are organised into two categories:

a) literacy pedagogy: this encompasses assumptions, strategies and tools for designing a democratic and participatory language lesson, such as choosing democratic teaching practices; approaching grammar as a set of signs that produce social meaning (otherwise known as social semiotics); building teaching lessons on a child-centred approach; and departing from the single-textbook policy to using multiple material that reflects the diversity of the students’ literacy practices in and out of school;
b) language policy: this refers to the introduction of the sociolinguistic variation in Greek-Cypriot society, with a focus on the use of the Greek-Cypriot dialect in teaching/learning practices for the first time in the Republic’s history.

The ideological conceptualisation of literacy education

The Greek-language syllabus was generally premised on the assumption that language is “a tool to construct texts and areas of knowledge and as a means for negotiating identities” (MoEC, 2010a: p.11). It encouraged the development of a critical stance towards dominant ideologies, in order to unveil the underlying messages of texts. This was especially necessary in the current world and the complex economic, social and cultural reality of the past decades, which have been the “result of the dominance of the new technologies, the widespread use of the internet and the gradual decline in print publications of the printed speech” (ibid: p.10). The authors highlight that these conditions have changed “the ways in which we produce, distribute and approach knowledge” (ibid). Therefore, students should be empowered and given the capacity to deal with the new situation, in order not to be left behind.

On the whole, the syllabus proposed a dynamic relationship between the Greek-language subject and socio-ideological processes (Philippou & Karagiorgi, 2014), while omitting references to ethno-national considerations. Along these lines, the syllabus included three objectives: a) the development of democratic citizenship; b) the cultivation of skills and abilities required in the 21st century; and c) the provision of a sufficient body of knowledge and skills. With reference to the first objective, the syllabus provided details below:

**Document 3.3.1 The Greek-language syllabus**

“The main goal of this pedagogy is to facilitate (male and female) students to participate in the learning process and thus make them active citizens, that is, citizens who act with fairness, who democratically stand up for their rights and combat all forms of social exclusion (related to origin; linguistic and cultural background; gender; sexuality; disability; or any other hegemonically-constructed version of ‘difference’)” (MoEC, 2010a: p.10); And elsewhere:

“Students are asked to understand the ideological role of vocabulary and grammar; words and various grammatical elements encode a particular topic through a particular point of view; they shape relations and project or construct identities” (ibid: p.11)
It is evident that the Greek-language syllabus aimed to raise students’ awareness on issues of social exclusion and stereotypes, and make them “active citizens”, to “combat hegemony” that perpetuates social inequality. In general, it resonated with the ideological conceptualisation of Greek-Cypriot education proposed in the 2008 “text of principles” (and the 2004 vision of the Education Reform Committee) for democratic and civic-based education. However, it presented an emphasis on the ideological role of language and the need for students to understand this dimension and take action to critically resist hegemony:

**Document 3.3.2 The Greek-language syllabus**

“As critically-literate persons, we designate the person who understands and successfully deals with language in its ideological dimension. [It is the person who] investigates the ways in which different language elements (grammar, vocabulary, genres, organisation of information in texts) contribute to the establishment of social relations, to the construction of political and cultural values, to the reproduction of stereotypes, or the overturning of power relations and inequalities between social groups” (ibid: p.10)

And elsewhere:

“The Greek-language subject seeks to make students understand that no topic is neutral; topics can often be used to: bring forward and cultivate concepts of respect, fairness, collectivity and social justice; to develop strategies for democratic participation in processes related to school life; to teach students to express themselves in order to demand a fairer and more democratic society” (ibid: p.13).

Based on the above excerpt, the syllabus redefined the mission of education, distancing it from national aspirations and moving towards the development of awareness regarding the way in which language works to reproduce power relations, inequality and social exclusion. Therefore, according to the syllabus, education should primarily aim to make students alert to the ways in which the powerful in society can dominate through the use of language.

With regards to the second aim—the cultivation of skills and abilities required for the 21st century—the syllabus repeatedly stressed the cultivation of citizenship, as seen above. It highlighted the development of skills for understanding, respecting and supporting social diversity, sociolinguistic variation and literacy practices from the
students’ diverse local communities (MoEC, 2010a: p.13). To this end, it emphasised the need to develop students’ democratic reflexes and critical resistance, by adopting stances and taking action in school life and in society.

As far as the third aim is concerned—the provision of knowledge and skills—the syllabus presented the Greek-language syllabus’ conceptualisation of critical literacy pedagogy, which was articulated in six sub-sections: language as a structural system; language and variation; language as text; language and genres; language and comprehension of texts; language and writing. For the purposes of the current presentation, the objectives related to literacy and language education are grouped into a) literacy pedagogy; and b) language policy.

**a) Literacy pedagogy**

The syllabus reconceptualised Greek-language educational practice away from the traditional assumptions and past practices. One of the main observations we can make is that the writers tried to overcome all that was closely connected to the teaching of Ancient Greek and classical studies in general, such as the tendency to teach grammar (especially metalanguage and morphology); the domination of one type of textbook and the teaching ideologies around it; and the prevalence of the teacher’s authority in interactions. Instead of these traditional practices, the syllabus provided a functional understanding of language structures, studying them in close connection with their social meaning and not as decontextualised elements. It also put forward a sophisticated approach to text analysis, which is well established in current traditions of literacy that proposed a close connection between ideological content and textual form. Furthermore, the syllabus prioritised the active participation of students in the selection of texts, group-based activities (projects, jointly-produced texts etc.) and peer interaction.

I now draw on the syllabus to elaborate on the proposals regarding texts and genres, teaching grammar, pedagogic practices and options in the selection of teaching material, as well as the role of teachers and students and their relationship. Firstly, with reference to the texts, the syllabus provisioned the following:
Document 3.3.3 The Greek-language syllabus

Language as text

Students are asked:

- To understand that the texts do not have a standalone meaning but are formed in connection with and on the basis of other texts, with which they are in constant dialogue (or intertextual connections).
- To understand that texts are not sets of sentences free of ideological content: texts construct aspects and worldviews associated with specific social groups and cultural, social and political positions.
- To deal with oral and written language as social acts through which they can produce knowledge that is meaningful for them and become involved in the social reality.
- To understand that the spoken and the written word are not uniform entities with distinct characteristics, but entities characterised by linguistic and textual diversity” (MoEC, 2010a: pp.11-12)

According to the excerpt above, texts are not decontextualised artefacts, but should be seen as products of dynamic processes, which involve dialogic connections with previous texts, what is referred to as “intertextuality” (see Kristeva, 1986). Although the way Kristeva uses the term does not necessarily involve power relations, the syllabus focuses on the ideological processes and the reproduction of specific cultural, social and political positions. According to the syllabus, understanding these processes enhances students’ awareness on how knowledge is produced, leading them to be able to actively participate in the development of social reality. In addition, the syllabus emphasises that texts and processes are multiple, ever-changing, and closely connected to “linguistic and textual diversity”. In the textual processes described above, the role of genre is central:

Document 3.3.4 The Greek-language syllabus

Language and genres

Students are asked:

- To learn the traditional and modern modes that encode the different genres of oral and written language (paper, book, poster, telephone, computer, TV, radio, etc.).
- To understand that each genre has its own structural conventions, in which these texts organise and represent social reality.
- To treat genres as a set of options which are developed by the textual
Genres were described as a set of “structural conventions” that reproduce social relations. In other words, texts with typical characteristics (=genres) tend to recurrently emerge in social situations in institutions, putting the recipients of the texts in a disadvantaged position especially if they are not familiar with the genres. Students should be able to decode how texts are organised in specific genres, and take a critical stance towards the processes that perpetuate social inequality. We can detect influences here from Australia’s genre-based literacy education, which developed models for empowering students by making them literate in school genres (e.g. Macken-Horaric, 2000; Martin, 2009; Martin & Rose, 2013). However, while the genre-based approach to literacy education in Australia had a more functional character, i.e. to make students better able to operate in school and therefore achieve upward social mobility (Koutsogiannis, 2017), the Greek-language syllabus took a more ideological position. It emphasised the need to acquire the powerful genres, in order to deconstruct them and question the power relations that they perpetuate.

Secondly, as far as teaching grammar is concerned, the syllabus proposed a dynamic relationship between language structures and their socio-ideological meaning:

**Document 3.3.5 The Greek-language syllabus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language as a structural system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students are asked to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- gain an overall view of the structure of Modern Greek and the Cypriot variety (phonetics and phonology, inflectional and productive morphology and syntax); to understand that language is praxis, and to learn to link specific aspects of the structure of language to the performance of specific language functions; to understand that different grammatical elements perform specific language functions, depending on the genre and the communication event, and that a function (e.g. the author's attitude towards the information that is being transmitted) is realised through various linguistic elements (adjectives, adverbs, moods, word order) that can coexist in a text (story, scientific text, newspaper article) (MoEC, 2010a: p.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the excerpt above, we observe that the syllabus, rather than seeing language as rules to be transmitted to students, viewed it instead as a set of signs...
embedded in social structures. This approach is associated with Halliday’s social semiotics (see e.g. Halliday, 1978). The syllabus deployed technical terms from Halliday’s (1985) Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), that capture the relationship between texts and contexts: ‘field’ (=topics), ‘tone’ (=social relations) and ‘mode’ (=the form) are defined as the three components that constitute context and the social production of meaning. SFL is a well-established academic approach that provides the tools for studying grammatical structures as choices that produce social meaning. In a nutshell, the syllabus stressed the need to pay equal attention to a) the content of texts, produced by choosing b) certain linguistic elements (grammar, vocabulary), which are organised in c) specific genres and textual types, leading to d) the construction of certain points of view and readings of the world, in order to be able to use these elements to e) deconstruct these points of view.

Thirdly, the syllabus proposed major shifts in teaching practice. Following a dynamic study of texts and grammatical elements, the syllabus rejected the policy of using a single textbook. These choices are explained in the “topics” section:

**Document 3.3.6 The Greek-language syllabus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The content of the Modern Greek subject cannot be defined on the basis of a strictly predetermined and linearly organised ‘material of grammatical or textual types’ (narration, description, reference, process, etc.) for the following reasons:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firstly, as it was underlined above, our starting point is the functions of the grammatical elements. Given that a grammatical form (the verb, for example) can realise various functions, and each function (e.g. author’s attitude towards the information they transmit) can take a variety of forms through different grammatical elements (adjectives, adverbs, moods as indicators of modality etc.); and given that these forms emerge differently in different genres, we cannot classify grammatical elements by school grade or educational level. Such an option would lead to a non-functional approach to grammar which would be detached from its functions (ibid: p.14).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syllabus elaborated on the philosophy of using a multitude of teaching materials. Since the focus is on the function and not on the decontextualised study of grammatical elements, and as we cannot have an exclusive one-to-one relationship between functions and grammatical elements or between grammar and genres, it is not feasible to design static material or define a finite list of grammatical elements by school grade and educational level. The assumption is that reality changes rapidly.
and social needs and processes are subject to constant modification, and therefore a single textbook cannot capture these dynamic processes. Closely connected to that, the syllabus questioned the ideologies related to the single-textbook policy, such as the emphasis put on covering the entirety of the material in the textbook, and rigidly following the plan of the book exactly. Instead it proposed designing thematic and interdisciplinary projects and putting these at the centre of teaching practices. On the basis of the above, the material used in class should be the result of the active participation of the entire school community. Teachers and students are thus expected to bring to class the texts that cover their needs and respond to their interests. It is noted that the material can be either written, oral, digital or multimodal, and sources from diverse communities (local, digital etc).

The syllabus also put forward changes in the relationship between teachers and students that are not only child-centred but also revolutionary. Students should be able to question the authority of teachers, if the latter were found to fail in their duty to “ensure equal participation in learning opportunities and learning activities” or if they “do not take into account children’s creativity, imagination, language and cultural capital” (ibid: p.13). In addition, teachers were constructed as pedagogic professionals with an advanced level of autonomy and flexibility, able to design the teaching/learning process according to the interests and needs of their class, free from centralised guidance.

**b) Language policy**

The syllabus officially recognised the Greek-Cypriot dialect for the first time in the Greek-Cypriot education. Not only did it accept the dialect in Greek-Cypriot schools as a medium of communication, but it also proposed that this is comparatively examined to Standard Modern Greek (SMG), which is the official language variety of Greece. I note that, while the Greek-Cypriot community speaks the dialect as a native language, there is a wide consensus among Cypriot scholars that the SMG has always been considered more prestigious (e.g. Papapavlou, 1998, 2001; Pavlou & Christodoulou, 2001; Sciriha, 1995). The syllabus explained the choice to introduce the dialect in the Greek-language subject:

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74 GCD has always been categorised as a dialect of Greek (Horrocks, 2010; Kontosopoulos, 2001; Newton, 1972; Trudgill, 2003).
Document 3.3.7 The Greek-language syllabus

**Topics**

“The contrasting examination of texts from Modern Greek and the Cypriot variety aims at establishing an understanding of the structural and lexical similarities and differences between the two varieties; it also aims at making students understand the correlation of each variety with different settings of use, as well as the communicative dynamic of this relationship” (MoEC, 2010a: p.14).

In other words, the aim of the Greek-language subject is to make students capable of recognising the sociolinguistic dynamic of each variety, and therefore become more aware and conscious of their choices depending on the occasion of communication. This is presented as part of a pedagogic approach at the heart of which lies a focus on the child’s background, which includes sociolinguistic variation.

Document 3.3.8 The Greek-language syllabus

**Language and variation**

Students are asked to:

- learn the basic structural similarities and differences between Modern Greek and the Cypriot variety and to be able to identify elements from other varieties/languages in hybrid, mixed or multilingual texts.
- approach the Cypriot dialect as a variety with structure in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary.
- be able to work with a variety of hybrid texts which are produced by the switch of languages and codes that prevail in a multilingual and multicultural society like that of Cyprus (ibid: p. 11)

Although the syllabus emphasised sociolinguistic variation, this is limited to the GCD, with two out of the three points in the “Language and variation” section directly referencing the dialect. But why did the authors connect variation mainly with the dialect? This could be regarded as an example of the alignment of the

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75 This emphasis on the “adaptation of language and discourse according to the occasion of communication” resonates with the communication approach, the model which was introduced in Greece essentially by two Greek scholars, Charalambopoulos and Hadjisavvides (1997). The latter was also one of the three Greek academics of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus.

76 As one of the members of the academic committee told me in an interview, the dialect is seen as a resource the students bring to class, with ‘resource’ given the meaning formulated by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) that is, as a semiotic mode that produces social meaning.

77 It should be noted that other indigenous languages (e.g. Armenian, Cypriot Arabic) and immigrant languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian etc) are not given equal attention.
authors’ voice to the language of the academy, as we also saw in other occasions in this section. However, by limiting variation to the dialect, they avoided references to past ideological conflicts, such as the longstanding discussion about which varieties would be the official medium of instruction at the University of Cyprus, a topic which had provoked much controversy.

**Applied linguistic and sociolinguistic research in Greece and Cyprus**

We saw above how the Greek-language syllabus imagined critical literacy pedagogy based on a range of academic traditions. Remarkably, it blended together diverse literacy pedagogy approaches and traditions, in order to produce a specific version of critical literacy which sought to develop the critical resistance of students through study of the ideological dimension of texts. I briefly refer to the most important traditions that can be found in the syllabus, in order to better understand the academic influences observed:

a) The communication approach (Charalambopoulos & Hadjisavvidis, 1997): child-centred, with an emphasis on the development of communication competence.

b) (Multi-) literacy studies (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000; Gee, 1996; Street, 1995): encapsulating multiple literacies (apart from the official), the ideological understanding of literacy and how language is used to construct specific worldviews.

c) The genre-based approach in language teaching, especially the approach related to the Sydney School (e.g. Macken-Horarc, 2000; Martin, 2009; Martin & Rose, 2013): a model for empowering students by making them literate in the way school subjects are structured into specific genres.

The syllabus also integrated elements from diverse traditions of critical literacy:

d) Freire’s agenda for transforming society through (language) education (Freire, 1970).

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78 The communication approach to language teaching was among the first systematic, academic and progressive approaches in Greece, to have an important influence on the development of textbooks and syllabi (Koutsogiannis, 2017).
e) Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1985): providing linguistic tools for studying language and the ways in which language constructs the ‘school register’.

f) The post-structural approach to the development of critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1992): the focus is on reading and questioning the current social reality and the capitalistic world through language, in order to allow the students to construct a democratic world (Koutsogiannis, 2017).

It is worth noting that the syllabus not only included concepts and insights of the aforementioned traditions, but interestingly mixed together different approaches to produce a unique version of critical literacy pedagogy. For example, the Australian school of genre-based approach is primarily aimed at empowering students through teaching them the school genres, rather than trying to develop their revolutionary stance against hegemonic ideologies encoded in texts. Following Koutsogiannis (2014) who talks about multiple “critical literacy models”, the Greek-language syllabus proposed a ‘Cypriot’ model of critical literacy, by putting together many current pedagogic insights and concepts. This was indeed unique in the history of Greek-Cypriot education. It however followed the intensifying focus on language teaching, as the issue developed in mainland Greek academy. Koutsogiannis (2010), who mapped out academic trends on language teaching in Greece, informs us that academic interest moved from the functional approaches of the 1990s, to a mixture of communicative and text-based approaches in the first decade of the 21st century, at the end of which, the attention had also shifted to cover critical approaches (see for example Archakis et al., 2015; Archakis & Tsakona, 2009, 2013). As a matter of fact two of the members of the Greek-language syllabus committee had produced academic work on critical literacy and genre-based pedagogy (e.g. Kostouli, 2009; Samara & Kostouli 2008; Tsiplakou, 2007). In addition, one of the members of the Greek-language syllabus committee who was a faculty member in the University of

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79 Koutsogiannis notes that “[T]he term ‘critical literacy’ has started to be used systematically in language education mainly from the early 1990s, although its roots go back to Freire’s search in the 1960s. This had such an extensive influence and dissemination that since the mid-1990s and afterwards most teaching approaches have argued that they are moving towards critical literacy. Interestingly, however, each school of thought also constructs its own version [of critical literacy]” (2014: p.4).
Thessaloniki told me that critical literacy had attracted the attention of scholars in Thessaloniki only a few years before the 2008-2010 Cyprus curriculum review.\textsuperscript{80}

The syllabus is also influenced by developments in sociolinguistic research in Cyprus that revealed a complex relationship between Standard Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect. Instead of the diglossic emphasis of earlier studies, in which SMG functions as the High and the dialect as the Low variety (e.g. Arvaniti, 2002, 2006; Karyolemou, 1992, 1994; Papapavlou, 1998; Tsiplakou 2006, 2007a, 2007b), recent studies talk about the development of a Koine Cypriot variety (Arvaniti, 2002; Hadjioannou et al. 2011; Karyolemou, 2000; Tsiplakou et al., 2006), raising in this way the importance of the vernacular as a common medium of language among Greek-Cypriots”. Overall, these contributions talk about the strong presence of the vernacular (e.g. Ioannidou, 2002, 2009; Yakoumetti, 2003), while others take a more explicitly favourable position towards a bidialectical education (Papanikola, 2010) and argue for the need to introduce critical and genre pedagogy in education (Matsagouras & Tsiplakou, 2008; Tsiplakou & Hadjioannou, 2010),\textsuperscript{81} elements which in fact included in the primary pedagogical aspects of the 2010 syllabus.

\textbf{3.2.4 Reactions to the education and curriculum reform (2004-2010)}

Ioannidou emphasised in her study that the introduction of radical ideas in Greek-Cypriot education could be seen as a threat to dominant ethno-national values, and could thus result in “social turmoil” between “opposition groups” related to diverse politico-ideological affiliations (2012: p.12). In this section, I give a sketch of the public reaction to the policy changes put forth by the 2004-2010 education reform, in order to understand which tensions became part of the public debate.

Firstly, the negative reactions to the 2004 report of the Education Reform Committee focused on the manifesto, which included highly controversial statements about the need for Greek-Cypriot education to move away from the “ideologico-political” situation characterised as “Hellenocyprio-centric, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic” (MoEC, 2004a: p.4). Although the manifesto included other educational proposals welcomed by many stakeholders, this particular statement

\textsuperscript{80}The specific academic wished that the interview was not recorded, but she allowed me to keep notes.

\textsuperscript{81}Tsiplakou co-authored the critical literacy pedagogy Greek-language syllabus.
dominated the public debate on the reform and became a matter of fierce ideological controversy between diverse political parties and stakeholders. As the ERC chairman describes:

“[…] there were also some negative comments and disagreements with respect/reference to certain thematic areas of the ERC’s Report, by DISY- the Party of Opposition; by the Governing Board of the Open University of Cyprus; by the Holy Synod [=official committee] of the Church of Cyprus; by the former Ministers of Education Ouranios Ioannides\textsuperscript{82} and Clairi Angelidou;\textsuperscript{83}, by the historian Kostas Hadjistefanou; by Professor Mary Koutselini\textsuperscript{84} of the University of Cyprus, and by the newspaper Simerini” (Kazamias, 2012: p.34)

The Orthodox Church of Cyprus exhibited a particular opposition to the ERC report. The members of the Holy Synod (the official committee of the church) expressed their strong disagreement\textsuperscript{85} over the devaluation of religious education which would result in a broad move away from “Helleno-nationalistic-religious ideology” and “independence from the Greek educational system and Greece in general”. According to the Holy Synod, these choices had strong implications for the Greek-Cypriot state and the identity of the Greek-Cypriots:

“The Holy Synod disagrees with the perception that the committee attempts to introduce a new “nation - state” in Cyprus. The least we could say is that the committee ignores or disregards to a great extent the particular situation in Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus was never a “nation - state” and it is not expected to be one. Could it be that the committee consciously seeks to weaken

\textsuperscript{82}Aggelidou was Minister of Education from 1993 until 1997 under the presidency of Klerides, the leader of the right-wing party, DISY. Her service in office is connected with the return of Hellenocentrism in 1990s education policy.

\textsuperscript{83}Ioannides was Minister of Education from 1999 until 2003, also under the Presidency of Klerides, the leader of the right-wing party, DISY.

\textsuperscript{84} Professor Koutselini is a well-regarded Professor in Cyprus. Her PhD thesis focused on the historical investigation of “education policy and the subject of the Ancient Greek in Cyprus (1940-1990)”. The published version is dedicated to the “those who struggled for the maintenance of the Hellenic paideia in Cyprus” (Koutselini, 1997a). She was also a member of the 2008 Education Reform Committee.

\textsuperscript{85}The Holy Synod agreed with some of the proposals put forward by the ERC, such as: a) the distinction between “general humanistic” vs. “technical” education, or in favour of humanistic values vs. skills and classical vs. vocational education respectively, b) education should be “universal”/“ecumenical” [sic], and should give equal opportunities, c) education should not be subjected to the economy and priority should be given to human and democratic paideia.
religion and to ethnically disorientate the Greeks of Cyprus?” (Holy Synod, 2004).

The above excerpt provides a good idea of the extent to which policy re-orientation in education is influenced by political events, which, in the rhetoric of the church, even touches upon nation-building processes. The Church, as the traditional institution supporting the construction of the ethno-national ideology in Cyprus (see section 3.1), associated any weakening of nationalistic tones as an attempt towards encouraging the “ethnic disorientation” of Greek-Cypriots.

The 2008 CRC “text of principles” in contrast did not provoke much controversy. Several of my participants (even those affiliated with opposing political parties) agreed that the production of the “text of principles” did not receive much negative response by Greek-Cypriot society. This lack of reaction is mainly attributed to the CRC text avoiding intense politico-ideological statements, unlike the 2004 report which had expressed a wholesale rejection of Hellenocentrism. We saw how the “text of principles” recognised that “[e]ducation occurs in the framework of the Greek civilization/culture” (MoEC, 2008: p.3), without however explaining what the nature of this relationship should be, nor what role Greek civilisation should have in Greek-Cypriot education.

One could argue that, in 2008, ideological matters were not causing as much conflict and public debate compared to the past. However, during the same period, other choices which carried strong politico-ideological ramifications were being broadly interpreted as attempting to change the traditional Hellenocentric and ethnocentric character of education. Specifically, in September 2008, the MoEC circulated a letter across schools announcing a pro-reconciliation target for the school year 2008-2009, entitled “The cultivation of a culture of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek and Turkish-Cypriots, aiming at ending the occupation and reuniting our motherland and our people”87. This target provoked fierce reaction in schools and in the press. The reactions were mainly fuelled by the fact that the letter required teachers to prepare students for co-existence between the two communities, in a time when Cyprus would be reunited “under the roof of a

86 This is available from: www.paideia.org.cy [accessed 25/7/2014].
commonly accepted, independent and sovereign federal state”. It also highlighted the need to “bring out and highlight all the common elements of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots; what united and unites their destinies as children of the Cypriot land”. The phrase “peaceful coexistence” has been connected to the 2008-2013 presidency of Christofias as a way of dealing with the conflict between the two main communities of Cyprus (Philippou, 2012: p.438). Philippou and Klerides note that “this aim was viewed as a ‘threat’ to national Greek identity and incompatible with the cross-curricular theme of ‘Den Ksehno kai Agonizomai [I do not forget and I fight]’ which is still expected to be implemented in various ways in Greek-Cypriot education (e.g. Aggelidou, 2008)” (2010: p.228). The Minister of Education and Culture responded to the massive reaction with an official press release in November 2008:

“Our identity is non-negotiable. Our language is a given. They both stem from the culture that the ancient Greeks brought here in Cyprus about 3500 years ago. Through this culture we give meaning to today’s world and for this culture we are proud, as is every nation for its own culture. All Greeks, wherever we are, we have the duty to keep, and honour and dignify this culture. Of course, the same applies for us here in Cyprus. Here, time and place have set us to serve and broaden the Greek culture outside the borders of the Greek state. The effort to integrate Cyprus into the Greek state did not succeed. And therefore, we are definitely moving towards the future as an independent state.” (my translation)88

The Minister’s statement is very much along the lines of Hellenocentric ideology in education. His emphasis on the long-standing presence of Greek civilisation resonated with the national mythology for the “diachronic unity” of the Greeks across time (Papadakis, 1998; see further section 3.1). However, the last part of this paragraph turns to the need for the establishment of an independent state and therefore marked a move away from Hellenocentrism (Charalambous, 2009).

Much like the “text of principles” the Greek-language syllabus did not cause much public debate either, upon its publication in 2010. According to Mr Chandris89, one of the teachers seconded to a key position in the development of the syllabus, this is

88 See appendix 5.2 for the original document
89 This is a pseudonym.
due to the fact that it was difficult to understand, and therefore hard to criticise. In addition, the syllabus was never officially fully implemented in secondary education, meaning teachers were not obliged to comply with it, which also took away from any potential impetus to react strongly or to take coordinated action against the choices of the MoEC. It is worth mentioning that in interviews with inspectors and teachers regarding the syllabus, I did not note any major reactions towards the ideological re-orientation of the syllabus to a civic-based and democratic education; however, certain teachers expressed a measure of dissatisfaction towards the decision to abolish the policy of specific textbooks and replace them with teaching material produced by teachers and students.

In conclusion, it is evident that the public debate was centred around politico-ideological issues, especially when Greekness was in question. We can observe local political antagonisms here. On the one side, the left-wing government of AKEL, which introduced the 2010 syllabus, was traditionally connected with the ideology of Cypriocentrism that advocates for a common Cypriot citizenship for all inhabitants of Cyprus. On the other side, the 2013 centre-right coalition government, which was related to Hellenocentric ideology that emphasised the common Greek origin of mainland Greeks and the Greek-Cypriots, revised the critical literacy syllabus by stating emphatically that SMG should remain the official language in education. And although the 2010 Greek-language syllabus received much criticism and resistance from the teachers for other practical reasons (e.g. absence of a single defined textbook), the public debate was focused on the introduction of the vernacular as an act of legitimisation at the expense of Greekness in education.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to explore the relationship between ethno-national values and the progressive pedagogic approaches that questioned them. In the historical overview of Greek-Cypriot education, it was shown that literacy pedagogy and language policy were influenced by political events. In my examination of the history of education in Cyprus, I broadly agreed with Ioannidou’s conclusion that there has been a “strong presence of national and ethnic objectives in language policy-making”; this is also in line with other Greek-Cypriot academics (e.g. Charalambous, 2009; Charalambous, 2010; Karyolemou, 2003; Karoulla-Vriikki, 2007; Philippou & Klerides, 2010). It
was shown that this ethno-national orientation served the new state’s need to strengthen political and cultural bonds with metropolitan Greece. Accordingly, national ideals were prioritised in decisions concerning education, which resulted in the import of textbooks, curricula and language policies from Greece, as well as traditional pedagogies connected with classical languages, in order to sustain the glory of the past.

I then presented the policy change envisioned in the course of the education and curriculum reform, which sought to re-design Greek-Cypriot education on the basis of active citizenship and democratisation. I considered three key policy documents, representing the official MoEC efforts to re-orient education away from past ethnocentric aspirations and towards a civic-based, inclusive, and critical literacy education. Ioannidou pointed to this as well:

“Instead of national ideals, there is now an emphasis on concepts like social exclusion, critical resistance and language as an ideologically and socially semiotic structure” (2012: p.10)

Section 3.2.1, which dealt with the 2004 policy document produced by the Educational Reform Committee, showed a strong rhetoric against Hellenocentrism. Section 3.2.2 then looked at the 2008 CRC “text of principles”, revealing a progressive approach to curriculum development which stressed inclusive and participatory priorities in education, as well as modern pedagogic practices, that aligned Greek-Cypriot schools with international trends favouring child-centred education. Finally, section 3.2.3 focused on the Greek-language syllabus and gave an account of the new pedagogic approach to language and literacy. It was shown that the syllabus constructed a new orthodoxy for literacy education, promoting critical engagement with texts and unveiling the dominant ideologies that these produce and circulate. Therefore, this vision of policy change in literacy pedagogy also signalled a strong departure from past ethnocentric values; a departure associated with the political agenda of the leftist government, which designed and implemented the curriculum review.

In addition to focusing on curriculum change, this section also explored some of the reactions and conflicts caused by the changing policy priorities. It was revealed that the public debate was overwhelmingly focused on the ideologico-political
ramifications of the policy change. The distancing from Hellenocentrism and introduction of the Greek-Cypriot dialect were key elements in provoking fierce controversy between the government and the traditional pillars of society, such as the Greek Orthodox church, while the introduction of a number of pedagogic shifts to the Greek-language subject received much less attention in the public debate.

Based on the above, it is evident that politics and ideology are important to consider when talking about policy change in Cyprus. However, efforts and tensions involved in the process of the curriculum development are not abstract entities, but processes that take place in the local practices of policymaking, and the next three chapters will try to address this.
CHAPTER 4

PROCESS OF THE CURRICULUM REVIEW:
TENSIONS BETWEEN ESTABLISHED AND
EMERGING POLICYMAKING GROUPS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the politico-ideological processes in Cyprus and discussed their influence on literacy education and curriculum change. It was shown that ethno-national ideals dominated Greek-Cypriot education until the 2004 education reform. It also explored how the coalition government of the centre and the left introduced new pedagogic theories and radical models of literacy education in Greek-Cypriot schools, which sought to develop creative, critical, and civic-based student voice.

In this chapter, I respond to Ball’s suggestion around “peopling” policy, an approach that focuses on the policy actors, their voice, role and actions; I also examine negotiations around the makeup of the policy reform bodies. Furthermore, I draw on Collebatch’s suggestion to look at the government as a multifaceted arena, which includes or excludes actors, leading to tensions among MoEC departments and policy actors. The ethnographic focus of this chapter is the exploration of local practices and behind-the-scenes stories of the curriculum development. I will argue that ideological processes were characterised not only by ethno-national tensions, as suggested in Ioannidou’s paper, but also by institutional processes, including the conflict between established and emerging MoEC policymaking groups over who was most appropriate to carry out the curriculum review.

To this end, this chapter first describes two important elements of the education reform that are both linked to the shifting makeup of the policymaking bodies due to political influence (section 4.1). It then explores tensions regarding the composition of the 2008 CRC, focusing on the sidelining of traditional policy actors, such as inspectors and teachers’ unions (section 4.2). It also looks at emerging CRC actors, specifically seconded teachers whose key participation resulted in important
backstage processes throughout the reform effort and refers to negotiations between different departments/policy actors regarding the former (section 4.3).

In order to investigate the role of people within the differing institutional contexts of the MoEC—what Ball calls a multi-level approach (1997)—I take a multi-dimensional look at the social processes around curriculum development, as they are manifested across four types of research data:

1) MoEC archives—I employ Ginzburg’s assumptions for investigating the policy change by looking at hints within texts that point to wider processes;

2) curriculum review policy documents; I also peripherally examine other official documents: e.g. circulars, letters, MoEC and Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (CPI) newsletters; and annual reports from the Cyprus Educational Service Commission;

3) interviews with curriculum development actors: these are used as both resources and as reflections on people’s understanding of the process; and

4) first-hand experience of the MoEC and the curriculum development process, which I use as a resource for understanding negotiations among different policy actors, as well as reflexively, to examine my role in the process and the research.

But first, a short description of the administration of education itself is necessary, and this is provided in the next section.

4.0.1 A note on the MoEC’s centralised administration

In order to understand the local practices of policymaking and the negotiations among different groups of people and departments of the Ministry of Education and Culture, it is useful to first provide a brief outline of the Cyprus education system and the organisational structure of the MoEC. I mainly draw on the Education Reform Committee’s 2004 report, which provided a general overview of Greek-Cypriot education.

The educational system in Cyprus is organised by levels of education (primary, secondary, tertiary), with the following institutions for each level: primary schools (years 1-6); secondary schools (years 7-9); lyceums (years 10-12); and universities
(MoEC, 2004b). Academic institutions have been under the administrative umbrella of the MoEC since the latter’s foundation in 1965. MoEC has since been solely responsible for the design, development and implementation of education policy, as well as for the administrative governance of schools and teaching staff. It has also been “responsible for teacher appointment, secondment, transfer, evaluation, promotion and disciplining, as well as for the provision of curricula, instructional material, and professional development” (Theodorou et al., 2017: p.219; see also Pashiardis, 2004). The centralised administration of the MoEC consists of high-ranking officers, technocrats and educators. In the Department of Secondary Education, the Director of Secondary Education is the chief technocrat, followed by the Chief Education Officers and the relevant subject-area inspectors.

The Education Review Committee’s report characterises the MoEC as a “centralised, hierarchically bureaucratic, and rigid institutional framework for governance; exercise of power; and supervision of education and the educational system” (MoEC, 2004b: pp.13-14). This statement is worth keeping in mind over the following sections, where we focus on the negotiations among the policy actors over the changes introduced in Cyprus education, and the resistance shown by established policy actors.

4.1 Political influence in the education policy design (2004-2008)

The focus of this chapter is the curriculum review period between 2008 and 2010. However, there are two policy choices with ideological implications, which were taken in the 2004-2008 period but are directly connected to the process of the 2008-2010 curriculum development. I will first refer to the backstage role of political parties in the education policy of the MoEC from 2004 to 2008. I will then describe the political choice of the government to engage more stakeholders in the policymaking process, contrary to past practice of only including MoEC technocrats (e.g. inspectors) and representatives from the teacher unions.

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90Replacing the Greek-Cypriot Community Chamber, five years following the independence of the Republic.

91An organisational chart of the MoEC can be found in appendix 4.
The backstage role of political parties in the formation of education policy

In the previous chapter I gave an outline of the most important events of the education reform, which set the foundations for the 2008 curriculum review and the 2010 development of the Greek-language syllabus. The basis of the reform was the Education Reform Committee’s report, which provoked fierce reactions, especially from political parties and other stakeholders who subscribed to a Hellenocentric identity. However, using the report as the basis for the education reform seemed a paradoxical choice from the centre-right president, who was connected to the ‘patriotic right’, an ideology which is close to Hellenocentrism and favours Greekness for Cyprus. The question is why did President Papadopoulos accept a philosophical basis for education reform, which advocated for distancing from Hellenocentric ideology? One of the ways to answer this question is to remember the makeup of the coalition government. Papadopoulos became president with the cooperation of the party of DIKO, the socialist party of EDEK and the leftist party of AKEL. The latter had traditionally subscribed to a Cypriocentric political ideology. Indeed, the then Minister of Education and Culture, Georgiades (2003-2007), who was affiliated with DIKO, was careful in his collaboration with AKEL. As noted by Katsonis, who was seconded to the Minister’s office at the time, “[Georgiades] would not take a step without AKEL’s consent”, attributing this “loyalty” to investments for political support from AKEL, which had the most MPs among the three political parties of the coalition government. Katsonis also added that three of the members of the 2004 Education Reform Committee (Kazamias, Tsiakalos and Gagatsis) were appointed upon AKEL’s proposal. Along the same lines, Persianis, a prominent Greek-Cypriot scholar, attributes the Minister’s (and consequently, the President’s) “loyalty” to AKEL to political strategy:

“the president probably wanted to satisfy his political partners, who essentially were the main lever of pressure for taking the initiative of the reform. It is well

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92 EDEK is a Cypriot socialist party.

93 Also, Taliadoros (former leader of the secondary teachers’ union) confirmed in his interview that members of the ERC named Kazamias as the person who inspired this statement. Taliadoros speculates that this is reason why Kazamias was not called to participate in 2008, when the government launched the curriculum review.

94 Kazamias became the president of the ERC. Furthermore, Tsiakalos was appointed president of the 2008 CRC. Finally, Gagatsis was the president of the ‘Academic Council’, also established in 2008, but did not ultimately play an important role in the 2008-2013 CR.
known that behind the whole idea of the appointment of the ERC, and also behind the selection of the members of ERC was a specific member of AKEL” (2010: p.92).

It cannot be said for sure if a specific person was behind the design of the education reform. However, informants near Georgiades (the former Minister) confirm that the leftist party of AKEL was mainly in charge of the MoEC’s education policy. Katsonis, in his interview, stressed that the leftist party had the leading role in the organisation of the education reform through proposals drafted by its Office for Education. Since Sylikiotis, a prominent member of AKEL, was the president of AKEL’s Office for Education until 2006, Katsonis assumes that Sylikiotis is the member of AKEL that Persianis is referencing. Regardless of whether Sylikiotis’ role was decisive or not, the leftist party seems to have had an important influence in setting the agenda for the education reform.

Although the party left the coalition government in the summer of 2007, it returned to power with President Christofias, the leader of AKEL, in 2008, and resumed the policy on the basis of the 2004 vision for a democratic and humane school. Indeed, when I interviewed Demetriou (the Minister of Education and Culture at the time of the curriculum review) in 2013, he made no reference to the time lapse between 2004 and 2008, but instead emphasised that the curriculum review was continuation of the education reform.

**Engaging more stakeholders in the policymaking process**

In chapter 3 we saw that the education reform put forward a vision for a “democratic and humane school”. Democratising educational practices were presented as one of the most important aspects of this vision. In the years that followed the 2004 report, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) took measures to show that the

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95Neoklis Sylikiotis’ political profile includes: a) Member of the Central Committee of AKEL (since 1995); b) Chair of AKEL Policy Council (since 2010); c) Minister of the Interior (Sept. 2006- July 2007; and March 2008-March 2012); d) Minister of Energy, Commerce, Industry and Tourism (2012-2013); d) Member of the European Parliament (2012- currently). He was also Chair of the Office of Education of AKEL until 2006.

96Sylikiotis also took over the MoEC as a deputy Minister in January 2007, when the former Minister Georgiades suddenly passed away. He occupied this position for about a month, until 20/2/2007, when Akis Kleanthous became the next Minister of Education and Culture. Available from: www.moec.gov.cy/minoffice/akis_kleanthous.html [accessed 10/7/2017].
democratisation of the reform also extended to the design of the philosophy and the practice of policymaking. Opening up the process to new policy actors (e.g. political parties, parents’ associations, and students’ associations) and adopting wide consultation practices were two of the democratising actions taken by the MoEC. Stylianou (the General Secretary of the MoEC from 2004 until 2014), who played an important role in the administrative organisation of the reform, underlined in a 2012 presentation:

“We started by recording the areas where changes were needed and with intense thinking on the process that we needed to follow, based on the Report on the Educational Reform. The starting point of the discussion was the conviction that education is a matter that concerns the whole society and that to achieve a change of this magnitude, it is necessary to involve all the stakeholders and discuss with them the development and implementation of the policy proposals in order to achieve the largest possible degree of consensus, consistency and continuity” (2012: p.56).

