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Teachers' understandings of citizenship and enterprise in Hungary, Slovenia and the UK

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Introduction

The enlargement of the European Union is bringing together countries and societies with some very different social and economic traditions. Central to the development of the community are the conceptions of establishing a common civic tradition, and of a shared controlled market economy: how possible will this be, given the very different paths taken by many of the newer members of the Union, compared to those of the older members? Citizenship and enterprise appear to be two of the core concepts underpinning the stated trajectory of the Union, but to what extent is there a shared understanding of what these terms might mean?

One might approach such a question by examining the policies of different state institutions, or by interrogating key actors in the political and economic processes – legislators, industrialists, bankers and civil servants. These approaches would give useful insights into policy formation, and allow some evaluation of the degrees of convergence that were (or were not) taking place at this level. This paper has adopted a different approach: to examine the meanings these terms have for those most involved in the transmission of cultural capital to the next generation - teachers. To what extent do teachers – both at primary and at secondary level - share ideas about the meanings of the terms 'citizenship' and 'enterprise' across three nations, England, Hungary and Slovenia?

Citizenship and enterprise were part of a larger study of how teachers conceptualise competition and cooperation in school settings and how these relate to their professional practice. We conducted qualitative studies in each country, observing primary and secondary school classes, interviewing teachers and groups of pupils. This paper reports on one part of this data: the responses to the theme words 'enterprise' and 'citizenship'.

The Associative Group Analysis technique

The Associative Group Analysis technique (AGA) was developed by Lorand Szalay in the late 1960s. It uses continuous free word associations to assess and compare the dispositions of different groups of respondents. Szalay and his associates initially used AGA to compare people from different countries and cultures, including Korea, Mexico, Iran, and the United States; more recently he has developed the technique to compare

those who abuse drugs with those that do not (Grenard, 2002). The approach has also been used to track changes in beliefs and perceptions towards managerial-enterprise concepts in Poland (Mroczkowski, Linowes & Nowak, 2002) and towards socialism in Slovenia and other countries (Pecjak, Farkas and Plichotva, 1994). AGA is non-reactive: it measures perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs without directly asking the participants to identify these characteristics. During the assessment, participants have one minute to write down any words that come to their minds in free association in response to stimulus words ('themes') that are provided. The vocabulary that they use in the free associations is assumed to be a reflection of the person's dispositions.

Analysis of the associations is by scoring common responses, grouping similar responses, and calculating several measures as described by Szalay *et al*. (1999). The associations are scored, based on the order in which the response was given: earlier responses are seen as more closely associated with the stimulus word and to carry more meaning. Responses are then grouped together in categories (Szalay calls this process content analysis), generating comparative images of the groups of participants. Thus responses with common meanings are identified as categories of response to a particular theme (for example the responses 'earnings', 'wealth' and 'money' might be grouped together). Particular categories that are more or less common thus highlight differences in disposition between the participant groups.

Enterprise and citizenship using the AGA technique

Data was collected from fifty primary teachers and fifty secondary teachers in each country. Each respondent was asked to respond to four stimulus words: cooperation, competition, citizenship and enterprise. The words in each teacher's list were then weighted, so that the first word given – the immediate response – was scored 6; the second word 5, the next 4. The fourth, fifth and sixth words were each scored 3, the seventh and eighth words each scored 2, and the seventh and all subsequent words scored at just 1. These weightings - based upon the stability of responses in test-retest trials - were originally determined by Szalay (Szalay & Brent, 1967; Szalay & Bryson, 1974; Szalay & Lysne, 1970; Szalay, Lysne & Bryson, 1972).

When all the lists were scored, the three national teams carried out the content analysis process. We sought to categorise the words given by type of meaning, rather than by precise definition. This took some considerable time, not only because of issues of translation, but – more significantly – of meaning, nuance, and of culture. Finally, for each of our four theme words we were able to describe the particular categories of meaning given by teachers (primary, secondary, and both together) in each country. Because some groups of teachers gave more words in response to certain words than other groups, we then gave each final score as a percentage of total responses (weighted scores multiplied by number of respondents) to the theme word [these scores, out of 100, are indicated by the symbol §: this is used because the number is not a percentage of responses, nor a percentage of respondents, but a percentage of the sum of the weighted scores by that particular category].

As indicated earlier, this was but one element of a larger study. We also conducted qualitative studies in each country: four primary and four secondary classes were observed in each country. We were looking for examples of cooperative and competitive behaviour, both in the pupils' behaviour and in what the teacher sought to encourage. Each teacher was interviewed, following a semi-structured schedule, and focus groups were conducted with small groups of boys and girls separately: in each case the focus was on views of cooperation and competition.

Enterprise: a degree of congruence

Figure 1 lists the seven categories established to include the majority of the responses given to the stimulus word 'enterprise', plus the residual category 'other', established to accommodate the approximately 7% of responses that fell outside these major areas. The use of weighted scores achieved by each group of respondents (represented by §) makes it possible to make relative comparisons between groups, some of whom may have given more responses in total than others.