Indeed, in February 2005 the MoEC set up three bodies, which included a range of policy actors, such as politicians, stakeholders and relevant associations. This major shift changed the policymaking practice, which up to that point had only involved negotiations between Ministry technocrats and representatives of the teachers’ associations, as described in the historical overview of education in Cyprus (section 3.2). The importance of this shift is underlined in interviews with three research participants, who held diverse positions in the reform, and interestingly give differing explanations for the opening up of the process. First, the General Secretary characterised the inclusion of political parties as an “innovation”, which, in addition to democratising the educational reform process, also served practical purposes during the consultation process:

97 The three policy bodies were: The Council of Education; the Council for Primary and Secondary Education and the Council for Higher Education. Particular reference is made to the Council of Primary and Secondary Education, since it received the documents of the 2008-2013 CR. The Council comprised a) the Minister of Education and Culture (or a delegate), and representatives from b) other departments of the government (e.g. MoEC, the Planning Bureau); c) political parties with seats in Parliament, d) teachers’ unions (OELMEK, OLTEK, POED); e) parents’ associations from primary and secondary education; f) inspector unions from primary and secondary education; g) PSEM (secondary school student associations); h) the University of Cyprus; i) other stakeholders; and j) special academics and other persons with special knowledge and experience. Available from: http://www.paideia.org.cy/ [accessed 15/3/2015].
Extract: 4.1

**Stylianou:** “The idea was to discuss the issue before going to the parliament, [...] to be more or less in agreement and to ensure coherence. So, if the government would change and another party would come to power, there would still be continuity in the policy”. *(Interview with Stylianou, 30/7/2013)*

Second, Katsonis, who was at the time seconded to the Minister’s office and affiliated with the leftist party of AKEL, also attributed this choice to a strategic move by the government:

**Extract 4.2**

**Katsonis:** “Every political party had its say, something that was not the case in the past, back then, it was the Minister’s creation. This proposal was made to push the reform through; the reform could not be promoted otherwise. In the past, every proposal for change was a matter of discussion among the Ministers and the trade unions of teachers...year after year and nothing was accomplished, because they could not come to an agreement. But with the Council of Primary and Secondary Education, a complete plan was submitted, which had been accepted by the parents, by the students, by the political parties and only trade unions disagreed. But in this Council, [trade unions] were now only one voice amongst many, so with a decision based on the majority, the proposals were finally implemented”. *(Interview with Katsonis, 19/5/2017)*

The aforementioned strategy to involve more stakeholders in order to reduce the power of the established policy actors was also emphasised by Taliadoros, the former leader of the teachers’ association of secondary education (OELMEK). He claimed that the government aimed to “reduce the role of the teachers’ associations, to just one voice in the Council, along with the parents’ and students’ associations, representatives from the university, the political parties etc” *(Interview, with Taliadoros, 2/7/2017).* But was the role of the teachers’ associations so powerful that the government would have wanted to diminish it? Taliadoros explains:

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98 Demetrios Taliadoros is a teacher of Greek and History and now serves as a secondary school headmaster. In addition, he was the leader of the teachers’ union of secondary education (OELMEK) from 2013 to 2017. He also belongs to Allagi, an organisation of teachers affiliated to the right-wing party of DISY.

99 OELMEK stands for *Organismos Ellinon Leitourgon Mesis Ekoedeysis Kyprou* (Organisation of Greek Teachers of Secondary Education of Cyprus).
Extract 4.3

Taliadoros: “In Cyprus teachers associations are huge, they have a great deal of power. This is because they are affiliated to the political parties. And the whole political system is based on the parties, and it is also a small place. So, you can see that they can easily have an impact... [for example] in August 2016, OELMEK threatened to strike. The President of the Republic calls the leader of the associations, and the leader says, “give me 30 posts [so that we don’t] proceed with the strike. Is there any other country where such a thing would be acceptable?” (Interview with Taliadoros, 2/7/2017)

Between 2005 and 2007, the Council of Education held a series of ten meetings, focusing on specific aspects of the reform, without, however, making substantial progress. Stylianou (the former General Secretary) attributes this delay to the emergence of other unexpected administration priorities. It was only four years after the ERC’s report that the education reform gathered new force with the initiation of the curriculum review.

4.2 The composition of the curriculum review committee: sidelining established policy groups

In this section I draw on archival research, first-hand knowledge at the MoEC structure and contact with policy actors, as well as elite interviews with policymakers to examine the processes around the makeup of the Curriculum Review Committee (CRC). The analysis is based on triangulated reflexive inquiry which involved the combination of multiple research methods and empirical data on the role of policy actors in the process of the curriculum reform.

Specifically, in section 4.2.1, I present the members of the CRC. I then explore the ways in which two established groups of policy actors were initially excluded from the process of curriculum development. I first focus on teachers’ unions representatives (section 4.2.2), and then on secondary education inspectors (section 4.2.3). I will show that both groups were sidelined mainly because they represented traditional MoEC policymaking groups, who were deemed unlikely to implement radical changes in Greek-Cypriot education. In order to better understand the processes and negotiations during this period, in Table 4.1 below I summarise some

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100 For example, the MoEC had to implement administrative changes to the entry exams for mainland Greek universities, following Cyprus’s 2004 EU accession. This need was communicated to the Cypriot MoEC during a two-day visit of officials from the Greek Ministry of Education in February 2005.
important events and dates to give context to why some actors were excluded from the CRC:

Table 4.1: Events of the Curriculum Review (2008-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions/ documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2008</td>
<td>Appointment of the Curriculum Review Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2008</td>
<td>The secondary teachers’ trade union (OELMEK) complains to the MoEC for being excluded from the CRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2008</td>
<td>Submission of the report of the CRC, “text of principles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2009</td>
<td>Complaints made by the inspectors at being excluded from the process of curriculum development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>Development process of the syllabi for all subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Appointment of the academic committees for the syllabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Call for volunteer teachers to support the subject-area committees of academics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Publication of the syllabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1 Academics and seconded teachers in the Curriculum Review Committee

The political party of AKEL, which had an important role in education policy from 2004 onwards, strengthened its influence in 2008 when it came to power and took over the Ministry of Education and Culture. The MoEC then prioritised the launch of the curriculum development. To this end, in June 2008, the MoEC announced the formation of the Curriculum Review Committee (CRC)101, which comprised nine members:

1. **George Tsiakalos**: Prof. of Pedagogy (Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, Greece), the chairman of the CRC. He was also member of the 2003 Educational Reform Committee.
2. **Sifis Bouzakis**: Prof. of Pedagogy (University of Patras, Greece).
3. **Mary Koutselini-Ioannidou**: Prof. of Pedagogy (University of Cyprus).
4. **Michalinos Zembylas**: Assist. Prof. of Pedagogy, Open University of Cyprus.
5. **Eric Erotokritou**: former director of the Department of Vocational Education in the MoEC.

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101The CRC was appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers on the 11th June 2008 (Cabinet’s decision no 67.339).
6. **Athina Michaelidou**: Head of the Department of Educational Research, Cyprus Pedagogic Institute of Cyprus (MoEC) (now Director of the Pedagogical Institute);

7. **Margarita Kousathana**: Director of the experimental school of the University of Athens (until 20/10/2008).

8. **Georgios Georgiou**: primary school teacher, seconded to the Department of Primary Education;

9. **Georgios Zissimos**: secondary school teacher, seconded to the Minister’s officer.

Looking at the CRC members, we can make certain inferences about the groups of people who were regarded most important in the policymaking process. Firstly, academics specialising in Pedagogy/Education formed the largest category of policy actors (Tsiakalos; Bouzakis; Koutselini-Ioannidou; Zembylas). Secondly, the MoEC had only two high-ranking officers, one former MoEC technocrat (Erotokritou) and one still serving, from the Pedagogical Institute (Michaelidou). Thirdly, two seconded teachers were appointed as full members of the CRC (Georgiou, Zissimos). This means that the composition of the 2008 CRC is set apart by three important differences compared to policy bodies, pre-2004:

a) the strong presence of academics, something that is indicative of the importance given to scholarly expertise;

b) the weak representation or absence of established policy actors: apart from the two MoEC high-ranking officers, no other important technocrats (e.g. inspectors, the Directors of Primary and Secondary Education) and representatives of the teacher’s unions were included; and

c) the important presence of seconded teachers. Therefore, we see a noteworthy combination of academics and teachers, a choice that was also emphasised by the 2008 “text of principles”, which described in detail the process of the curriculum review: “the further development of the curriculum, which seeks to convert the aims into educational action, requires specialized knowledge derived from scientific research and school

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102 Based on my first-hand experience, I note here that Zissimos staffed the inner circle of the team of the CRC president, sharing the same office at the 5th floor of the MoEC, just a few meters away from the Minister’s office.

103 As already said, the established policymaking bodies included MoEC technocrats and representatives of teachers’ unions.
experience. That is why, curricula should be to a great extent placed in the exclusive domain of specialised scientists and teachers” (MoEC, 2008: p.11).

In the following sections I examine the role and the negotiations of three groups of policy actors. I first focus my attention on the members of the teachers’ unions, and the secondary school inspectors\textsuperscript{104}. Since both groups belong to the traditional MoEC policymaking structures, as described in the previous sections, their exclusion was expected to cause reactions. Indeed, they complained to the MoEC central administration, and their exclusion provoked tensions with other policy actors, such as seconded teachers. I then consider the central role of some seconded teachers, especially those positioned at the Ministry’s office and the CRC chairman’s office.

4.2.2 Complaints from teachers’ trade unions

The teachers’ trade unions were not included in the CRC. Talking to the representative of the teacher’s unions, I was informed that OELMEK had lodged a complaint to the MoEC on this point. Indeed, looking at the MoEC archives, I found a letter from OELMEK sent to the MoEC in September 2008, that is, almost four months after the appointment of the CRC:

“Our organisation expresses its deep dissatisfaction to the exclusion of educational organisations from the Scientific Committee on curricula. We believe that your decision is contrary to the established practice and procedures followed so far in the Cypriot educational system. To date, representatives of educational organisations have been involved in defining the philosophy, objectives and content of curricula.

We do not understand the reasons why you took the decision not to include teachers’ representatives in this committee. In our view, the teachers who will be called to implement the decided curriculum should have an essential role in the whole process of curriculum production”.\textsuperscript{105}

OELMEK used strong language (e.g. “your decision is contrary to...”) to describe their absence from the curriculum review process. Emphasising that their presence was part of the “established practice and procedures followed so far”, they showed their awareness of the high level of involvement they used to have in the

\textsuperscript{104}The role of academics is central in the policymaking process and will be examined in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{105}MoEC file 7.1.02.7/3, 26/9/2008. See appendix 2.2.1 for the original document.
policymaking process. In addition, they expressed their dissatisfaction on behalf of all teachers in not being included in the process, despite the fact that they would be ultimately obligated to implement the new policy. After the complaints were made, the teachers’ unions were invited to participate in the CRC meetings. The names of the representatives from three educational organisations were listed on the official website of the curriculum review\textsuperscript{106}, and they were subsequently invited to attend the CRC meetings.

4.2.3 Complaints from secondary education inspectors

Secondary school inspectors were initially absent from the CRC. Contrary to their explicit request, they were not given an important role in the process of the curriculum review in the first two years. Drawing on MoEC archival research, I first give a historical account of their absence and then I try to piece together the education reform process, focusing on the untold story of their exclusion.

Inspectors are MoEC technocrats, who are legally responsible for the inspection of schools and assessment of secondary school teachers\textsuperscript{107}, among other duties\textsuperscript{108}. They are also in charge of the general supervision of the MoEC’s administrative and educational work related to their subject area, including planning and development of teaching material; teacher training seminars, etc. They also have an important influence on secondary school teachers regarding teaching practices, style and approach, and they therefore play a key role in how teachers respond to new policies

\textsuperscript{106}Representatives from three unions were called to participate: C. Constantinou (POED); E. Semelidou (OELMEK); and from OLTEK, N. Antelios (until 14/5/2010) and G. Kollifas (from 14/5/2010).

\textsuperscript{107}Teachers are inspected twice a year in their first two years of permanent service. Their next evaluation is after they complete their 10\textsuperscript{th} year of permanent service and this applies every two years thereafter. Evaluation is one of the three criteria for promotions, the other two being the length of service and qualifications held.

\textsuperscript{108}According the Educational Service Commission’s website, their duties and responsibilities include the following:

1) (a) they undertake the inspection of secondary schools and the inspection, guidance and assessment of the teaching staff on their subject matter  
(b) they actively participate in organising and conducting educational conferences and training courses for the teaching staff

2) They undertake administrative and other specific tasks, such as coordination, programming, programme development, educational studies, surveys, exams, guidance, career guidance, etc.

in education. On this basis, they are generally considered among the top level of MoEC officers/educators, due to their long history of participation in committees for the design and implementation of curriculum and syllabus change.

Their level of involvement and high status are also evident across several MoEC archives. For example, in February 2008, the Department of Secondary Education sent an official note to the MoEC General Ministry with suggestions about the prospective “committee of experts”\textsuperscript{109} that ultimately became the Curriculum Review Committee. Four groups were proposed, among which, inspectors appeared first, followed by practising teachers; teacher union representatives and finally, academics. In this context, the inspectors’ numerous complaints to the Minister of Education and Culture and the Permanent Secretary regarding their exclusion are unsurprising. Indeed, over the first two years of syllabus development process, they sent (at least) two letters to the Minister of Education and Culture.

On 29\textsuperscript{th} January 2009, inspectors sent an initial letter to the Minister, outlining their complaint:

“In the meeting that our Board had with the chairman of the CRC, Mr Tsiakalos, on 20/12/2008, as well as in the most recent meetings we had at the Councils of Primary and Secondary Education, we received confirmation that the committees that would be formed for the development of syllabi would also be staffed with inspectors, who would have a leading role throughout the process.

The above promises notwithstanding, we regret to note that a MoEC document has now come to our attention which reveals the Ministry’s intention to delegate sole responsibility for the development of syllabi to academics and some seconded teachers”.\textsuperscript{110}

In the excerpt above, inspectors referred to a number of meetings that they had with the MoEC’s delegated policy actors in charge of the curriculum review. They emphasised the “promises” and the “received confirmation” from the MoEC that they would have a central role in the process of the syllabus development. However, on the basis of a certain MoEC document, they were informed that the “responsibility” for the syllabus production process would be delegated to academics and seconded teachers, resulting in the inspectors being disappointed.

\textsuperscript{109}MoEC file 5.29.01/2, 4/2/2008. See appendix 2.2.2 for the original document.

\textsuperscript{110}MoEC file 7.1.02.7.5, 29/1/2009. See appendix 2.2.3 for the original document.
What could the document that they mention in their letter be? If we have a look at the brief history of the curriculum development (see Table 4.1), we can find some clues. On 30th January 2009 (that is the day following the letter of complaint), the MoEC announced the formation of academic committees for the 23 syllabi, and in addition extended an open call to volunteer teachers to participate in the process. In all probability, this is the document the inspectors were referring to, as the 30th January announcement again left them out from the official process of the syllabus creation\(^{111}\). The MoEC response to the inspectors’ letter came a few days later, on the 5th February, with a laconic answer from the Minister:

> “Thank you for your letter and your willingness to attend the committees for the development of the syllabi. As I repeatedly have mentioned, each committee will also include inspectors”\(^{112}\).

However, it remains unclear to which committee the Minister’s answer refers. The MoEC announcement, dated 30th January, certainly made no reference to inspectors. Based on my personal experience of participating in the volunteer teachers’ committee for the Greek-language syllabus, there were inspectors neither in the meetings of the teachers nor the academics’ committee.

As a second step, almost ten months later (12th October 2009), inspectors sent another letter to the Minister in which they repeated their complaint about not being part of the process. In response, in a letter dated 20th October, to the directors of primary, secondary and vocational education, Tsiakalos (the CRC chairman) invited inspectors to the process, specifically asking for “the active engagement of the Departments in the process of the completion of the new syllabi”\(^{113}\). In order to do so, he suggested a meeting “to talk about ways that the body of Chief Education Officers and inspectors could participate further in this process”. The Minister of Education and Culture also promptly responded to the inspectors’ second complaint. With his letter, dated 29th October, he underlined:

> “It is also well known that with written instruction, dated 24/2/2009, I requested that the inspectors become engaged in the process of the curriculum development, by taking part in the committees for the subjects that they have been delegated.”

\(^{111}\) Although the inspectors’ letter precedes the Minister's announcement, the former were informed that such an announcement was about to be made.

\(^{112}\) MoEC file 7.1.02.7.5, 5/2/2009. See appendix 2.2.4 for the original document.

\(^{113}\) MoEC file 7.1.02.7.1, 20/10/2009. See appendix 2.2.5 for the original document.
Indicative of the importance that I attach to the views of inspectors is the fact that I have asked that the inspectors work in those committees as advisors of the coordinators”\textsuperscript{114}.

It is not clear to which “instruction” the Minister’s letter refers. This is a vague reference in the context of an official letter and places the onus of tracking and verifying on the recipient\textsuperscript{115}.

\textit{Reflecting on the empirical data I: Were the inspectors excluded?}

We saw in this section the dissatisfaction of inspectors on not having been engaged in the process of the curriculum development, as well as the answers of the MoEC with promises of future inclusion in the policy bodies. In order to answer the question of whether inspectors were indeed excluded from the process, I employ a reflective enquiry on their correspondence with the MoEC, combining data from archives, my first-hand experience as a MoEC administration officer and member of the teachers’ committee for the development of the Greek-language syllabus, as well as information from the interviews with policy players.

On their side, inspectors described the reasons why they should be included in the process in their letter dated 29\textsuperscript{th} January 2009:

\begin{quote}
“It is well known that inspectors constitute the backbone of secondary education and their contribution to the education of this place is unquestionable. We appreciate the services offered by the academics, but we think that a possible circumvention of the many years of experience, and of the training of the inspectors on issues related to their specialisation and the formation of curricula, will lead into situations that are certainly not in the interest of public education. We expect that the Ministry will seriously see our call and give a leading role to inspectors in the formulation of the syllabi”.
\end{quote}

In the paragraph above, secondary school inspectors used very strong language to talk about their status in the MoEC, describing themselves as the “backbone” of secondary education, offering an “unquestionable” contribution. As we saw in the previous section, inspectors have many duties and responsibilities, including the “inspection of secondary schools, guidance and assessment of the teaching staff on

\textsuperscript{114}MoEC file 7.1.02.7, 29/10/2009. See appendix 2.2.6 for the original document.

\textsuperscript{115}I tried to find out, but the Minister’s letter did not give much detail. Based on my personal experience as a MoEC administration officer, I know that references to prior instructions and other letters must include filing references (e.g. specific file numbers), and/or the instruction recipients. If such instruction exists, references are almost impossible to find.
their subject”, while also being expected to “actively participate in organising and conducting educational conferences and training courses for the teaching staff”\textsuperscript{116}. Their important position in the MoEC was also connected with their lengthy experience in secondary school subjects. Therefore, their request to be given a central role in the process of syllabus formulation was based on their status and their expertise.

On their side, the MoEC explained in a letter, produced as a response to the 12/10/2009 inspectors’ letter:

“...from the outset, the Ministry has made it clear that the process of the curriculum development is an open process that needs the contribution of all stakeholders and society in general. Both I and the Curriculum Reform Committee are open to honest and constructive dialogue and under no circumstances have we worked in a way that excludes anyone from submitting their thoughts and opinions. In this way we will continue operating, with the best interest of the education system and our children”\textsuperscript{117}.

The MoEC letter reflects the vision of the “text of principles” for an open and inclusive process of curriculum development (see section 3.2.2). It emphasised that it was the MoEC’s intention to avoid any relevant policy actor being “excluded from submitting their thoughts and opinions”, given that they have invited all the stakeholders as well as Cypriot society to “submit their thoughts and opinions”. The MoEC indeed tried to change the traditional practice of policymaking, where only MoEC technocrats and representatives of teachers’ unions participated (see section 4.1). However, in the first letter sent by the inspectors (dated 29\textsuperscript{th} January 2009), it is revealed that they saw themselves as the “backbone” of secondary education. As such, their request did not give the impression that they would be satisfied to merely submit their opinions along with everyone else, but rather that they expected that they would have “a leading role” in the syllabus development.

In fact, inspectors did not actively participate in the curriculum change until September 2010. This is also confirmed by the secondary school inspectors I interviewed. One of the inspectors for the Greek-language explained to me in her interview:

\textsuperscript{116} Available from: http://www.eey.gov.cy [accessed 30/7/2017].

\textsuperscript{117}MoEC file 7.1.02.7, 29/10/2009.
Extract 4.4

Inspector: “...this change, as I understand it, and based on what I heard from Hadjisavvides and Kostouli [academics, responsible for the Greek-language syllabus] last year, it goes without saying that we, the inspectors, were trying to be informed on what had happened in recent years and how this change would be carried out”. (Interview, 20/3/2013)

According to this inspector, Greek-language inspectors were not fully informed about the policy change in the Greek-language subject until 2012. It is unclear if this means that it took two years to inform all the inspectors, but in any case, most of them were likely called to participate only after the implementation of the syllabi, that is after September 2010, and not during the syllabus development period (Jan 2009- Sept 2010).

Reflecting on the empirical data II: Why were they excluded?

But why were the inspectors not given a special role, something that was perceived as a threat to their authoritative status? Was it due to the new government’s philosophy of democratised policymaking, which ultimately engaged various policy actors, or were other factors involved?

In order to answer the above questions, lets first see what the “text of principles” meant by the need to democratise education. Specifically, the Greek-language syllabus proposed multiple shifts in literacy pedagogy that provisioned the active participation of students and teachers, with the intention of creating a free and democratic learning environment. It allowed for initiatives in planning the lesson according to the specific needs and interests of each school. In addition, the use of a case-specific system for the assessment of students was encouraged: students would no longer be evaluated on the basis of written exams, but on their participation in projects jointly developed by teachers and students. These changes marked a shift from the usual practice: given that the Greek-Cypriot educational system has been highly centralised, inspectors normally provide specific guidelines to teachers across the Cyprus Republic and evaluate the latter on the basis of a unified set of criteria. Contrary to the traditional practice, the 2010 Greek-language syllabus required inspectors to adjust to the plans created by the respective teachers and schools.
On this basis, my hypothesis is that the inspectors were left out from the process of policy development, because it was assumed that they would be either incapable or unwilling to embrace the new language policy, and that they would create obstacles to the endeavour. I shared this hypothesis with Afroditi Athanasopoulou, one of the leading members of the academic committee to develop the Literature syllabus, who agreed that this was most likely the case.

Inspectors came to the curriculum review forefront again in 2010, that is, in the implementation stage, when the new policy started being disseminated across schools. Stylianou (the MoEC Permanent Secretary from 2004 to 2014), described in her interview the post September 2010 MoEC priorities, providing an idea of what was expected from the inspectors:

Extract 4.5

**Stylianou:** “Basically when we started the implementation of the syllabi, all the weaknesses of the system appeared. In September [2010] the teachers’ trade unions of teachers came and [said] ‘we need to get trained, let’s have a two-day training course’. A strategic plan for training courses was created...The problem was that we did not have enough trainers. We recruited the same academics and in-service teachers who had participated in the working groups, but the inspectors had to take up their role as trainers. It was then that the problem became evident, that we essentially had inspectors who had no idea [of the syllabi] ....”. *(Interview with Stylianou, 30/7/2013)*

Inspectors were called to support the implementation of the syllabi and organise the relevant teacher training seminars. But how could inspectors train, inspect and evaluate teachers, when they themselves had not been informed of the changes and the new philosophy? How could inspectors be expected to embrace and support such a radical policy shift, when they were absent from the process of its creation, and experienced therefore, a reduced degree of ownership\(^{118}\)?

Indeed, according to Mr Andreou\(^{119}\) (a seconded teacher, posted as an advisor for the Greek Language), almost none of the secondary school inspectors embraced the critical literacy pedagogy\(^{120}\). Andreou attributes this reluctance to the inspectors’

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\(^{118}\) According to Bangs and Frost (2012), ensuring an increased degree of ownership to the policy actors is important for the policy’s effective enactment.

\(^{119}\) This is a pseudonym.

\(^{120}\) At the time of the introduction of the syllabus, around seven inspectors were advising on the Greek-language.
absence from the development stage, but also to the volume of changes proposed by the new Greek-language syllabus, which had practical implications for the inspectors’ job. Georgiou* (teacher seconded to the Minister’s office) shared the same view and explained:

**Extract 4.6**

“Georgiou*: The critical point came at the start of discussions on practical issues, e.g. textbooks...uniformity across schools was disrupted and this was a threat... if the MoEC cannot regulate, via its inspectors, what the students are learning, then it loses its power... which is transferred from the MoEC to the school unit.

**Maria**: Did the inspectors understand this?

**G**: Sure. Let me tell you something simple. [Pre-curriculum review, when inspectors visited schools] they were able to check 'Which page are you on? They would go to Mitsero, to Paphos, and expect [teachers to be] on about the same page.... [Regarding changes in the students’ evaluation] that was a threat to the system. You depart from the traditional; you go beyond the permissible limits.... Inspectors had to develop case-specific standards in their assessment. This was different from what they were used to. Up to that point they mainly asked teachers to cover their material. With the new language policy, they had to assess not only if the material had been covered, but- most importantly- in what ways was it covered” *(Interview with Ms Georgiou, 30/4/2017)*

In other words, what Georgiou is saying is that the new policy made the inspectors’ everyday work more demanding. By having to deal with flexible teaching targets and multiple texts across schools, inspectors would have to evaluate teachers on the basis of a range of lesson plans and teaching material, as opposed to one textbook. Apart from the practical implications, inspectors might have also seen these shifts as a threat to their power, in the sense that they were not informed about the curriculum change, and were therefore not able to guide in-service teachers.

After having considered how inspectors themselves saw and were seen in the process of the curriculum review, I can conclude by saying that ideology had a significant impact in the process, but it was not connected to ethno-national tensions. Inspectors can be seen as ideological actors whose expertise and authority were challenged. They were left out of the policymaking process, and in addition, they were asked to implement critical literacy pedagogy without holding the necessary familiarity with the concept, nor enthusiasm for its promotion.
4.3 Seconded teachers as policy actors

Now that I have looked at the exclusion of secondary school inspectors and teachers’ unions from the process of curriculum development, in this section I focus on the enhanced role of seconded teachers, especially those who were appointed to the Minister’s office and the Office for Curriculum Review (established in 2009). I also consider the ways in which the position of seconded teachers provoked reactions from two traditional MoEC policy groups: inspectors and the Pedagogical Institute.

In order to better follow the role of seconded teachers, in Table 4.2 below I repeat some events of the curriculum review process:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2008</td>
<td>Appointment of the Curriculum Review Committee, which included two seconded teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2008</td>
<td>Submission of the report of the CRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2009</td>
<td>Establishment of the Curriculum Office under the guidance of Prof. Tsiakalos (CRC chairman); the CO contributed to the publication of the syllabi and promoted their implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2010</td>
<td>Publication of the new syllabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 The seconded teachers’ backstage role

In this section I describe the seconded teachers’ status and impact within the MoEC compared to other MoEC policy actors, attempting to shed light on their backstage role in the policymaking process.

Specifically, seconded teachers have been temporarily transferred from their schools to cover the MoEC’s administrative needs; as opposed to the permanent MoEC staff who have been appointed to serve in specific departments, occupy fixed posts and cannot be transferred to other positions within or outside the MoEC. Due to their

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121 The Ministry of Education is the only ministry in the Cyprus Republic that, in addition to permanent staff, allows for an extensive number of secondments. This is also due to the fact that the Ministry was not included in the 1960 Constitution, when Cyprus declared its independence. The Constitution initially provisioned for two separate chambers of education (i.e. councils for the Greek-
temporary status, they do not appear in the official presentations or the organisational chart of the MoEC\textsuperscript{122}; they do not form a defined group in the MoEC structure and departments also, but are instead scattered across the different departments and offices, with positions varying in levels of prestige (the most prestigious positions being held in the Minister’s or the Permanent Secretary’s office)\textsuperscript{123}. By not being part of the permanent staff, seconded teachers are easier to transfer or send back to their schools. With their service at the MoEC being flexible, it is easy for the government to source teachers already sympathetic to their philosophy, rather than rely on traditional policy actors, who were less likely to embrace radical changes in Greek-Cypriot education.

Indeed, seconded teachers were actively involved in the curriculum review process. Along with Tsiakalos (chairman of the CRC), they formed the group of policy actors that were probably the most consistent contributors to the curriculum review process. In section 4.2, we saw that two seconded teachers (Zissimos and Georgiou) were appointed as members of the 2008 CRC. From my first-hand experience, I am aware that other seconded teachers were appointed by the MoEC as facilitators to the CRC chairman (e.g. preparing the meetings, drafting presentations)\textsuperscript{124}. They acted as intermediaries in the CR process between the MoEC and the CRC, a unique position among MoEC policy actors. Therefore, when the curriculum office was established in 2009, seconded teachers continued to operate as coordinators of the curriculum review under the general guidance and supervision of the CRC chairman (MoEC, 2014).

Since seconded teachers played an important role in the curriculum review, what were the criteria for their selection? Drawing from my seven years of experience at the MoEC, I am aware that no standardised criteria existed on who could be seconded, nor did a time-limit to secondments. A recent MoEC circular, dated 23\textsuperscript{rd}

\textsuperscript{122}The MoEC is composed of a number of departments and offices. The organisational chart of the MoEC can be found in appendix 4.

\textsuperscript{123}Seconded teachers are transferred from schools to take administrative or educational posts (e.g. counsellors), according to the needs of the MoEC.

\textsuperscript{124}It is also worth remembering that Katsonis, who was also assigned to participate in and serve the 2004 Educational Reform Committee, stressed this double role.
February 2017, also recognises that the criteria pertaining the secondment of the teachers at the MoEC (and other departments) had not been of a high standard. They remain even more opaque when it comes to influential secondments. According to the same circular, key positions, such as “posts in the Minister’s office; the Permanent Secretary’s office; and the Internal Audit Unit are not advertised, since they are part of the discretionary choice of the competent authority.”

Which criteria are applied then, to seconded teachers? There is no straightforward answer, although every year the MoEC releases a circular containing very general criteria. A widely held belief in the public sector is simply that, where targeted criteria for a post are not specified, nepotism fills the void. It’s an open secret, for example, that the teachers seconded to key positions, such as the Minister’s office or the curriculum office, tend to be affiliated with the political party in power or in some other way connected with the Minister; unsurprisingly, they tend to be the first professional casualties when there is a change in government. Indeed, in 2013, with the advent of a new government, most of the teachers seconded to the curriculum office were swiftly replaced. This bred resentment in those who were seconded due to being favoured by the previous, leftist government:

“Bitter attitudes were found from those who were not seconded this school year [2014-2015], and suspicions that their absence meant that a non-continuation of the same policy [the critical literacy pedagogy] is pursued” (MoEC, 2014: p.166),

while elsewhere it is noted that the teachers seconded to the curriculum office:

According to the circular:

“MoEC is the only Ministry not staffed [solely] by permanent staff, with the result that it is heavily dependent on the teachers....mainly performing administration tasks. Some teachers remain in these positions for a long time... Recently, two important reforms were made by the MoEC aiming at effectively dealing with the above driven by the principles of Law and necessity to have the right staffing at the Ministry. In particular, all seconded posts are advertised and we follow clear and transparent procedures for the submission and the examination of the applications and the filling of the posts.”

Available from: http://enimerosi.moec.gov.cy/archeia/1/ypp5452a [accessed 21/7/2017].

Some of the prospective measures included the imposition of restrictions in the number of seconded teachers with long-term posting and the gradual replacement of seconded teachers with permanently appointed educators.

For example, although one of the most important criteria for a seconded post is for a teacher to be permanent, there were cases where non-permanent teachers were seconded to the Minister’s Office, because they were connected with the Minister through personal ties.
“do not regard inspectors as appropriate trainers, since the latter did not work on the New Analytical Programmes” (ibid).

The above extracts are indicative of the important role of seconded teachers in the 2008-2013 curriculum development. This makes them the most important emerging but concealed MoEC policymaking groups. In fact, in challenging the role of their supervisors (“[seconded teachers] do not regard inspectors as appropriate trainers...”), they showed that they were aware of their position. In that respect, traditional relations of power were challenged, given that inspectors were now superseded by hierarchically inferior actors.

4.3.2 Tensions between MoEC groups regarding the seconded teachers’ role

In the previous section I gave an account of the important position of some seconded teachers in the policymaking process, especially those placed at the Minister’s office and the curriculum office. The curriculum office was located at the premises of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (CPI),128 without however falling under its administrative umbrella. According to the report of the Curriculum Assessment Committee129, the office was not supervised by a MoEC technocrat (unlike other MoEC departments/ offices), but instead operated under the guidance of the CRC chairman, Tsiakalos. The curriculum office was therefore outside the bounds of the traditional MoEC structure and formed a separate, but parallel, entity.

128 The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (CPI) was established as part of the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture in 1972. The Director of the CPI is accountable to the Permanent Secretary and the Minister of Education and Culture. According to the CPI website: “The mission of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute is to ensure the continuous training of teachers of all levels; to inform them about modern educational trends; to document the adopted educational policy via research and theory; and, to facilitate teachers in their professional and personal development”. The CPI is headed by a Director and is divided into five departments which are each headed by a supervisor: 1) In-service Training; 2) Educational Documentation; 3) Educational Technology; 4) Curriculum Development Unit (founded in 1979 and integrated in the CPI in 2002), and 5) the Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (CERE).

129 The Curriculum Assessment Committee was appointed in 2013 and it was chaired by the Minister of Education and Culture and comprised six academics (I follow the order of reference of the Assessment Report): M. Koutselini (Professor of Education, University of Cyprus); L. Kyriakides (Professor of Education, University of Cyprus); P. Pashiardes (Professor of Education, Open University of Cyprus); N. Stylianopoulos (Professor of Mathematics, University of Cyprus); M. Zembylas (Associate Professor of Education, Open University of Cyprus); and P. Papapolyviou (Associate Professor of History, University of Cyprus).
Indeed, if we look at the annual reports of the Educational Service Commission, we see that the curriculum office forms a separate category. Letters sent by the Director of the Pedagogical Institute to the General Secretary of the MoEC give us further clues about the status of the office and the tensions it caused. Specifically, on the 6th of September 2011, Michaelidou (the CPI Director) sent a note to MoEC’s Permanent Secretary, in which she enquired whether the “teachers seconded to the curriculum office were obliged to follow the same procedures and arrangements, and fell under the scope of the CPI”.\(^{130}\) The Permanent Secretary reassured Michaelidou that seconded teachers of the curriculum office were under the umbrella of the CPI. Nevertheless, Michaelidou brought up the issue again and again, for example, when the CPI was asked to grant offices and facilities to the curriculum office on its premises. Specifically, in her note, dated 24th April 2012, again addressed to the Permanent Secretary, she returns to the issue of seconded teachers:

“On the basis of your previous circulars, the officers of the new curriculum are administratively under the Pedagogical Institute. In particular, compliance with the regulations (time of entry/department) worked smoothly even though the officers did not have a permanent office”.\(^{131}\)

In the excerpt above she repeats that seconded teachers should be under the administrative responsibility of the CPI. However, when I interviewed Michaelidou about a year and a half later, she emphasised that:

**Extract 4.7**

Michaelidou: “Our biggest concern, because we continually evaluate our work ...was that the new curricula were not under the Pedagogical Institute, until recently, as I said. It was under the curriculum office”. \((\text{Interview with Michaelidou, 23/7/2013})\)

Based on what Michaelidou says, neither the administration arrangements nor the accountability of the curriculum office with regards to the CPI had been made clear. In conversations with three members of the curriculum office, I discovered the situation had been unclear to them as well: the office was using the premises and the administrative support of the CPI. However, they were not accountable to Michaelidou; instead, they collaborated directly with the Permanent Secretary and the Minister, on issues concerning the philosophical orientation and design of the

\(^{130}\)File 5.2.5.05/6, p. 8-7

\(^{131}\)MoEC file 5.28.01, 24/4/2012. See appendix 2.2.7 for the original document.
new policy. This is also manifested in a note that Michaelidou sent to the Permanent Secretary in the new Minister of Education and Culture on the 13th of March 2013:

“The practice of posting officers solely to promote the new curricula cannot continue, as these officers do not belong to a specific MoEC department (as provisioned in the posting circular). Since these officers carry out duties related to training and development of educational and training material, they do not differ from CPI officers (which is the main provider of training for the MoEC)...."We must urgently reassign both the efforts to reorganise and evaluate syllabi, as well as the teachers seconded to this task to the curriculum office of the CPI, especially since certain curriculum office staff is currently awaiting instructions to continue their work on the curricula."132

Which tensions prevailed, then, around the presence of seconded teachers in the curriculum office? If we look at Table 4.3 below, which presents the relevant statistics regarding seconded teachers in three MoEC departments, we can come to some conclusions.

Table 4.3: Number of working days/per week allocated for each section133

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>The Ministry of Education and Culture (including administration and departments/offices)</th>
<th>The Pedagogical Institute (including the Curriculum Development Unit)</th>
<th>The curriculum office</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>33 (20.97%)</td>
<td>31.2 (19.82%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>41.2 (24.42%)</td>
<td>41.4 (24.47%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>50 (25.58%)</td>
<td>36.6 (18.73%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>55.8 (24.6%)</td>
<td>37.4 (16.4%)</td>
<td>10.2 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>49.8 (20%)</td>
<td>33.8 (13%)</td>
<td>47.4 (19%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

132 MoEC File PI 5.30.01, 13/3/2013. See appendix 2.2.8 for the original document.

133 The statistics are taken from the annual reports of the Educational Service Commission (available online at www.eey.gov.cy). The first figure is the number of days allocated for each MoEC department per week; it is based on the fact that teachers work 5 days a week. However, seconded teachers share their time between secondment posts at the MoEC and their post at schools. This means that they can be seconded 1, 2, 3 or 4 days, depending on MoEC needs. The second number in parenthesis shows the percentage of seconded teachers allocated for each department compared to the total number of seconded teachers at MoEC.
Looking at the table above, we see that teachers seconded to the curriculum office outnumbered not only those at the PI, but also those at the central MoEC administration. Therefore, the curriculum office had an increasing importance in the MoEC and in the ongoing curriculum review. This new role given to the office was possibly seen as a threat to MoEC departments which used to have a leading role in policy change up to that point. It should be noted that the curriculum office was incorporated into the Pedagogical Institute, following the change in government in 2013.

### 4.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I attempted to illustrate and discuss the ways in which the process of curriculum review was “peopled” and “voiced”, through an exploration of the negotiations among the MoEC groups involved in curriculum development. It was shown that there were tensions between established and emerging policy groups regarding their participation in MoEC policymaking bodies. On the one hand, traditional policy actors, such as inspectors and teachers’ unions, were excluded from the process of curriculum development. In line with Theodorou et al.’s (2017) finding about the sidelining of volunteer teachers, it was suggested that these policy actors were not invited to actively participate, because they were regarded as unlikely to support a new, radical language policy. Inspectors in particular only became engaged in the curriculum review in September 2010, more than two years after the launch of the process (June 2008). Inspectors were, by necessity, key actors in the implementation stage of the new curriculum in 2010, given that the MoEC lacked other supporting mechanisms. They were then expected to take over a range of tasks, including teacher training seminars, although they themselves had not previously been adequately informed about the policy.

On the other hand, emerging policy actors were actively involved in the curriculum review. I focused on and analysed the role of the teachers who were seconded in key

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>MoEC</th>
<th>PI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>49.4 (19%)</td>
<td>32.6 (12%)</td>
<td>54.6 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>26.8 (26%)</td>
<td>31.8 (12%)</td>
<td>41 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>46.3 (20%)</td>
<td>32.6 (14.5%)</td>
<td>39.8 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>53.6 (22.4%)</td>
<td>32.8 (13.7%)</td>
<td>36 (15.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
posts of the curriculum review. Their service at the MoEC being flexible, it was easier for the government to import likeminded teachers, rather than rely on the traditional policy actors, who were less likely to embrace radical changes in Greek-Cypriot education. However, the paradoxical result was that the seconded teachers became much more involved in, and aware of, the new policy compared to the inspectors, who were hierarchically above them. The supervisors (the inspectors) were thus engaged at a later stage than their supervisees (seconded teachers), something that caused problems on a practical level. Such paradoxes also help explain why the critical literacy pedagogy was not embraced by the majority of inspectors.

Based on the above, it is evident that the policy change process involves more than just “inherent politico-ideological implications” (Apple, 1990: p.vii). In line with Colebatch’s suggestion that government is a “construct around which a variety of participants circle and negotiate” (Colebatch, 2005: p.21), I showed that the process of curriculum development was also replete with local disputes and conflicts amongst policy actors.
CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPING THE GREEK-LANGUAGE SYLLABUS I: THE ROLE OF ACADEMICS AND VOLUNTEER TEACHERS

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the conflicts that took place between established and emerging MoEC policy actors within the process of the curriculum review. I argued that some of the traditional policy groups were not called to participate in the process of curriculum review, as they were considered unlikely to support the government’s new vision for Greek-Cypriot education.

After having investigated the policy actors within the MoEC, in this chapter I focus on external policy participants, i.e. those who were new to the process of curriculum review in Cyprus. I will continue examining the role of policy actors and their negotiations, in line with Ball’s call for “voiced” policy research that sees policy as an arena of disputes among competing groups. I will explore the processes around the production of the Greek-language syllabus, by investigating the role of academics and volunteer teachers. The aim is to better understand which voices were most heard in formulating the new policy for Greek-language education, and therefore reveal backstage stories concerning the role and actions of the two aforementioned policy groups. As in the previous chapter, I draw again on archival research; first-hand knowledge of the MoEC structure and actors; as well as elite interviews with policy participants, a combination that can shed some light on the untold stories of the syllabus creation.

Section 5.1 focuses on the negotiations among the academic members of the CRC concerning the stage which followed the curriculum review, i.e. the formulation of the syllabi. I will show that disputes among CRC members were a matter of personal views regarding whose vision should prevail in the creation of the syllabi. Section 5.2 takes a close look at the workings of the Greek-language syllabus committee, focusing on the committee’s academics and volunteer teachers for the Greek-
language syllabus. A strong academic influence on the development process of the Greek-language syllabus will be highlighted.

5.1 Negotiations among the members of the Curriculum Review Committee

In order to discuss the local policymaking process, in this section I focus on the choices, beliefs and views of the members of the CRC. Section 5.1.1 describes the operation of the CRC, where I show how members attempted to develop the syllabus based on consensus, in order to avoid politico-ideological conflict. Section 5.1.2 then looks at the tensions among the members of the CRC regarding the philosophy of policymaking. I will reveal that the ideological disputes were not only connected with conflicting political backgrounds, but also personal views and perhaps even professional competitiveness.

In order to contextualise the 2008-2010 curriculum change, as well as the interview participants I mention throughout this chapter, Table 5.1 below offers a summary of the events and people involved:

Table 5.1: Events/actions/documents of the policymaking process (2008-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions/ documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2008-Feb 2013</td>
<td>Christofias’ term as President of the Cyprus Republic, the first leftist president in the Republic’s history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
<td>Appointment of the Curriculum Review Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec 2008</td>
<td>CRC published its “text of principles”: this was the foundational text of the curriculum review and the basis for the syllabi across 23 subjects in pre-primary, primary and secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>CRC concludes operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>Syllabus development process across 23 subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Appointment of academic committees for each syllabus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Call for volunteer teachers to support the subject-area academic committees (circular signed by the directors of primary, secondary and vocational education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Summer of 2009 sees the first versions of the syllabi / tensions among CRC members regarding the process of the syllabus development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2010</td>
<td>Publication of the syllabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With reference to the above events, I would like to note four processes crucial to understanding the emergence and escalation of tensions among CRC members elaborated on throughout the next sections:

a) the CRC started operating in June 2008. Initially, its members aimed to collaborate on the basis of consensus, an endeavour which was successful leading up to the production of the 2008 “text of principles” in December 2008;

b) the MoEC decided to open up the process of syllabus development to volunteer teachers, who were invited via a circular dated 30th January 2009. Every teacher who expressed an interest was called to participate in the process;

c) the syllabi were delegated to the academic committees and volunteer teachers. The CRC provided very broad guidelines to the committees producing the syllabi, without providing though references to frameworks, deadlines or even basic templates. The committees were given total freedom to create syllabi according to their preferences;

d) the CRC ceased operations in just under a year, due to its members disagreeing over the flexibility and freedom given to the committees.

5.1.1 Efforts to avoid political conflict

In this section I deal with the members of the Curriculum Review Committee (CRC), with emphasis on how they became involved in the arena of policymaking, and the extent to which their involvement was connected to politico-ideological affiliations. In what follows, I will show that despite the fact that several CRC members had ties to diverse political parties, the process of developing the CRC “text of principles” did not result in significant political controversy.

I first provide a brief account of the profiles of the CRC members with emphasis on their research interests and politico-ideological ties:

1. **George Tsiakalos**: Prof. of Pedagogy, Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, Greece, the chairman of the CRC. According to his personal webpage of the University of Thessaloniki, Tsiakalos’ research interests include critical pedagogy, education of migrants and minorities, educational praxis, educational reforms, social exclusion and poverty. He actively participates in promoting the
rights of immigrants, minorities and the socially excluded, and identifies himself as leftist.

2. Sifis Bouzakis: Prof. of Pedagogy, University of Patras, Greece. His research interests include educational reform through a historical and comparative perspective. He was also member of the 2004 Educational Reform Committee.

3. Mary Koutselini-Ioannidou: Prof. of Pedagogy, University of Cyprus. According to her website, her research interests include development and assessment of curricula/syllabi; in-service teacher training; gender and education; citizenship in education. Her PhD thesis was about the policy around the subject of Ancient Greek in Greek-Cypriot education. In 2013, she became the chair of the Committee for the assessment of the 2008-13 Curriculum Reform, appointed by the right-wing government of DISY.

4. Michalinos Zembylas: Assist. Prof. of Pedagogy, Open University of Cyprus. According to this personal website, his research focuses on the development of programmes around social justice, intercultural education and peace education. He was also member of the 2013 Curriculum Assessment Committee.

5. Eric Erotokritou: former Director of the Department of Vocational Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). He was also appointed as member of the Council of the University of Cyprus in 2007 by the former President of the Cyprus Republic, Tassos Papadopoulos, who was the leader of the centre-right political party of DIKO.

6. Athina Michaelidou: Head of the Department of Educational Research, Pedagogic Institute of Cyprus (MoEC) (now Director of the Pedagogical Institute).

7. Margarita Kousathana: Director of the experimental school of the University of Athens (until October 2008). According to Tsiakalos, she was affiliated with the Communist party of Greece (Interview 13/6/2017).

8. Georgios Georgiou: primary school teacher, seconded to the Department of Primary Education.

9. Georgios Zissimos: secondary school teacher, seconded to the Minister’s office. He was also on the Board of the teachers’ association, representing Proodeftiki, an organisation affiliated with the political party of AKEL. According to the

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134 More details can be found on this personal webpage of the University of Thessaloniki: http://users.auth.gr/gtsiakal [accessed 4/5/2017].


138 Michaelidou is a civil servant and thus does not have a personal website with her academic background or research interests.

139 Kousathana is also a civil servant and therefore she does not either have a personal website.
The profiles of the CRC members above show that academic expertise of four of the participants was in education/pedagogy (Tsiakalos; Bouzakis; Koutselini-Ioannidou; Zembylas). In addition, at least four participants were affiliated with certain political ideologies/parties: three of them were connected with the left (Tsiakalos, Kousathana, Zissimos), one with the centre-right party of DIKO (Erotokritou), and one with the right-wing party of DISY (Koutselini-Ioannidou).

To what extent then, were politico-ideological affiliations important in the makeup of the CRC? I started my research by looking first at the MoEC archives, with the hope of finding documents that could give me at least a hint. However, I was unable to find anything about the criteria set for the appointment of the CRC members, let alone references to their politico-ideological background. The only archive I was able to find referred to the appointment of the chairman. Tsiakalos was selected for a number of reasons including his participation in the 2004 Education Reform Committee; his academic expertise (“he specialises in curricula”); his familiarity with the educational situation in Cyprus (he “took part in a great number of conferences and other events in Cyprus”); and he speaks Greek (MoEC, 2014: pp.22-23).

In his interview, Tsiakalos also refers to the same criteria:

**Extract 5.1**

Tsiakalos: “They told me at the beginning that I was the expert in intercultural education and anti-racist education; I had done talks in Cyprus as well ....What I said at the time was ‘look, what we call intercultural education, this is actually something that permeates the entire educational system for this new era we find ourselves in; that’s why I had previously spoken about the concept of “society of knowledge”. So, I actually wrote Chapter 18 [of the 2004 ERC report]; as for the rest of the chapters, I agreed with some, I disagreed with other, and other still I had absolutely no opinion on...” *(Interview with Tsiakalos, 13/6/2017)*

However, Katsonis, a research participant who held a key position at the MoEC, also emphasised Tsiakalos’ leftist political background, adding his orientation was in line with the Cypriot government’s vision to promote democratic, civic-based and social...

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141 Additionally, in an interview to the newspaper Aggelioforos (23/6/2008), he mentioned his participation in the 2004 ERC and especially the versioning of chapter 18 of the Committee report, entitled “Intercultural Education for an Open Democratic Society of Knowledge”.
priorities in education. My own understanding is that Tsiakalos was not hiding his ideological background. His online profile explicitly states that his research interests are focused around intercultural education, critical pedagogy, social exclusion and poverty\textsuperscript{142}, topics that were in line with the leftist government’s focus on democratic virtues and a socially-sensitive agenda in education policy.

Given that at least five CRC members (Tsiakalos, Koutselini-Ioannidou, Erotokritou, Kousathana and Zissimos) had affiliations with diverse political parties, one would expect that the meetings of the committee for the development of the “text of principles” would be replete with politico-ideological tensions. Nevertheless, drawing on interviews with four CRC members (Tsiakalos, Koutselini-Ioannidou, Michaelidou, another CRC member [under condition of anonymity]), neither the process of the development of the “text of principles”, nor the text itself give any indication of major politico-ideological conflicts. Indeed, Tsiakalos confirmed that the “text of principles” was the product of dialogue and consensus among the CRC members:

\textbf{Extract 5.2}

\textit{Tsiakalos:} “[I asked the members] ‘tell me what do the children need? So, tell me what do you want [the text of principles] to be? They would say: humane. Fine, what does humane mean? That is, we started as if education had never existed. Because some people say, ‘but you imitated this or the other’. No. What I asked everyone was: ‘based on your knowledge, on your wishes, you probably have something in your minds …. ’ We put everything down and that’s how we produced those first four pages [CRC text of principles]”. (Interview with Tsiakalos, 26/2/2013)

In the excerpt above we see that Tsiakalos points to a new, open and flexible process of policymaking (‘tell me what do you want the principles to be?’)\textsuperscript{143}. Koutselini-Ioannidou, who was affiliated to the opposition political party of DISY, confirms in her interview:

\textsuperscript{142} Available from: http://users.auth.gr/gtsiakal [accessed 4/5/2017].

\textsuperscript{143} Indeed, drawing on a collection of interviews and publications from Tsiakalos’ personal website, we can see that he tried to engage a broad range of stakeholders, such as parents and students. In his interview, he underlines that “he went all across Cyprus, wherever he was asked to, to inform all citizens about the curriculum review” (Interview with Tsiakalos, 26/2/2013).
Extract 5.3

Koutselini-Ioannidou: “At the initial meetings, there were no intense ideological disputes. That is why we said that we need to renew the curriculum. Nor did we refer to Kazamias’ report about the [need to move away from] Hellenocentrism... later, both Tsiakalos and Demetriou, said that our education is Helleno-centred. So ideological disputes did not exist in the initial stages. There were philosophical claims... that were essentially limited to content and focus on skills and thinking. So, an academic and philosophical framework was discussed, but there was no ideological framework”. (Koutselini-Ioannidou, Interview, 12/3/2018)

Another CRC member said under the condition of anonymity:

Extract 5.4

CRC member: “The aim was to create a consensual text ... at the end of the day it was so hard to disagree with it because it was bland, a generic text, really ...Of course, there are always pros and cons to any text, but the attempt was to reach consensus with it. I personally agreed with the idea of creating a text without wearing out all discourse over right-wing vs. left-wing confrontations, something that was the biggest risk. It would be easy for the entire endeavour to go to waste because of political disagreements. In my opinion, Tsiakalos proceeded with the text wisely, which, while it can be characterised as bland, at least it steered away from stark confrontation between different ideologies”. (CRC member, 25/9/2017)

However, were any conflicts observed among the CRC members? The next section will investigate this question.

5.1.2 Disputes in the structuring of the syllabus development

In the previous section we saw that the “text of principles” was introduced without major conflicts. However, the picture is different in the drafting process of the new syllabi, which was the next step in the curriculum development. It will be shown that CRC members disagreed on the operation of the CRC and the approach adopted regarding the syllabus development. Against this background, in this section I describe my hunt for evidence on the disagreements among the CRC members. I first examine the operation of the CRC, where I focus on the disputes between Tsiakalos (chairman) and Koutselini-Ioannidou (CRC member who replaced Tsiakalos when the opposition party came to power) and their conflicting views on the process. I will show that, while Tsiakalos prioritised an inclusive and bottom-up process,

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144 As also referred in chapter 1 (section 1.3.2), the MoEC appointed committees of academics, and in parallel called for volunteer teachers’ participation in the process. The participation of teachers would last March-June 2009, with final versions of the syllabi published in September 2010.
Koutselini-Ioannidou gave much weight to academic expertise and questioned the government’s choice to include volunteer teachers in the syllabus development working groups. Ultimately the role of the chairman of the CRC defined the body’s policymaking approach.

Disagreements among CRC members can be first detected in the 2014 report of the Curriculum Assessment Committee outlined the operation of the CRC. The report was drafted by a body of six academics, headed by Koutselini-Ioannidou. It states in the introductory chapter:

“The Chairman of the CRC acted from 2008 to 2013 as the lead in regulator of the production of ‘New Curricula’ (MoEC, 2014: p.7) …CRC met regularly until the publication of the Preface. The Chairman suggested not to keep minutes of the meetings. The members agreed to this suggestion, and therefore there are no archives of the committee’s meetings. The committee essentially stopped meeting or reaching quorum decisions after the first year” (ibid: p.24).

The above excerpt raises important questions: Firstly, why did the committee last less than a year? In my archival research, I had found no reference to the official ceasing of its operation. Secondly, why did the committee decide not to keep minutes? My archival research after reading the Curriculum Assessment Committee’s report again brought up no documentation relating to the proceedings of the committee. Koutselini-Ioannidou, in a follow-up interview in 2018, said that the reason minutes were not kept was because Tsiakalos saw the curriculum development as a “matter of friendly dialogue”. Thirdly, to what extent could the statement that the CRC members “stopped meeting or reaching quorum decisions” refer to tensions among the members? Could it be connected to the statement that “the Chairman was the lead in” the process of curriculum development?

In order to answer the above questions, I turned to my interviews with key policy actors, which shed a measure of light on the issues. In particular, three members of the CRC (Michaelidou, Koutselini-Ioannidou and another CRC member [under condition of anonymity]) talked about the CRC’s end (in the summer of 2009). In addition, the interviewees made reference to tensions among the CRC members, especially between Koutselini-Ioannidou and Tsiakalos. The main issues were the
makeup of the committees (i.e. the criteria for inclusion), and the way they operated (i.e. the degree of freedom and flexibility in committees’ workings).

Tsiakalos followed an open and flexible process in policymaking. Stylianou (former MoEC Permanent Secretary) noted in her interview that Tsiakalos was behind the open invitation to volunteer teachers to participate in the process of syllabus production. He went as far as recommending to the MoEC that all teachers who had showed interest be accepted, regardless of their qualifications or other criteria set by the MoEC circular. 145 According to Koutselini-Ioannidou (and another CRC member), Tsiakalos’ approach ultimately prevailed. The committees were therefore not given guidance nor expectations regarding their output. In other words, there were no formal processes regarding how the job should be done, with the onus put instead on the creativity of the committee members. According to a CRC member, Koutselini-Ioannidou, in contrast, preferred “structured and specific processes” that could be “quantified”. Koutselini-Ioannidou in her interview described her disagreement to Tsiakalos’ approach:

**Extract 5.5**

*Koutselini-Ioannidou:* “The committees were then made up without experts, as Tsiakalos, without taking our committee into consideration, invited those who he wanted to join. It was supposed to be a public project, but you cannot just include teachers to develop a syllabus. The development of programs today is a scientific-academic field, you cannot just have teachers develop programmes. I disagreed with the composition of the committees, and then when these committees brought the first versions, I also disagreed on how these programmes would be evaluated, so the committee was not called again”. *(Interview with Koutselini-Ioannidou, 12/3/2018)*

The excerpt above gives us an idea of Koutselini-Ioannidou’s priorities on the syllabus creation process: she advocates for the participation of experts in the committees, as well as the use of scientifically-proven processes for assessing the syllabi. The disagreement between Tsiakalos and Koutselini-Ioannidou caused a division amongst the members of the CRC. According to a CRC member:

145 The MoEC set four criteria: 1) a minimum of three years teaching experience; 2) very good knowledge and awareness on issues of curriculum development in the European context; 3) very good knowledge of the relevant subject-matter at all educational levels; 4) engagement in extra-curricular activities, including creative action with students or parents. It is worth noting that the listed teachers did not consistently fulfil MoEC’s criteria, as some lacked experience or did not teach in a public school.
Extract 5.6

**CRC member:** “On the one side, we had Tsiakalos, and on the other Koutselini, who asked for structured, specific processes, for it to be quantifiable.... I sometimes agreed with Tsiakalos, especially regarding the philosophy of flexibility. But from a certain point onwards, I agreed with Koutselini in that we would have gained time if we had set a basic structure showing what the syllabi should look like...If we had given some guidelines from the beginning, that we expected, for example, a general aim, some specific objectives, a very brief description of the evaluation, content, and so on....This issue created a lot of conflict within the committee, it brought to the surface precisely the conflict between the two philosophies”. *(Interview with a CRC member, 25/9/2017)*

Is there evidence that could further explain the conflict between Tsiakalos and Koutselini-Ioannidou? My hypothesis is that, while the tensions did have an ideological nature, these were not only connected to a conflict between left and right. Of course, individuals tend to bring their diverse identities and political backgrounds to the conversation; political and ideological affiliations (Tsiakalos with his leftist ideology; Koutselini-Ioannidou being right-wing) were present in the discussions about the reform. The disputes, however, were ultimately connected to the differing philosophies on how things should be done. Having had interviews and professional contact at MoEC with both Tsiakalos and Koutselini-Ioannidou, I got the impression that they were both strong personalities with entrenched convictions around the policymaking process. Other CRC members agree that the differing personalities of these two key actors were one of the most important factors in their conflict:

Extract 5.7

**Maria:** This opposition in their philosophy, I think it is not only for ideological, political reasons, in the sense of political parties. I think it is also related to other aspects, for example the academic background of the two.

**CRC member:** It is person-centred, not, if you like, necessarily ideological; the ideological is just one element of it. Unfortunately, the curriculum development processes in countries such as Cyprus, Greece, Malta, countries that have certain characteristics, they are person-centred, they are not process-centred, they are not philosophical even in the broader sense of ideological tension. The ideological plays a role as an element that can intensify personal conflicts. So, it just so happens that one is leftist and the other is right-wing, and this might play a role on the level of rhetoric, but at the end of the day it is a personal, a person-centred process that shows precisely the lack of maturity of our societies, as they do not have institutional processes of policymaking. *(Interview with CRC member, 5/9/2017)*
The above CRC member emphasises that the ideological aspect of the conflict was only one part of it, as the process of policymaking in Cyprus heavily relies upon individuals and their personalities. How did they come to have their differing philosophies? A response would require a systematic and longitudinal examination of their life trajectories. Their diverse academic interests and personal backgrounds could have played a role; they might have also hold differing understandings of the Cyprus education landscape, since Tsiakalos is of a mainland Greek origin and based at a Greek university, while Koutselini-Ioannidou is a Greek-Cypriot based at the University of Cyprus. Regardless of the factors that ultimately played a critical role in producing differing views on the policymaking process, the CRC member placed emphasis on the fact that individuals were powerful in process of the curriculum review. In other words, the design of the policy was dependent on the views of the chairman, and not on institutionalised processes. Indeed, three members of the CRC confirm that the committee complied with Tsiakalos’ preference towards flexibility. Zembylas, who was a member of the CRC, explains what that flexibility entailed:

“The pursuit of flexibility in the process of curriculum development had been introduced in the context of our initial discussions within the CRC. The supporters of this approach, which ultimately prevailed, did not want to restrict the curriculum writers by providing a potentially restrictive “road map”. This roadmap, could include, for example, a framework/template that would require everyone to start on the same basis, so that the final syllabi would be consistent; or that the committees would coordinate across subjects...etc.). According to this view, flexibility would provide the space and motivation to the drafters who, combined with the absence of a predetermined schedule, would concentrate on their work without having to compromise their creativity” (2014: p.3).

What Zembylas emphasises is that the CRC did not design a specific plan for the syllabus development process. Since Tsiakalos’ approach prevailed, the CRC chose to leave the committees free to create their own versions of appropriate syllabi. This free and flexible way of working had implications on the process of syllabus development. For one, the initial versions (spring 2009) were very diverse in terms of internal structure, aims, content and length. This intensified the disagreements among the CRC members. According to one CRC member, those that preferred strict
guidelines argued that allowing the committees to work so rendered the effort ineffective.\textsuperscript{146}

The disagreements were amplified following the second round of versions, which were presented in the summer of 2009. According to Koutselini-Ioannidou (and one another CRC member), due to the divergence in the first two syllabus versions, members of the CRC continued to openly express their disagreement and the CRC came to a virtual standstill. Tsiakalos took over the guidance of the academic committees for syllabus development. He was supported in this by the teachers seconded to his office, and those at the curriculum office (established a few months later, in September 2009). The final versions of the syllabi, which were revised after feedback from Tsiakalos, were published in September 2010 on the MoEC website. These were much more cohesive than earlier versions, at least in their basic structure, as I will show in the next chapter.

Efforts to implement the final syllabi ran from 2010 to 2013. In 2013, however, a change in government instigated a whole other curriculum review process. Koutselini-Ioannidou replaced Tsiakalos as the head of curriculum review effort. Although this change was certainly due to political events (the right-wing party of DISY, with which Koutselini-Ioannidou is affiliated, won the elections), it also confirms the importance of key individuals in the process. According to one CRC member:

\textbf{Extract 5.8}

\textit{CRC member: “Koutselini reacted negatively when Tsiakalos opted for an open philosophy, and she did not want to continue serving on the committee. When she took over, she did exactly what she wanted to do from the beginning”}. (\textit{Interview with a CRC member, 25/9/2017})

\textbf{5.2 Tensions between academics and volunteer teachers}

As shown in the previous section (5.1.2), the CRC (especially Tsiakalos, the chairman) gave the syllabus committees a generous measure of freedom and flexibility. As a result, the Greek-language syllabus drew on several contemporary international pedagogical trends to construct a new vision for Greek-language education (see section 3.2.3). I also described how the CRC produced a specific

\textsuperscript{146}This view is also noted in the MoEC Curriculum Assessment report (2014: pp.8-10).
version of critical literacy that focused on the development of the critical voice of children. Ioannidou, in her study on the Greek-language syllabus, claimed that:

“it becomes evident that there are efforts to include in the language curricula ideas and concepts regarding language pedagogy that are novel and, for some educators, innovative” (2012: p.12)

According to Ball, policymaking (and its artefacts) should be understood as processes that take place within “arenas of struggle over meaning” (Ball, 1994; see also Taylor, 1995). In that respect, efforts to introduce novel or innovative ideas are not isolated events, but are instead the result of negotiation and debate among individuals with varying “influences and agendas” (Ball, 2006). This section addresses the ways in which the Greek-language syllabus was developed, with an emphasis on the role of the two groups of participants, academics and volunteer teachers. Specifically, section 5.2.1 examines how the committee academics were brought on board the curriculum review of the Greek-language syllabus. The section shows that Tsiakalos played an important role in the selection of the committee. It also discusses how novel ideas introduced in Greek-language education reflected wider academic trends in Greece, which favoured a progressive approach to literacy pedagogy.

Section 5.2.2 then examines the ways in which volunteer teachers influenced the process of curriculum development, and I will argue that there were discrepancies between the original vision of the policymaking process—inclusive and bottom-up—and its practice, which resulted in the ultimate dominance of the voice of academics. Overall, I will show that there were many tensions between the academics and the teachers, emanating from differing understandings regarding the validity of each group’s expertise in developing a new approach for the Greek-language syllabus.

5.2.1 The emergence of linguists

One of the most important aspects of the curriculum review was the setting up of academic committees for all pre-primary, primary and secondary education subjects. The Minister of Education and Culture, Andreas Demetriou (2008-2011), made a key announcement regarding the progress of the curriculum review, on the occasion of the 2009 “Day of Letters”. In his speech, he announced that the MoEC appointed
academic committees, giving them the mandate to develop syllabi across all levels of education\textsuperscript{147}. Most of the committees consisted of academics from Greece and Cyprus. Focusing on the committee for the Greek-language syllabus, three academics were selected, all linguists:

a) Sofronis Hadjisavvides: Professor of Greek-language teaching (Faculty of Early Childhood Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). His academic work was centred on teaching approaches to Modern Greek, language variations in Modern Greek and media discourse. He played an important role (along with Dr Charalambopoulos) in the introduction of communication approach in Greece from the early 1990s\textsuperscript{148}.

b) Triantafyllia Kostouli: Associate Professor of School Literacy (Faculty of Primary Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). Her research interests include applied linguistics: school literacy, language teaching, text linguistics; analysis of interaction in class; intercultural differences in language use; academic literacy\textsuperscript{149}.

c) Stavroula Tsiplakou: Assistant Professor (Faculty of Education, University of Cyprus). Her research interests include syntax, sociolinguistics, and linguistic variation in Cyprus.

But what were the criteria for their appointment, given that they were three academics with Greek origin, when there was a choice of distinguished Greek-Cypriot linguists at the time? What role did their academic expertise play? In order to answer these questions, I looked at the official criteria regarding the appointment academic committee members which could be found in the Minister’s aforementioned announcement:

“The principal criterion for the selection of the committee members was their academic background [...]. Another key criterion was to achieve the broadest possible representation of trends and scientific approaches. For this reason,

\textsuperscript{147} The committee members were announced a few days later, in 10/2/2009 in a press conference.

\textsuperscript{148} According to the “Centre for the Greek language”, the leading institution in Greece for Greek language research, he was a pioneer in “alternative approaches in the teaching of the Greek language in times and in a context that were not particularly receptive” (http://www.greek-language.gr, [accessed 28/7/2015]).

\textsuperscript{149} Available from: http://www.eled.auth.gr/personnel/kostouli.html [accessed 17/12/2014].
following this government’s score policy of dialogue and consensus, the Ministry of Education consulted with as many stakeholders as possible to hear suggestions and ideas in order to achieve the most harmonious composition of the committees.”

In the above statement, the Minister emphasises the chosen academics were not only highly qualified, they were in fact standard-bearers in their field, a choice which had also ensured cross-party approval as to their appointment. The Cyprus Pedagogical Institute echoed this statement in its 2010-11 newsletter, underling that “the academics were chosen after a consultation process between the Minister and the political parties” (MoEC, 2010c: p.10). It is worth noting that the chairman of the CRC publicly expressed his disagreement towards the involvement of political parties, in an interview with the newspaper Simerini. Five days following the announcement of the academic committee member (10th February 2009), Tsiakalos explained that he disagreed “on principle”, as “academics should not be chosen by political parties”. His plea for MoEC to intervene was not heeded, and the political parties remained a strong voice in the selection of the committee members. Nevertheless, in the same interview, Tsiakalos noted that the Greek-language committee was the only one that did not undergo a consultation process with political parties:

Extract 5.9

“Tsiakalos:  At this point, I will now tell you the approach- take note, this will help you- because in our case this has a name- you know - this is critical literacy, isn’t it? Critical literacy is something that we have known for many years. When we embarked on the syllabi, I played a special role in most of them, [for example] we produced the pillars [contained in the 2008 “text of principles”].

Maria: Yes, yes, I remember.

T: The only thing I asked from the Minister, in which I was interested, was who would be [...] responsible for the Greek-language [syllabus]. I left everything else and [the other committees] were not affected by my suggestions. Regarding the language [syllabus], it was not a matter of specific persons but [I was interested] to see if they [would adopt] critical literacy on their own...not only this was in my mind about how the syllabi should be, but also, I said that without this, nothing can be done”.

M: Why is that so?

T: Because I regarded language to be so important that if, let’s say in Physics, they created a different programme, I thought that if we managed to do this change in the language subject, then very quickly they would understand that in Physics they should follow our lead. Because basically what critical literacy does is to make subjects participate and act [...]” (Interview with Tsiakalos, 26/2/2013)

Tsiakalos also notes that he played an important role in the selection of the members, with the most important criterion for him being their academic expertise. He added that the key criterion for selecting the three academics was the fact that they were capable of supporting the vision of critical literacy for the Greek-language education151.

But when Tsiakalos says “Critical literacy is something that we have known for many years”, to whom is he referring? Who was convinced that critical literacy was the most appropriate approach to literacy education? Interviews with some of the academics can give us clues to understand how they became involved in the process and how critical literacy was introduced in Greek-Cypriot education. The first member of the committee, Hadjisavvides, came from the same department and university as Tsiakalos. This means that they knew each other’s work and research interests. Hadjisavvides said in his interview that a member of the leftist party of AKEL had approached him in 2008 with the prospect of engaging him in a committee for a new Greek-language syllabus. It is unclear whether Tsiakalos’ suggestion preceded or followed this meeting: in other words, whether Hadjisavvides was approached because Tsiakalos recommended him for the post, or if he was already a strong candidate to become a member of the committee152. He also referred to the ways in which the approach of critical literacy was gradually developed, and also talked about the ‘recruitment’ of the second member of the committee:

Extract 5.10

Hadjisavvides: “When we started, the discussion was on what we would do. I cannot say that we called it critical literacy from the beginning, but an

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151 I note here that I did not find any official documents from the archives of the MoEC, indicating criteria for the selection of academics for the Greek-language syllabus.

152 Hadjisavvides was well-known in the world of Greek academia for his work on language teaching, especially in introducing the communicative approach to Greece in the 1990s.
advanced communication language programme. Then, after discussions and versions from Tsiakalos’ committee, it seemed that we could put critical literacy in the linguistic discourse, with Triantafyllia [Kostouli, the 2nd member of the committee] working in this direction”. (Interview with Hadjisavvides, 18/5/2013)

In Hadjisavvides’ words, critical literacy was gradually developed, and Tsiakalos, along with members of the Greek-language committee members played an important role in this. It should be noted that all three academics mentioned here (Tsiakalos, Hadjisavvides and Kostouli) come from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTh), which has a tradition in developing progressive approaches to literacy education. Conversations with Tsiakalos and other academics revealed that the development of critical literacy followed discussions among AUTh academics a few years prior to the syllabus development. It is unsurprising that Kostouli had a long-standing interest in Greek-language teaching and issues of literacy pedagogy. She published several papers on critical literacy; writing as a social practice; and genre-based approach in the period prior, during and following the syllabus development (e.g. 2007, 2009, 2013). Along the same lines, Tsiplakou (Greek-language committee academic) argued that there was a connection between the “acquisition of critical literacy” and “critical awareness of the sociolinguistic role of the language variation” (2007b: p.466). This interest in issues of literacy pedagogy was also highlighted by Tsiakalos, in his description of the criteria used to select members for the Greek-language committee:

**Extract 5.11**

**Tsiakalos:** “[…] to date, language was considered to be the domain of philologists. This is how language teaching was seen in the 19th century. It focused on teaching children grammar and syntax, etc.[focusing on morphology] […] Since the early 1960s we have had a big change in linguistics and applied linguistics, which gives us now the opportunity to know how children build, and structure language and how this can be taught […] International research shows that some countries realised fairly early, towards the end of the 60s, that we have a new paradigm, a new science, which gives us information on the way in which we can build children’s language skills. The countries that realised this early on, are those that lead in literacy, such as the Scandinavian countries, Australia, Canada, etc”. (Interview with Tsiakalos, 26/2/2013)

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153 The first systematic steps to integrate a progressive approach to language teaching were made in the 1990s, when the communication approach was introduced in Greece. The two academics responsible, Charalambopoulos and Hadjisavvides, were both based at the University of Thessaloniki.
In the above extract, Tsiakalos expresses his vision for a new paradigm in language teaching, based on the principles of linguistics. This is in contrast to past philological approaches to language teaching, which favoured the transmission of knowledge around heritage and patriotic values, as we saw in Chapter 3. The divergence from traditional policymaking was also marked by the choice in curriculum review actors. Previously, policymakers tasked with language policy reform tended to be overwhelmingly in line with the vision of a Hellenocentric education. Under the guidance of Tsiakalos, the new critically-oriented and democratic vision for the Greek-language syllabus was constructed by linguists, who drew on the latest and most modern international trends.

In conclusion, interviews with CRC members showed the manner and extent to which Tsiakalos influenced the makeup of the committee for the Greek-language syllabus, and together, these policy actors attempted to introduce new ideas for language education. In the next section I explore the ways in which the academic committees interacted with the volunteer teachers that participated in the syllabus development.

5.2.2 Volunteer teachers: the official rhetoric of inclusiveness and the exclusionary process of syllabus development

This section describes the impact of practising teachers on the policymaking process, specifically, in developing the Greek-language syllabus. I use my first-hand experience as one of the volunteer teachers in the Greek-language syllabus committee; interviews with committee members (CRC and the Greek-language academics); and academic work on volunteer teachers’ participation, to investigate:

1) Were volunteer teachers encouraged to contribute to the process of the Greek-language syllabus development?

2) Were there discrepancies between the government’s intention to conduct an inclusive curriculum review and how the process of syllabus creation was actually carried out?

154 A philologist holds a degree in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek language and literature. Early departments of (Greek) Philology in Greece prioritised Ancient Greek and an archaic official language used in education, Katharevousa. In the course of the 1976 language reform in Greece, Katharevousa was replaced by Demotiki, a spoken variety or “the language of the people” (Horrocks, 2010: p.423).
I start this account by describing how volunteer teachers came to be involved in the process. Investigating this aspect will shed light on the MoEC’s intentions as to the degree and nature of involvement they expected from volunteer teachers. Specifically, the MoEC considered the participation of volunteer teachers as a key factor in materialising the vision for bottom-up and inclusive policymaking. They were invited by the MoEC via a circular dated 30th January 2009, entitled “Participation in working groups for the design of curricula per subject-area”155. This was the first time that practising teachers were asked to contribute to the policy process, and this is also emphasised on the MoEC official website, which underlined that in “dozens of meetings.... academics got the teachers’ feedback and proposals to write the syllabi”156.

Volunteer teachers’ engagement was important enough to the MoEC, so that the decision was taken to include all teachers who had volunteered, regardless of whether or not they met the relevant criteria. Stylianou (the former Permanent Secretary) commented in her interview that this was Tsiakalos’ idea. She went on to say that Tsiakalos’ main argument was that “the teachers who had expressed interest would be among those tasked [with implementation] at schools” (Interview with Stylianou, 30/7/2013). Theodorou et al. justify the efforts towards inclusiveness by interpreting the decision as one “of avoiding the partiality of a selection process which would create divisions between volunteering teachers” (2017: p.228). According to Theodorou et al. (ibid), this choice was not received positively by all teachers, as some of them perceived the move to be contrary to the government’s commitment to select teachers according to the value they could bring to the discussion and their degree of expertise; this inclusive approach made teachers unsure of whether their role was indeed valued.

Moving on to the operation of the committees, I will investigate the extent and nature of the volunteer teachers’ engagement, especially with regards to the Greek-language

155 According to the circular, “The Ministry of Education and Culture calls teachers across all levels of education who are interested in participating in the new process for the development of ‘analytical programmes’, in line with the CRC proposal, to submit their interest no later than Friday 13th of February 2009 to the Ministry’s Office” (see appendix 5.1 for the original document). The official role of the working groups was planned to come to an end in June 2009.

syllabus. I primarily draw on my personal experience, given that I was one of the teachers who responded to the MoEC’s open invitation. The Greek-language syllabus academics contacted volunteer teachers in early March. With an e-mail, dated 3rd March 2009, they communicated their intention to work closely with the teachers to develop the syllabus. They encouraged teachers to actively engage in the process, by inviting us to formulate initial thoughts and views on the construction of the Greek-language syllabus. Following this initial contact, towards the end of March, the academics sent a second e-mail, where they attached their first version of the syllabus, entitled “syllabus IIb”. The version was about 22 pages long and provided the general philosophical direction of the new approach towards the Greek-language subject. The syllabus contained sections which described the latest international trends in literacy pedagogy (e.g. from literacy to multiliteracies; from the autonomous to the ideological model). Although critical literacy was clearly integrated, the approach was not explicitly stated.

In mid-April, academics and volunteer teachers held their first joint meeting at the premises of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute. The meeting was attended by 25 primary and secondary school teachers (out of the initial 32). It was moderated by one of the academics, Tsiplakou, along with two Greek-language counsellors (i.e. teachers seconded to the MoEC). Tsiplakou asked the volunteer teachers to fill in the ‘Appendix’, a blank table, containing four categories: age group; expected skills; genres; and indicative activities. In other words, the working groups of teachers were expected to produce ideas about genres and activities corresponding to the skills of students across four age groups. Specific guidelines, such as content, timeframe for submission, level of detail or length, were not provided. Tsiplakou only stressed that the incoming ideas should be in line with the first version of the syllabus, which had been sent as an attachment to the aforementioned second email.

Overall, the outcomes of the working groups of teachers were poor. I was unofficially designated as the third group’s coordinator (lower secondary school, years 7-9), and, based on my personal experience, I will now describe in more detail the workings of the group. A few days after the first meeting with the academics, I

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There is of course the possibility that previous versions were also produced and exchanged among the three academics. Nevertheless, “syllabus IIb” was the first to be communicated to the teachers.
contacted my working group colleagues. Despite my efforts, only three out of six teachers showed up to our first meeting in May 2009. Apart from me, the meeting was attended by a primary school teacher who collaborated closely with one of the members of the academic committee (Teacher 1) and a secondary school teacher (Teacher 2). The meeting took around one hour, in which Teacher 1 and I discussed the choices made in the Greek-language syllabus and the categories of the Appendix. The discussion between Teacher 1 and me was more like an interaction in a university study group, rather than a working group tasked with a specific job. In the meantime, Teacher 2 remained mostly silent. Only towards the end she expressed her frustration at not being able to understand the philosophy, the academic terminology and the overall way the syllabus was written. She felt that the syllabus could not be easily understood by an average teacher with no specialised background, such as herself. I suggested that our group contact the academics asking for terminological explanation and structural streamlining. I therefore asked Teacher 2 to highlight which terms needed further clarification, in order to provide the academic committee with the relevant feedback. However, Teacher 2 stopped participating in the process altogether after that initial meeting.

After this one and only meeting, Teacher 1 and I emailed each other suggestions on the Appendix. It should be noted that our contributions significantly diverged: my work was along the lines of the philosophy of the textbooks in use at that time, and rather traditional. Teacher 2’s suggestions were along the lines of the new syllabus and close to what would be proposed by the academics in the later stages. Since this thesis focuses on the people behind the texts, with the aim of investigating the relationship between their choices and the development and circulation of the texts, I note here that Teacher 1 worked closely with one of the academics of the Greek-language syllabus, and the latter supervised the PhD of the former a few years following the completion of the syllabi. In addition, the same academic was a member of the 4th working group (grades 9-12, upper secondary school/high school), despite the fact that the groups were supposed to only comprise primary and secondary school teachers.

Other volunteer teachers for the Greek-language syllabus reported similar experiences. Throughout the process, including during the three meetings with the
academics, the teachers expressed that the lack of specific guidelines rendered the working groups ineffective and that only those who were already close to the academics were likely to understand the expectations on what they were supposed to deliver. In addition, the teachers felt that the philosophical framework for the literacy approach was not up for discussion. One of volunteer teachers underlined:

**Extract 5.12**

*Apostolou*: “Our working group had a role in wording the syllabus, but not the philosophy [...] This is important, because the philosophy was given as a pre-determined framework, and we were asked to function on this basis”. *(Interview with Apostolou*, 8/10/2013)*

Returning to the joint meetings, academics and volunteer teachers met in total three times, during which time the teachers were not asked to contribute substantially to the development of the syllabus philosophy. Questions arose as to why such meetings were organised and within a relatively short time span following the dissemination of “syllabus IIb” being sent to the teachers. Perhaps the academics wanted to hear the teachers’ views and get feedback, and indeed to some extent this happened. One committee academic under conditions of anonymity mentioned that the committee agreed to draft a glossary with terminology-related clarifications, in response to teacher requests.

My sense was that the meetings were a ‘box-ticking’ exercise due to the lack of a genuine desire to hear teachers’ thoughts on the approach and philosophy adopted by the new syllabus. The meetings were thus merely symbolic, serving the MoEC’s rhetoric regarding their “public endeavour”, which needed the presence of teachers to validate the democratic process. Regardless of exact reason for this mismatch between intentions and practice, many teachers noted that such a cooperative project such as this, where voices were meant to be adequately and consistently heard, ultimately lacked true mechanisms for engagement.

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158She also added that the material produced in 2009 by her working group (years 4-6 of primary school), was overwhelmingly ignored and did not appear in the final published version of the syllabus.

159The same lack of active involvement in the process was also evident in the initial training courses. Volunteer teachers were invited to attend training seminars delivered by academics in the autumn of 2009. However, less than half of the initial group of volunteer teachers attended these seminars, and the rest were teachers who had not volunteered, nor had previously participated in the working groups. These were teachers seconded to the curriculum office, who had been tasked with editing and finalising the syllabi.
I acknowledge here that my personal experience is one of many when it comes to the experiences of volunteer teachers, and although I formally interviewed two teachers and spoke with others, this study does not aim to provide a systematic investigation of the experiences of all the teachers who took part. My first-hand experience, however, has many parallels with remarks and findings made by two scholarly works. First, Theodorou, Philippou and Kontovourki examined what happened when volunteer teachers attempted to participate in the process of the syllabi production. Although their study was described in chapter 1 (section 1.3.2), it might be worth referring to it again, since some of the findings are very relevant here. Theodorou et al. examined the government’s unprecedented decision to extensively engage volunteer teachers in the process of policymaking. This choice was presented as part of an inclusive and democratic approach to policymaking, and was characterised as a public endeavour. It was also intended to reconstruct teachers as “professional autonomous pedagogues” (MoEC, 2004: p.4), with valued expertise. This decision was necessary for a ‘radical’ curriculum review, which sought to “dissolve hierarchical relations among types of knowledge and expert-subjects” and be open to practising teachers (Theodorou et al., 2017: p.223).