It is clear from figure 1 that all groups of teachers – in all countries, and in both phases – present many words in the 'business and capitalism' category. But it is also clear that there are other categories where the response is less consistent – the UK teachers, for example, give more weight to 'innovation and risk' than do the Hungarians, who in turn give more responses that the Slovenians.

Examining first those categories where there was the greatest degree of congruence, the 'Business/capitalism' category was rated more strongly by the English and Slovenian respondents than by the Hungarians. The English gave the word 'business' an extraordinarily high response of 12.7§ of all their responses to the stimulus word. (SI 4.6§, HU 1.0§). The Slovenians gave the word 'money' more frequently (8.7§; UK 4.3§, HU5.7§). The English also responded with 'company' or 'business' (5.0§; HU 0.4§, SI 0.2§).   A second category stressed by all three countries was 'work'. The word 'work' (or 'hard work') was given particularly by Slovenians (4.1§) and Hungarians (3.9§; UK 1.4§).

The category of 'motivation' was also given weight by all three countries – though twice as much by the Hungarians and Slovenians than by the English. The Slovenians particularly stressed the word 'success' within this category (7.7§; HI 2.6§, UK 1.0§).

Some other categories were particularly stressed by two countries, but not by a third. Thus the negative aspects of enterprise were given by Hungarians, and to a lesser extent by Slovenians, but hardly at all by the English. 'Failure' was particularly cited by the Hungarians (3.8§; not at all by SI or UK).

Similarly, the Slovenians associated enterprise with 'entrepreneurs', as - to a lesser extent - did the English, while the Hungarians rated this lowly. Slovenians offered words such as 'entrepreneur' (4.1§) and 'manager' or 'leader' (3.7§) (the UK giving 1.8§ and 1.9§ respectively to these terms, and the Slovenians 0§ and 0.2§).

**Figure 1: Responses to the theme 'enterprise'**
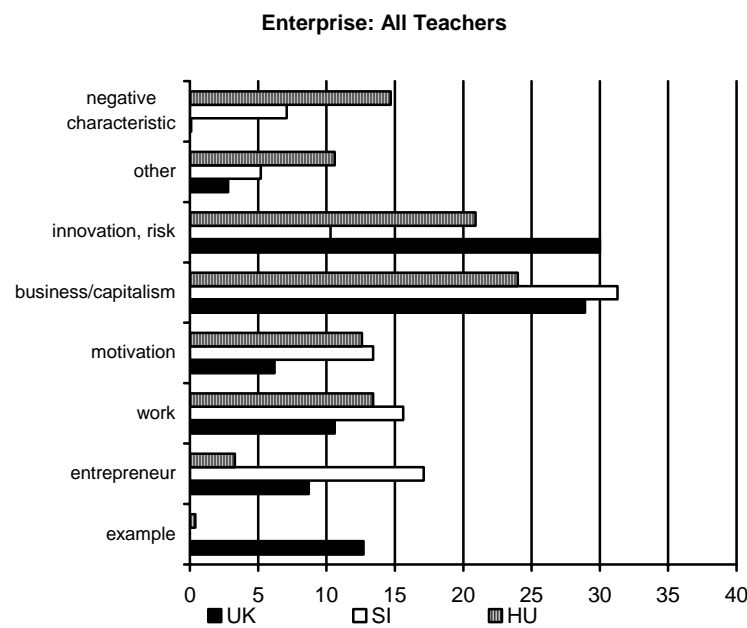
'Innovation and risk' was a particularly strong category for the English, and rather less so for the Hungarians, but rated lower by the Slovenians. The English gave phrases such as 'using initiative' (6.0§; HU 0§, SI 0.6 §) and 'idea/concept' (3.9§; HU 1.7§, SI 0.7§).   The Slovenians did, however, offer words such as 'invention' or 'inventive' (2.7§; UK 2.3§, HU 0§).

The only category that appeared to be unique to one particular country was that of 'specific example'. In the UK, it was relatively common to give an example of a well-known person or activity associated with enterprising or entrepreneurial behaviour. Many secondary teachers (3.8§) gave 'Young Enterprise', a particular programme for schools to create links with local businesses. But in particular, many of the UK respondents gave words associated with the popular television series *Star Trek*, which features a space ship named *Enterprise*.

Figure 2 attempts to show the relative disposition of these categories in the form of a set diagram. Note that many categories fall in the area of maximum overlap, and that relatively few are found in only one country.

Citizenship: a high degree of variance

The differences in associations for 'citizenship' is particularly striking. Figure 3 shows that the Hungarians and Slovenian teachers put most emphasis on 'national' and 'legislative or legal' connotations (45§ of all Hungarian responses, 38§ of all Slovenian responses). The English teachers gave relatively far less emphasis to these two categories (13§ in all), instead giving responses particularly in the 'prosocial', 'community' and 'educational' categories (in total, 45§ for these), much more than the Hungarians (8§) or the Slovenians (6§).