Nevertheless, interviews with several volunteer teachers showed that many felt that they were marginalised by the committee academics, contrary to MoEC’s initially stated intentions regarding the pursuit of an inclusive and bottom-up process of policymaking.160 The study attributes this mismatch to the different “conceptualisations of responsibility, autonomy, and expertise” between academics and teachers (ibid: p.222). The scholars conclude that “their engagement in the reform solidified or confirmed existing hierarchies of power/knowledge and “regimes of truth” which constituted teachers’ expertise as less valuable, credible, and legitimate” (ibid: p.234). The same authors had also recognised similar good intentions by the MoEC regarding the process of curriculum review, in an earlier paper. Nevertheless, they emphasised the need to look beyond the surface to capture policy change as a “complex phenomenon”, which can include “disconnections and tensions between...”

160 Markow and Pieters (2011) report similar findings underlying that most of the teachers “do not feel their voices are adequately heard in current debates about education” (2011: p.11, as cited by Lefstein & Perath, 2014).
policy and practice” (Philippou et al., 2013: p.18; see also Cohen, 1990; Evans, 1996; Jennings, 1996).

5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter I illustrated and discussed the negotiations among policy participants who were new to the process of policymaking. I focused on the workings of the Curriculum Review Committee and I highlighted the tensions and conflict between its members. It was revealed that major ideological disputes did not, in fact, characterise the initial meetings of the CRC principles. On the contrary, CRC members had made conscious efforts to conduct a, politically at least, uncontentious curriculum review process. Indeed, the CRC’s curricular document did not cause major reactions from society at large. It is also true that the “text of principles” avoided referencing controversial political ideologies, even adopting milder tones against Hellenocentrism, compared to the 2004 Educational Reform Committee report.

That said, disputes among certain members of CRC did occur. I chose to focus on two members, Tsiakalos, who was chairman, and Koutselini-Ioannidou, who succeeded him following a change in ruling party; these individuals were in conflict mostly regarding the role and operation of the CRC. Their opposition was not only connected with their differing political affiliations (the former identified himself as having a leftish political leaning, while the latter a right-wing leaning), but on differing views on the development of the curriculum review process, which are linked with their personalities, academic backgrounds and other personal influences and agendas. Tsiakalos emphasised an inclusive and bottom-up process of policymaking, in which all Cypriots would be able to participate. Koutselini-Ioannidou prioritised the participation of experts, and the need for scientific practices in the curriculum review. As a result, this chapter also suggested that, in Cyprus, individuals can have an important role in the way in which reform is designed and carried out.

Disputes were also observed between volunteer teachers and syllabus committee academics. The teachers were, for the first time, invited to participate in the curriculum change, and their suggestions, especially those concerning practical modifications, were to some extent taken into account. However, they did not play an
equal part in creating the philosophical orientation of the syllabus, despite the MoEC’s emphasis on an inclusive and bottom-up process, which had been promoted as a “democratic and public endeavour”. Based on my first-hand experience as a volunteer teacher in the development of the Greek-language syllabus, and corroborated by findings from Greek-Cypriot scholars, I deduced that many teachers felt they were marginalised or at the very least put in a subordinate position.

As scholarly work showed this was due to teachers being regarded as lacking the academic expertise to contribute towards the development of a novel approach to language education. This was not a deliberate oversight, but rather the result of a number of choices made by the MoEC. Firstly, volunteer teachers were not given any specific guidelines or instructions, making the Ministry’s expectations of them unclear. Secondly, the aforementioned approach had been already shaped prior to the volunteer teachers entering the policymaking process. The academics therefore did not consult volunteer teachers but instead created a syllabus based on some of the most prevalent international trends on literacy education. According to the chairman of the CRC, the Greek-language syllabus committee academics were carefully selected because of their academic expertise on issues of critical literacy, linguistic variation and language teaching. This chapter showed the strong influence of academics on the Greek-language syllabus, namely the chairman of the CRC and the three Greek-language syllabus academics, who were all of mainland Greek origin. This means that four Greeks worked towards developing the critical voice of students and the deconstruction of dominant ideologies, including Hellenocentrism.

Therefore, Ioannidou’s claim that new international pedagogic trends could re-orientate Greek-Cypriot education away from ethno-nationalism, which could subsequently cause tensions, did not take into account that conflict doesn’t happen universally, but always happens in particular sites. We saw in this chapter that tensions within the Curriculum Review Committee were not primarily caused by a clash in ideology, but were instead due to local mismatches between policy vision and practice, especially in a Cypriot context, which lacked both prior public debates, as well as academic tradition on literacy pedagogy.
CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPING THE GREEK-LANGUAGE SYLLABUS II: TEXTUAL PROCESSES AND TRAJECTORIES

6.0 Introduction

The two preceding chapters examined the role of the policy actors involved in the local practices of curriculum review. It was shown that established MoEC policymakers, such as inspectors, were not consulted in designing the radical curriculum change or the new vision for the Greek-language subject. At the same time, new policy actors (committee academics in particular) had a substantial influence on the construction of the new critical literacy pedagogy approach. However, not all curriculum review participants were given equal status; despite the MoEC’s inclusion of volunteer teachers as part of an effort to make the endeavour more democratic, the latter ultimately contributed in a limited manner to the creation of the new Greek-language syllabus.

Having investigated the actors in the curriculum review of the Greek-language subject, in this chapter I explore the text itself. The aim of this chapter is to examine the formal characteristics of the syllabus, with the intention of revealing the role of the policy actors in the local practices of policymaking. I mainly carry out textual analysis, enriched by interviews with policymakers and my own experience as a member of the teachers’ committee for the Greek-language syllabus. I intend to further investigate and discuss the aforementioned discrepancy between the official rhetoric espousing an inclusive policymaking process, and the ultimately weak participation of teachers in the curriculum review.

Specifically, section 6.1 examines typological characteristics of the syllabus such as technical vocabulary, syntactic choices, and the compositional structure of the syllabus’ introduction. Employing tools from scholarly work on academic writing and genre, I will investigate if and to what extent we can detect signs of expert writing. The analysis of typological features will show that the syllabus reflects the influence of academics. Ultimately, academic voices prevailed over those of
teachers, reinforcing the findings of the previous chapter, which discussed the strong influence of academic writing in the curriculum design. The prevalence of academic voices disproved the government’s official rhetoric in support of the active participation of teachers in the curriculum development, in what would have been a bottom-up process.

In section 6.2, I will try to capture negotiations among policy actors and how these evolved over time. To this end, I will investigate the modifications of the syllabus’ typological characteristics, by exploring four consecutive versions. I will explore what each version of the syllabus shows us about the institutional processes and policy actors. In other words, I intend to analyse what the transformation of the syllabus reveals about the process of designing and the designers (see also Lillis & Maybin, 2017).

6.0.1 A note on academic writing and genre

Following the previous chapters, in which the dominance of academic voices in the curriculum review was made evident, in this section I examine if this dominance can also be observed in the formal characteristics of the syllabus. To this end, I use tools developed for the investigation of academic style and its genres; and a brief description of what these two concepts involve is therefore necessary.

Academic writing is a generic term, which comprises a range of discourses and sub-genres (Halliday, 1985; Hyland, 2008). In general, it is used to refer to features frequently and regularly found in academic texts (Hyland, 2004). Writers usually make choices to appeal to informed discourse communities with which they share a specific professional context. The aspects of academic writing in which I am most interested are technical vocabulary, syntactic features and compositional structure. These are some of the features that can turn a piece of writing into a recognisable academic genre (Hyland, 2008).

Focusing now on genres, this is a concept that has received extensive attention from academics across several disciplines and can be found in many fields of academic enquiry, such as literary theory, linguistic ethnography and applied linguistics\(^{161}\). My

\(^{161}\)Lefstein and Snell (2011) refer to reviews on genre (Bazerman, 2003; Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Devitt, 2008; and Kamberelis, 1995). Helpful reviews are also provided by Hyon (1996) and Swales
use of the term is primarily associated with the tradition of Bakhtin and the way it has been taken up in linguistic anthropology (e.g. Briggs, 1997; Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Hanks, 1987, 1996, as cited by Lefstein & Snell, 2011) and linguistic ethnography (e.g. Maybin, 2006; Rampton et al., 2015). According to Lefstein and Snell, “at the heart of this approach to genre is the idea that in different spheres of social activity recurring situations give rise to relatively stable ways of using language and interacting” (2011: p.41). Georgakopoulou and Goutsos note that the way language is consistently used can be defined according to its “formal, functional and contextual properties” (2008: p.33). Therefore, texts of the same genre share social and semiotic characteristics, including thematic content, compositional structure, styles and lexical items (Lefstein & Snell, 2011: p.41).

For an analysis of typological characteristics, I draw on applied linguistics scholars who have provided tools to identify features of expert writing. Being primarily interested in genres which recurrently featured in academic and educational settings (e.g. Bhatia, 1993; Hyland, 2008; Swales, 2004), they aimed to primarily develop models to facilitate students’ efficiency in academic writing. In this thesis, I am not interested in producing such models. However, the applied linguists’ examination of the rhetorical features of research papers can help me investigate what the textual choices tell us about the role of policy actors and their participation in the development of the Greek-language syllabus. As Blommaert explains:

“Whenever people communicate, they produce forms that fit a particular genre, carry concomitant stylistic features, and thus produce metapragmatic messages about content, direction of interpretation, situatedness in a particular event, social identities, and relationships valid in the event” (2006: p.513).

On the basis of the above and in order to capture the changes across four versions of the Greek-language syllabus, I deploy a genre-based approach to track the entextualisation processes and interpretation expectations over time. Exploring the successive recreations of the Greek-language syllabus, which was intended to have a central role in the curriculum review as a whole, can reveal that modifications are not random shifts, but instead reflect and reproduce wider institutional processes within

(2009). Koutsogiannis (2017) provides a comprehensive review of genre-based approaches and how these appeared in Greek academic literature.
the MoEC, which can be associated with negotiations among policy actors regarding the policy design.

6.1 Textual choices: features of academic writing in the Greek-language syllabus

Having discussed the importance of the academics’ role in the new vision for language education, in this section I turn my attention to the Greek-language syllabus itself. I will examine the typological features of the syllabus, focusing on:

a) Academic vocabulary (section 6.1.1);

b) Syntactic structures (section 6.1.2);

c) The compositional structure of the syllabus and the sub-genre of introduction (6.1.3);

d) The results of a comparative analysis of the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus against those of the syllabi of three other subjects (all published in September 2010) (6.1.4).

6.1.1 Academic vocabulary

Extensive literature on applied linguistics has shown that academic vocabulary is one of the characteristic elements of academic writing (e.g. Arnaud & Bejoint, 1992; Carter, 1998; Jordan, 1997; for the Greek context, see Arapopoulou & Giannoulopoulou, 2001; Goutsos & Koutsoulelou-Mihou, 2009). Hyland (2007), in a review of the relevant literature, notes that many studies have conducted a corpus analysis to identify which terms are commonly found in academic texts (e.g. Barber, 1988; Coxhead, 2000; Farell, 1990). In the case of the Greek-language syllabus, corpus analysis could be useful, but is not essential: the academics of the syllabus identified a set of terms within a glossary, which was then made available to the teachers; it comprised terminological clarifications of around 45 lemmas (providing both the Greek and the English term)\(^{162}\). In Table 6.1, I present most of the lemmas,

\(^{162}\) The glossary consists of lemmas that give a short explanation of the term. Lemmas employ the linguistic structure often used in terminological definitions “x is z”, where x stands for “token” and z for “value” (Arapopoulou & Giannoulopoulou, 2001), as in the example: “critical literacy: an approach that emphasises the importance and understanding of the role of language in constructing, reproducing and imposing an ideologically shaped social reality” (www.moec.gov.cy [accessed 12/5/2012]).
classifying them in four categories according to the relevant academic field/approach.\footnote{For the purposes of this presentation, some of the lemmas are classified in the same group: e.g. “autonomous model of literacy” and “ideological model of literacy”. It should be noted that Table 6.1 does not include very generic terms that refer to either language levels, aspects of language (e.g. morphology, syntax, vocabulary, phonology) or language variation (e.g. linguistic variety, standard language). The original document can be found in appendix 6.1.6.}

Table 6.1 Academic vocabulary in the 2010 Greek-language syllabus (4th version)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic fields/approaches</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linguistics</strong></td>
<td>• language functions (referential, descriptive, emotive, conative, phatic, metalinguistic, poetic),\footnote{see Jakobson (1960)} • speech act, • implicature,\footnote{see Grice (1975)} • metalinguistic awareness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literacy studies</strong></td>
<td>• linguistic and communicative competence,\footnote{see Hymes (1972)} • speech event, • visual; school; functional; digital; critical literacy, • autonomous and ideological model of literacy,\footnote{see Street (1984)} • decontextualised literacy skills, • multi-literacies,\footnote{see Kress (1993); New London Group (1996)} multimodality,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genre-based/discourse studies</strong></td>
<td>• genres, • text types, • discourse community, • textual practices, • informativity, • coherence; cohesion; • stylistic choice,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(social) semiotics</strong></td>
<td>• social-semiotic function of language, • field, tenor and mode,\footnote{see Halliday (1985)} • semiotic resources.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observing the table above, it is evident that the syllabus has been influenced by international academic approaches to literacy pedagogy\footnote{This claim is in}.
congruence with chapter 3 (section 3.2.3), which showed that the syllabus draws on a number of academic traditions, especially from linguistics and literacy pedagogy, such as communication approach; multiliteracies; genre-based theory; as well as Freire; Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics and Fairclough’s concept of critical language awareness. These traditions were brought into the syllabus by the three academics of the Greek-language committee, as shown in Chapter 5.

Drawing on my personal experience as a member of the volunteer teachers’ group for the Greek-language syllabus, I note that the glossary was sent by the three academics to the teachers. I suppose that the academics developed the glossary, and I explain the rationale behind the move by putting the action in context. The teachers wrapped up their working groups in June 2009 and the syllabus academics organised training seminars in September 2009. The seminars included training material, consisting of the 3rd version of the syllabus, as well as the aforementioned glossary. Why did the academics have to provide a glossary a few months after the first presentation of the critical literacy syllabus? The most likely explanation is that they received feedback from volunteer teachers to elaborate on the new technical terms of the syllabus. Another possibility is that they wanted to make sure that the readers would fully grasp potentially unknown terms or concepts. In any case, the glossary reflects the writers’ understanding of what might constitute new or difficult-to-understand vocabulary.

To what extent were volunteer teachers unfamiliar with the terms referenced above? Having participated in the workings of the committee for the syllabus, I can confirm that the academics presented the general approach to literacy pedagogy in April 2009, without prior consultation with volunteer teachers. Moreover, in the course of the meetings, many teachers were often asking questions about the approach, due to being wholly unfamiliar with critical literacy pedagogy.

6.1.2 Syntactic choices

Greek academic writing is characterised by high levels of formality, which is valued in the Greek academic context as a sign of “good education”, “a matter of pride in itself,” and “an appreciated quality” (Hirschon, 2001: p.36, as cited by Koutsantoni, 2001).

For an overview of the most important literacy pedagogy approaches and their relevance for the Greek context, see Koutsogiannis (2017).
One of the devices for the construction of formality is the use of impersonal structures (e.g. Bazerman, 1988; Hyland, 2001). Koutsantoni highlights that “expert authors tend to hide their agency and attribute the truth of their claims to inanimate sources” (2005: p.121), in order to increase the validity of their claims. In this way, they emphasise the “result of an action” rather than the subject. In Greek academic writing, impersonality is achieved through a) impersonal verbs and expressions (e.g. είναι αναγκαίο να.... = it is necessary to...); b) passive voice (e.g. το θέμα αυτό θεωρείται ότι.... = this issue is considered to be...) (e.g. Hadjisavvides & Hadjisavvidou, 2011; Koutsantoni, 2005).

In what follows, I examine if and to what extent the Greek-language syllabus includes occurrences of impersonal writing, especially impersonal verbs/expressions and passive voice, by focusing on sections 1 (Introduction) and 4 (Assessment). These are the only sections out of four that were developed in a flowing and expository way, without being interrupted by bullet points, lists of objectives or tables. Therefore, they allow us to fully explore the syntactic choices of the writers.

The introduction of the syllabus features impersonality in 8 out of 31 clauses.

Examples below with translated portions in brackets:

1. “Η οικονομική, κοινωνική και πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα, που έχει διαμορφωθεί κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες... χαρακτηρίζεται από σημαντικές αλλαγές στους τρόπους...”
   (“The economic, social and cultural reality, which has been developed over recent decades...is characterised by important changes in the ways in which...”) = passive voice

2. “...σε ένα σύνθετο επικοινωνιακό σύμπαν, που αποτελείται τόσο από τις παραδοσιακές μορφές κειμένων, γραπτών και προφορικών...”
   (“...in a complex communicative universe, which comprises traditional forms of texts, written and oral...”) = passive voice

3. “...όσο και από νέου τύπου κείμενα που γράφονται με ποικίλα σημειωτικά μέσα”. (“...new types of texts, which are written using various semiotic means”) = passive voice

171 For the introduction also see section 6.1.2 (for the original document see appendix 6.1.4).

172 In contrast, section 2 (Structure of the syllabus) lists general and specific objectives and informs us of its compositional organisation. In addition, section 3, despite including flowing text, is also interrupted by bullet points.
4. “Τα άτομα καλούνται πλέον...” (Individuals are now asked to...) = passive voice

5. “Οι παραπάνω στόχοι μπορεί να καλλιεργηθούν στο σχολείο μέσα από την παιδαγωγική του κριτικού γραμματισμού”.
(“The above objectives can be cultivated in schools through critical literacy pedagogy”) = impersonal verb (μπορεί...= can be...) and passive voice

6. “Οι κριτικά εγγράμματο/ες μαθητές/-τριες γνωρίζουν ότι οι κοινωνικές σχέσεις, οι έμφυλες ταυτότητες και οι ιδεολογίες δεν κατασκευάζονται μόνο μέσα από το περιεχόμενο της γλώσσας/ των κειμένων...”
(“Critically-literate (male and female) students know that social relations, gendered identities and ideologies are not constructed...”) = passive voice

Observing the above, we can see that there are 7 occurrences of passive voice and 1 featuring an impersonal verb. Impersonality is clearly present where the actions are more important (Hadjisavvides & Hadjisavvidou, 2011). Apart from the passive voice occurrences, if we have a closer look at the active constructions, we find that the subjects of the actions are not always specific agents. In particular, there are 23 clauses of active constructions in the introduction. As shown in Table 6.2 below, the writers make extensive use of indefinite lexical items:

Table 6.2 Active constructions in the syllabus introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite agents</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—“”...με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση.”” (... in which we produce, approach and distribute knowledge.”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—“”Ως κριτικά εγγράμματο ορίζουμε το άτομο που...” (As critically literate agents, we designate the person who...”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite agents</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—“”Οι νέες μορφές (ψηφιακού, εικονιστικού, πολυτροπικού) γραμματισμού που κυριαρχούν στις σύγχρονες πολυπολιτισμικές κοινωνίες...” (“New forms of literacy (digital, visual, multimodal), which dominate in the modern multicultural societies...”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| —“”Τα άτομα καλούνται πλέον να εξοικειωθούν με νέες κειμενικές πρακτικές, να κατανοήσουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο

172
“Individuals are now asked to familiarise themselves with new textual practices, to understand how linguistic and multimodal texts can structure social relations, reproduce racist and sexist positions, project certain views on reality as ‘natural’ or deconstruct stereotypes and dominant ideologies.”

—“Τα άτομα αλληλεπιδρούν πλέον με ποικίλους σημειωτικούς τρόπους...σε ένα σύνθετο επικοινωνιακό σύμπαν, που αποτελείται τόσο από παραδοσιακούς τρόπους...”

(“Individuals now interact in a variety of semiotic modes...in a complex communicative universe, which consists of traditional forms...”)

—“Βασική επιδίωξη της παιδαγωγικής αυτής είναι να καταστήσει τους μαθητές συμμέτοχους στη μαθησιακή διαδικασία και να διαμορφώσει, κατ επέκταση, ενεργούς πολίτες, δηλαδή πολίτες που να λειτουργούν με ισονομία, να διεκδικούν με δημοκρατικό τρόπο τα δικαιώματά τους και να πολεμούν κάθε μορφής κοινονικό απόκλεισμό...”

(“The main goal of this pedagogy is to transform (male and female) students into participants in the learning process, and thus to shape active citizens, that is, citizens who function with fairness, who stand up for their democratic rights and combat all forms of social exclusion...”)

—“Ως κριτικά εγγράμματο ορίζουμε το άτομο που κατανοεί και χειρίζεται επιτυχώς τη γλώσσα στην ιδεολογική της διάσταση. Διερεύνα, δηλαδή, το πώς τα διάφορα γλωσσικά στοιχεία (γραμματικά φαινόμενα, λεξιλόγιο, κειμενικά είδη, οργάνωση πληροφοριών σε κείμενα) συμβάλλουν στη σύναψη ...... Οι κριτικά εγγράμματοι/ες μαθητές/-τριες γνωρίζουν ότι......”

(As critically-literate agents, we designate the person who understands and successfully deals with language in its ideological dimension. [This is a person who] investigates the ways in which different language elements (grammar, vocabulary, genres, organisation of information in texts) contribute to the establishment of...Critically-literate (male and female) students know that....)
From the above findings, I observe that more than a quarter of the verbal clauses are delivered in the passive voice, with the writers placing the emphasis on the result of the action, rather than the agent. Only four occurrences structures with specific agents can be found (“we define as a critical literate person...”, meaning the writers, and “… in the ways in which we produce, approach and distribute knowledge...”). Even in occurrences of active structure, there is a tendency to attribute actions to general subjects: 13 out of 23 occurrences are manifested in clauses with collective subjects: e.g. “People/individuals + active verb” (10 occurrences); “citizens” (3 occurrences).

The same tendency for impersonal structures and collective subjects in active structures can also be observed in section 4 of the syllabus (Assessment). There are 19 out of 45 (42%) occurrences of impersonality: 15 out of 45 occurrences of passive voice and 4 out of 45 use impersonal verbs. In addition, 19 occurrences appear in active structures. However, 16 of those do not have specific and definite subjects.

6.1.3 Structural organisation

After having investigated the academic vocabulary and syntactic choices, in this section I focus on the compositional structure of the syllabus. I explore if and to what extent its structure shares features with genres occurring in academic settings. I will argue that the syllabus introduction has many formal features in common with research papers, even though its overall structure is characteristic of a syllabus.

In order to do so, we first need to address the question of what a typical syllabus looks like. Curriculum theorists, such as Boschee, Whitehead and Glatthorn (2009) note that there are diverging conceptions of written curricula/syllabi, including what they should include or look like. There are certain components, however, which are widely agreed upon, including:

“a rationale for the curriculum; the aims, objectives, and content for achieving those objectives; instructional methods; learning materials and resources; and tests or assessment methods” (Boschee et al., 2009: p.5).

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173 See appendix 6.1.5 for the excerpt in English and in Greek.
Indeed, the general organisation of the Greek-language syllabus (published in Sept. 2010) incorporates the above components. Specifically, the syllabus a) begins with a rationale, which outlines the importance of introducing critical literacy pedagogy in the Greek-language subject; b) it then presents the general principles of organisation and the general aims; c) follows it up with the objectives and content for achieving these across educational levels, including author recommendations on learning materials and resources; d) the syllabus then focuses on instructional methods, and e) ends with assessment methods. We can conclude then, that in general, the syllabus contains structural characteristics typical of its kind.

That said, this particular syllabus was influenced strongly by the academics, as seen in Chapter 5, something that was also evident regarding its vocabulary (section 6.1.1) and syntactic choices (section 6.1.2). What do we see, then, when we explore the internal organisation of the syllabus sections? To what extent do they bring to mind academic genres? In what follows, I examine the structural choices evident in the introduction of the syllabus.

**The sub-genre of introduction**

This section focuses on the introduction of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus. Using applied-linguistic insights on the structural organisation of academic papers, it explores the ways in which the introduction shows signs of academic writing. In particular, I draw on Swales’ (1990, 2004) three-part model on the sub-genre of introduction in research articles. His model is organised around three discoursal/ rhetorical moves: 1) “establishing a territory”; 2) “establishing a niche”; and 3)

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174 Section 1 Introduction
175 Section 2.1 Basic axes of the syllabus
176 Section 2.2 Topics
177 Section 3 Teaching methodology
178 Section 4 Assessment
179 Studies across academic disciplines have shown that there are similar features in the organisation of the sub-genre of introduction in academic papers (see for example Lewin et al., 2001; Samraj, 2005). For the Greek context see Koutsoulelou-Mihou (2009).
180 According Swales, a move is “a discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse” (2004: p.228).
“occupying the niche”/ “presenting the present work” (2004: pp. 228-232). In what follows, I will sketch each move:

1) **Move 1** “establishing a territory” (“citations required”): gives a broad idea of the current situation in the research area of interest by claiming “centrality” or “relevance to human behaviour” (Lewin et al., 2001). This move is signalled via “topic generalisations of increasing specificity” (Swales, 2004: p.230). Most of the time, this takes the form of “statements about knowledge or practice” and “statements about phenomena” (Swales, 1990: p.146).

Lewin et al. (2001) note some linguistic features that signal this move: 1) the use of present continuous tenses and invocations of recency; 2) the use of evaluative lexical items, which may indicate: a) magnitude of a phenomenon, e.g. “major changes”, b) magnitude of a population, e.g. “large numbers of ...”, and c) salience of a phenomenon, e.g. “significant”/ “significance”; “important”/“importance”; “central”/“centrality.

2) **Move 2** “establishing a niche”: the authors develop a niche for themselves. This is illustrated through two main steps:

   Step 1, indicating a gap/adding to what is known. Here, the authors choose lexical items that indicate a problem/gap in the existing literature: e.g. negative or quasi-negative elements;

   Step 2, “presenting positive justification” (optional).

3) **Move 3** “presenting the present work”: in this move, the authors describe what the research text will be about. Some of the realisations of this move include:

   Step 1, announcing the present research/study at hand descriptively and/or purposively.

   Steps 2-7 (optional): summarising the methods; extended definitional discussions of key terms; outlining the structure of the paper etc.

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181 I am following the revised 2004 version of the model. I am also drawing on Lewin et al., who have enriched the model with linguistic criteria that distinguish genres from one another.

182 In the 1990 version of this typology, Swales included “claiming centrality” in Move 1:

   “Centrality claims are appeals to the discourse community whereby members are asked to accept that the research about to be reported is part of a lively, significant or well-established research area” (1990: p.144)
Grammatical features, such as deictics and personal pronouns, as well as lexical items can be used to indicate the shift from one move to the other (Swales, 2004: p.229).

It should be noted that the typology may vary depending on the discipline, while “possible recycling of increasingly specific topics” can occur within the same discipline (Swales, 2004: p.230).

The 2010 syllabus

Based on the above typology (Swales, 2004), I will investigate which characteristics can be found in the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus. I would like to underline that my aim is not to focus on Swales’ model per se, but to use it as a tool to understand the direction given to the introduction of the syllabus.

Document 6.1 The introduction of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus

(1) The economic, social and cultural reality, which has been developed over recent decades through the dominance of new technologies, the widespread use of the internet and the gradual fall of the printed word, is characterised by important changes in the ways in which we produce, approach and distribute knowledge. (2) Individuals now interact in a variety of semiotic modes (i.e. language, images, sound) in a complex communicative universe, which consists of traditional forms of texts (written and oral) and new types of texts, which are written using various semiotic means. (3) The new forms of literacy (digital, visual, multimodal), which prevail in modern multicultural societies, have led to new ways of defining the concept of the literate person. (4) Individuals are now asked to familiarise themselves with new textual practices, to understand how linguistic and multimodal texts can structure social relations, reproduce racist and sexist positions, project certain ways of viewing reality as ‘natural’, or deconstruct stereotypes and dominant ideologies.

(5) The above objectives can be cultivated in schools through critical literacy pedagogy.

Move 1: establishing a territory:
claiming centrality/relevance to human behaviour:
Through evaluative lexical items and invocations of recency supported by words which show extensiveness and high frequency

Move 2:
Establishing a niche:
Indicating a gap use of modality

183 See appendix 6.1.4 for the original document.
Move 1: “establishing a territory”

The organisation of the first paragraph is along the lines of Swales’ typology. In particular, the authors make statements about the phenomena of the modern world, which have gained centrality/relevance over recent decades (i.e. elements that invoke recency). Swales (1990) stresses that “claiming centrality” is a common theme in academic introductions. The purpose of this move is to make an appeal to the discourse community whereby members are asked to accept that the research about the reported is part of a lively, significant or well-established research area” (ibid: p.144). Although the syllabus does not provide explicit citations, this way of looking

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\(^{184}\) According to Swales, “the exercise of the Step 1 option was comparatively common, averaging a little under 50% for the combined sample of 158 introductions [and it] seems quite widely distributed across various disciplinary areas” (1990: p.144).
at the modern world is greatly influenced by academic work on literacy practices (e.g. Cope and Kalantzis, 2000; New London Group), as described in chapter 3.

The syllabus authors argue for the need to propose a new approach to language teaching, as a requirement to face the “significant changes in the ways in which we produce, approach and distribute knowledge” (MoEC, 2010a: p.10). In this way, the writers choose to introduce the syllabus by making claims about the important changes in the approach to and distribution of knowledge over recent decades, shifting the interest from language to semiosis. These contemporary changes are signalled by invoking recency. ‘New’ is a recurrent theme that pervades the syllabus introduction. This claim regarding a new approach is further established through the use of words that show high frequency and extensiveness, such as ‘dominance’ and ‘widespread’.

So far, the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus shares a number of similarities with Swales’ typology, but it falls short of a complete match, especially in the content of the rhetorical moves. The Greek-language syllabus does not start by making claims around the centrality of a specific research field, followed by information about the contemporary research, which is precisely the tendency of academic articles. It also avoids citations to other work. However, it does something similar: it takes a specific view on the modern world and claims the centrality of this view.

Move 2: “establishing a niche”

Here, the writers do not explicitly refer to gaps in the existing approach to language education, nor do they use negative characterisation. Instead they choose to introduce critical literacy pedagogy as a model with which Greek-Cypriots can tackle the social exclusion created by “hegemonically constructed discourses of difference”. Critical literacy, therefore, is presented as an answer to prior approaches, which failed, or maybe even did not aim to address the issue.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{185}In section 6.2, where I focus on the trans-situational analysis of the different versions, I will show that this negative characterisation was present in the first version, but was left out of later versions.
Move 3: “presenting the present work”

In the first two moves, the writers of the syllabus underlined the significant changes in semiosis made over recent decades. They then proposed to follow a critical literacy pedagogy, implying that this was a more suitable alternative to prior pedagogic approaches that did not take into account contemporary social and semiotic reality. Here the authors took the opportunity to outline the new approach and to define the critically-literate person. The writers choose the 1st person plural “we define” to signal the new approach to Greek-language teaching. In addition, in Sentence 10, they use general statements to reinforce their choice for critical literacy pedagogy.

Summarising...

The analysis of the introduction of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus shows alignment with Swales’ model on research article introductions. In other words, the sub-genre of the syllabus introduction shares common features with the introduction of research articles. This means that different texts (research papers and the syllabus) have many semiotic features in common, and therefore create similar expectations.

The syllabus writers did not mean to draft a research paper, and by no means am I implying this to be the case. However, in their attempt to explain to their audience (e.g. teachers, students, and parents) the new vision for literacy education, the writers were likely to have drawn from their academic background, in order to engineer a scientific vantage point that would lend value to the new approach.

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186 Sentence 10 from the 2010 Greek-language syllabus:

“Critically-literate (male and female students) know that social relations, gendered identities and ideologies are not constructed only through linguistic/textual content but also through language forms, genres and habits or practices of text development and consumption in a given community”.

187 The main features of the model that are missing from the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus are as follows: a) Move 1 lacks citations, which are regarded obligatory in the model; as a result, there is no reference to the current situation in a specific academic field; and b) in Move 2, it’s not explicitly expressed that there is a gap.
6.1.4 Introductions of other syllabi covered by the curriculum review (2008-2010)

In the previous section, I showed that the compositional structure of the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus resembles those commonly seen in research articles. However, I also noted the overlap of elements and characteristics was not a complete one. To explore this further, I look at the extent to which an academically-oriented schematic structure can be detected in the Greek-language syllabus. This leads me to ask: how were the other syllabi organised?

In this section I try to address the above question by looking at the 22 other syllabi, which the MoEC also published in September 2010. I will show that the syllabi followed two main trends: they either had introductions providing a general description of their respective subject or they made statements and proposals for a new pedagogic approach. The introductions that fell under the second trend showed evidence of having integrated features of academic writing. However, while the Greek-language syllabus introduces a new approach to teaching and literacy pedagogy in general, the latter syllabi have only the style of academic writing, not the content.

With regards to the first trend, we turn to the majority of syllabi (17 of 23), which refer to the aims of their respective subject and/or provide general information. Specifically, 11 of the 17 include the construction “the aim of subject x is to...” or the “teaching of x subject aims to...”, as illustrated in the below example:

**Document 6.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physics syllabus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Teaching Physics as part of compulsory education aims at exploring the material and the living world, and studying related phenomena and events. It prepares (male and female) students to act freely and creatively within society, in which scientific concepts and applications, as well as mindset and behaviour, which are cultivated by the subject of physics, have an important role to play in the development of various areas of human activity”. (MoEC, 2010d: p.140)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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188These are English for primary school; Foreign Languages; Maths; Physical Sciences for primary education; Physics for secondary education; Chemistry; Religious Education; Social and Political Education; Health Education; ICT; and Economics.
As we can see from the above introduction, the writers sketch what the subject is about, while making general reference to the ways in which it contributes to human progress. Not all syllabus introductions contain the construction “the aim of x is to...”. Specifically, there are 6 syllabi\(^{189}\) that provide a description of the value of their subject and the ways in which these help students develop their skills without using that particular construction. One example is the Geography syllabus:

**Document 6.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography syllabus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“An education in Geography contributes decisively to the promotion of internationality, understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations, ethnic and religious groups, as well as peace-building. Knowledge in the field of Geography, the relationships between its elements, the phenomena and the processes which take place in it, constitute conditions indispensably linked to the presence and the survival of humans on our planet. If we want to properly prepare tomorrow’s citizens, we must include them in the sphere of modern geographic knowledge through modern teaching methodologies, principles and practices” (MoEC, 2010e: p.228).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regards to the second trend, there are 6 syllabi that present similarities in their generic structure with Swales’ model of expert writing. Specifically, Modern Greek; Ancient Greek; Environmental Education; Biology; Physical Education and Design and Technology not only provide information on and offer values regarding their respective subjects, they also take a strong position about the education reform as a whole. They evaluate the existing situation and propose changes along the lines of the new vision for Greek-Cypriot education. In what follows, I use the Biology syllabus as an example:

**Document 6.4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Biology syllabus</th>
<th>Move 1: establishing a territory; claiming centrality Through magnitude of a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) It’s clear that, in a world where we have to use scientific information on a daily basis in order to make choices, compulsory education must include the provision of adequate education in the field of Natural Sciences. (2) In particular, the rapid progress of Biological Sciences over recent decades, which goes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{189}\) These are Literature; Theatrical Education; Chemistry; Geography; Music; and Visual Arts
As we can see, the Biology syllabus refers to changes to the status quo and how the subject of Biology can help students deal with these. As I will show, this introduction has a structural organisation similar to the Greek-language syllabus:

**Move 1:** The Biology syllabus includes references to modern day phenomena, which is emphasised in Swales’ model (Move 1). However, these phenomena do not refer to changes in research fields, as is the case in the research articles described by Swales, but instead refer to changes in the modern world.
**Moves 2 and 3:** The syllabus does not make explicit reference to the gaps in the present situation, an element that is obligatory in Swales’ typology (Move 2). However, it is implied in Sentence 6, where the writers outline the aims of the subject. They emphasise that the subject of Biology can help students discover the modern world, through a didactic approach that goes ‘beyond the classical knowledge-based level’. It therefore disapproves of the traditional way of teaching Biology that focuses only on the transmission of knowledge and instead opts for “interdisciplinary approach” that encourages the acquisition of “a unified sphere of basic knowledge and necessary skills, and of a holistic perception of biological sciences”. Move 3 is missing, as the writers do not announce a new way of looking into the world.

The two syllabi, Modern Greek and Biology, organise their moves in similar ways: they both identify shifts in the way the modern world is structured (Move 1), and they imply that there is a gap in the way we deal with these changes (Move 2). However, they diverge in Move 3. The Greek-language syllabus announces the new approach to language teaching that will fill in the gap in language education. In this respect, the writers chose to invoke the centrality of current changes in order to bring in the new vision for literacy education. The Biology syllabus, however, does not offer new way of approaching Biology. It takes the principles for the construction of a civic-based and democratic school (developed by the 2008 text of principles) and elaborates on how the subject of Biology can help the new school. Therefore, while the Greek-language syllabus contributes to the development of new vision, the Biology syllabus serves it.

**6.2 Textual trajectories: a trans-situational analysis of the Greek-language syllabus**

My analysis of the introduction of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus in the previous section (6.1) highlighted the extent to which the syllabus shared features commonly found in academic research papers. I realise, however, that one could argue a single piece of writing might not be enough to support the claim, also given that it does not satisfy all the elements in Swales’ model, therefore I explore the argument further in order to provide supporting evidence. In line with Blommaert and Huang’s emphasis that “whenever we ethnographically investigate a synchronic social act, we have to
see it as the repository of a process of genesis, development, transformation” (2009: p.14), section 6.2 looks at four versions of the Greek-language syllabus: it focuses on the convergences and divergences across the versions, in order to explore if they indicate the same level of academicness.

In order to examine the modifications across the four versions, I draw on the theoretical framework of “textual trajectories”, which focuses on the “dynamic and processual aspects of texts” across time (Maybin, 2017: p.410). I focus on the structural organisation of the introduction, examining “changes” and “directionalities” (ibid), both in the general structure of the syllabus, and the compositional organisation of the introduction as they manifest across four versions of the Greek-language syllabus:

version 1: This was e-mailed to the volunteer teachers early April 2009, a few days before the first joint meeting between volunteer teachers and the academic committee for the Greek-language syllabus.

version 2: This was sent to volunteer teachers mid-June 2009, before the 2nd joint meeting between volunteer teachers and academics. It was therefore sent before the official end of the participation of the working groups of volunteer teachers.

version 3: This was communicated to the volunteer teachers in September 2009, as part of the training material for seminars delivered by the Greek-language syllabus academics.

version 4: This was published in September 2010 by the Pedagogical Institute. This became the official curricular document for the Greek-language syllabus.

The exploration of the above versions will give us the opportunity to investigate links with bigger processes, such as the official vision, which aimed for an inclusive and bottom-up process of policy development, but resulted in the dominance of the voice of academics. It also shows how the Curriculum Review Committee (especially the chairman) responded to this discrepancy by tempering the academic effect, in order to make it easier to grasp.
6.2.1 Structural organisation

In section 6.1, we saw that version 4 of the syllabus (published in September 2010) follows the general characteristics of a syllabus (see Glatthorn et al., 2009). In this section, I compare this fourth, final version to the three that came before it. I note that all four versions contain components commonly expected to be found in a syllabus. Specifically, they all include a rationale and introduction in their first section: versions 2-4 name the first section “Introduction”, while version 1 calls it a “Requirement”, a term that references the need to introduce a new philosophy to Greek-language teaching. The versions also all include aims and objectives and have sections in which they describe the content. Moreover, they outline methodological sections and have a section on assessment.

Nevertheless, there are differences in the ways in which the four versions are structured. Here, I focus on changes regarding titles, structure and thematic content. I will show that the modifications across the versions reveal an attempt to downplay the academicness of the syllabus. Using Table 6.3 as a basis of this enquiry, I examine three major changes:

a) version 1 includes academic debates on literacy pedagogy; the subsequent three versions remove these debates;

b) versions 3 and 4 are influenced by the 2008 “text of principles”;

c) version 4 introduces sections which contain tables and aims, unlike the previous versions that only include general principles regarding the Greek-language subject.

Table 6.3: Comparison of the structural organisation across four versions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st version (April ‘09) (22.5 pp.)</th>
<th>2nd version (June ‘09) (24.5 pp.)</th>
<th>3rd version (Sept. ‘09) (13 pp.)</th>
<th>4th version (Sept. ‘10) (56.5 pp.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1</td>
<td>Requirement (3.5 pp.)</td>
<td>Introduction (2 pp.)</td>
<td>Introduction (1.5 p.)</td>
<td>Introduction (1 p.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- elaboration on the requirement (3 pp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- subsection entitled “From language to”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2</td>
<td>Defining the object (4.5 pp.)</td>
<td>Aims and objectives (17 pp.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- [elaboration (1.5 p.)]</td>
<td>2.1 Specific objectives (2 pp.)</td>
<td>2.3 Objectives and strategies of critical awareness (4 pp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- subsection entitled “From genres to the critical approach of textual communities through their interdisciplinary history” (2 pp.)</td>
<td>2.2. Aims (1.5 p.)</td>
<td>2.4 Content and basic skills (9.5 pp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- subsection entitled “Genres as locally emergent expressions of the culture of a community” (1 p.)</td>
<td>General axes and objectives in the critical literacies framework (5.5 pp.)</td>
<td>Structure of the syllabus (50 pp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 3</th>
<th>Objective (1.5 p.)</th>
<th>Methodology (4.5 pp.)</th>
<th>Content and basic skills/strategies (1 p.)</th>
<th>Teaching methodology (2.5 pp.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 4</th>
<th>Aims (2.5 pp.)</th>
<th>Assessment (1 p.)</th>
<th>Methodology (4 pp.)</th>
<th>Assessment (1 p.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- [elaboration on the aims (1 p.)]</td>
<td>Assessment (1 p.)</td>
<td>Methodology (4 pp.)</td>
<td>Assessment (1 p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- subsection: “From static to dynamic approaches. emphasis on the final product of on the processes/strategies?” (1.5 p.)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 5</th>
<th>Content (5 pp.)</th>
<th>Assessment (1 p.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- [elaboration on the content (4.5 pp.)]</td>
<td>Assessment (1 p.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- subsection: “The introduction of the Cypriot dialect”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

190 The deep blue font marks the most important differences in comparison to the other drafts.
a) Downplaying academic debates

Version 1 differs from the subsequent three versions, in titling, structure and general focus. The former names the first section “Requirement”, while the three latter use the word “Introduction”. It also includes a sub-section with the title “From literacy to multiliteracies”, in which the writers elaborate on the more academically-inclined autonomous-ideological model of literacy (Street, 1984)\(^{191}\), and “multiliteracies” (New London Group, 1996). Moreover, version 1’s second section contains two sub-sections: “From genres to the critical approach of textual communities through their interdisciplinary history” and “Genres as locally emergent expressions of the culture of a community”. The names of sections 1 and 2 and their subsections are removed in the subsequent three versions.

Moving on to the examination of the internal organisation and thematic content of sections 1 and 2, we observe that references and discussions on approaches to literacy pedagogy diminish, as we move across the versions (see Table 6.4).

Table: 6.4 Comparison across versions-general structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sections 1 &amp; 2</th>
<th>Version 1</th>
<th>Version 2</th>
<th>Version 3</th>
<th>Version 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Requirement &amp; Defining the object</td>
<td>Introduction &amp; Aims and objectives</td>
<td>Introduction &amp; General axes and objectives in the critical literacies framework</td>
<td>Introduction &amp; Structure of the syllabus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{191}\)For example, in line with Street’s ideological model of literacy, the writers emphasise:

“In recent years, language teaching approaches have shown that language teaching cannot be focused on the narrow meaning of language but should look to that of literacy. There are two dominant models of literacy: the autonomous (emphasising decontextualised skills) and the ideological (emphasising how reading and writing are used as locally situated and ideological processes). In the ideological model, the interest is focused on understanding the ways in which language constructs versions of reality, which bring to light specific viewpoints” (1\(^{st}\) version).
Looking at the above table, we see that version 1 refers to scholars (e.g. Halliday) and academic approaches to literacy pedagogy that have inspired the development of the syllabus. For example, it refers to a multiplicity of literacy practices (see Street, 1984, 1995), and linguistic and communicative competences (see Hymes, 1972). In addition, it contains a discussion on the notion of “genre”, based on the Australian school (e.g. Kress, 1993):

“Concepts such as ‘genre’ have entered into language teaching and have been used in a variety of ways. This term is used in literature theory to categorise writing. Various proposals have been presented regarding the criteria that can be used to distinguish different categories (based on characteristics, communicative goals or rules of reading, which are common to the members of the ‘reading’ community)...In contrast to approaches (see Australian School) that regard speech types as established structures that can be transferred from one context to another, we support a more dynamic approach in which speech patterns emerge as local responses to communication needs” (1st version).

As we can see, the writers include academic debate in the syllabus to elaborate on the ways in which “genre” is used in academic literature. In addition, they clarify how they intend to employ it: they advocate for a dynamic model of analysis that prioritises the emerging nature of communicative practices, unlike other approaches that take a static view on the concept (e.g. the Australian School).

The writers went on to remove discussions, such as the above, in the next three versions. This does not mean that they stopped drawing inspiration from the above
academic traditions. It rather means that, from version 2 onwards, they made systematic efforts to integrate academic insights of the aforementioned traditions in a unified approach to language teaching and literacy pedagogy. For example, in version 2 they note:

“Genres emerge locally, and when transferred to the school environment, become school texts” (2nd version).

**b) The influence of the 2008 “text of principles” on the syllabus**

Observing Table 6.3, the last two versions present a ‘tidier’ structure in comparison to the first two: versions 3 and 4 provide a clearer introduction, as well as more defined sections on aims/objectives, content, methodology and assessment. Moreover, in the “basic axes” section, the last two versions introduce three categories of aims/objectives, drawing on the 2008 “text of principles”, which were developed by the Curriculum Review Committee. In these latter two versions, we can see that the aims are systematically presented under the following categories/axes: a) democratic citizenship; b) key skills and abilities for the citizen of the 21st century; and c) an adequate body of knowledge. In contrast, the aforementioned categories are absent in the first two versions, where the writers only include concepts and insights from international pedagogic trends, without making reference to the categories introduced by the CRC. For example, in version 2, they emphasise that:

“This programme is not based on a clear distinction between spoken and written speech, nor between reading and writing as distinct autonomous skills. It does highlight, however, media discourses and the way in which people negotiate and construct texts within a universe of meanings. This universe consists of simple or more complex speech activities, from simple or more complex written texts. [...] The social contextualisation of language can be theoretically conceptualised under the framework of Halliday (1991)”192 (2nd version).

**c) Version 4 introduces new sections**

Version 4 is clearly longer, coming in at 56.5 pages, which is around 40 more than versions 1 and 2, and 50 more than the version 3. One of the reasons is that it

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192 References are not included in the syllabus.
includes section 2.2 (“Thematic units”), whose length amounts to 47 pages. This section includes tables comprising suggested activities, genres and skills across the three levels of education (pre-primary, primary and secondary). In Chapter 5 I described that the development of these was delegated to volunteer teachers. However, many of them did not participate in the process of development, nor did they ultimately find that their work had made it into the final version. Therefore, it was surmised that the academics themselves had developed the thematic units, perhaps assisted by certain teachers, with whom they had a pre-existing close collaboration in the academic context.

Version 4 also introduces the section “Indices of success”. This comprises three brief tables which refer to the specific level of competence that students should reach upon completion of each educational level (pre-primary; primary and secondary). It was the first time that such a section appeared in a Cyprus curriculum document. It seems rather odd to have included certain quantitative aims in a syllabus that promotes flexibility, as well as differing aims to be reached according to each school’s needs and depending on the interests of its students.

6.2.2 The sub-genre of introduction

In the previous section (6.2.1) I explained that there were efforts to downplay the academicness of the 2010 syllabus, and make it conform, instead, to the guidelines of the Curriculum Review Committee. In this section I make comparisons between the introductions of four versions. Table 6.5 presents them with reference to their degree of alignment with Swales’ model:

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193 Instead of this detailed exposition, previous versions include a much shorter section with suggested thematic units. For example, version 1 comprises 9 thematic units, each containing two categories: authentic texts and language structure. Under the theme of “art”, the writers propose:

- authentic texts: literature texts; book presentations; ads of literature books
- language structure: style
Table 6.5: Differences in move structure across four versions of the Greek-language syllabus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move 1- Establishing a territory, claiming centrality</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘topic generalisations of increasing specificity citations</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to debates on globalisation and Street’s distinction of literacy models</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move 2- Establishing a niche</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: indicating a gap Step 2 (optional): presenting a positive justification</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>[implicitly expressed]</td>
<td>[implicitly expressed]</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Move 3- Presenting present work</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1: announcing the present study Step 2-7 (optional)</th>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
<th>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; version</th>
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</table>

Overall, version 1 is the only version to include almost all the moves and steps contained in Swales’ model. The writers’ first attempt at developing a syllabus was thus the closest to academic writing. Specifically, two important aspects of Swales’ model are present in version 1 only. The first one is the inclusion of academic discussions and named scholars, which are very close to being equivalent to “citations”, whose presence is necessary in Swales’ model (Move 1). In section 6.2.1,

194 The original introductions can be found in appendix 6.1 (in Greek). I also provide translated excerpts in the analysis that follows.
I explained that these references and discussions were gradually removed in later versions. The second one is the explicit reference to the “gap” in literacy pedagogy in Greek-Cypriot education (Move 2 of Swales’ model). Specifically, version 1 clearly juxtaposes the current complex world with the outdated Greek-Cypriot educational system:

“Given the dynamic and changing social landscape, in which a variety of messages are projected from different sources, perhaps school - in its current form at least - does not provide [the students] sufficient resources to live in a technologically ‘literate’ society”. (version 1, my emphasis)

However, versions 2 and 3 remove such explicit pronouncements. The writers avoid referring directly to problems, and instead talk about taking on a new challenge: “...in modern reality, schools are called upon to create active citizens who operate in an equal world” (versions 2 and 3). This declaration becomes even less explicit in version 4, when the writers emphasise “the above can be cultivated in schools through critical literacy pedagogy”. Therefore, we can see a shift from an explicit indication of Greek-Cypriot schools’ problems (version 1), to an implicit reference (versions 2 and 3), and ending with silence regarding gaps (version 4).

Apart from the two aspects of Swales’ model described above, it is also worth referring to the way in which the writers start their introductions. Move 1 in Swales’ model includes claims about the centrality of current phenomena, a rhetorical feature which is described as “establishing territory”. All four versions contain Move 1, but they construct it in slightly different ways. In particular, version 1 puts forward the claim that the modern world is characterised by many changes which are ignored by the contemporary school. In order to establish the importance of this claim, the writers refer to this topic as a matter of academic debate, as I explore in the following excerpt:
The debate on changes in the economic, social and cultural realities of the Western world over the past two decades uses the concepts of globalisation and multiple learning communities as a reference point. Theorists disagree on whether the term “globalisation” refers to a particular economic phenomenon or a series of changes that are evolving in a variety of fields - economic, social, cultural - and which are intertwined to form a complex dynamic. In general, however, it can be argued that local social realities tend to be shaped by different tendencies that favour homogenisation (as seen in the ways in which we act and react, but also through the use of cultural products which promote hyper-national companies and organisations) on the one hand and, on the other hand, towards hybridisation, that is the local rebuilding of global trends. The international environment, the way it is shaped through constant interaction with hyper-national/governmental organisations and alliances; through the mobilisation of individuals/ social and cultural products from one geographic area to another (and from one cultural system to another), tends to lead to the division of traditional terms such as “state” and, consequently, new approaches emerge for the factors that contribute to shaping the identity of individuals.

These reclassifications, which are also due to the development of technology, have created an environment in which loose interpersonal and, more generally, social relations dominate; an intensification of the workplace; liberalisation of the economy; overproduction; bombardment of new knowledge and information; and the standardisation of leisure time - conditions, which create a continually increasing demand for the acquisition of skills necessary to understand and manage social and work relations that define the new environment in which modern individuals live.

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195 See appendix 6.1.1 for the original document.
As we can see, the syllabus includes extensive references to changes in the ways in which we communicate. In line with Swales’ model, it signals the increasing centrality of these changes in the contemporary world, making them a topic of scholarly debate: “The debate on the changes in the economic, social and cultural realities of the Western world over the past two decades uses the concepts of globalisation and multiple learning communities as a reference point. Theorists disagree...” (version 1).

Moving now to the subsequent versions, the writers remove explicit references to academic discussions (e.g. “the debate”; “theorists disagree...”). However, they keep the results of these discussions, by increasing references to the implications of globalisation in the conceptualisation of the concept of literacy. For example:

**Document 6.6: version 2 (excerpt)**

> The economic, social and cultural reality which has been developed **over the past two decades** through the dominance of new technologies is characterised by **significant changes** in the ways in which we produce, approach and distribute knowledge. The widespread use of the internet has contributed to the shaping of a **new** communication landscape that brings people together in ways that abolish the borders of nations, economies, and formal structures of social organisation. Communication through the gradual **decline** of the printed word (at least in some communities), has led to **new** ways of identifying the concept of literacy.

> The **new** forms of (digital, visual, multimodal) literacy that **dominate** modern multicultural communities require that individuals familiarise themselves with **new** textual practices (i.e. ways of producing and interacting with texts). These **no longer** use linear ways of reading and reproducing the meanings of printed communication in relatively homogeneous cultures... Furthermore, reading and producing these texts requires the development of **new** navigation strategies in hypertextual and culturally

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196 The introduction of versions 2 and 3 are similar. The original documents can be found in appendix 6.1.2 and 6.1.3.
diverse virtual communities. While it can be argued that access to a multiplicity of meanings which now proliferate in our globalised society through the use of the internet can contribute to the democratisation of access to knowledge, new forms of inequality can, however, accompany these new hybrid forms of texts.

The writers draw on their academic influences to establish the importance of the need to change existing type of school, to ensure its relevance to the modern world. While in version 1, they invoke academic discussions to increase the centrality of such claims, they then choose to remove such explicit references, but at the same time to enrich their claim, by describing it more extensively.

6.2.3 Trans-situational analysis

Exploring the four versions of the syllabus in the previous two sections, we were able to see typological and structural changes occurring throughout. Specifically, the Greek-language syllabus gradually adopted more features which are characteristic of a syllabus (see Glatthorn et al., 2009). However, investigating textual modifications is not an end in itself. Rampton et al. emphasise that, by examining textual trajectories, we focus on the participants, and the ways in which they are “actively orienting themselves backwards and forwards to the trajectories through which their semiotic products travel” (2015: p.30; see also Briggs, 2005). Therefore, it is worth investigating the institutional processes that took place as the writers moved from one version to the next. Based on Ball’s remark that policies are the result of negotiations among groups of policy actors with different “influences and agendas” (2006), I will explore which changes in the policy design may have influenced the choices of the academics of the Greek-language syllabus. Table 6.6 will help us better follow the interplay of texts, people and institutional processes.

Table 6.6 Events of the curriculum review process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events/actions/ documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 2009</td>
<td>a) Appointment of the academic committees for the syllabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Call for volunteer teachers to support the subject-area academic committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2009</td>
<td>1st meeting between academics and volunteer teachers--&gt; academics’ presentation of the 1st version of the syllabus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Changes between the 1st (April 2009) and 2nd version (June 2009)

Version 2 was produced two months after version 1. It was sent to volunteer teachers a few days before the second joint meeting. One of the most important changes from the 1st to the subsequent versions was the removal of academic discussions: from the 2nd version onwards, the writers remove explicit references to debates, such as “The debate on the changes...”.

They also choose not to include separate sections to describe current trends in literacy pedagogy (e.g. sections such as “from literacies to multiliteracies” do not appear in the 2nd version); but they made efforts to integrate international trends within the main body of the text. These efforts were intensified in the subsequent versions. However, they did not take their focus away from the findings and insights of these academic debates. They chose to instead integrate them in a unified approach to literacy education, which was identified as critical literacy pedagogy.
Why did they choose to make these changes in the second version? I put this question to one of the members of the academic committee for the Greek-language syllabus. She replied that the CRC asked them to put together a text that could be used as a basis for their first joint meeting with volunteer teachers. Given that the members of the committee were appointed in February, they were under a tight deadline which did not allow for extensive deliberation. Therefore, they produced their text by drawing on the literature. In that respect, the 1st version reflects the influences of the academics from their readings and academic debates in which they were engaged. In section 6.1, we saw that this referenced body of work is associated with some of the most prevalent contemporary traditions of literacy education, which were nevertheless unfamiliar to the majority of the teachers. I am not sure if the academics had realised that these traditions were ‘terra incognita’ for most volunteer teachers. My understanding is that their intention was not to shut teachers out by using unknown concepts and approaches. In fact, the volunteer teachers were encouraged to participate by the academics when the latter sent their first e-mail (on 12/3/2009):

“We hope that this first text - sent electronically - will be the basis for fermentation and exchange at the meeting that we expect to hold around the end of March and early April. We will notify you in due time of the exact date and location of the meeting. In the meantime, we would also like to ask you to formulate some initial thoughts and views on the character of the curriculum for the subject of the Greek-language. These views can be submitted to the meeting so that through the fruitful discussions the final text will be gradually formed”.

The academics seemed keen to engage volunteer teachers in the process of syllabus development. They considered the 1st version as a basis for open discussion, as opposed to a fixed and closed entity. Nevertheless, the teachers expressed some dissatisfaction in the first meeting about the high level of technical vocabulary and academicness.

\(^{197}\text{This member wished to not disclose her name.}\)
Changes between the 2nd (June 2009) and 3rd version (September 2009)

No major changes were observed during this period, at least as to the structure of the syllabus. This means that the teachers did not influence the development of the syllabus, although their work was only officially completed in June 2009. Nevertheless, there were two shifts that are worth elaborating on. First, the academics produced a glossary comprising the technical vocabulary. This was likely a result of receiving feedback from volunteer teachers, specifically requests to provide clarification on the terms used in the syllabus. The academics presented the glossary in the training seminars organised in September 2009.

Second, the 3rd version adopted the three context axes of the 2008 “text of principles”, which was most likely on the recommendation of the CRC itself. The same trend can be observed in most of the other syllabi as well, as there were attempts to achieve a consistent structure. This structure is not seen in the two previous versions of the syllabi, which were very divergent in terms of length and schematic organisation.

What could have happened that made the committees introduce a common structure along the lines of the 2008 “text of principles”? I highlight here that the summer of 2009 was characterised by tensions among the CRC members regarding the process of syllabus development. Certain CRC members disagreed with the creative and free process initially favoured in the development of the syllabi, which went so far as to lead to their departure from the CRC. Tsiakalos (along with his office’s seconded teachers) then took over the responsibility to give feedback to the syllabus committees along the lines of the principles and objectives of the “text of principles”. Therefore, we can surmise that, at this point, Tsiakalos was the one to decide upon the shift towards the 2008 “text of principles”.

Changes between the 3rd (September 2009) and 4th version (September 2010)

Version 4 is much different to the one that came before it. As described in previous sections (6.1.1-6.1.3 and 6.2.2-6.2.3), version 4 had more features that are associated

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198 The general structural organisations: 1. Introduction; 2. The structure; 3. Topics/Units; 4. Success Indicators; 5. Assessment. However, there are some exceptions, e.g. the Maths syllabus, includes an introduction and tables with the aims for each grade, without making explicit reference to philosophy, assessment or methodology.
with syllabi than any that came before it. It excluded academic discussions, removed references to scholars and introduced tables with aims and suggestions for activities and genres. Why so? Tsiakalos (CRC Chairman) remarked that the initial versions of the syllabus were difficult to follow:

Extract 6.1

“Tsiakalos: I discussed this with them many times; I intervened once in their work, as they initially had difficulty in speaking a language that would be understood by the unspecialised people, the parents...

Maria: What made it not accessible? The terminology? The way it was written?

T: All those things; the presentation, in fact, was a scientific text for academics”.

(Interview with Tsiakalos, 13/6/2017)

Tsiakalos added that he mainly intervened because he wanted to make sure that the syllabus would be accessible to everyone, since it was advertised as a public endeavour. He had launched a big campaign to inform teachers, parents and other relevant associations about the new policy. Therefore, he underlined the need to have a syllabus that could be explained in simple words to laypeople.

6.3 Conclusions

Despite the official rhetoric and efforts from CRC for an inclusive and bottom up curriculum review, this chapter adds to the findings of the previous chapter regarding the dominance of academic voices over those of the teachers. Further discussing Theodorou et al.’s research on the mismatch between inclusive policy vision and problematic policy processes, an examination of technical vocabulary, syntactic choices and the structural composition of the syllabus, revealed a tendency for expert writing, which is characteristic of academic papers. Rhetorical moves in the syllabus introduction, in particular, show an extensive alignment with Swales’ model on research articles. However, I noted that not all elements and characteristics of Swales’ typology were present in the introduction to the Greek-language syllabus. In that respect, one could argue that it is risky to conclude that the syllabus wholly reflects academic writing, even if three main typological features can be observed.

Taking as point of departure that texts are “products [that] carry meanings representative of the struggle and conflict of their production” (Gale, 1999: p.394), I investigated four versions of the Greek-language syllabus. Addressing Gale’s question: “what can the generic shape of curriculum documents tell us about their
cultural embedding and formation?”, I searched for genre-related modifications across four syllabus versions. I revealed that the first version of the syllabus was mostly influenced by the academics: it had the most technical vocabulary; it dedicated separate units in which the writers reviewed scholarly debate on topics of literacy pedagogy; and its introduction was in full agreement with Swales’ model. Subsequently, from the 2nd version onwards, efforts were made by the writers to align the syllabus to the vision for an inclusive curriculum review. Therefore, explicit references to academic discussions were taken out and the syllabus structure included the main sections that are usually found in curricular documents. However, it should be noted that the writers did not compromise on the core elements of critical literacy pedagogy, as they continued to be largely inspired by insights and concepts developed within international traditions of literacy pedagogy. Along the same lines, versions 3 and 4 also drew on contemporary international trends on literacy pedagogy and features of academic writing. Nevertheless, they reflect an attempt to ‘tidy up’ the syllabus sections, by introducing sections and organisational categories developed by the 2008 “text of principles”, (e.g. the aims section is developed on the basis of the three axes).

I then associated the trajectory of the syllabus with wider shifts in the policy process. Drawing from interviews with key policymakers and also based on my personal experience as member of the committee for the Greek-language syllabus, I showed a close relationship between textual modifications and shifts in the policy processes within the MoEC. Version 1, which presents the most divergence in comparison to the next three, was developed in a period when the syllabus committees were granted almost unconditional freedom by the CRC. After the initial tensions within the CRC over the flexibility given to the syllabus committees, the 2nd version reflects an attempt to downplay academic influence and construct a more syllabus-like structure. Consequently, when the tensions culminated in the summer of 2009, resulting in the ceasing of CRC operations, and the chairman taking over the guidance work, feedback was given to the committees to make the syllabus more accessible to the general public. In this way, the guidelines were focused on aligning the Greek-language syllabus to the foundational vision of the CRC and the “text of principles” for a public endeavour.
Taking a joint look at textual choices and contextual/institutional shifts enabled me to treat modifications in the syllabus’ formal features as a result of the policy actors’ influences and agendas. This joint investigation pointed to the prevalence of the voice of academics. However, this does not mean that the authors intended to make the syllabus an academic paper. Having interviewed two of them, my understanding is that their primary aim was to explain to their audience (e.g. teachers, students, parents) the new vision for literacy education. To this end, the writers chose to introduce to Greek-Cypriot education some of the most important pedagogic trends developed internationally. Therefore, they drew on their academic background, and the syllabus was developed under the influence of their academic “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1990). According to Blommaert who explains Bourdieu’s famous concept, habitus refers to “the way in which histories become part of people’s behavioural predispositions” (2007a: p.9). Lefstein and Snell emphasise that these “embodied dispositions...make participation in some genres easier and more ‘natural’ than others” (2011: p.42). The Greek-language syllabus projects the greatest degree of academicness in its first version, when the academics had not yet met with volunteer teachers and were likely still unaware that the syllabus needed to undergo many modifications. Efforts were then made to render the syllabus more accessible to a non-expert audience in its later versions; efforts which were ultimately met with only partial success.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed typological features which reflect the academic disposition and perspective of the committee academics, a finding that agrees with interpretations made in the other empirical chapters. I suggested that this academic orientation (i.e. expert writing, inclusion of international trends in literacy pedagogy) was not compatible with the principal aim of the CRC regarding an inclusive curriculum review that they promoted as a “public project”. However, paying close attention to the changes across the four versions of the syllabus revealed attempts by academics to diminish this academicness and align the syllabus with a wider ideology promoting an inclusive process of policymaking. In this way, investigating the local practices of the curriculum review reveals complexities that cannot be captured if the focus is only on the historical and ideological content of the reform.

In this concluding chapter, I further discuss policy change in language literacy on the basis of the findings of this project and especially on the backstage politics of policymaking that included negotiations and conflicts among policy actors. Section 7.1 summarises the principal findings of this thesis in response to the research questions it sought to address, while section 7.2 gives an overview of and discusses the thesis’s contributions. Section 7.3 provides some reflections on the curriculum development and policy changes in Cyprus by further discussing some main themes. The chapter closes with section 7.4, which directs the discussion to recent developments in Cypriot education policy. Drawing on the ethnographic fieldwork around three Greek-language classes, and interviews with policymakers, I will suggest that the changes in education policy often point to a lack of systematic and long-term design and implementation in the Cypriot context.
7.1 Synopsis of thesis findings

This thesis was designed as a multi-dimensional study of a radical curriculum reform in Greek-Cypriot formal education. Although the curriculum review took place between 2008 and 2013, the focus of my study was on the investigation of the development stage of the new policy from 2008 to 2010. It focused particularly on the development of the Greek-language syllabus and the associated introduction of a novel approach, namely, critical literacy pedagogy. It initially looked at the historical context in which the curriculum change was situated, and then it explored the institutional context of the Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, followed by an ethnographic focus on the policy actors and their overt and covert practices in the development of the curriculum review. For the investigation of the policy change, I took into consideration Ball’s distinction between three dimensions of policymaking\(^\text{199}\) and the focal points of my analysis were organised as follows:

a) **history and currency of political ideologies influencing policy:** This discussion captured the historico-ideological processes of Greek-Cypriot education, focusing on the choices on literacy pedagogy and ideologies reflected in curriculum reforms and textbooks; overall, a strong Hellenocentric orientation dominated Greek-Cypriot education until the 2004 education reform (Chapter 3, section 3.1);

b) **institutional and political context of policy production:** This examined official policy documents, that manifested the MoEC’s vision for the 2004 education reform; it showed the Greek-Cypriot education’s historical shift from Hellenocentrism to a civic-based orientation (Chapter 3, section 3.2);

c) **practices of policy development:** The bulk of the empirical chapters focused on the local engagement of policy actors within the curriculum review. Efforts for re-conceptualising the mission of Greek-Cypriot education, as well as tensions within and among groups of policy participants revealed the complexity of the policymaking process (Chapters 4 and 5).

\(^{199}\) In chapter 1 (section 1.1.1) I referred to Ball's conceptualisation of policy as a “trajectory” which is extended in three main contexts: a) “the context of influences”; b) “the context of text production”; and c) “the context of practices”.
More specifically, **Chapter 1** outlined the theoretical grounds of the thesis, by describing the multiple dimensions for conceptualising the policy change in Cyprus. Ball and his colleagues’ invitation for a “voiced” education policy research (that examines the role of policy actors who are engaged in disagreements with each other) was considered to be the most suitable research framework to explore the nexus of local practices. Insights from public policy studies that critique traditional perception of government as a unified and powerful actor and talk about a multifaceted arena of policymaking, were also useful (section 1.1). In addition to the investigation of policy participants, the well-established framework of textual trajectories, which captures successive recreations and uptake of texts, was judged as a useful analytical lens through which to examine textual changes and discuss them with reference to wider institutional shifts in MoEC policy design (section 1.2). These concepts were then considered in relation to Cyprus, focusing especially on Greek-Cypriot accounts of the curriculum reform. A review of a number of Greek-Cypriot studies showed an overwhelming interest around historico-ideological tensions and pedagogical developments in Greek-Cypriot education (section 1.3). It was emphasised that in conflict-ridden Cyprus, language education had always had an ethno-national mission and patriotic priorities, which had not left much room for innovative pedagogic approaches. However, these “big D” historico-ideological analyses tend to lose sight of the local practices of policy development. Having detected this gap in literature, my study aimed to shed light on the choices, actions and views of the policy actors involved in the process of the Cypriot curriculum review.

Intending to empirically capture the local practices of policymaking, **Chapter 2** described the methodological apparatus of this thesis. Combining an ethnographic perspective with linguistic textual analysis, a research model well established within the space of linguistic ethnography, allowed for investigation of the varying contexts through an examination of policy text modifications across space and time. Data collection comprised interviews with policymakers; first-hand experience; MoEC archives and policy documents. Interviewees came from various MoEC departments and held different positions in the MoEC’s hierarchy, ranging from the Minister of Education and Culture to members of the Curriculum Review Committee, members of the committee for the Greek-language syllabus, as well as teachers seconded to the
MoEC and practising teachers. My first-hand experience as a MoEC administration officer and a participant in the working group of volunteer teachers for the development of the Greek-language syllabus gave me an inside perspective of the process of the curriculum development. Interviews and first-hand experience were further complemented with analysis of archives of the policy change and comparative analysis of four versions of the Greek-language syllabus.

The empirical body of this thesis examined the micro-politics of varying perspectives, and policy actor efforts, tensions and conflicts. In doing so, the body revealed the following:

The history and currency of political ideologies influencing education policy (what Ball refers to as “context of influences”): on the basis of scholarly work, Chapter 3 (section 3.1) provided an overview of Greek-Cypriot education across two post-independence periods. It was shown that ethno-national values prevailed in the context of Greek-Cypriots’ wider priority to maintain and strengthen ideological and cultural bonds with mainland Greece. Even post-independence, the Republic of Cyprus preferred to promote Greekness, rather than invest in the construction of Cypriot citizenship. The importing of curricula and textbooks from Greece reinforced these ethno-national ideals, resulting in corresponding choices across education and language policy, such as the adoption of Standard Greek as the official language for the Greek-Cypriot community and of pedagogic practices employed in Ancient Greek teaching.

Although the language curriculum had a traditional and ethnocentric orientation until 2009 (when the development of the critical literacy pedagogy syllabus began), Greek-language textbooks reflected progressive pedagogic trends from the mid-1980s onwards. As discussed, while the Greek-language syllabus was produced in Cyprus, textbooks were developed in Greece, where, as of the 1980s, progressive ideas were topic of conversation in Greek academic institutions. By contrast, at the same time, Cyprus lacked even any tertiary education (the first university operated in 1992).

Institutional and political context of policy production (according Ball, “text production”): Chapter 3 (section 3.2) then focused on the vision of the education
policy (2004-2013), which was characterised by prominent Greek-Cypriots as “major” (Persianis, 2010), and “radical and revolutionary” (President Papadopoulos). The reform took place on a backdrop of several important political events, such as the Cyprus Republic’s EU accession and the opening up of cooperation opportunities between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots. Greek-Cypriot scholars emphasised that these political developments created demands to strengthen Cypriot citizenship as a standalone identity, away from Hellenocentric nationalism.

This chapter examined three key policy reform documents: The Education Reform Committee’s 2004 report; the 2008 “text of principles” of the Curriculum Review Committee; and the 2010 Greek-language syllabus. These key curriculum documents envisioned a major shift from ethno-national ideals towards the construction of a civic-based, post-nationalist and democratic vision for Greek-Cypriot education. They also provisioned changes for the mission and philosophy of education, by emphasising critical social issues (e.g. exclusion, poverty) and community-boosting virtues, such as cooperation, active citizenship and inclusion. The Greek-language syllabus in particular, which was intended to have a central role in the entire curriculum review, proposed a radical approach to language education. Not only did it promote active citizenship and democratic social inclusion, it also had an empowering and revolutionary agenda, seeking to cultivate students’ critical voice and resistance towards dominant and hegemonic ideologies (including Hellenocentrism). The aforementioned shifts in the philosophy and mission of education were attempted through novel approaches to literacy education, which also proposed sweeping changes around pedagogical practices. At the same time the syllabus also rejected many of MoEC-established and traditional practices and choices, such as the long-standing policy of using a single textbook across schools, and the centrally-designed assessment processes for teachers and students.

**Practices of policy production**: responding to Ball’s call for education policy research that looks at the multiple voices of policy participants, the main body of my empirical chapters explored the local practices of the curriculum review. Focusing on the policy production process, I zoomed into policy actors and discussed their role, actions and choices, as well as negotiations among different MoEC groups and departments around the curriculum review. Overall, the two empirical chapters (4
and 5) revealed discrepancies between the government’s vision for an inclusive, bottom-up and participatory policymaking process, and tensions between local policy groups and the ultimate weak participation of volunteer teachers.

**Chapter 4** opened the empirical examination of policy practices with a discussion on the participation of MoEC-based policy actors in the curriculum review. Having adopted a historical ethnographic lens which can reveal some of the untold stories behind the texts, this chapter attempted to shed light on the backstage processes of the curriculum review that lay beyond official policy intentions. Examples of established MoEC policy actors being sidelined, such as teachers’ trade unions, showed that the curriculum review involved institutional tensions among MoEC policy groups based on who was more likely to support the vision for a new policy.

Analysis of MoEC archives and interviews with policymakers revealed that inspectors were excluded from the syllabus development process, despite being among the longest-standing and most prestigious groups of MoEC actors. It was suggested that they were regarded as representing established and traditional MoEC structures, and therefore they would not have the expertise or the willingness to support a radical curriculum change. However, all sorts of paradoxes arose when inspectors were invited to support the new policy during the implementation stage: they had to contribute to the policy dissemination, without having been informed of its philosophy beforehand, and without sharing the same level of enthusiasm as the policy actors who had created it. In contrast to inspectors, some of their supervisees, such as teachers seconded to the MoEC, were fully involved in the syllabus production from the beginning.

Tensions between policy participants were further illustrated in **Chapter 5**, which focused on the development process of the Greek-language syllabus. This chapter examined and discussed the actions of academics and volunteer teachers, therefore shedding light on the new policy actors, who were outside the central administration of the MoEC. The main idea that emerged was that tensions were not only associated with political affiliations and ideological conflicts, despite that fact that political parties do have a tendency to intervene in the policy process. Tensions also concerned individual conflicts between key policy actors whose views, and possibly agendas, differed regarding whose model on education policy should prevail.
One manifestation of the aforementioned micro-political game was disagreements among CRC members over the makeup and operation of the syllabus committees: ultimately the CRC chairman’s preference for open and flexible policymaking prevailed. As a result, the creation of an autonomous space allowed the Greek-language committee to develop a radical syllabus, which put forward major changes concerning the mission of Greek-Cypriot education (critical resistance towards hegemony) as well as school practices (e.g. removal of the single-textbook policy; introduction of the Greek-Cypriot dialect in the Greek-Cypriot school). These novel ideas for the Greek-language subject mainly reflected the committee academics’ vision for literacy education. Despite good intentions towards an inclusive as well as bottom-up process of policymaking, the voices of volunteer teachers were shouted down by the experts’ perspectives. Based on my first-hand experience, interviews as well as scholarly work, volunteer teachers of the Greek-language syllabus were presented with a pre-determined approach to critical literacy pedagogy. Although the academic committee held meetings with volunteer teachers, the creation of the syllabus was not ultimately a common, participatory project. Therefore, there was an important discrepancy between the original vision for a participatory policymaking process and the prevalence of the experts’ view on the creation of the Greek-language syllabus.

The empirical research was concluded in Chapter 6, which looked at the textual and linguistic processes involved in the creation of the Greek-language syllabus. Textual analysis—also informed by policymaker interviews and my own experience—showed an academic orientation in the formal characteristics of the Greek-language syllabus. The committee academics became aware of the technical difficulties presented in the course of the syllabus development, and as a result drafted an accompanying glossary, in which they explained terms drawn from (socio-/applied) linguistics, semiotics, literacy studies and discourse studies. The difficulty of the syllabus was also highlighted by the CRC chairman. When I interviewed Tsiakalos, he specifically explained that he intervened to ask that the syllabus be made more easy-to-read for the general public. After having shown the technical orientation of the syllabus, the second part of this chapter looked at the shifts across the syllabus versions. Drawing on the well-established framework of textual trajectories and related concepts from linguistic anthropology, this chapter examined typological
modifications across four versions, and revealed an attempt from the academics to gradually downplay the academic style. These efforts towards a more inclusive syllabus can be attributed to the pressure felt by the CRC to closely monitor the syllabus development process and end the flexibility that was initially foreseen.

The next section discusses some of the findings which arose in the empirical analysis or emanated from my personal experience of the curriculum review, and gives an overview of the contributions of this thesis. Given that Greek-language policy has since been revised twice, such a discussion can illuminate aspects of the education policy that often are not taken into consideration by policymakers.

### 7.2 Contribution of thesis findings

Having summarised the main findings, this section reflects on the more general significance of some of the points that emerged in this thesis. In particular, it pulls together some themes that appeared across the empirical chapters and discusses the ways in which they can provide further insight in different fields. I will first discuss the contribution of my study to Cypriot studies (7.2.1), followed by a further focus on methodological ideas (section 7.2.2).

#### 7.2.1 Enriching research into Greek-Cypriot education policy

Based on the above synopsis, as well as the more detailed investigation and discussion of the points arising in the thesis chapters, my study seeks primarily to contribute to Greek-Cypriot studies, specifically those on Greek-language education. Employing Ball’s conceptualisation of policy as an ongoing process of interpretations and negotiations but enriching it with a linguistic analysis, I recognised a gap in the education studies and provided the first ethnographic-and-linguistic study of the policy development in Greek-Cypriot education.

More specifically, my study provided detailed empirical accounts of historical, institutional, peopled and textual processes that reflected on the overwhelming focus by Greek-Cypriot scholars on text-based analyses of ideologico-political processes of education policy. The investigation of such broad ideologies cannot be ignored in education policies, especially when a radical curriculum review seeks to move education policy away from the previous ethno-national ideology, as in the case of Cyprus. I argued however that the Greek-Cypriot curriculum review involved more
than widely circulating ideologies. Building on an emerging tradition of Greek-
Cypriot policy analysis exemplified by Theodorou et al. (2017), my study employed
ethnographic epistemology and provided analysis of the local practices of policy
actors involved in the development of the Greek-language policy. Nevertheless, it
took forward Theodorou et al.’s work by going beyond the examination of teachers’
views and experiences of the curriculum review. Viewing policy as a “continuing
process involving many hands”, as Collebatch notes (2005: p.21), I examined the
nexus of negotiations and tensions among diverse MoEC policy actors engaged in
the process of the curriculum review.

In order to do so, I took forward the methodological apparatus of the Greek-Cypriot
policy analysis. First, I combined four tools of data collection (archival research,
policy documents, interviews and first-hand experience), thus enriching the usual
methods of interviews and policy documents employed in policy investigation (e.g.
Theodorou et al., 2017; see also Kontovourki & Ioannidou, 2013; Kontovourki &
Poyiadji, 2017). By employing multiple data, I managed to reveal backstage
processes of the policy reform, such as the sidelining of inspectors and the enhanced
role of seconded teachers. These behind-the-scenes events would be more difficult to
detect by only using interviews, especially when these are conducted with elites.
According to Harvey, elites tend to “control an interview” and in this way they are
not willing to reveal much about their workplace (2011: p.439). Overall, adopting an
ethnographic perspective and a multi-dimensional approach to data collection
revealed tensions over policy issues found in local micro-political negotiations and
personal disputes among MoEC policy actors. Such conflicts as the one described
had an important impact in the progress of the policy promotion (e.g. traditional
policy actors were pushed aside and in the course of the policy implementation
became less willing to embrace the new policy) and therefore should be taken into
serious consideration in policy analysis.

Second, my study introduced a linguistic angle in the analytical framework of policy
change. With tools from applied linguistics on academic writing and genre-related
aspects, I explored choices in technical vocabulary, syntax and the structural design
of the introduction of the Greek-language syllabus, which revealed a predominantly
academic style of writing. Theodorou et al.’s study showed the volunteer teachers’
experience of being sidelined in the course of the curriculum review despite the initial official rhetoric for bottom-up policy. My study however went one step further; not only did it shed light on the teachers’ reception of the new policy, but it also focused on the artefact itself: the syllabus was written in a genre and style which differs from what most teachers were familiar with compared to their everyday work at school. In this way, my study showed the constraints imposed by textual choices, which have been ignored by Greek-Cypriot studies.

7.2.2 Methodological considerations in education policy research: linguistic analysis in textual trajectories

The preceding section described the methodological contributions of my study to Cyprus literature. In this section I discuss how the methodological combination of an ethnographic investigation of policy processes with linguistic (and textual) analysis can also have implications for general education policy studies. I will argue that the use of the framework of textual trajectories can enrich Ball’s methodological apparatus.

In chapter 1 (section 1.1.1) we saw that Ball and his colleagues provided detailed accounts of the ways in which policy texts are recreated and enacted into school practice. In this way, they moved policy analysis from a text-centred orientation to the arena of struggles and negotiations of policy actors. Although they examined in detail the agentive practices in the policy texts interpretations performed by teachers (and other mid-level educators), the policy enactment researchers do not equally explore the nexus of practices and negotiations involved in the process of textual development. Texts are examined, in order to explain the discrepancies between “readings” of texts by different policy actors (Ball et al., 2012: p.15), rather than to reflect on the process of their creation.

In this thesis I drew on linguistic tools to investigate the practices and choices of policymakers in the development of the Greek-language syllabus, as well as how these evolved over time. I found that linguistic and textual choices (in vocabulary, syntax and compositional structure as outlined in section 7.2.1) reflect an academic orientation and thus provide “limited possibilities for interpretation”—to reference Ball et al. (2012: p.15). While the latter note that “policy texts are normally written to be authoritative” (ibid), they do not explain which attributes are linked to the
notion of authority. Is authority connected solely with governmental policy? With reference to the Greek-language syllabus the answer is no. In this case, authority was connected to the dominance of academic voices, despite the fact that their intentions were in the service of a democratic agenda/principles.

Does the syllabus reflect struggles among different voices over the production of the syllabus or was it authoritative from the beginning to the end? By employing the framework of “textual trajectories” (and related concepts from linguistic anthropology), which captures the dynamic and processual aspect of texts (Lillis and Maybin, 2017: p.410), I managed to shed light on the negotiations among academics and volunteer teachers within the course of syllabus development: reconfigurations of linguistic-textual choices across successive textual versions indeed showed a recognition by the academics that the syllabus contained elements difficult for teachers to decipher (e.g. technical vocabulary) and revealed efforts towards a more inclusive and easy-to-read syllabus.

Overall, I argue that education policy research could go beyond investigating the ways in which teachers interpret texts; or the “resources” that they draw upon “in making their ‘readings’ and interpretations”, as Ball et al. underline (2012: p.15). Also, identifying the key policy actors behind the policy texts, and analysing their “agendas and influences” in the course of the policy development could help illuminate not only “how policies become ‘live’ and get enacted (or not) in schools” (ibid: p.1), but also the reasons ‘why’ some policies are ultimately enacted and others not. With reference to the Greek-language syllabus, one of the reasons that it was not embraced by teachers was the way it was written, which constrained the enactment of the policy in schools and limited its implementation into educational practice.

**7.3 Reflections on policy production and education policy research**

In the thesis summary, as well as in the more detailed presentation within the empirical chapters, I emphasised that policy analysis should go beyond the official level of policymaking and give a local view of the backstage processes. Some of these processes might be useful for future policy reforms and policy research projects and they are further discussed in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2. This section also outlines some suggestions for future research in section 7.3.3.
7.3.1 Policymaking in small states

My study looked at the negotiations of MoEC’s competing policy agents and discussed the role of key individuals in policy developments. It revealed many instances of tensions among policy groups: i.e. inspectors and the CRC; volunteer teachers and the Greek language syllabus academics, thus showing a complex arena of policymaking, what Gale refers to as “politics of policy production” (1999: p.394).

In addition, this thesis went beyond the investigation of inter-group tensions to explore disputes among members of the same policy group. For example, drawing on retrospective interviews with CRC members, I tried to investigate the differing views over the operation of the CRC and makeup of the syllabus committees. The role of the CRC’s Chairman emerged as decisive, both as to the ultimate direction of the policymaking philosophy, as well as the decision to appoint Greek-language academics of his choice.

The above and related examples regarding the influential role of individuals (i.e. seconded teachers connected through personal relations with key MoEC actors) are firmly situated in the Cypriot context, which is characterised by “smallness” and “familiarity” (Theodorou et al., 2017). According to relevant literature, the public domain of small countries operates amidst “highly personalised relationships” (Farrugia & Attard, 1989). Sultana discusses how this proximity between people has implications on the administrative structure and the achievement of meritocracy:

“The strong, communal rather than associational bonds of relationships that exist among community members in small states exert a lot of pressure on administrators when it comes to filling vacancies...Here, the pressures that are exerted due to close-knit interpersonal and family networks may prevail over the adoption of more transparent, meritocratic and objective systems of staff selection and performance management. Of course, similar problems do arise in larger societies. However, they tend to be more common in small states because of the relatively fewer jobs that are available.” (2006: pp.27-28).

Therefore, when engaged in policy development processes or investigating education policy in the small state of Cyprus, policymakers and policy researchers should take into consideration the multiple familial and personal relationships of the people involved in the policymaking process. Based on interviews with the four key
academics (the CRC chairman and the three of the Greek-language syllabus), I got the impression that they had underestimated this aspect. These actors came from mainland Greece (with two not even based in Cyprus), where proximity issues tend to be less intense. With their limited personal network, maybe it was more difficult for them to discern the full picture of the personal ties and micro-politics involved.

7.3.2 Cypriot education policy reform: the Greek academics’ influence

Having referred to the potential of individuals’ influence on policy reform, I now focus on a related topic, the decisive role of the aforementioned four key academics in the development of the Greek-language policy. Across the empirical chapters (3 to 6), this thesis showed that Tsiakalos (the CRC Chairman) and the three academics of the Greek-language syllabus were the initiators of the construction of critical literacy pedagogy. Tsiakalos insisted on a committee that would be able to change the paradigm of the Greek-language policy, from a (classical) philological orientation and its related practices (i.e. decontextualised grammar teaching) to a more contemporary linguistic view. He also advocated for a flexible process of syllabus development, where he managed to provide a free space to the Greek-language academics to create a radically different Greek-language syllabus.

The Greek-language academics, in turn, conceptualised novel ideas which were, as Ioannidou underlines, “for some educators, revolutionary” (2012: p.12). The three academics put forward a range of shifts concerning the philosophy and practice of the Greek language subject (e.g. development of students’ critical stance; introduction of multiple texts sourced from the students’ everyday experience and removal of the uniform use of a single textbook), resulting in the development of an almost unique, ‘Cypriot’ model of critical literacy pedagogy. The academic orientation was also evident in the strong technical vocabulary of the syllabus, its syntactic choices and the introduction’s compositional structure.

On the basis of the above, Cypriot language education switched from a rather traditional to a very modern and radical approach, without allowing teachers and other educators to experience a gradual development of this paradigm change. It was suggested that one of the problems for this abrupt transition was the lack of Cyprus-based academic tradition on issues of Greek-language teaching, as the first university in Cyprus only began operating in 1992. This was not the case for the three
academics, who, all being of mainland Greek origin, were drawing on concepts and ideas that had already proliferated in both the mainland Greek universities and, to some extent, schools over the past four decades\textsuperscript{200}. Therefore, although the Greek language syllabus academics probably had good intentions in introducing the latest and more modern ideas and concepts to language education, they were perhaps not well informed or they had not realised how these would be received and fit in the Greek-Cypriot context\textsuperscript{201}. Koutsogiannis maintains that this is a common issue with the Greek academy, explaining that “international trends are not located [by their introducers] into the [Greek] historical context, resulting in them being locally reproduced in a superficial way” (2017: p.346), a tendency that has been characterised by Christidis (1999) as “shallow cosmopolitanism”.

The above mismatch between good intentions from the part of academics, and more complex local practices led me to question the role of academia in projects concerning policy change. Should academic interventions impose specific ways of looking at language education, even if their intentions are premised on democratic principles? Following Philippou et al. (2013) who examined the 2008-2010 effort to grant flexibility to teachers and putting forth the question: “can autonomy be imposed”, I surmised that perhaps when radical, critical models and approaches favouring empowerment are abruptly integrated into official policy, they might be felt as an imposition.

Rampton et al. discuss a similar case, where academically-driven initiatives were used to promote “democratic participation”, “voice” and “heterogeneity of linguistic resources” in South Africa (2018: p.24). According to Rampton et al.:

\begin{quote}
“Sociolinguists can’t predict or ‘scientifically’ assess the effects produced by practical initiatives promoting Linguistic Citizenship, and obviously, the more there are and the longer they last, the harder this gets (even though the expansion
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{200} Progressive language teaching approaches of the 1990s (i.e. communication approach) and 2000s (i.e. genre-based) were known to secondary school teachers, through seminars on language textbooks and joint projects with university academics.

\textsuperscript{201} For example, Hadjisavvides (Greek-language academic) explained during his interview that he was under the impression that the Greek-Cypriot dialect “dominated” standard Greek usage at schools, and this was one of the reasons that he agreed with Tsiplakou (Greek-language academic) to introduce the dialect in schools. However, he reviewed his impression, when he visited Greek-Cypriot schools and realised that dialect use was not that dominant.
would itself be welcomed). Finding the resources and institutional space to run these initiatives also takes hard graft and tactical planning.... To these, Linguistic Citizenship – or in the UK, ‘Sociolinguistic Citizenship’ – adds the need to strengthen democratic participation with political and educational efforts tuned to the significance of language. Of course, each of these concepts can and should be interrogated, unpacked, refined, applied and compared, in and against different frameworks and situations, and this is grist to the academic/non-academic collaboration” (ibid).

One of the emphases put forward by Rampton et al. above is the need to develop academic initiatives that promote democratic empowerment and participation. But it is equally necessary for concepts and ideas to be locally reworked and recreated, and this should especially be the case when these are sourced from completely different contexts and locations. The Greek context especially, as Koutsogiannis (2017) underlines, lacks discussions on the local contextualisation of international trends into the local context, which has implications for the design of a long-term and sustainable policy reform.

Therefore, what is crucial is the “academic/non-academic collaboration” (Rampton et al., 2018) and more bottom-up informed policy changes, by integrating reflective and informed examination of teachers’ views and practices, because otherwise even the most radical policies run the risk of remaining at the level of good intentions.

7.3.3 Suggestions for further research

Having described the contributions of this thesis, this section refers to potential avenues of research in Greek-language education that might be worth investigating:

- **Research on media discourses:** newspaper articles and interviews have been used on the periphery of this thesis, mostly employed as a resource to inform the process of the curriculum review and investigate the views and the role of the policy actors. Further research in this arena could be useful to analyse the reactions of diverse policy actors to the new policy, and to illuminate negotiations between policymakers and public.

- **Research on the implementation of the Greek-language syllabus:** as my thesis has illuminated the formulation stage of the Greek-language policy, future
research could examine the implementation of critical literacy policy and consider the links between the two stages. Following Sidney’s (2016) suggestion that policy design can reveal how the implementation process might be promoted, comparing the policy development and its implementation could shed light on the complexity of education reforms and perhaps provide more suggestions for future policy changes. An investigation of the ways in which students’ narratives and everyday literacy practices form part of the language lesson must be of particular interest.\footnote{202 Much literature has been developed in Greece especially on the digital literacy practices of students and their critical examination in school-developed projects (e.g. Archakis, 2016; Archakis & Tsakona, 2010).}

7.4 Post-2010 developments

This final section provides a brief account of the developments in the policy change which took place after the publication of the syllabi. It seeks to tune the discussion to the implementation stage of the curriculum review and to reflect on the promotion of radical policies in literacy education.

After the publication of the syllabi in September 2010, the MoEC began implementing the new policy. From the 2010/11 school year and until 2013, the leftist government of AKEL took a series of steps to disseminate the new policy, while from 2013 onwards the rise to power of a right-wing party and president led to new important changes to education policy. I first refer to how in-service teachers responded to the new policy (7.4.1) and I then discuss changes in the official policy bodies (7.4.2). Both sections reflect the vulnerable nature of education policy reform, as it is subject to continuous changes, tensions and modifications.

7.4.1 The Greek-language policy implementation: teacher responses

In the 2010/11 and 2011/12 school years, the syllabi were only partially implemented, in order to provide the policymakers with feedback that could form the basis of potential modifications (MoEC, 2010b). The initial plan was that the Greek-language policy would guide teachers from the 2011/12 school year onwards, but this was moved to the following school year after the intervention of OELMEK, the
In this transitional period, secondary school teachers were able to choose whether to introduce aspects of the new policy in their teaching. Ultimately, the Greek-language syllabus was never fully introduced into secondary education, as the next government decided to halt its implementation. This means that it is not possible to comprehensively investigate the policy in practice.

However, a number of Greek-Cypriot studies have looked at teachers’ views. Kontovourki and Ioannidou (2013) used interviews to examine primary school teachers’ perceptions, practices and stances towards the syllabus. Their study showed varying “concerns” and “(mis)interpretations”, ranging from an inability to talk about critical literacy; to attributing non-ideological dimensions to critical literacy. Teachers who were confused or reluctant to embrace the new policy, attributed their negative stance to a lack of sufficient training, especially since the syllabus introduced many changes into the teaching practice (e.g. replacement of textbooks with material produced by teachers, self-assessment of students). Moreover, Kontovourki and Poyiadji (2014), who investigated the reactions of 94 teachers to the new syllabus, attributed the widespread negative feeling to professional insecurity, due to the teachers’ lack of sufficient expertise to implement such a novel approach.

7.4.2 Changes in the policy bodies: Tsiakalos leaves Cyprus

Apart from the aforementioned concerns and problems expressed by in-service teachers, tensions were observed at the higher policymaking level. The most important development was the disagreement between Tsiakalos and the MoEC, leading the former to leave Cyprus. This conflict was not a matter of opposition between ideological groups, but people of the same political party struggling over whose voice should be heard. This development further discusses the importance of the micro-political conflicts and tensions within the small state of Cyprus.

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203 According to the portal Paideia News (www.paideia-news.com), the teachers’ union explained to the central committee for the curriculum review that the teachers reported several problems associated with the many innovations of the new policy, especially the lack of specific textbooks.

204 Kontovourki and Ioannidou explained this reluctance as part of “their habitus and their established positioning as recipients in a hierarchically structured educational system, such as that of Cyprus” (2013: p.104).
Specifically, after the publication of the syllabi in September 2010, Tsiakalos’ role shifted from CRC Chairman to a MoEC advisor, although he had proposed to the MoEC to assign him as the lead in a wider committee of academics. The MoEC decided to replace the CRC with a MoEC-based committee mainly consisting of bureaucrats and other officials, in order to promote the policy implementation. Tsiakalos attributes this choice to political intervention:

**Extract 7.1**

**Tsiakalos:** “At some point in 2010 [the Ministry] felt they had to intervene and they did not accept this logic, that everything was a continuation and consequence of the previous policy...What we did in the reform which went well, with parents, etc., was this thing. The tragic thing was that the government stopped it because they thought that now that it has gone in this direction, we can intervene”. *(Interview with Tsiakalos, 26/2/2013)*

The main reason for this intervention was the public controversy provoked around the development of school timetables. Tsiakalos had chosen to first promote the curriculum review and then deal with the timetables. As a matter of fact, the consultation process for this reform started only a few months before the partial implementation of the syllabi during the 2010/11 school year. This choice caused some practical problems and provoked reactions from the part of the teachers’ unions: going by the old timetable, there were insufficient teaching hours/per week for the new syllabi of several subjects.

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205 Tsiakalos explained the background of him changing role and status in his follow-up interview:

“I had asked [from the Minister] to make a larger committee, to include more people [...] or to end the previous committee [CRC], the small one, but to be replaced by a bigger one, which would work with smaller ones along with the inspectors. This did not happen, although I had also given names, and they told me ‘ok you come alone to the committee” *(Interview, 13/6/2017)*

206 A weekly timetable is the program of each subject for each grade per week, including such aspects as the allocation of periods/ per week. Among all the practical and administration-related issues, the development of new school timetables (especially for secondary education) provoked the most controversial reactions, given that until the end of the process of the curricula development (March 2013), MoEC and Secondary Education had not come to an agreement for a new timetable on the basis of the new syllabi. This caused many problems at schools, since teachers were asked to implement the new syllabi, but following the old timetables, that were produced to serve other needs. The MoEC and the trade unions of teachers were engaged in much controversy for two main reasons: i. ideological (e.g. reduction in the periods of the subject of the Greek language provoked many reactions especially from right-wing parties and affiliated teachers organisations); and ii. antagonisms among associations of different subject-matters over the number of periods per week for each subject-matter. According to Curriculum Assessment Committee’s report, “each group [for the production of syllabi] worked as if the school timetable would only serve the purposes of their own subject-matter” *(MoEC, 2014: p.132).*
Drawing on interviews with policymakers, it is evident that Tsiakalos received much criticism for not having coordinated the development of the syllabi in tandem with that of the timetables. Tsiakalos provides another explanation about his decision to leave Cyprus at the end of 2010. In 2017, after our follow-up interview, he e-mailed me a report that he had sent to the MoEC at the end of June 2013, i.e. four months after the change of government. In the report, he describes his actions regarding the timetables and his decision to engage teachers’ unions in the consultation process. He emphasises that he did something novel: he did not communicate with the boards of the teachers’ unions, but went directly to the various subject associations. This choice provoked a reaction from the members of the boards, specifically, a fear of being undermined. Tsiakalos in his interview emphasised an interesting statement that underlines the role of individuals, as opposed to diverse ideological groups, in the process of the Cypriot policymaking:

**Extract 7.2**

*Tsiakalos: “Most people think that education reform stopped, because the opponents [i.e. the other political parties] did not want it. The truth is that it stopped in 2010 when the President of the Republic did not accept to change the timetables”. (Interview with Tsiakalos, 13/6/2017)*

According to Tsiakalos, it was the representatives from teacher unions that disagreed with the proposals he made. Acknowledging that I do not have a complete idea of what happened, since Tsiakalos’ description is only one of the narratives, I must nevertheless highlight that the issue strays into the territory of complex power struggles. What is interesting is that both parties to the conflict, namely the AKEL party and Tsiakalos were both leftist, and the President of the former had appointed the latter. Tsiakalos attributes this controversy between himself and the government to micro-political conflicts, emanating from the traditional players” (e.g. the board of teachers’ unions) desire to assert their positions. In contrast, Tsiakalos considered it important to retain his independence and autonomy in the context of policy-making, which did not mesh well with the traditional, centralised structures of governance. This was explicitly stressed in an interview he gave to a mainland Greek website in March 2010. When he was asked the reasons why he had refused proposals from the Greek government to undertake curriculum reform in Greece, Tsiakalos referred to the lack of autonomy in Greece, contrary to what had experienced in Cyprus:
“In Cyprus it was obvious from day one that the committee, which was appointed by the President of the Republic and the cabinet, would function completely independently from the government... one of the recent proposals for radical changes in primary school includes the reduction of teaching hours for teachers by two hours a week. This reduction is achieved without additional costs through the other changes we made in school. To reach this decision, we did not have to go through arrangements with the Minister of Education or the Minister of Finance —it will be officially approved by the government of course, but this is actually part of our mission”207.

7.4.3 Rejection of the critical literacy syllabus

In the presidential elections of 2013, Anastasiades, from the right-wing political party of DISY, replaced the leftist president, Christofias. A few months before the governmental change, while political certainty about Christofias imminent defeat grew, structures of Greek-Cypriot society that had traditionally been connected to the Hellenocentric political ideology started publicly questioning the critical literacy syllabus. The Greek Orthodox Church, one of the most important carriers of Hellenocentric ideology in Cyprus took action six months after the elections and upon the launch of the 2013/14 school year. Archbishop Chrysostomos sent a message across Orthodox Churches concerning the introduction of the dialect, asking the clergy to be read following the Sunday service:

“Our concerns are focused today on the Greek-language syllabus, which has already been implemented. It is our belief that the language subject should focus on the effective teaching of Standard Modern Greek. Instead, the syllabus focuses more on our local variety. And something even more serious: it does not refer at all which linguistic variety is the official one and which is not! This is closely connected to what we have pointed out in one of our older circulars, that is, to the attempt, which is evident lately to turn our local variety into an official language! If this attempt succeeds, our unified Greek language will be disrupted, and at the same time alongside the Greek language a ‘Cypriot language’ will be created, which will be Greek- derived (c.f. the Latin-derived languages), but it will not be Greek! And since language is one of the most important factors for

the development of the national consciousness, a ‘Cypriot national consciousness’ will be developed, which will be clearly distinct from the Greek national consciousness” (Archbishop Chrysostomos, 15/9/2013; my translation; exclamation marks in the original).

In the excerpt of the Archbishop’s message above, we see that the introduction of the dialect is associated with issues of Greek-Cypriot collective identification. The assumption is that the official recognition of the dialect in Greek-Cypriot schools is part of an orchestrated plan for the establishment of a local “Cypriot national consciousness”, which aspires to replace the Hellenocentric consciousness of the Greek-Cypriots. The message emphasises that the syllabus seeks to make this shift through the creation of a “Cypriot language”, by upgrading the Greek-Cypriot dialect to a national language. The dialect is presented as a threat to the Greek language, although it is widely accepted that it belongs to the Greek dialects. This reaction can be better understood if we take into account that Standard Greek has been diachronically perceived as an important pillar of Greekness and therefore the introduction of the vernacular was taken as a mechanism for an ideological shift from an ethnocentric emphasis to a local Cypriot orientation.

The government immediately responded to the Archbishop’s circular on the same day, despite the fact that it was a Sunday. The Minister released a circular, in which he saluted the “keen and continuous interest of the Church of Cyprus in educational issues”. He also announced the formation of new committees that would have the mandate to review the ‘sensitive’ subjects’ syllabi, that is, the Greek-language, Religious Education and History (circular, Ministry of Education and Culture, 15/9/2013). With regard to the language education, he underlined that “our policy targets the excellent command of Standard Modern Greek” (ibid) and announced important changes in the Greek-language policy in education, which marked a departure from the 2010 critical literacy pedagogy. The Minister’s announcement added:

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208 See appendix 5.3 for the original document.

209 The abolition of Systemic Functional Grammar and the return to a rather traditional grammar teaching; the rejection of critical literacy pedagogy; and the return of the Greek-language textbooks (imported from Greece) were some of the shifts decided about the pedagogical practice.
“On the basis of the above, we think that we have already taken serious decisions and we have put in track changes that constitute a different image in relation to those that had been applied up until now” (Minister of Education and Culture, 15/9/2013, my translation).210

It is evident that the public debate re-animated general ideological conflicts (e.g. the relationship between standard Greek and the local dialect, and Hellenocentric vs. Cypriocentric identity). Of course, every policy change has supporters and opponents, and in the conflict-ridden context of Cyprus it is inevitable that policy participants would be concerned about the ideological dimension. However, the local processes of policymaking and the role of policy actors were again not taken into consideration. It is notable that the Minister’s answer does not make reference to other aspects, practical issues, pedagogical innovations nor the teachers’ reactions to the introduction of critical literacy pedagogy. The 2010 Greek-language syllabus was erased with a single circular and the language education policy was subject again to wide-ranging changes.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Terminological clarification

“Curriculum”- “syllabus”: for readers of Greek, as well as English

For Greek readers it is important to define the terms “curriculum” and “syllabus”, since they are largely elusive. I draw on Philippou (2014), who has provided a comprehensive account of how the term is conceptualised, translated and evolved through two historical periods in Cyprus (under the colonial rule [1887-1960]; and post-independence [1960). In particular, Greek scholars have used the term in diverse ways (for an overview see Tsopanoglou, 2000; Vrettos & Kapsalis, 2011). The fluidity of the concept is amplified in the Greek language in the way it is translated and associated with other related concepts, such as syllabus, analytical programs, programs of study, both in the official curricular documents and in scholarly literature (e.g. Dendrinos & Ksohellis, 1999).

The key curricular documents of the 2008-2013 curriculum review used the term “analytical programme”. The 2008 “text of principles” was entitled “Analytical Programme for the Public Schools of the Republic of Cyprus” and it contained the rationale and the principles of the curriculum review process, at the heart of which lie political questions about the future society, the role of education and how the educated person will be in the future (MoEC, 2008: pp.10-11). The 2010 curriculum documents (including the Greek-language subject) were also named as “Analytical programmes of pre-elementary, elementary and secondary education”, although they were officially referred as “programmes of study”. These contained “rationale, aims and objectives, content, methodology, evaluation sections and, in some syllabi, standards and success indicators” (Philippou, 2014: p.93), which characterise ‘new-type’ curriculum documents (ibid).

It is evident that the two key curricular documents of the 2008-2010 are different in function and scope, with the first marking the more general principles and the second referring to separate subjects, yet they use the same term “analytical programme(s)”. For purposes of clarity, I follow Dendrinos and Ksohellis, who refer to curricular documents with wide-range objectives as “school program of study” (attributing the English “school curriculum”), and to subject-specific programs as “program of study
of x subject” (attributing the English “syllabus”) (1999: p.79), and I am referring to the two key curricular documents of the 2008-2010 Curriculum Review process as:

- the “text of principles” of the CRC is described as curriculum, since this term contains the general foundations of the policy change;
- the Greek-language syllabus, as the term syllabus is associated with a particular subject211.

211 A further note is worth making regarding the term curriculum and how I use it. In the Anglo-American tradition this is mainly used to describe a field that is organised on the basis of the question “Which (and for some whose) knowledge is of most worth” [and thus the question of what must be taught] (Gundem & Hopmann, 2002, as cited by Philippou, 2014:86). This tradition is often compared to the continental European (bildung-influenced didaktik), which emphasises the question of “What will the pupil become” [and thus how should the pupil be shaped] has been most influential” (ibid). However, in this thesis I do not go into much detail about the ways in which the curriculum is treated in the different traditions and I am using it in a more general way which include both emphases.
## Appendix 2: Archival data

### 2.1 Summarising table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correspondence</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Letter from OELMEK (teachers’ union of secondary education) to the Minister of Education and Culture | “Curriculum committee”  
[Επιτροπή Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων] | 26/9/2008 |
| 2. Note from MoEC Departments to the Permanent Secretary                      | “Establishment of a Scientific Committee to develop new analytical and timetable programs for 10-year compulsory education”  
[Σύσταση επιστημονικής επιτροπής για τη διαμόρφωση νέων αναλυτικών και ορολόγιων προγραμμάτων για 10χρονή υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση] | 4/2/2008 |
| 3. Letter from the inspectors’ association to the Minister of Education and Culture | “Curricula of Secondary Education”  
[Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης] | 29/1/2009 |
| 4. Reply from the Minister of Education and Culture to the inspectors’ association | [Minister’s reply to Inspectors]  
[Απάντηση Υπουργού σε Επιθεωρητές] | 5/2/2009 |
| 5. Letter from Tsiakalos (CRC chairman) to the Directors of a) primary, b) secondary and c) technical and vocational education, | Curriculum Review Committee  
[Επιτροπή Διαμόρφωσης Νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων] | 20/10/2009 |
| 6. Reply from the Minister of Education and Culture to the inspectors’ association | “Inspectors association’s letter regarding the new type of High school”  
[Επιστολή κλάδου επιθεωρητών αναφορικά με το νέο τύπο Λυκείου] | 29/10/2009 |
| 7. Note from the Director of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute to | “Offices of the Curriculum Review officers at the Pedagogical Institute” | 24/4/2012 |
8. Note from the Director of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute to the Minister of Education and Culture

“Suggestions of the Pedagogical Institute for the promotion of Curricula”

[Στέγαση λειτουργών ΝΑΠ στο Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο]

[Εισηγήσεις Παιδαγωγικού Ινσtitουτου για τη συνέχιση της προώθησης των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων]

13/3/2013

2.2 Original archival material

2.2.1 Letter from OELMEK to the MoEC

OELMEK
Οργάνωση Ελλήνων Λειτουργών
Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης Κύπρου

Υπουργό Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού
κ. Ανδρέα Δημητρίου

Θέμα: Επιτροπή Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων

Έντιμε κύριε Υπουργέ,

Η Οργάνωσή μας εκφράζει την έντονη δυσαρέσκειά της για τον αποκλεισμό των Εκπαιδευτικών Οργανώσεων από την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή για τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα. Θεωρούμε ότι η απόφασή σας είναι αντίθετη με την πάγια πρακτική και διαδικασία που ακολουθείτο μέχρι σήμερα στο κυπριακό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα. Μέχρι σήμερα οι εκπρόσωποι των εκπαιδευτικών οργανώσεων συμμετείχαν στον καθορισμό της φιλοσофίας, των στόχων και του περιεχομένου των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.

Δεν κατανοούμε τους λόγους για τους οποίους προχωρήσατε στην απόφαση να μη συμμετέχουν οι εκπρόσωποι των εκπαιδευτικών στην Επιτροπή αυτή. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί οι οποίοι θα κληθούν να υλοποιήσουν τα όποια αναλυτικά προγράμματα συμφωνήσαν, θα έπρεπε κατά την άποψή μας να έχουν ουσιαστικό ρόλο στην όλη προπαρασκευαστική διαδικασία.

Παρά τον αποκλεισμό της Οργάνωσής μας από την Επιτροπή των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων η OELMEK θα αναμένει να ενημερωθεί για το αποτέλεσμα και τις εισηγήσεις της Επιτροπής προς το Υπουργείο σας. Θα είμαστε τότε διατεθειμένοι να συζητήσουμε και να καταθέσουμε τις θέσεις και απόψεις μας για τους σκοπούς και τη φιλοσοφία των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.
Ευπλοίωσε, ότι δεν θα επιχειρήσετε να παρακαμψετε και πάλι τις Εκπαιδευτικές Οργανώσεις και θα παρακαθίσετε σ’ ένα ουσιαστικό και γόνιμο διάλογο με στόχο να εξασφαλίσετε τη μεγαλύτερη δυνατή συναίνεση των Εκπαιδευτικών Οργανώσεων. Θέση της Οργάνωσης μας είναι ότι, για να είμαστε δυνατή η εμπλοκή των Συνδέσμων των ειδικοτήτων της ΟΕΛΜΕΚ, θα πρέπει να προηγηθεί ο διάλογος με την ΟΕΛΜΕΚ, για να καταλήξουμε και να συμφωνήσουμε στις γενικές αρχές που θα διέπουν τη φιλοσοφία και τους σκοπούς των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων μας.

Η Πρόεδρος

Λευκωσία, 26 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008

2.2.2 Note from MoEC Departments to the Permanent Secretary

ΑΡ. ΦΑΚ.: 5.29.01/2

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

ΠΡΟΣ: ΓΔ

ΑΠΟ: ΔΜΕ, ΔΔΕ

ΗΜΕΡ.: 4 Φεβρουαρίου 2008

Θέμα: Σύσταση επιστημονικής επιτροπής για τη διαμόρφωση νέων αναλυτικών και ωρολόγιων προγραμμάτων για τη 10χρονη υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση

Η ΔΜΕ θα σας αποστείλει ονόματα ειδικών/ επιστημόνων για την πιο πάνω Επιτροπή την Τετάρτη 6/02/2008.

Για τη Μέση Εκπαίδευση το θέμα της μελλοντικής σύστασης των ομάδων εργασίας για τη συγγραφή Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων συζητήθηκε σε συνεδρία με τους ΠΛΕ και ΕΜΕ και λήφθηκε ομόφωνη απόφαση με την εξής εισήγηση:

• 2 ΕΜΕ Ειδικότητας (όπου υπάρχουν)
• 2 μάχιμοι εκπαιδευτικοί
• 2 εκπρόσωποι οργανώσεων καθηγητών του Κλάδου
• 2 Πανεπιστημιακοί
  ➢ 1 της ειδικότητας και
  ➢ 1 ειδικός για αναλυτικά προγράμματα

Με την πιο πάνω εισήγηση συμφωνεί πλήρως με τη ΔΜΕ και ο ΔΔΕ.
Κλάδος Επιθεωρητών
Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης

29 Ιανουαρίου 2009

Υπουργό Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού

ΘΕΜΑ: Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης

Σε συνάντηση που είχε το Δ.Σ. του κλάδου μας με τον Πρόεδρο της Επιτροπής αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων για την Εκπαίδευση κ. Τσιάκαλο στις 20/10/2008 αλλά και στις τελευταίες συσκέψεις που είχαμε με τα Συμβούλια Μέσης και Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης, πήραμε τη διαβεβαίωση ότι οι Επιτροπές που θα σχηματιστούν για τη διαμόρφωση των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων θα στελεχωθούν και με Επιθεωρητές, οι οποίοι θα έχουν πρωταρχικό ρόλο στην όλη διαδικασία.

Παρά τις πιο πάνω υποσχέσεις, μετά λύπης μας σας αναφέρουμε ότι έχει περιέλθει στην αντίληψή μας τον τελευταίο καιρό έντυπο του Υπουργείου Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, στο οποίο διαφαίνεται η πρόθεση του Υπουργείου να αναθέσει την υπευθυνότητα της διαμόρφωσης των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σε πανεπιστημιακούς και σε κάποιους αποσπασμένους εκπαιδευτικούς. Ως εκ τούτου, θα θέλαμε να καταθέτουμε την πρόθεσή μας να προχωρήσουμε στη λήψη δυναμικών μέτρων, στην περίπτωση που οι Επιθεωρητές Μέσης περιθωριοποιηθούν από την πιο πάνω διαδικασία.

Κύριε Υπουργέ,
Ως γνωστόν, οι Επιθεωρητές αποτελούν τη ραχοκοκκαλία της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης και η συνεισφορά τους στην Παιδεία του τόπου είναι αδιαμφισβήτητη. Ο κλάδος μας εκτιμά τις υπηρεσίες που μπορούν να προσφέρουν οι πανεπιστημιακοί στον τομέα των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων, αλλά έχουμε την απόψη ότι πιθανή παράκαμψη της πολύχρονης της ιστορίας, ή λίγος αποσπασμένος έλεγχος, θα οδηγήσει σε καταστάσεις που οι Επιθεωρητές δεν είναι πρόσωπα που θα είναι σε θέση να δίνουν την σωστή υποστήριξη προς την Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση.

Αναμένουμε ότι το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού θα λάβει πολύ σοβαρά υπόψη το αίτημα του κλάδου μας για ανάθεση προταγωνιστικού ρόλου στους Επιθεωρητές, όσον αφορά τη διαμόρφωση των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.

Γ. Ευθυμίου
(Πρόεδρος)

Ε. Κάρνου
(Γραμματέας)
Ευχαριστώ για την επιστολή σας και για την προθυμία σας να μετάσχετε στις Επιτροπές για τη δημιουργία των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων του κάθε μαθήματος. Όπως επανειλημμένα ανέφερα η κάθε Επιτροπή θα περιλάβει και επιθεωρητές.

Ανδρέας Δημητρίου
Υπουργός Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού
Επιτροπή Διαμόρφωσης Νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων

Προς
Διευθύντη Μέσης Γενικής Τεχνικής και Επαγγελματικής Εκπαίδευσης
Διευθύντηρα Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης
Διευθύντη Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης

Λευκωσία 20 Οκτωβρίου 2009

Αγαπητή συναδέλφισσα και αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι,

Κατά τη διάρκεια του όλου εγχείρηματος για διαμόρφωση νέων αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων από την προδημοτική έως και το λύκειο, είχα την πεποίθηση, την οποία γνωστοποίησα σε όλες τις συναντήσεις που είχα με οργανωμένους φορείς και σύνολα, ότι μια τέτοια διαδικασία δεν μπορεί παρά να γίνεται με τρόπο που να ενσωματώνει τις απόψεις όλων των εμπλεκόμενων και ιδιαίτερα του εκπαιδευτικού κόσμου. Γι’ αυτό το σκοπό χρησιμοποίησα επανειλημμένα τον όρο “δημόσιο εγχείρημα”.

Είναι αυτονόητο ότι σε μια τέτοια διαδικασία η άποψη των ανθρώπων που έχουν σημαντικό ρόλο να διαδραματίσουν τόσο στο Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού όσο και στα σχολεία, ρόλο εκπαιδευτικό και διοικητικό, είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική.

Απευθύνομαι λοιπόν σε εσάς ως τους επικεφαλής του σώματος εκείνου που γνωρίζετε και έχει εικόνα της πραγματικότητας στα δημόσια σχολεία και εκφράζει τις απόψεις και εμπειρίες των διοικητικών στελεχών του ΥΠΠ, για να ζητήσω την ενεργή εμπλοκή των Διευθύνσεων στη διαδικασία ολοκλήρωσης των νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων. Ως εκ τούτου θα ήθελα το συντομότερο δυνατόν να έχω μια συνάντηση μαζί σας για να συζητήσουμε τους τρόπους με τους οποίους το σώμα των Πρώτων Λειτουργών και Επιθεωρητών θα μπορούσε να συμμετάσχει ακόμα περισσότερο στη διαδικασία αυτή.

Με τους καλύτερους συναδελφικούς χαιρετισμούς.

Γιώργος Τσιάκαλος
Πρόεδρος Επιτροπής Διαμόρφωσης νέων αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων,
ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ
Υπουργός

Αρ. Φακ. 7.1.02.7
E-mail: minister@moec.gov.cy

29 Οκτωβρίου 2009

Πρόεδρο Κλάδου Επιθεωρητών Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης

Θέμα: Επιστολή Κλάδου επιθεωρητών αναφορικά με το νέο τύπο Λυκείου.

Έχω λάβει την επιστολή σας με ημερομηνία 12 Οκτωβρίου αναφορικά με το νέο τύπο Λυκείου. Το θέμα βρίσκεται ακόμη υπό συζήτηση από την Επιτροπή Διαμόρφωσης των νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων και το εν λόγω έντυπο απευθύνεται αποκλειστικά στα μέλη της. Συνεπώς η συζήτηση για το θέμα είναι πρόωρη εφόσον δεν υπάρχει διαμορφωμένη πρόταση.

Άλλωστε είναι γνωστό ότι με γραπτή οδηγία με ημερομηνία 24 Φεβρουαρίου 2009 ζήτησα να εμπλακούν οι επιθεωρητές στη διαδικασία διαμόρφωσης των νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων, συμμετέχοντας στις Επιτροπές γνωστικών αντικειμένων ή πεδίων που είχαν οριστεί. Ενδεικτικό της μεγάλης σημασίας που αποδίδω στις απόψεις των επιθεωρητών είναι το γεγονός ότι ζήτησα να λειτουργήσουν στις επιτροπές αυτές ως σύμβουλοι των συντονιστών.

Το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού έχει καταστήσει σαφές από την πρώτη στιγμή ότι η διαδικασία διαμόρφωσης νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων είναι μια ανοικτή διαδικασία που έχει ανάγκη τη συμβολή όλων των εμπλεκομένων φορέων αλλά και της κοινωνίας ευρύτερα. Τόσο εγώ όσο και η Επιτροπή Διαμόρφωσης νέων Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων είμαστε ανοικτοί στον ευκρινή εποικοδομητικό διάλογο και σε καμία περίπτωση δεν έχουμε λειτουργήσει με τρόπο που να αποκλείεται ο οποιοδήποτε από το να καταθέσει σκέψεις και απόψεις. Με αυτό τον τρόπο θα λειτουργήσουμε και στην συνέχεια για το καλό της παιδείας και των παιδιών μας.

Σας ευχαριστώ θερμά για την συμβολή σας.

Ανδρέας Δημητρίου, Υπουργός Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού
ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

ΠΡΟΣ: Γενική Διευθύντρια Υπουργείου Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού
ΑΠΟ: Διευθύντρια Π.Ι.
Ημερ.: 24 Απριλίου 2012

Θέμα: Στέγαση λειτουργών ΝΑΠ στο Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο

Αναφορικά με το πιο πάνω θέμα, σας ενημερώνω ότι ολοκληρώθηκε η διαδικασία μετακόμισης των λειτουργών των ΝΑΠ στα γραφεία που πριν χρησιμοποιούντο από τις υπηρεσίες ΣΕΚΑΠ, ΚΥΣΑΤΣ, ΕΑΠ. Οι λειτουργοί έχουν τώρα το καθένα το γραφείο του με βασικό εξοπλισμό γραφείου και εξυπηρετούνται πλήρως από το βοηθητικό και διοικητικό προσωπικό (Π.Ι. - ΥΑΠ).

Με βάση προηγούμενες εγκυκλίους σας οι λειτουργοί των ΝΑΠ υπάγονται διοικητικά στο Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο. Μέχρι τώρα αυτό λειτουργούσε πολύ καλά, σε συνεργασία με τους επιθεωρητές - συνδέσμους των ομάδων εργασίας και με συνεννόηση μεταξύ της Διεύθυνσης του Π.Ι. και των λειτουργών. Συγκεκριμένα, η τήρηση των κανονισμών (ώρες προσέλευσης, αποχώρησης, θέματα οδοιπορικών, θέματα αδειών κ.ο.κ.) λειτούργησε ομαλά παρόλο που οι λειτουργοί δεν είχαν μόνιμο γραφείο.

Εξαιρέσεις στα πιο πάνω αποτελεί η ομάδα Μαθηματικών Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης η οποία στεγάζεται στα γραφεία του Ανοικτού Πανεπιστημίου (Λατσιά), λόγω του ότι μέχρι τώρα δεν υπήρχαν διαθέσιμα γραφεία στο Π.Ι.. Για τους λειτουργούς αυτούς το Π.Ι. έχει προνοήσει και τώρα έχουν το δικό τους γραφείο. Λόγω του ότι η διαδικασία ελέγχου των θεμάτων αδειών, οδοιπορικών, αποχώρησης κτλ. δε μπορεί να λειτουργήσει όταν οι λειτουργεί δε στεγάζονται στο χώρο του Π.Ι. και για να υπάρξει ίση μεταχείριση των λειτουργών για τα ΝΑΠ, εισήγησή μου είναι όπως και οι λειτουργοί Μαθηματικών Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης στεγάζονται στα κτήρια του Π.Ι.

Παρακαλώ για οδηγίες σχετικά με το πιο πάνω.
2.2.8 Note from the Director of the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute to the Minister

| ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ | ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΟ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ
| ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ | ΚΥΠΡΟΥ
| ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ | 2252 Λευκωσία
| ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ |

Αρ. Φακ.: 5.28.01
Αρ. Τηλ.: 22402300
Αρ.Φαξ: 22480505
e-mail: info@cyearn.pi.ac.cy

ΕΠΕΙΓΩΝ

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

ΠΡΟΣ: Υπουργό Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού
(μέσω Γενικής Δ/ντριας)

ΑΠΟ: Διευθύντρια Π.Ι.

Ημερ.: 13 Μαρτίου 2013

Θέμα: Εισηγήσεις Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου για τη συνέχιση της
προώθησης των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων

Αναφορικά με το πιο πάνω θέμα και σε συνέχεια της συνάντησης που
πραγματοποιήσαμε μαζί σας στις 11/3/13, υποβάλλω συγκεκριμένες εισηγήσεις
για τη συνέχιση της προσπάθειας εισαγωγής των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων
(Α.Π.) στη δημόσια εκπαίδευση:

[...]

3. Διοικητική υπαγωγή των λειτουργών ΝΑΠ στο Π.Ι.

Δεν μπορεί να συνεχιστεί η απόσπαση λειτουργών ειδικά και μόνο για την
προώθηση των ΝΑΠ, οι οποίοι δεν υπάγονται σε μια από τις διευθύνσεις του ΥΠΠ
(όπως προβλέπεται στην εγκύκλιο των αποσπάσεων που έχουν ήδη
κυκλοφορήσει). Εφόσον τα καθήκοντα των λειτουργών αυτών αφορούν σε
επιμόρφωση και παραγωγή επιμορφωτικού και εκπαιδευτικού υλικού και δε
διαφέρουν από αυτά των λειτουργών Π.Ι. (ο οποίος είναι ο κατεξοχήν φορέας
επιμόρφωσης του ΥΠΠ). Αυτό, σε συνδυασμό με την επαναλειτουργία της ΕΠΑΠ
(σημείο 1), θα διασφαλίσει ενιαία πολιτική στο θέμα της επιμόρφωσης, θα
συντείνει στην προσπάθεια οργάνωσης των ανθρώπων πόρων του ΥΠΠ (δε
μπορεί να αποσπάνται άτομα για τα ίδια θέματα και καθήκοντα σε δύο
dιαφορετικές υπηρεσίες του ΥΠΠ) και θα συμβάλει στην αναβάθμιση της
ποιότητας του παρεχόμενου προϊόντος (επιμορφωτικού και διδακτικού υλικού,
καθώς και δράσεων επιμόρφωσης).

Η ολή προσπάθεια αναδιοργάνωσης και αξιολόγησης των Αναλυτικών Προγραμμάτων και κυρίως η ουσιαστική υπαγωγή των λειτουργών που αποσπώνται για τα Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα στο Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο επείγει να προωθηθούν, αφού ήδη στο Π.Ι. εργάζονται λειτουργεί ΝΑΠ οι οποίοι αναμένουν οδηγίες για τη συνέχιση της εργασίας τους.

Είμαι στη διάθεσή σας για περισσότερες διευκρινίσεις ή / και συζήτηση του θέματος.
## Appendix 3: Interview data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sites for data collection</th>
<th>Categories of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ministry of Education and Culture</strong>&lt;br&gt;15 interviews +1 follow up&lt;br&gt;15 recorded</td>
<td><strong>A. High-ranking officials</strong>&lt;br&gt;- Minister of Education: Prof. Andreas Demetriou&lt;br&gt;- Permanent Secretary: Ms Olympia Stylianou&lt;br&gt;- Director of Secondary Education: Dr Zina Poulli&lt;br&gt;- Chief Education Officer: Dr Costas Katsonis (+follow up)&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>B. Inspectors</strong>&lt;br&gt;- 4 inspectors for the Greek language (2 for the secondary and 2 for the primary education)&lt;br&gt;- 3 inspectors of other subjects (Maths, Design and Technology)&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>C. Seconded teachers</strong>&lt;br&gt;- 2 advisors to the Minister’s office: Ms Georgiou* and Mr. Antoniou*&lt;br&gt;- 2 Greek-language counsellors: Mr. Andreou* and Mr. Chandris*&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cyprus Pedagogical Institute</strong>&lt;br&gt;2 interviews +1 follow up&lt;br&gt;2 recorded</td>
<td><strong>D. Senior PI officials</strong>&lt;br&gt;- Head of the Pedagogical Institute: Athina Michaelidou (+follow up)&lt;br&gt;- Head of one of the CPI’s sections&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curriculum Review Committee</strong>&lt;br&gt;3 interviews +2 follow up&lt;br&gt;all recorded</td>
<td><strong>A. Academics</strong>&lt;br&gt;- Prof. Georgios Tsiakalos, Head of the CRC (2008-2013) (+follow-up)&lt;br&gt;- Prof. Mary Koutsellini (+follow up)&lt;br&gt;- A CRC member (under condition of anonymity)&lt;br&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Committee for the Greek syllabus</strong>&lt;br&gt;3 interviews&lt;br&gt;2 recorded</td>
<td><strong>B. Volunteer teacher</strong>&lt;br&gt;- Ms Apostolou*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee for the Literature syllabus</td>
<td>• Dr Afroditi Athanasopoulou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>1 interview recorded</em></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OELMEK</th>
<th>Leader of OELMEK: Demetrios Taliadoros (+a follow up)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>1 interview +1 follow up both recorded</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SUMMARY | • **Total**: 30 interviews  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 1st round: 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Follow up: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recorded: 27, around 28 hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: MoEC organisational chart
ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

30 Ιανουαρίου 2009

Αρ. φακ. 7.1.02.7/3

Διευθυντές/ Διευθύντριες
Δημοτικών Σχολείων, Γυμνασίων,
Δυνατον και Τεχνικών Σχολών

Θέμα: Συμμετοχή στις ομάδες εργασίας για καταρτισμό αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων
ανά γνωστικό αντικείμενο.

Το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού καλεί όσους εκπαιδευτικούς από όλες τις
βαθμίδες, ενδιαφέρονται να συμμετέχουν στη νέα διαδικασία καταρτισμού αναλυτικών
προγραμμάτων στο πλαίσιο της πρότασης της Επιτροπής αναμόρφωσης των αναλυτικών
προγραμμάτων, να υποβάλουν ενδιαφέρον το αργότερο μέχρι την Παρασκευή 13
Φεβρουαρίου στο γραφείο του Υπουργείου Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. Οι αιτήσεις
(Δηλώσεις Συμμετοχής) πρέπει να συνοδεύονται από βιογραφικό σημείωμα και όλα τα
απαραίτητα πιστοποιητικά.

Τα άτομα που θα επιλέξουν θα εργαστούν σε ομάδες ανά γνωστικό αντικείμενο ή
πεδίο κάτω από την ευθύνη της Επιτροπής αναμόρφωσης των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων
και σε συνεργασία με τους υπεύθυνους συντονιστές που θα οριστούν ξεχωριστά από τον
Υπουργό. Οι ομάδες εργασίας θα αρχίσουν δουλειά αμέσως και θα ολοκληρώσουν το
έργο τους το αργότερο 30 Ιουνίου 2009.

Απαιτούμενα προσόντα:

1. Διδακτική εμπειρία σε σχολεία τουλάχιστον 3 ετών.
2. Πολύ καλή γνώση και ενημερότητα σε θέματα διαμόρφωσης αναλυτικών
προγραμμάτων στον ευρωπαϊκό χώρο.
3. Πολύ καλή γνώση του γνωστικού αντικειμένου με εμπειρία στο αντικείμενο σε
όλα τα επίπεδα που διδάσκεται στο σχολείο.
4. Εμπλοκή σε εξωσχολικές δράσεις με μαθητές ή γονείς.

Πληροφορίες: Τηλέφωνο: 22800xxx, Email: xxx@moec.gov.cy

Δρ. Ζήνα Πουλλή
Διευθύντρια μέσης
Εκπαίδευσης

Χαράλαμπος Κωνσταντίνου
Διευθυντής Μέσης Τεχνικής
και Επαγγελματικής
Εκπαίδευσης

Αλέξανδρος Κουράτος
Διευθυντής Δημοτικής
Εκπαίδευσης
“Εμείς, η παιδεία μας και το μέλλον μας”

Ανδρέας Δημητρίου, Υπουργός Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού

Η ταυτότητα μας είναι αδιαπραγμάτευτη. Η γλώσσα μας είναι δεδομένη. Και οι δύο βγαίνουν από τον πολιτισμό που οι αρχαίοι Έλληνες έφεραν στην Κύπρο εδώ και 3500 περίπου χρόνια. Μέσα από αυτό τον πολιτισμό δίνουμε νόημα στο σημερινό κόσμο και γι αυτό τον πολιτισμό είμαστε περήφανοι, όπως άλλωστε είναι το κάθε έθνος για το δικό του πολιτισμό. Το δικό μας πολιτισμό έχουμε χρέος, όλοι οι Έλληνες, όπου κι αν βρισκόμαστε, να κρατούμε, να τιμούμε και να λαμπρύνουμε. Φυσικά, κι εδώ στην Κύπρο. Εδώ, o χρόνος και o τόπος μας έταξαν να υπηρετούμε και να διευρύνουμε τον Ελληνικό πολιτισμό εξω από τα σύνορα του Ελληνικού κράτους. Η προσπάθεια να ενσωματώσουμε την Κύπρο στο Ελληνικό κράτος δεν απέδωσε. Και οριστικά πορευόμαστε στο μέλλον σαν ανεξάρτητο κράτος.

Έχουμε χρέος να αγαπήσουμε αυτό το κράτος σαν ζωντανή απόδειξη της δύναμης του Ελληνικού πολιτισμού να δημιουργήσει πατρίδες εξω από τα όρια της Ελλάδας. Η ιστορία μας έταξε να μοιραζόμαστε αυτή τη γη και, για κάποιο χρόνο, αυτό το κράτος με άλλους, γιατί η δική τους ιστορία διασταυρώθηκε με τη δική μας. Γι’ αυτή αυτή συγκρουστήκαμε αλλά, τελικά, η σύγκρουση αποδείχτηκε για όλους αδιέξοδη. Γι’ αυτό όλοι πρέπει να αποδεχτούμε ότι η πολιτιστική μας ταυτότητα δεν ταυτίζεται με τον πολιτικό χαρακτήρα του κράτους, όπως έχει συμβεί σε πολλές χώρες του κόσμου. Όταν το αποδεχτούμε τότε το ένα μπορεί να τροφοδοτεί το άλλο και να γίνει πηγή πλούτου για όλους.

Η παιδεία μας δεν μπορεί να είναι ο,τιδήποτε άλλο από Ελληνική. Οφείλει να μας δείχνει το παρελθόν μας, τις ρίζες μας, να καλλιεργεί τη γλώσσα μας και να διασφαλίζει ότι θα παραμείνει στη συνείδηση, στις συνήθειες και στις παραδόσεις, και στις συνήθειες και στις παραδόσεις, και στις συνήθειες και στις παραδόσεις, και στις συνήθειες και στις παραδόσεις, και στις συνήθειες και στις παραδόσεις. Ταυτόχρονα, όμως, αυτή η παιδεία οφείλει να μας καταστήσει ικανούς να διαφυλάξουμε με σοφία και σοφροσύνη την παρουσία μας εδώ, χωρίς άλλες υποχωρήσεις, χωρίς άλλες αναδιπλώσεις. Το ίδιο όμως ισχύει και για τους Τουρκοκύπριους. Γι’ αυτό η παιδεία της Κύπρου μας πρέπει να ζηλωθεί από μια πολυπολιτισμικό κράτος, όπου οι δύο κύριες κοινότητες συνεργάζονται γιατί εμπιστεύονται και σέβονται η μια την άλλη και δημιουργούν συνθήκες αξιοπρέπειας, ευημερίας και ευποιίας για όλους τους κατοίκους, είτε ανήκουν σε αυτές είτε ανήκουν σε άλλες ομάδες. Σ’ αυτό το κράτος όλοι Ελληνοκύπριοι, Τουρκοκύπριοι, Μαρωνίτες, Αρμένιοι, Λατίνοι και άλλοι που τους φέρνουν εδώ τα ρεύματα του σύγχρονου κόσμου είμαστε συμπολίτες που βάζουμε την ταυτότητά μας στην υπηρεσία της ανοιχτής δημοκρατίας μας.

Σ’ αυτό το κράτος δεν έχουν θέση οι ξένοι στρατοί, γιατί περιορίζουν την ελευθερία όλων μας και τραματίζουν την ανθρώπινη μας αξιοπρέπεια μας. Δεν έχουν θέση οι προστάτες, γιατί κανείς μας δεν τους χρειάζεται. Οι μητέρες πατρίδες πρέπει να μας αφήσουν να διαμορφώσουμε το παρόν μας και να προδιαγράψουμε το μέλλον μας μακριά από τη σύγκρουση του παρελθόντος. Η Ελλάδα όχι το κάνει. Είναι καιρός οι Τουρκοκύπριοι να ζητήσουν από την
Τουρκία να κάνει το ίδιο.

Σ’ αυτή την Κύπρο μπορούμε να δείξουμε ότι η ιστορία δεν είναι απλώς μια ακολουθία ιστορικών πράξεων και θυσιών που δεν καταλήγουν. Δεν είναι μια παρέλαση σκληροποίησης στο κυνηγάτο της απόλυτης γεννά τη δυστυχία και τον πόνο. Είναι καιρός να μάθουμε από αυτήν για να σταματήσουμε να τη φοβομαστε. Η ιστορία μπορεί να γίνει αφετηρία για να κτίσουμε ένα μέλλον στο οποίο οι ήρωές μας δεν είναι νεκροί έφηβοι. Οι ήρωές μας θα είναι λαμπροί άνθρωποι της δημιουργίας από όλες τις κοινότητες που γερνούν προσφέροντας σε κάθε τομέα, στην επιστήμη, τον πολιτισμό, τις τέχνες, τις κατασκευές και όπου ο καθένας έχει διαλέξει. Σ’ αυτό το μέλλον τιμούνται από όλους όλοι, ανεξάρτητα από την καταγωγή τους για τα καλά τους έργα. Εξάλλου, θα έχουμε κάνει ένα μεγάλο βήμα μπροστά αν όλοι τιμήσουμε τις πατριωτικές προθέσεις όλων και αφήσουμε τους ιστορικούς να βάλουν τάξη στο παρελθόν με κριτήριο την αλήθεια, την αντικειμενικότητα και την ακρίβεια.

Το νέο σχολείο θα δώσει όλα τα εφόδια προς τους νέους μας για να πραγματοποιήσουν τις φιλοδοξίες και τα ταλέντα τους στην Κύπρο που σαν μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης αξιώνει από τον εαυτό της σημαντικό ρόλο στην Ευρώπη και τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο μέσα από τον ισχυρό πολιτισμό της, την επιστήμη της και την χώρα μας. Σ’ αυτό το σχολείο οι νέοι αποκτούν την κρίση, τις γνώσεις και την κατανόηση της κόσμου που κρύβονται για να πραγματοποιήσουν τα προσωπικά τους όνειρα με τον πιο εποικοδομητικό για όλους τρόπο αποφεύγοντας τα λάθη των αιώνων που έφυγαν. Η εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση που επιχειρούμε αυτό το όραμα έχει και καλό όλους, εκπαιδευτικούς, μαθητές, φοιτητές, τους γονείς και την κοινωνία, ιδιαίτερα την οικονομία και την επιστήμη, να επιλύσουμε και να αντιμετωπίσουμε τα προβλήματα όλων μας με τον πιο εποικοδομητικό τρόπο.

Ας πορευθούμε λοιπόν στον 21ο αιώνα με ό,τι καλύτερο έχει για να δώσει, κτιζόμενη στις πιο λαμπρές δημιουργίες αλλά και αφήνοντας οριστικά πίσω μας τις δυσκολίες που έφυγαν. Ας αφήσουμε τις νέες γενιές που δεν έχουν χρέο στο παρελθόν να κτίσουν ένα μέλλον ειρήνης και ευτυχίας για τα παιδιά και τα εγγόνια όλων των Κυπρίων.
ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ
Ελέος Θεού, Αρχιεπίσκοπος
Νέας Ιουστινιανής και πάσης Κύπρου
Και οι συν εμοί αδελφοί

Παντί το Χριστιανόνυμο Πληρώματι
Τη Αγιωτάτης Αποστολικής Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου

Χάρις υμίν και ειρήνη παρά του Σωτήρος ημών Χριστού.

Τέκνα εν Κυρίω αγαπητά,
Μέσα στην πολύμορφη κρίση που επηρεάζει όλες τις πτυχές της ζωής και όλα τα στρώματα του λαού, κρίνουμε αναγκαίον εν όψει της νέας σχολικής χρονιάς να απευθύνουμε πατρικά προς όλους, το πλήρωμα της Εκκλησίας, και να σας καταστήσουμε κοινούς των ανησυχιών και των προβληματισμών μας γύρω από τη φιλοσοφία των νέων αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων στα σχολεία μας.

Γίνεται από όλους αποδεκτό ότι η Παιδεία αποτελεί στην πράξη τον προγραμματισμό της Πολιτείας για το τι είδους πολίτη θέλει να πλάσει. Η Πολιτεία φροντίζει, προς το σκοπό αυτό, ώστε ο κάθε μαθητής της μέσω του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος να αποκτήσει ορισμένες γνώσεις για το κάθε αντικείμενο, να αναπτύξει ορισμένες δεξιότητες, χρήσιμες για τον σύγχρονο κόσμο, αλλά επίσης να διαμορφώσει συγκεκριμένες στάσεις, συμπεριφορές και αξίες.

Ειδικά στην Κύπρο ο άξονας των αξιών, σύμφωνα και με το Σύνταγμα της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, πρέπει να έχει σχέση με το δημοκρατικό μας πολίτευμα αλλά επίσης και με την εθνική μας καταγωγή και τη θρησκευτική ταυτότητά μας. Σκοπός, επομένως, της Παιδείας μας είναι να διαμορφώσει ελευθέρους και δημοκρατικούς πολίτες αλλά και να δώσει πορεία ζωής στους Έλληνες της Κύπρου που είναι ταυτόχρονα Ορθόδοξοι Χριστιανοί, χωρίς να αποκλείει, βεβαίως, αυτής της Παιδείας και οποιονδήποτε άλλον το επιθυμεί.

Ακριβώς εδώ, στον τομέα των αξιών, έχουμε τη γνώμη ότι τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα χρειάζονται, πρώτα, εμπλουτισμό και αναθεώρηση. Κάνουν λόγο μόνο για ανάπτυξη της δημοκρατικότητας των μαθητών μας και αποσιωπούν εντελώς την ελληνικότητα και την ορθόδοξη χριστιανική τους ταυτότητα. Αλλάς, οι δύο έννοιες δεν είναι αλληλοαποκλειόμενες αλλά αλληλοσυμπληρούμενες. Η ιστορία διδάσκει ότι λαοί που χάνουν την πολιτική τους ελευθερία μπορούν σε κάποια στιγμή να απελευθερωθούν. Λαοί που καταντούν στην οικονομική χρεοκοπία είναι δυνατόν να επανεύρουν την οικονομική τους ικμάδα. Λαοί όμως που χάνουν την πολιτιστική τους φύσιο-γνωμία μοιράζονται στην εξαφάνιση.

Όσον αφορά το μάθημα των Θρησκευτικών και τον κίνδυνο να απολέσει τη δυνατότητά μόρφωσης Χριστού στις καρδιές των Ελληνοπαίδων, από την προσπάθεια μετατροπής του σε θρησκευολογικό, καθώς και την υποβάθμισή του, με την εύκολη απαλλαγή των μαθητών από αυτό, κοινοποίησαμε τις θέσεις μας σε πρόσφατη ανακοίνωση της Ιεράς Συνόδου. Τονίσαμε επίσης τις ολέθριες...
επιπτώσεις από την επιχειρούμενη μετατροπή του μαθήματος της Ιστορίας σε ιδεολογικό-πολιτικό.

Οι ανησυχίες μας εστιάζονται σήμερα στα όσα διαλαμβάνει το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα διδασκαλίας της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας που τέθηκε ήδη σε εφαρμογή. Έχουμε τη γνώμη ότι το γλωσσικό μάθημα της Ιστορίας στο αναλυτικό δίνει μια μεγάλη βαρύτητα στο τοπικό μας ιδίωμα. Και το πιο σοβαρό: ούτε καν αναφέρεται ποια γλωσσική μορφή είναι η επίσημη και ποια η ανεπίσημη! Αυτό το στοιχείο συνδέεται άμεσα με αυτό που επισημάνει στο παλαιότερο εγκύκλιο μας, ότι δηλαδή αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια για αναγωγή του τοπικού μας ιδίωμα σε επίσημη γλώσσα! Αν ευοδωθεί η προσπάθεια αυτή, θα διασπαστεί η ενιαία ελληνική μας γλώσσα και παραλλήλως προς την ελληνική γλώσσα, θα δημιουργηθεί μια "κυπριακή γλώσσα", η οποία θα είναι μεν ελληνογενής, όχι όμως ελληνική! Και το πιο σοβαρό: ούτε καν αναφέρεται ποια γλωσσική μορφή είναι η επίσημη και ποια η ανεπίσημη! Αυτό το στοιχείο συνδέεται άμεσα με αυτό που επισημάνει στο παλαιότερο εγκύκλιο μας, ότι δηλαδή τελευταίως παρατηρείται μια προσπάθεια για αναγωγή του τοπικού μας ιδίωμα σε επίσημη γλώσσα! Αν ευοδωθεί η προσπάθεια αυτή, θα διασπαστεί η ενιαία ελληνική μας γλώσσα και παραλλήλως προς την ελληνική γλώσσα, θα δημιουργηθεί μια "κυπριακή γλώσσα", η οποία θα είναι μεν ελληνογενής (π.χ. τις λατινογενείς γλώσσες), όχι όμως ελληνική!

Το νέο αναλυτικό υποβαθμίζει την ελληνική μας γλώσσα νομίζουμε ότι είναι άμεσα συναρτημένο με την παιδαγωγική του προσέγγιση, τον λεγόμενο κριτικό εγγραφισμό. Σύμφωνα με αυτό ρεύμα, η ελληνική μας γλώσσα στην Κύπρο καθώς και η ορθόδοξη μας πίστη και η εν γένει ελληνικότητά μας είναι κυρίαρχες ιδεολογίες, οι οποίες δήθεν ενσαρκώνονται με τη δράση των κομμάτων, θα προκαλέσει ακόμη εντονότερες έριδες και προστριβές. Τέκνα εν Κυρίω αγαπητά,

Στους δύσκολους καιρούς που ζούμε, ως Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός δεχόμαστε πιέσεις που ως Κυπριακός Ελληνισμός δεχόμαστε χρειαζόμαστε διάθεση, όχι να την καταστρέφει. Χρειαζόμαστε Εθνική Παιδεία που να ενισχύει την κοινωνική συνοχή, όχι να την αποδομήσουμε! Επίσης, η κριτική μεταφράζεται σε μια μέθοδο προσέγγισης της γλώσσας και των ιδεών που στηρίζεται στις σχέσεις εξουσίας: επισημαίνει τις σχέσεις εξουσίας, τις αμφισβητεί, τις αντίκα, τις αναδομεί. Εφαρμοζόμενα αυτή η προοπτική σε μια κοινωνία ήδη διαιρεμένη από τη δράση των κομμάτων, θα προκαλέσει ακόμη εντονότερες έριδες και προστριβές. Μετ’ ευχών διαπύρων

Ο ΚΥΠΡΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ

Ιερά Αρχιεπισκοπή Κύπρου, Σεπτέμβριος 2013.

ΣΗΜ.: Οι Εφημέριοι καθίστανται υπεύθυνοι για την ανάγνωση της ανά χείρας Εγκυκλίου, κατά τη Θεία Λειτουργία της Κυριακής, 15ος Σεπτεμβρίου 2013.
1. Αναγκαιότητα

Η συζήτηση σχετικά με τις αλλαγές που συντελούνται στην οικονομική, κοινωνική και πολιτιστική πραγματικότητα στις χώρες του δυτικού κόσμου κατά τις τελευταίες δύο εκατοστατικές χρησιμοποιεί ως πόλο αναφοράς τις έννοιες της παγκοσμιοποίησης και των πολλαπλών κοινοτήτων μάθησης. Οι θεωρητικοί διαφωνούν σχετικά με το αν ο όρος «παγκοσμιοποίηση» παραπέμπει σε ένα συγκεκριμένο οικονομικό φαινόμενο ή σε μια σειρά αλλαγών που εξελίσσονται σε ποικίλους τομείς - οικονομικούς, κοινωνικούς, πολιτισμικούς – και οι οποίες διαπλέκονται για να διαμορφώσουν μια σύνθετη δυναμική. Σε γενικές γραμμές, ωστόσο, μπορεί να υποστηριχθεί ότι οι τοπικές κοινωνικές πραγματικότητες τείνουν να διαμορφώνονται μέσα από διαφορετικές τάσεις που τείνουν, αφενός, προς την ομογενοποίηση (όπως αναφαίνεται μέσα από τρόπους δράσης και αντίδρασης αλλά και μέσα από διαφορετικές τάσεις που προωθούν υπερεθνικές εταιρείες και οργανισμούς και, αφετέρου, προς την υβριδιοποίηση, την τοπική αναδόμηση παγκόσμιων τάσεων. Το διεθνές περιβάλλον άλλως διαμορφώνεται μέσα από τη διαρκή αλληλεπίδραση υπερκρατικών οργανισμών και συνασπισμών αλλά και από μετανάστες, και, αφετέρου, και από τα ιδιαίτερα οικονομικά και πολιτιστικά προϊόντα που προωθούν αποκλειστικά μέσα από την ελεύθερη αγορά και την υπερπαραγωγή, η υπεραπαραγωγή προκαλείται από την αυξανόμενη απαίτηση για απόκτηση νέων και ιδιαίτερα γραφείων και περιοδικών που παράγονται στην ίδια διάσταση. Επιπλέον και σε αντίθεση με την έμφαση που δίδονταν στο ρόλο του σχολείου για την εξασφάλιση της κοινωνικής κινητικότητας των ατόμων, η έννοια των «πολλαπλών κοινοτήτων μάθησης» έχει δημιουργηθεί ως θεωρητική και τεχνολογική διαδικασία που ονομάζεται παγκοσμιοποίηση.
σημειωτικών τρόπων δεν μπορεί να περάσει μέσα από την κατανόηση των γλωσσικών μόνον των ατόμων που παράγονταν από τα υποκείμενα που συμμετέχουν στο περιβάλλον αυτό. Αντίθετα, απαιτείται καλλιέργεια της ικανότητας των ατόμων να προβάινουν σε κριτική επεξεργασία των νέων σημειωτικών πόρων με τους οποίους έρχονται αντιμέτωποι αλλά και σε διαπραγμάτευση των λόγων (των ιδεολογικών μηνυμάτων) που διατέθηκαν τα κείμενα και οδηγούν σε επαναπροσδιορισμό των πρωτοτυπικών κειμενικών συμβάσεων.

Με δεδομένο το δυναμικό και μεταβαλλόμενο κοινωνικό τοπίο όπου ποικίλα μηνύματα προβάλλονται από διαφορετικές πηγές, ισορροπεί το σχολείο - με τη σημερινή του τουλάχιστον τουριστική, με τη σημερινή του τουλάχιστον τουριστική - να μην παρέχει επαρκή εφόδια για τη διαβίωση σε μια τεχνολογικά «εγγράμματη» κοινωνία. Τα νεαρά άτομα που βρίσκονται σε σχολική ήλικα έρχονται αντιμέτωποι με μια σύνθεση και συνεχώς εξελισσόμενη κοινωνική κατάσταση, η οποία απαιτεί για την προσέγγιση και την κατανόηση της πολλές δεξιότητες.

Μια σειρά από ερωτήματα τίθενται. Με ποιο τρόπο το σχολείο θα πρέπει να λειτουργήσει μέσα στη νέα αυτή δυναμική και πολυπολιτισμική πραγματικότητα; Πώς το σχολείο μπορεί να αντιμετωπίσει τις ποικίλες κοινότητες πρακτική που δομούνται σε εξωσχολικά πλαίσια και στις οποίες τα άτομα διαπραγματεύονται νοήματα και διαχείρισουν τις συγκρούσεις που προέρχονται από τη συνύπαρξη ατόμων από διαφορετικές κοινωνίες; Με δεδομένο το δυναμικό αυτό τοπίο των ποικίλων κοινωνικών συμβάσεων, οι παραδοσιακές διαχωριστικές γραμμές που μέσω της γλωσσικής χρήσης δομούνταν γύρω από έννοιες όπως «κοινωνική τάξη» ενισχύονται ή ανασκευάζονται μέσω των διαφορετικών βαθμών πρόσβασης των ατόμων σε πληροφορίες και τεχνολογία, συμμετοχή σε εξωσχολικούς συλλόγους και δραστηριότητες; Προτείνουμε, λοιπόν, μέσω της γλωσσικής καλλιέργειας, ένα σχολείο που λειτουργεί σε ρόλο αναπαραγωγικό των κοινωνικών δομών και των ανισοτήτων που υπάρχουν ενώ πολυπολιτισμικό τοπίο των ποικίλων κοινωνικών πρακτικής, η οποία απαιτεί για την προσέγγιση και την κατανόηση της πολλές δεξιότητες.

Η Κύπρος, μέχρι πρόσφατα μία χώρα που κινήθηκε στη δίνη της εσωτερικής εθνοτικής διαμάχης με στραμμένο το βλέμμα προς χώρες και έθνη από τα οποία θα μπορούσε να εξασφαλίσει κάποια οικονομική και ηθική βοήθεια, έγινε τα τελευταία χρόνια πλήρες μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, γεγονός που συντελεί στην άρση του κάποιου απομονωτισμού. Αυτό το «άνοιγμα» αλλά και η επιθυμία των Κυπρίων για την πλήρη τους ένταξη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση οδηγεί στην άρση του κάποιου απομονωτισμού. Πώς μια μικρή χώρα μέσα από τη σχεδιαζόμενη εκπαιδευτική της πολιτική μπορεί να αντισταθεί σε μια παγκόσμια κοινωνία που προωθεί νέο-συντηρητικές απόψεις για την εκπαίδευση; Με ποιο τρόπο η ευρωπαϊκή οπτική επηρεάζει το τοπικό εκπαιδευτικό τοπίο, από τη λήψη αποφάσεων για τον εκπαιδευτικό σχεδιασμό μέχρι την αντίσταση σε επιβαλλόμενες αποφάσεις; Εκκινώντας από τον γενικά αποδεκτό στόχο, που είναι τη γλωσσική καλλιέργεια, θεωρούμε ότι το σχολείο πρέπει να έχει ως βασικό στόχο και την γλωσσική καλλιέργεια της ικανότητας των μαθητών/τριών να αντισταθεί σε μια παγκόσμια κοινωνία που προωθεί νέο-συντηρητικές απόψεις για την εκπαίδευση; Εκκινούμε από τον σύλληψη του σχολείου ως μιας σύνθεσης κοινότητας με ποικίλες φωνές [από τις κοινότητες των παιδιών αλλά και την «επίσημη φωνή»] που συνομίλουν. Το πώς η σχολική
κοινότητα αλληλεπιδρά με την ευρύτερη κοινότητα με ποικίλους τρόπους είναι κάτι που οφείλουμε να αναδείξουμε (π.χ. αναπαραγωγικό των ανισοτήτων ή όχι).

Υποστηρίζουμε ότι τα άτομα συνδιαμορφώνονται ως ισότιμοι, δημοκρατικοί και δημιουργικοί πολίτες μέσα από διαδικασίες που απορρέουν από τον τρόπο συμμετοχής τους στη δόμηση της σχολικής κοινότητας. Υποστηρίζουμε, λοιπόν, ότι ο ρόλος της εκπαίδευσης είναι να διαμορφώσει δημοκρατικούς πολίτες που να λειτουργούν με ισονομία και χαρακτηρικό τρόπο σε τοπικές κοινωνίες και οι οποίοι, ενώ αλληλεπιδρούν με το σύγχρονο κοσμοπολίτικο παγκόσμιο περιβάλλον, να αναπτύσσονται κριτική αντίσταση σε επιβαλλόμενες πιέσεις και προτάσεις που στοχεύουν να περιορίσουν τη δημοκρατική και ισόνομη πράξη των ατόμων στη γνώση. Με ποιο τρόπο μπορούμε δια της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας και του προφορικού και του γραπτού λόγου που παράγουν οι μαθητές/διδάκτριες να οδηγηθούμε στο χτίσιμο ενός σχολείου που να αναδεικνύει ως βασικός αρχηγός συμμετοχής των μαθητών-τριών σε ευκαιρίες μάθησης που προέρχονται από την αξιοποίηση ποικίλων σημειωτικών πηγών;

Από τη γλώσσα στο γραμματισμό και τους πολυγραμματισμούς

Η διδακτική της γλώσσας κατά τα τελευταία χρόνια έχει καταδείξει ότι το αντικείμενο της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας δεν μπορεί να είναι η στενή έννοια της γλώσσας αλλά εκείνη του γραμματισμού. Δύο είναι τα μοντέλα του γραμματισμού που κυριαρχούν, το αυτόνομο (με έμφαση σε αποπλαισιωμένες δεξιότητες) και το ιδεολογικό (που δίδει έμφαση στο πώς χρησιμοποιούνται η ανάγνωση και η γραφή ως τοπικά πλαισιωμένες και ιδεολογικές διαδικασίες). Στο ιδεολογικό μοντέλο, το ενδιαφέρον επικεντρώνεται στη θέση ότι η γλώσσα δεν είναι ουδέτερη αλλά μέσο για τη διαπραγμάτευση ποικίλων και πολλές φορές αντιθέτων ιδεών. Αρα, αυτό που χρειάζεται να δοθεί στους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες δεν είναι η επαφή απλώς με ορισμένα κείμενα, ούτε το ενδιαφέρον να επικεντρωθεί στη συμμετοχή της γλώσσας, αλλά να επικεντρωθεί στην κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο η γλώσσα κατασκευάζει έκδοσεις της πραγματικότητας που αναδεικνύουν συγκεκριμένες οπτικές και τρόπους θέασης του κόσμου. Η κριτική αυτή επίγνωση δεν νοείται ανεξάρτητα από τη γνώση του λεξιλογίου, της σύνταξης και της πλαισιωμένης χρήσης γραμματικών στοιχείων. Ωστόσο, απαιτεί γνώση και εξουσίωση με την κειμενική διάσταση της γλωσσικής χρήσης. Τομείς όπως η δημιουργική, η γλώσσα, η γλώσσα, τη δημιουργική, που παραδοσιακά συναρπάζονται με τη γλώσσικη διδασκαλία, επαναπροσδιορίζονται πλέον ως δραστηριότητες με κοινωνικοπολιτισμικά μηνύματα, τα οποία σε τελευταία ανάλυση είναι πολιτικά.
1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η οικονομική, κοινωνική και πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα που έχει διαμορφωθεί κατά τις τελευταίες δύο εκαστοτείς, μέσα από την κυριαρχία των νέων τεχνολογιών, χαρακτηρίζεται από σημαντικές αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Η ευρύτατη χρήση του διαδικτύου συνέβαλε στη διαμόρφωση ενός νέου επικοινωνιακού τοπίου, που συνενώνει τα άτομα με τρόπους που καταργούν τα σύνορα των εθνών, των οικονομιών και της τυπικής κοινωνικής οργάνωσης. Η επικοινωνία μέσα από την ανάπτυξη της κυριαρχίας του εντυπού λόγου σε ορισμένες τουλάχιστον αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Η επικοινωνία μέσα από την ανάπτυξη της κυριαρχίας του εντυπού λόγου σε ορισμένες τουλάχιστον αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Η επικοινωνία μέσα από την ανάπτυξη της κυριαρχίας του εντυπού λόγου σε ορισμένες τουλάχιστον αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Η επικοινωνία μέσα από την ανάπτυξη της κυριαρχίας του εντυπού λόγου σε ορισμένες τουλάχιστον αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση.
τεχνολογίες, διευρύνει την έννοια του σχολικού γραμματισμού, διασφαλίζει την 
ισότητα συμμετοχής των μαθητών/-τριών σε ευκαιρίες μάθησης με τρόπους που 
αξιοποιούν τη δημιουργικότητα και τη φαντασία των παιδιών, που σέβεται τις 
μητρικές γλώσσες των παιδιών και αναγνωρίζει το γλωσσικό τους πλούτο. Στόχος 
μας είναι η δημιουργία ενός ανθρώπινου σχολείου που σέβεται την παιδική ηλικία, 
που αξιοποιεί και διευρύνει με παιχνιδό τρόπο τα βιώματα και τις εμπειρίες των 
παιδιών, εισάγοντας παράλληλα πρακτικές που οδηγούν σταδιακά σε κοινωνικές 
αλλαγές.

Η παιδαγωγική του κριτικού γραμματισμού δεν αντιμετωπίζει τη γλώσσα ως 
ένα αφηρημένο σύστημα που αναπαριστά μια δεδομένη «εξωτερική 
πραγματικότητα», ή ως ένα αποπλαισιωμένο σύστημα που κωδικοποιεί τη «γνώση» 
(οι μα στατική και άχρονη αντίτύπου που ενυπάρχει σε πρότυπα κείμενα) ή 
μετατρέπει τη «σκέψη» των ατόμων σε κείμενα. Αντίθετα, το ενδιαφέρο 
νεπικεντρώνεται στην καλλιέργεια του τρόπου που η γλώσσα δομεί ποικίλα κείμενα 
αλλά και στην ανάδειξη νέων κειμενικών (αναγνωστικών και συγγραφικών) 
πρακτικών, δηλαδή νέων τρόπων διαπραγμάτευσης των κειμένων που τα παιδιά 
παράγουν ή επεξεργάζονται στο σχολικό περιβάλλον. Μέσα από τη συνεργασία 
τους στην οικοδόμηση κειμένων αλλά και (αναγνωστικών-συγγραφικών) 
πρακτικών γύρω από τα κείμενα αυτά, μαθητές/-τριες και εκπαιδευτικοί 
kατασκευάζουν την κοινωνική τους πραγματικότητα, διαπραγματεύονται τις 
γνώσες τους, δομούν τις παιδευτικές τους (που αφορούν στο τι είδους αναγνώστες 
και συγγραφές είναι), σκοπούν κριτική σε διάφορες κοινωνικές πρακτικότητες 
(σε στάσεις, αντιλήψεις, κοινωνικές δομές) με τις οποίες η σχολική κοινότητα 
συνδιαλέγεται - διαμορφώνονται εν τέλει ως εγγράμματα υποκείμενα.

Για να επιτευχθούν τα παραπάνω, στόχος μας δεν είναι η απλή παροχή 
πρόσβασης των μαθητών και μαθητριών (και κυρίως αυτών από διάφορα 
πολιτισμικά υπόβαθρα) σε αποπλαισιωμένες δεξιότητες γραμματισμού, οι οποίες θα 
ενισχύονται και θα αναπαράγονται άκρως στο πλαίσιο παραδοσιακών διδακτικών 
προσέγγισεων. Στόχος μας είναι η συνεργασία όλων των μελών της σχολικής 
κοινότητας στην παραγωγή και τη διαπραγμάτευση νοημάτων που τους/τις 
αφορούν. Αναπόσπαστο μέρος του παρόντος προγράμματος είναι, επομένως, η 
eνδυνάμωση όχι μόνο των μαθητών-τριών αλλά και των ίδιων των εκπαιδευτικών, 
δηλαδή η καλλιέργεια της ικανότητας κριτικής αποτίμησης του τρόπου με τον 
οποίο τα κείμενα που εκπαιδευτικοί και μαθητές/-τριες χρησιμοποιούν και οι 
πρακτικές ανάγνωσης και παραγωγής κειμένων που δομούν συμβάλλουν στα 
αναδειχθούν συγκεκριμένα νοήματα ως σημαντικά, ενώ άλλα να υποβληθούν. 
Ως εκ τούτου, δίδεται έμφαση στην ικανότητα σύνθεσης των νοημάτων και των 
πρακτικών γραμματισμού που όλα τα παιδιά (από κυρίαρχα και μη κυρίαρχα 
κοινονικοπολιτισμικά στρώματα) συνεισφέρουν στη μαθησιακή διαδικασία.
1. EISAGOGH

Η οικονομική, κοινωνική και πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα που έχει διαμορφωθεί κατά τις τελευταίες δύο εκατοστάτες, μέσα από την κυριαρχία των νέων τεχνολογιών, την ευρύτατη χρήση του διαδικτύου, την αδιακή υποχώρηση της κυριαρχίας του έντυπου λόγου, χαρακτηρίζεται από σημαντικές αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Τα άτομα αλληλεπίδρουν πλέον μέσω πολλών σημειωτικών τρόπων (γλώσσα, εικόνα, ήχο) σε ένα σύνθετο επικοινωνιακό σύμπαν που συντίθεται τόσο από πιο παραδοσιακές μορφές γραπτών και προφορικών κειμένων όσο και από νέου τύπο πολλών μορφών κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας. Οι νέες μορφές (ψηφιακού, εικονιστικού, πολυτροπικού) γραμματισμού που κυριαρχούν στις σύγχρονες πολυπολιτισμικές κοινωνίες έχουν δημιουργήσει νέους τρόπους προσδιορισμού της έννοιας του εγγράμματος άτομο. Τα άτομα καλούνται να εξευκολιώθοιν με νέες κειμενικές πρακτικές (δηλαδή με νέους τρόπους παραγωγής και διαπραγμάτευσης κειμένων) που απαιτούν την ανάπτυξη νέων κειμενικών είδη που γράφονται σε υβριδικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες. Οι νέες μορφές χαρακτηρίζονται από διαφορετικές ενταξεις στους κοινωνικούς διαδικασίες και στις συνεπειες της ευρύτατης και πολύπλοκης κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας.

Με δεδομένο το δυναμικό, μεταβαλλόμενο και πολυσημειωτικό αυτό κοινωνικό τοπίο, το οποίο, με τη σειρά του, συμβάλει στην ανάδειξη νέων μορφών κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού στις σύγχρονες πολυπολιτισμικές κοινωνίες, ο ρόλος της εκπαίδευσης γίνεται ιδιαιτέρως σημαντικός. Το σχολείο στη σύγχρονη πραγματικότητα καλείται να διαμορφώσει ενεργούς πολίτες που να λειτουργούν με ισονομία, να διεκδικούν με δημοκρατικό τρόπο τα δικαιώματά τους και να πολεμούν κάθε μορφή κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού. Δεδομένου ότι η γνώση είναι κοινωνικά διανεμημένη, οι πολίτες καλούνται να αναπτύξουν κριτική αντίσταση σε νοήματα, επιβαλλόμενες πιέσεις και προτάσεις που στοχεύουν στο να περιορίσουν τη δημοκρατική και ισόνομη πρόσβαση των ατόμων στη γνώση.

Η καλλιέργεια των παραπάνω στόχων μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μέσω της παιδαγωγικής του κριτικού γραμματισμού. Βασική επιδίωξη της παιδαγωγικής αυτής είναι η συστηματική καλλιέργεια της γλωσσικής και μεταγλωσσικής ενημέρωσης ως προς τη λειτουργία της γλώσσας για τη δόμηση ποικίλων νοημάτων, ιδεολογιών, ταυτοτήτων και μορφών αναπηρίας μέσω των πολλαπλών εκφάνσεων του γραμματισμού. Στόχος μας είναι να δημιουργήσουμε χαρακτηριστικό τρόπο παραγωγής και διαπραγμάτευσης κειμένων, υποστηρίζοντας τις κατασκευαστικές και κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες, που αξιοποιούν την δημιουργικότητα και τη φαντασία των ατόμων και αξιοποιούν δημιουργικά το γλωσσικό πλούτο των παιδιών και μαθητών/τριών ανεξαρτήτως φύλου και κοινωνικού υποβάθρου. Στόχος μας είναι η δημιουργία ενός ανθρώπινου σχολείου που σέβεται την παιδική ηλικία, που εισάγει και διευρύνει με ευχάριστο και παιγνιώδη τρόπο τα μαθησιακά και κοινωνικά μορφώματα και εμπειρίες των παιδιών και αξιοποιούν δημιουργικά το γλωσσικό πλούτο των παιδιών και μαθητών/τριών ανεξαρτήτως φύλου και κοινωνικού υποβάθρου.
6.1.4 Introduction- 4th version (the official syllabus)

1. Εισαγωγή

Η οικονομική, κοινωνική και πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα που έχει διαμορφωθεί κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες, μέσα από την κυριαρχία των νέων τεχνολογιών, την ευρύτατη χρήση του διαδικτύου και τη σταδιακή υποχώρηση του έντυπου λόγου, χαρακτηρίζεται από σημαντικές αλλαγές στους τρόπους με τους οποίους παράγουμε, προσεγγίζουμε και διανέμουμε τη γνώση. Τα άτομα αλληλεπιδρούν πλέον με ποικιλία σημιτικών τρόπων (δηλαδή με τη γλώσσα, την εικόνα, τον ήχο) σε ένα σύνθετο επικοινωνιακό σύμπλοκο, που αποτελείται τόσο από ποιο παραδοσιακές μορφές κειμένων, γραπτών και προφορικών, όσο και από νέο τύπο κειμένων που γράφονται με ποικίλα σημιτικές μέσα. Οι νέες μορφές (ψηφιακού, εικονιστικού, πολυτροπικού) γραμματισμό που κυριαρχούν στις σύγχρονες πολυπολιτισμικές κοινωνίες έχουν οδηγήσει σε νέους τρόπους προσδιορισμού της έννοιας του εγγράμματος ατόμου. Τα άτομα καλούνται πλέον να εξοικειωθούν με νέες κειμενικές πρακτικές, να κατανοήσουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τα κείμενα (γλωσσικά και πολυτροπικά) δομούν κοινωνικές σχέσεις, αναπαράγουν ρατσιστικές και σεξιστικές θέσεις, προβάλλουν ορισμένους τρόπους θέασης της πραγματικότητας ως «φυσικούς», ή αποδομούν στερεότυπα και κυρίαρχες ιδεολογίες.

Οι παραπάνω στόχοι μπορεί να καλλιεργηθούν στο σχολείο μέσα από την παιδαγωγική του κριτικού γραμματισμού. Βασική επίδοση της παιδαγωγικής αυτής είναι να καταστήσει τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες συμμέτοχοι στη μαθησιακή διαδικασία και να διαμορφώσει, κατ’ επέκταση, ενεργείς πολίτες, δηλαδή πολίτες που να λειτουργούν με ισονομία, να διεκδικούν με δημοκρατικό τρόπο τα δικαιώματά τους και να πολεμούν κάθε μορφή κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού (λόγω καταγωγής, διαφορετικού γλωσσικού και πολιτισμικού υπόβαθρου, φύλου, σεξουαλικότητας, αναπηρίας, είτε λόγω οποιασδήποτε άλλης, κατασκευασμένης από την ηγεμονική κουλτούρα, έννοιας της «διαφοροτικότητας»).

Ως κριτική εγγράμματος ορίζουμε το άτομο που κατανοεί και χειρίζεται επιτυχως τη γλώσσα στην ιδεολογική της διάσταση. Διερευνά, δηλαδή, το πώς τα διάφορα γλωσσικά στοιχεία (γραμματικά φαινόμενα, λεξιλόγιο, κειμενικά ειδή, οργάνωση πληροφοριών σε κείμενα) συμβάλλουν στη σύναψη κοινωνικών σχέσεων, στην κατασκευή πολιτικών και πολιτισμικών αξιών, στην αναπρογωγή στερεοτύπων ή στην ανατροπή σχέσεων εξουσίας και ανισοτήτων μεταξύ κοινωνικών ομάδων. Οι κριτικά εγγράμματο/οι μαθητές/τριες γνωρίζουν ότι οι κοινωνικές σχέσεις, οι έμφυλες ταυτότητες και οι ιδεολογίες δεν κατασκευάζονται μόνο μέσα από το
6.1.5 Assessment-4th version

4. Αξιολόγηση

Από τη φύση του γλωσσικού μαθήματος και της γλωσσικής επικοινωνίας γενικότερα προκύπτει ότι η γλωσσομάθεια/ο γραμματισμός δεν αξιολογείται ως ένα πεπερασμένο σύνολο γνώσεων γραμματικής, λεξιλογίου και κειμενικών ειδών, που κατακτάται γραμμικά και σταδιακά. Η αξιολόγηση δεν μπορεί να αφορά μόνο την επιτυχή εκμάθηση ενός σώματος πυρηνικών γνώσεων για τη γλώσσα, εφόσον αυτό είναι εξ ορισμού δύσκολο να οριστεί στατικά. Με δεδομένες τις αρχές και τις θέσεις του παρόντος προγράμματος, η αξιολόγηση προσδιορίζεται ως κριτική εξέταση των διαφόρων πτυχών της διαδικασίας που η ίδια η τάξη ως κοινότητα επέλεξε να συνδιαμορφώσει. Σύμφωνα με την οπτική αυτή, η αξιολόγηση αφορά κυρίως την ανάπτυξη και αποτελεσματική χρήση γλωσσικών και επικοινωνιακών δεξιοτήτων για τη διαχείριση της γλωσσικής επικοινωνίας, την οικοδόμηση συγγραφικών και αναγνωστικών πρακτικών που προωθούν την κριτική μελέτη της γλώσσας, στοιχεία που αντανάκλονται στην προτεινόμενη οργάνωση του περιεχομένου και της στοχοθεσίας στις προηγούμενες ενότητες. Αξιολογούνται, επομένως, κυρίως δεξιότητες που αφορούν την οργάνωση του περιεχομένου και την καταλληλότητα των γλωσσικών επιλογών σε σχέση με τον στόχο της επικοινωνίας, καθώς και η δεξιότητα κριτικής αξιολόγησης των παραπάνω. Ο απώτερος στόχος της αξιολόγησης είναι να διασφαλιστεί ότι οι μαθητές κατακτούν διαρκώς αυξανόμενη αυτονομία όσον αφορά τη συνέχιση της γλωσσικής καλλιέργειας και την ανάπτυξη του κριτικού γραμματισμού μετά το σχολείο. Η εκμάθηση μεταγλωσσικής ορολογίας αξιολογείται μόνο όταν αυτή είναι απαραίτητη γνωστικά και στρατηγικά προκειμένου να συζητηθεί και να αξιολογηθεί κριτικά η λειτουργικότητα των γραμματικών επιλογών. Η αξιολόγηση των μαθητών και των μαθητριών είναι κυρίως ανατροφοδοτική. Οι διδάσκοντες/ουσες, έχοντας υπόψη τους πάντα τους επιδιωκόμενους στόχους, παρατηρούν και ενισχύουν τους μαθητές και τις μαθήτριες που υστερούν σε έναν ή περισσότερους τομείς των στόχων. Η αξιολόγηση είναι ανάλογη των σκοπών και της μεθοδολογίας που διέπουν το γνωστικό αντικείμενο, όπως αναλύθηκαν προηγουμένως. Έτσι, η αξιολόγηση δεν αφορά τόσο το τελικό προϊόν αλλά τη βελτίωση και την πρόοδο που παρουσίασε ο κάθε μαθητής και η κάθε μαθήτρια.
4. Assessment

By their very nature, language courses and linguistic communication in general reveal that language learning/literacy is not meant to be assessed as a limited set of knowledge of grammar, vocabulary and genres, which are gradually and linearly acquired. Evaluation cannot only refer to successfully teaching a core body of linguistic knowledge, as this is inherently challenging to define statically. Given the principles and positions of the current programme, assessment is identified as a critical consideration of the various aspects of the process which the class, as a community, has jointly chosen to shape. On the basis of this perspective, assessment mainly concerns the development and effective use of linguistic and communicative skills for managing linguistic communication, for constructing those writing and reading practices which promote a critical study of language; these elements are reflected in the proposed organisation of the content and the target-setting of the previous sections. Therefore, we primarily evaluate skills for organising and understanding the content and appropriateness of language choices in relation to the goal of communication; and we also assess the critical evaluation of the above. The ultimate goal of the assessment is to ensure that students leave school having acquired growing autonomy regarding the continuation of their development regarding language and critical literacy. Metalinguistic terminology learning is evaluated only when it is necessary from a cognitive and strategic point of view in order to discuss and critically assess the functionality of choices around grammar.

Students’ evaluation mainly takes the form of feedback. Keeping in mind the objectives, teachers should observe and support students who may fall behind in one or more areas. Evaluation is made according to the objectives and methodology governing the subject, as previously analysed. Thus, a final evaluation is not made primarily on the basis of the final product, but on the improvement and progress of each student.

The above culminate in the active application of differing types of concurrent diagnostic evaluation. Conventional tests are replaced by the practice of creating portfolios, collecting reflective comments, establishing and strengthening self-evaluations as well as other types of evaluation (interviews, reflective self-comments) both in and beyond the classroom, with the involvement of wider student/learning community. The joint development of assessment criteria from both teachers and students is a particularly useful control mechanism for target-setting and sustainability, as well and a way to assess the language subject as a set of literacy practices whose similarities and differences with non-school literacy practices should be under constant review, since the main purpose of the programme is to develop the critical dimension.

Finally, we evaluate the processes and attitudes developed by the class as an institutional community in the process of understanding and producing discourse. The programme has as a core pursuit, the fostering of critical reflection in the classroom around the specific practices of developing and processing texts (i.e. literacy practices) which have been developed by the class as a learning community.
6.1.6 Glossary of terms

ΓΛΩΣΣΑΡΙ ΟΡΩΝ

γλωσσική ικανότητα (linguistic competence): η διαισθητική (ή και συνειδητή) γνώση της δομής της γλώσσας, που επιτρέπει στους φυσικούς ομιλητές και ομιλήτριες να παράγουν και να κατανοούν γραμματικά ορθές προτάσεις. Η γλωσσική ικανότητα, λ.χ. επιτρέπει στον ομιλητή της ελληνικής να κατανοεί ότι η πρόταση ‘Ο Γιάννης έσπασαν το παράθυρο’ είναι μη γραμματική (μια και δεν τηρεί τους συντακτικούς περιορισμούς που αφορούν στον τρόπο σύνταξης των όρων της εν λόγω πρότασης).

γλωσσική ποικιλία (linguistic variety): η μορφή μιας γλώσσας που χρησιμοποιείται σε συγκεκριμένη γεωγραφική περιοχή ή από συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικές ομάδες. Η γλώσσα των νέων, για παράδειγμα, αποτελεί παράδειγμα γλωσσικής ποικιλίας. Η Γλωσσολογία δεν υιοθετεί μια ρυθμιστική στάση έναντι της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας. Δε θεωρεί κάποιες ποικιλίες ως ανώτερες ή κατώτερες αλλά αποδέχεται αυτές ως εξίσου αποτελεσματικές.

γλωσσική ποικιλότητα (linguistic variation): η φωνολογική, μορφολογική, συντακτική και λεξιλογική διαφοροποίηση που χαρακτηρίζει κάθε ζωντανή γλώσσα και προσδιορίζεται από γεωγραφικές, κοινωνικές και καταστασιακές παραμέτρους. Για παράδειγμα, στο σχολείο και στο σπίτι μπορεί να χρησιμοποιούνται από το ίδιο άτομο διαφορετικές λεξιλογικές και συντακτικές επιλογές για να δηλώσουν τις διαφορές στις καταστασιακές συνθήκες.

γλωσσική λειτουργία (language function): η πράξη που επιτελεί η γλώσσα σε σχέση με τον πομπό, τον αποδέκτη, την εξωγλωσσική πραγματικότητα κτλ. Βασικές λειτουργίες είναι οι:

αναφορική ή περιγραφική λειτουργία (referential/descriptive function): η γλώσσα αναφέρεται στην εξωγλωσσική πραγματικότητα (π.χ. περιγραφή, αφήγηση)

βιωματική λειτουργία (emotive function): η γλώσσα εκφράζει στάσεις, συναισθήματα και βιώματα του πομπού

κατευθυντική λειτουργία (conative function): η γλώσσα κατευθύνει τον αποδέκτη σε συγκεκριμένου είδους δράσεις (παράκληση, προτροπή, πειθώ κτλ.)

φατική λειτουργία (phatic function): η γλώσσα χρησιμοποιείται για να ανοιξεί, να διατηρήσει ανοιχτό ή να κλείσει τον διάλογο επικοινωνίας (χαιρετισμοί, αποχαιρετισμοί, ενδείξεις ότι ο συνομιλητής/συνομιλήτρια παρακολουθεί τα λεγόμενα του ομιλητή/της ομιλήτριας κτλ.)

μεταγλωσσική λειτουργία (metalinguistic function): η χρήση της γλώσσας για σχολιασμό της ίδιας της γλώσσας (περιγραφή της δομής της γλώσσας, αξιολόγηση της καταλληλότητάς της κτλ.)

ποιητική λειτουργία (poetic function): η χρήση της γλώσσας για αισθητικούς σκοπούς.

Από τον Halliday προτείνονται διαφορετικές λειτουργίες, ως εξής:

αναπαραστατική (meta)λειτουργία (ideational metafunction): αφορά
γλωσσικές επιλογές (ρήματα μεταβατικά, αμεταβατικά, λεξιλόγιο κτλ.) μέσω των οποίων ο/η ομιλητής/τριά ή ο/η συγγραφέας παρουσιάζει ένα θέμα και οργανώνει τις πληροφορίες στο επίπεδο της πρότασης.

διαπροσωπική (μετα)λειτουργία (interpersonal metafunction): αφορά γλωσσικές επιλογές που υποδηλώνουν τη στάση του/της ομιλητή/ομιλήτριας ή του/της συγγραφέα απέναντι στις πληροφορίες που μεταδίδει (αν θεωρεί αυτές βέβαιες, έγκυρες, πιθανές, υπό αμφισβήτηση κτλ.) αλλά και απέναντι στο/την ακροατή/ακροατές και στην κατανόηση του/της κειμένου κατά σειρά (αν καθοδεύει τον ακροατή στην κατανόηση του κειμένου του με φράσεις όπως 'στο δεύτερο κεφάλαιο θα γίνει αναφορά'… 'στη συνέχεια, θα αναφερθούμε'…).

κειμενική (μετα)λειτουργία (textual metafunction): γλωσσικές επιλογές (π.χ. συνδετικά στοιχεία, αντωνυμίες κτλ.) μέσω των οποίων ο/η ομιλητής-τριά ή ο/η συγγραφέας συνδέει τις προτάσεις ενός κειμένου (που ονομάζονται εκφωνήματα) μεταξύ τους δημιουργώντας μια οργανωμένη ενότητα.

γραμματισμός (literacy): όρος που έχει αντικαταστήσει τον αρχικά ευρύτατα διαδεδομένο όρο 'αλφαβητισμός', ο οποίος πλέον αναφέρεται στα στάδια της πρώτης ανάγνωσης και γραφής. Ο όρος γραμματισμός αφορά το σύνολο των δεξιοτήτων μέσω των οποίων τα άτομα παράγουν και επεξεργάζονται κείμενα, διαχειρίζονται, συμμετέχουν σε τομείς της κοινωνικής δραστηριότητας.

Διαφορετικοί ορισμοί έχουν δοθεί από τη βιβλιογραφία. Αυτοί εντάσσονται κάτω από δύο μοντέλα, το 'αυτόνομο' και το 'ιδεολογικό' μοντέλο του γραμματισμού.

αυτόνομο μοντέλο γραμματισμού (autonomous model of literacy): πλαίσιο αρχών για την κατανόηση και τη διδασκαλία του γραπτού λόγου. Το πλαίσιο αυτό προσεγγίζει την ανάγνωση και τη γραφή ως γνωστικές μόνο διαδικασίες που δεν επηρεάζονται από τα κοινωνικά συμφραζόμενα. Το αυτόνομο μοντέλο δίνει έμφαση στο τι μπορεί να κάνει ή δεν μπορεί να κάνει ένας/μια μαθητής/τριά στο πλαίσιο του σχολικού περιβάλλοντος και των νέων γνώσεων που διαδίκτυε και όχι τον ομιλητή/τριά ή τον ακροατή ή τον αναγνώστη/αναγνώστρια, υπό κατανόηση και αναπαραγωγή κειμένου. Συμμετέχει στην κατανόηση του θέματος στον/την σύγχρονο καθιστώντας τις γνώσεις που ο/η μαθητής/τριά έχει κατακτήσει στην κατανόηση και αναπαραγωγή κειμένου.

ιδεολογικό μοντέλο γραμματισμού (ideological model of literacy): το ιδεολογικό ή κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό μοντέλο του γραμματισμού εκλαμβάνει τις διαδικασίες παραγωγής και επεξεργασίας κειμένων ως κοινωνικές πρακτικές και αναγνωρίζει τους διάδοχους υποδομές της κοινωνικής διαδικασίας στην οικοδόμηση της γνώσης γύρω από τα κείμενα. Έμφαση δίνεται στην έννοια των ταυτοτήτων που τα άτομα δομούν ως αποτέλεσμα της εμπλοκής τους με τα κείμενα.

οπτικός / εικονιστικός γραμματισμός (visual literacy): σύνολο δεξιοτήτων και πρακτικών σχετικών με την παραγωγή και κατανόηση των νοημάτων που εκφράζονται μέσα από εικόνες, διαγράμματα και εικονικές αναπαραστάσεις που εκφράζονται ως δομές ενταγμένες στο κοινωνικό γίγνεσθαι και ως φορείς ιδεολογικών μηνυμάτων.

κριτικός γραμματισμός (critical literacy): γνώσεις, δεξιότητες και στρατηγικές που αξιοποιούνται από τα άτομα για την κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο χρησιμοποιείται η γλώσσα (λεξιλόγιο, σύνταξη προτάσεων, τρόπος οργάνωσης κειμένου) για την κατασκευή, αναπαραγωγή και επιβολή
συγκεκριμένων νοημάτων στο πλαίσιο μιας ιδεολογικά διαμορφωμένης κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας.

**λειτουργικός γραμματισμός** (functional literacy): γνώσεις, δεξιότητες και στρατηγικές που αξιοποιούνται από τα άτομα για την κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο χρησιμοποιείται η γλώσσα σε ένα κοινωνικό πλαίσιο. Ο λειτουργικός γραμματισμός συναρτάται με την αποδοχή των νοημάτων που μεταδίδονται μέσω της γλώσσας και με τη συμμόρφωση των ατόμων με αυτά, παρά με την καλλιέργεια της κριτικής στάσης των ατόμων απέναντι στα νοηματα αυτά.

**σχολικοί γραμματισμοί** (school literacies): οι γλωσσικές επιλογές μέσω των οποίων δομούνται συγκεκριμένα νοηματα στα μαθήματα του σχολικού προγράμματος (π.χ. γεωγραφία, μαθηματικά, φυσικές επιστήμες), καθώς και οι δεξιότητες παραγωγής και επεξεργασίας των νοημάτων που παράγονται μέσα από τα κείμενα (γλωσσικά και πολυτροπικά) που χρησιμοποιούνται στα διάφορα σχολικά μαθήματα για τη διαπραγμάτευση της γνώσης και την επικοινωνία μαθητών/-τριών και εκπαιδευτικού στη σχολική κοινότητα. Στον όρο αυτό μπορεί να ενταχθούν και οι παιδαγωγικές ιδεολογίες που κατευθύνουν την ανάγνωση και τη γραφή και διαμορφώνουν τις ταυτότητες των μαθητών/-τριών ως συγκεκριμένης μορφής εγγράμματων υποκειμένων.

**ψηφιακός γραμματισμός** (digital literacy): σύνολο δεξιοτήτων και πρακτικών σχετικών με τα κείμενα που το άτομο παράγει μέσω της χρήσης ηλεκτρονικών υπολογιστών ή αναζητά και παράγει στο διαδίκτυο για να συμμετέχει στο κοινωνικό γίγνεσθα.

**αποπλαισιωμένες δεξιότητες γραμματισμού** (decontextualized literacy skills): δεξιότητες παραγωγής και επεξεργασίας μηνυμάτων που δεν μελετώνται σε σχέση με το κοινωνικό περιβάλλον που συμβάλλει στη διαμόρφωσή τους.

**πολυγραμματισμοί** (multi-literacies): σύνολο παιδαγωγικών αρχών που διατυπώθηκαν από την ομάδα New London Group με στόχο να αναδείξουν την ποικιλία των μορφών γραμματισμού – πέραν του γλωσσικού γραμματισμού – που λειτουργούν στις σύγχρονες κοινωνίες (οπτικός, εικονιστικός γραμματισμός κτλ.). Στη σύγχρονη εποχή είναι προτιμότερο να μιλάμε για διάφορους σημειωτικούς τρόπους νοηματοδότησης της εμπειρίας που διαπλέκονται σε ένα κείμενο για τη μετάδοση νοημάτων.

**γράφημα** (grapheme): η γραπτή ή η έντυπη απεικόνιση ενός φωνήματος.

**εννοιολογικός χάρτης** (concept map): γραφική αναπαράσταση εννοιών που αποτελείται από κόμβους και συνδέσεις μεταξύ τους. Οι κόμβοι αντιπροσωπεύουν τις έννοιες και οι συνδέσεις τις σχέσεις μεταξύ των εννοιών. Οι συνδέσεις μεταξύ των εννοιών αναπαρίστανται με τόξα ή γραμμές και μπορεί να είναι μονόδρομες, αμφίδρομες ή μη κατευθυντικές.

**εποικοδομισμός** (constructivism): θεωρία που υποστηρίζει ότι η νέα γνώση οικοδομείται σταδιακά πάνω σε προηγούμενη γνώση. Η προσέγγιση αυτή αναδεικνύει τον ρόλο της κοινωνικής αλληλεπίδρασης στη συνοικοδόμηση της γνώσης. Η γνώση, το περιεχόμενο ενός μαθήματος π.χ. στην προσέγγιση αυτή, δε μεταδίδεται από τον δάσκαλο στους/στις μαθητές/-τρις, αλλά...
συνοικοδομείται μέσα από διαδικασίες κοινωνικής αλληλεπίδρασης (μέσα από συζήτησης στο πλαίσιο της τάξης, συνεργασίας των παιδιών σε ομάδες κτλ.).


επικοινωνική ικανότητα (communicative competence): η διαισθητική (ή και συνειδητή) γνώση των επικοινωνιακών συμβάσεων μιας γλώσσας που κατέχουν οι ομιλητές/-τρις. Οι συμβάσεις αυτές (π.χ. το πώς απευθύνεται κάποιος σε έναν/μία εραρχικά ανώτερο/-η συνομιλητή/-τρια του, το πώς ολοκληρώνει μια τηλεφωνική συνδιάλεξη κτλ.) τους/τις επιτρέπουν να προσαρμόζουν τον λόγο τους στις εκάστοτε συνθήκες και περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας.

επικοινωνικό γεγονός (speech event): μονάδα ανάλυσης της επικοινωνίας σε μια τοπική κοινότητα που συνοικοδομείται από δύο ή περισσότερα άτομα τα οποία ακολουθούν κάποιες συμβάσεις και πραγματώνουν κάποιον κοινωνικά αναγνώρισιμο στόχο. Μια τηλεφωνική συνομιλία π.χ. είναι ένα επικοινωνικό γεγονός το οποίο χαρακτηρίζεται από συγκεκριμένους τρόπους έναρξης και ολοκλήρωσης και έχει έναν στόχο. Το μάθημα σε μια σχολική τάξη μπορεί επίσης να εκληφθεί ως ένα επικοινωνικό γεγονός.

θεσμικό πεδίο (institution/field): σύνολο κοινωνικά θεσμοθετημένων δραστηριοτήτων που συνδέονται με συγκεκριμένους κοινωνικούς ρόλους και μορφές γλώσσας (επίπεδο ύφους, λεκτικές πράξεις/γλωσσικές λειτουργίες, κειμενικά είδη κτλ.)

κειμενικά είδη (genres): λέγονται και είδη λόγου˙ κατηγοριοποίηση της επικοινωνίας σε τύπους με βάση τον έλεγχο γλώσσας, τον δέκτη και την περίσταση επικοινωνίας. Τα κειμενικά είδη αντιπροσώπευον τα χαρακτηριστικά των τυπικών και συμβατικών δραστηριοτήτων που εμφανίζονται στα πλαίσια/θεσμικά πεδία, οι συστατικές ειδικότητες, οι ειδικές και ειδικές λειτουργίες. Τα κειμενικά είδη αντικατοπτρίζουν τα χαρακτηριστικά των τυπικών και συμβατικών δραστηριοτήτων που εμφανίζονται στα πλαίσια/θεσμικά πεδία. Ενδεικτικά κειμενικά είδη τα οποία αναφέρονται είναι η συνέντευξη, το βιογραφικό σημείωμα, το αυτοβιογραφικό κείμενο (στη λογοτεχνία), η αφήγηση προσωπικής επιμελείας (στη λογοτεχνία), οι συστατικές ειδικότητες, οι ειδικές και ειδικές λειτουργίες, οι κειμενικές κοινότητες, οι συντακτικές ειδικότητες κτλ.

κειμενική κοινότητα (discourse community): σύνολο σχέσεων που δομούνται μεταξύ ατόμων που συνδέονται μεταξύ εμπειρικών ρόλων και συγκεκριμένων μαθητικών κτλ. Τα μέλη αυτών έχουν συγκεκριμένους ρόλους και επικοινωνούν μέσω από συγκεκριμένα επικοινωνιακές μέσα και κοινωνικές πρακτικές. Τα μέλη αυτών έχουν συγκεκριμένους ρόλους και επικοινωνούν μεταξύ τους μέσω επικοινωνιακών κοινότητων, παραγωγικές και επεξεργασίας κειμένων. Μέσω από τη συμμετοχή τους σε ποικίλες δραστηριότητες της κοινότητας, τα νεοεισερχόμενα μέλη κατακτούν συμβάσεις κοινότητας, άρθρα, άρθρα, αφήγησης προσωπικής εμπειρίας, οι συντακτικές ειδικότητες κτλ.
κείμενα μέσα από τη συμμετοχή τους σε συγκεκριμένες, ιδεολογικά επενδυμένες, δραστηριότήτες παραγωγής και επεξεργασίας κειμένων. Η συζήτηση των κειμένων σε ομάδες ή η επεξεργασία κειμένων των παιδιών σε ομάδες για παράδειγμα συνιστούν κειμενικές πρακτικές που το νέο Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών επιδιώκει να δημιουργήσει.

κειμενικοί τύποι (text types): κατηγοριοποίηση ενός συνόλου εκφωνημάτων με βάση τα εσωτερικά χαρακτηριστικά του κειμένου, δηλαδή τη γλώσσα που χρησιμοποιείται και τη σχηματική του δομή. Η διάκριση μεταξύ κειμενικών ειδών και κειμενικών τύπων παρουσιάζεται σε ξεχωριστή ενότητα στον Οδηγό του Εκπαιδευτικού.

κοινωνική-σημειωτική λειτουργία της γλώσσας (social-semiotic function of language): η συμβολική κωδικοποίηση και παραπομπή σε κοινωνικές πραγματικότητες μέσα από μορφές γλώσσας, κειμενικά είδη κτλ. Η δόμηση και διατήρηση ή ανατροπή αυτών των πραγματικοτήτων από τη γλώσσα.

λεκτική πράξη (speech act): η επιτέλεση μιας ενέργειας με τη γλώσσα. Οι λεκτικές πράξεις πραγματοποιούνται με εκφωνήματα με τα οποία οι άνθρωποι διαπραγματεύονται σχέσεις, πράξεις, συμφωνίες κτλ. Αποτελούν μέρος της κάθε επικοινωνιακής δραστηριότητας και ορίζονται με βάση τις προθέσεις των μιλητών/-τριών και τα αποτελέσματα που πετυχαίνουν.

λεξιλόγιο (vocabulary): αποτελεί υποσύνολο της Σημασιολογίας και αναφέρεται στις σημασίες των λέξεων.

μεταγλωσσική επίγνωση ή ενημερότητα (metalinguistic awareness): η ικανότητα του παιδιού να σκέφτεται και συγκεκριμένα να ελέγχει τη δομή του προφορικού λόγου. Αποτελείται από τις παρακάτω διαστάσεις:

- φωνολογική επίγνωση/ ενημερότητα (phonological awareness): η ικανότητα του παιδιού να κατανοεί ότι ο προφορικός λόγος αποτελείται από φωνολογικές μονάδες, η ικανότητά του να τις διακρίνει και συνειδητά να τις επεξεργάζεται μέσα στις λέξεις.
- μορφοσυντακτική επίγνωση (morphosyntactic awareness): η γνώση και η συνειδητή επεξεργασία της μορφολογικής δομής των λέξεων και της σειράς των λέξεων και η επεξεργασία αυτών σε σχέση με το αν αλλάζει το νόημα της πρότασης.
- σημασιολογική επίγνωση/ενημερότητα (semantic awareness): η ικανότητα του παιδιού να κατανοεί ότι οι λέξεις είναι αυθαίρετες ενότητες με περισσότερες από μία έννοιας και δηλώνουν αντικείμενα, πράξεις ή γεγονότα καθώς και η ικανότητά του να έχει συνειδητά πρόσβαση στη σημασιολογική μνήμη (δηλαδή σε αποθηκευμένες σημασίες).
- πραγματολογική επίγνωση/ενημερότητα (metapragmatic awareness): η ικανότητα του παιδιού να κατανοεί τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το γλωσσικό σύστημα, οι μονάδες επικοινωνίας (λεκτικές πράξεις, κείμενα) επηρεάζονται και διαμορφώνονται από το πλαίσιο μέσα στο οποίο αυτά εντάσσονται.

Μελέτες που πραγματοποιήθηκαν έχουν δείξει ότι οι μεταγλωσσικές ικανότητες σχετίζονται κατά τρόπο ουσιαστικό με την κατάκτηση της ανάγνωσης και της γραφής.

μεταγνώση (metacognition): η ενημερότητα που έχει το άτομο για τις γνωστικές του λειτουργίες, τους τρόπους με τους οποίους επεξεργάζεται τη γνώση, η ικανότητά του να εκτιμά τις απαιτήσεις του γνωστικού έργου, να
παρακολουθεί, να ρυθμίζει και να ελέγχει συνειδητά, σχεδιασμένα και εμπρόθετα τις διαδικασίες της σκέψης του.

**μεταγνωστική γνώση** (metacognitive knowledge): η γνώση που έχει το άτομο για τις γνωστικές του λειτουργίες, για τη δυσκολία ενός γνωστικού έργου και τις στρατηγικές με τις οποίες αυτό θα υλοποιηθεί, η οποία είναι αποδημοκρατημένη στη μνήμη και ανακαλείται κάθε φορά που το άτομο ασχολείται με ένα σχετικό έργο. Συγκεκριμένα διακρίνεται σε:

**δηλωτική γνώση** (declarative knowledge): αναφέρεται στην επίγνωση που έχει ο/η μαθητής/τρια για το γνωστικό έργο (περιεχόμενο, απαιτήσεις, ιδιαιτερότητες, χαρακτηριστικά, δυσκολία) και τη γνώση για τον εαυτό του/της, γνώσεις και δεξιότητες και στρατηγικές που αξιοποιούνται από τα άτομα για την κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο χρησιμοποιείται η γλώσσα, και τους άλλους ως γνωστικά υποκείμενα, τις γνωστικές τους λειτουργίες, τους παράγοντες που τις επηρεάζουν.

**διαδικαστική γνώση** (procedural knowledge): η γνώση των στρατηγικών, των σκόπιμων και συστηματικών δραστηριοτήτων με τις οποίες ο/η μαθητής/-τρια θα φτάσει στην επίτευξη των στόχων και με τις οποίες θα προσαρμόσει τη μαθησιακή διαδικασία στις ικανότητές του/της. Η γνώση του «πώς» θα εφαρμόσει όσα γνωρίζει (τη δηλωτική του γνώση).

**μεταγνωστικές δεξιότητες** (metacognitive skills): όρος συνώνυμος του όρου «μεταγνωστικές στρατηγικές». Ονομάζονται «δεξιότητες», διότι καλλιεργούνται και υπόκεινται σε άσκηση και βελτίωση.

**μορφολογία** (morphology): τομέας της Γλωσσολογίας που εξετάζει και μελετά τα μορφήματα, ως προς την υφή τους, τα χαρακτηριστικά τους και τις δυνατότητες συνδυασμού που έχουν για να συγκροτήσουν τις λέξεις, καθώς και με τις μορφές που παίρνουν αυτές με την Κλίση, με την Παραγωγή και τη Σύνθεση.

**παραγλωσσικά στοιχεία** (paralinguistic features): όλα τα κωδικοποιημένα συστήματα τα οποία συνοδεύουν ένα εκφώνημα, δηλαδή η προσωπικότητα επιτονισμού, ρυθμού, παύσεων κτλ., οι κινήσεις του προσώπου και των χεριών, η θέση και η κατεύθυνση του σώματος.

**πεδίο** (field): η δραστηριότητα ή το θέμα που αναπαριστά το κείμενο. Πρόκειται για έναν όρο που δεσπόζει στη λειτουργική περιγραφή της γλώσσας του Halliday.

**πληροφορικότητα** (informativity): μια από τις ιδιότητες που συγκροτούν ένα κείμενο, διότι η επιθυμία του/της αναπαραστησιμότητας και η οποία απαιτεί να παρέχει το κείμενο αυτό στους αποδέκτες/στις αποδέκτριες του γνωστικού αλλά και καινούριες πληροφορίες.

**πολυτροπικό κείμενο** (multi-modal text): κείμενο που χρησιμοποιεί για τη μετάδοση μηνυμάτων συνδυασμό σημειοτικών τρόπων. Για παράδειγμα, τα περισσότερα κείμενα των σχολικών βιβλίων, του ημερήσιου τύπου ή της τηλεόρασης είναι πολυτροπικά, αφού συχνά συνδυάζουν γλώσσα και εικόνα ή στην περίπτωση της τηλεόρασης και μουσική.

**πρότυπη γλώσσα** (standard language): η γλώσσικη μορφή που ορίζεται ως επίσημη μορφή της γλώσσας ενός κράτους και χρησιμοποιείται κυρίως στην εκπαίδευση και στη διοίκηση.

**σημειωτικοί πόροι** (semiotic resources): οι διάυλοι (γλώσσα, εικόνα κτλ.) που διαπέραζονται για να δημιουργήσουν τα διάφορα πολυτροπικά προϊόντα (π.χ.
κείμενα) που αποτελούν πηγές νοημάτων.

στρατηγικές μάθησης (learning strategies): εμπρόθετες συμπεριφορές, πλάνα δράσης ή σκέψεων που αξιοποιούν/συμπεριφέρονται την διευκόλυνση να κατανοήσει και να διατηρήσει τη νέα γνώση.

συνεκτικότητα (coherence): χαρακτηριστικό του κειμένου που αναφέρεται στην αλληλουχία σημασιών, η οποία καθιστά ένα κομμάτι λόγου κατανοητό ως κείμενο.

σύνταξη (syntax): τομέας της Γλωσσολογίας που μελετάει τις πλάνα δράσης ή σχέσεις που έχουν να κατανοήσει και να διατηρήσει τη νέα γνώση.

συνυποδήλωση (connotation): η επιπρόσθετη βιωματική ή κοινωνική σημασία μιας λέξης, πέρα από το βασικό αναφορικό νόημα της.

συνοχή (cohesion): χαρακτηριστικό του κειμένου που αναφέρεται στη συγκρότηση σημασιών, η οποία καθιστά ένα κομμάτι λόγου κατανοητό ως κείμενο.

συγχρονική γραμματική περιγραφή (descriptive grammar): η μορφοσυντακτική περιγραφή μιας γλώσσας σε μια συγκεκριμένη χρονική περίοδο.

τόνος (tenor): οι διαπροσωπικές σχέσεις ομιλητών/ομιλητρίων και ακροατών/ακροατικών χρήσης σε ένα πεδίο. Για παράδειγμα, οι σχέσεις ισότητα/ανισότητας, ισοζύγιοτητας ή απώλειας εκφράζονται με συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές επιλογές και τρόπους εκφράσης πληροφοριών σε ένα κείμενο (π.χ. συχνές διακοπές και επικαλύψεις από τον κυρίαρχο ομιλητή).

τρόπος (mode): επιλογές που αφορούν το πώς γίνεται η επικοινωνία σε συγκεκριμένες κοινότητες ή σε οποιαδήποτε πεδίο. Για παράδειγμα, οι προτάσεις ενός κειμένου με βάση παράδειγμα, οι συνομιλητές με βάση πραγματολογικές αρχές και τον κυρίαρχο ομιλητή.

υβριδικά κείμενα (hybrid texts): κείμενα που συμπεριέχουν αντικείμενα από διαφορετικές υφολογικές ποικιλίες (προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου, λόγου χάρη) ή από διαφορετικές ιδιαίτερες συνθήκες.

υφολογική επιλογή (stylistic choice): γλωσσικά στοιχεία που προσδιορίζουν το ύφος, το στοιχείο και τον χαρακτήρα του κειμένου.

υπονόημα (implicature): η υπονοούμενη σημασία ενός εκφωνήματος που συμπεριέχεται από τον λόγο της συνομιλητής/τριών με βάση της προφορικής αρχής.

φώνημα (phoneme): η ελάχιστη μονάδα ήχου μιας γλώσσας που έχει διακριτική λειτουργία, που διακρίνει δηλαδή τις λέξεις μεταξύ τους, π.χ. στα ελληνικά λέξεις τόνος-πόνος οι φθόγγοι τα και π είναι φωνήματα, γιατί διακρίνουν άλλες λέξεις.

φωνολογία (phonology): ο τομέας της Γλωσσολογίας που μελετάει τη φωνολογία και καθιστά ένα κείμενο ως κείμενο.
Appendix 7: Consent form (English version)

PhD project: Policy change in literacy education: the production of the 2010 Greek-language syllabus in Cyprus

Researcher: Maria Magklara, King’s College London

1. **General Information:** You are invited to participate in the research conducted in the framework of my PhD thesis at King’s College London. Your participation is optional and it is important to inform you of what it involves prior you choosing to participate.

2. **Research aims:** The main aim of my thesis is to investigate the curriculum reform which took place between 2008 and 2010. In order to understand the ways in which reforms are developed, as well as the factors that influence their outcome, I focus on language teaching and policy. My exploration of the Greek-language reform is done from an historical perspective.

3. **What the research entails:** In order to investigate the above, I have chosen to collect data partly via interviews. These will be recorded and you have the right to answer as many questions as you wish. Interview duration will be 30-60 minutes.

4. **Confidentiality rules:** The Interview(s) will remain confidential and interviewees will be given pseudonyms in my research, protecting their identities. However, subject to your consent, I will be able to use your name in my thesis, as well as in relevant future academic activities and publications when referring to your interview(s) (you can specify your preference at the end of this form).

5. **Contact details:** For further clarifications or a copy of my final thesis, feel free to state your queries in the course of our interview or contact me or my supervisor at the following contact details (you are also entitled to a copy of this consent form):

   Maria Magklara, [contact no], [e-mail address]
   
   Prof. Ben Rampton, [contact no], [e-mail address]

6. Having been informed of your rights and / or having read this consent form, please indicate below:

   a. I understand that I can withdraw my participation during the interview or at a later stage but no later than 1/2/2018.

   b. I give my consent to the processing of my personal data, based on the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

   c. I consent to the use of my interview for research purposes in the course of this thesis or in future research activities and publications.
d. I give my consent so to the researcher of the thesis in question to use my name in the thesis, as well as related research activities and publications when referring to my interview(s) Please write either YES or NO.

The undersigned ........(name)..................................., I declare the correctness of the above:
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