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Figure 2: Relative distribution of 'enterprise' categories between the three countries
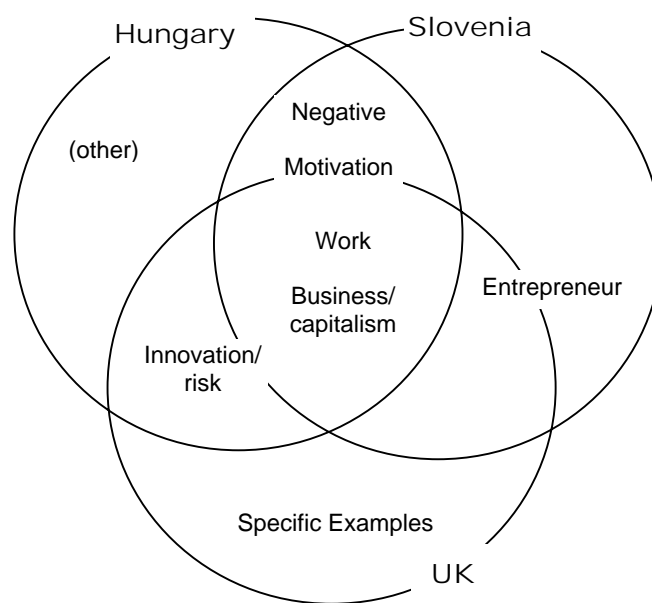
Analysing each of these categories in turn, in the 'national' category, Hungarians in particular gave responses such as 'fatherland' or 'homeland' (6.2§; SI 0.9§, UK 0.0§).   While Slovenians gave 'Slovenia (5.7§), and Hungarians 'Hungary' (5.4§), only 0.4§ of the English responses were 'British' or 'UK'. Slovenians mentioned 'national pride' (4.3§; HU 1.2§, UK 0.8§) and 'Slovenian'/'Slovenian language' 3.7§; HU and UK 0.0§); while the Hungarians gave 'patriotism' (3.8§; UK 0.9§, SI 0.4§).   The English teachers in our sample did not associate the concept of citizenship with their own nation-state, while the Slovenians, and to a slightly lesser extent the Hungarians, did. The 'symbol' category may be mentioned here: words related to symbols of citizenship were particularly cited by the Slovenians – 'flag' (3.5§), 'passport' (2.3§) and 'coat-of-arms' (2.1§): only 1.0§ of the Hungarians or English gave any of these words. It is possible that the collapse of Soviet domination in the late 1980s may have fostered particular feelings of national identity in Hungary, and similarly with the establishment of Slovenia as a new independent state with the break-up of Yugoslavia.

Figure 3: Responses to the theme 'citizenship'

Citizenship: All Teachers
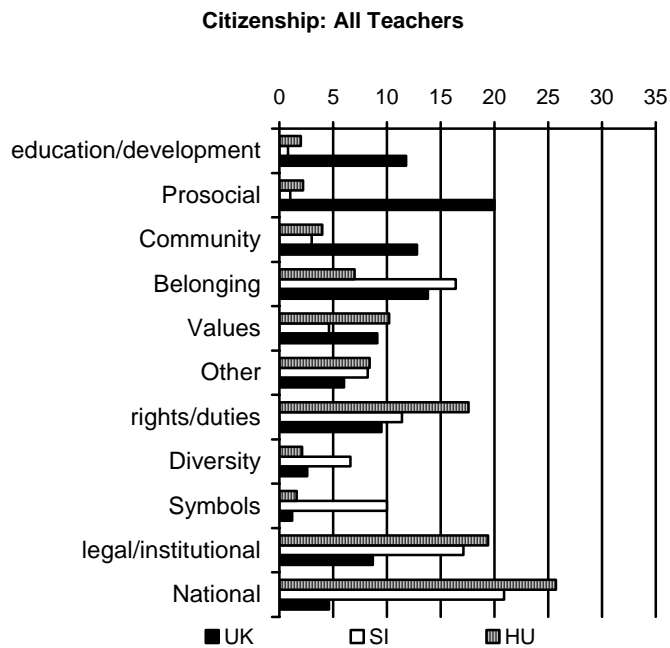
The category of 'legal and institutions' also showed marked differences. Slovenians gave most responses in this category, giving words such as 'state' (5.8§; 1.3§ HU, UK 0.0§); 'documents, records' (5.7§; HU and UK nil). The Hungarians gave a wide number of words in this category, including 'voting' and 'politics'.   The English - much less strong in this category - in particular referred to 'laws, rules and regulations' (4.1§; HU 1.7§, SI 1.7§). It seems that citizenship has a more formal meaning in Slovenia and Hungary, while in England the word is far more often associated (by teachers) with an educational meaning.

To the English, citizenship is about positive social behaviour: a fifth of all their responses fell in this category. They gave a wide variety of words in this group, most of which failed to register in either the Hungarian or the Slovenian responses.   Most common was 'helping/helpfulness' (3.0§; SI 0.2§, HU 0.1§); followed by 'cooperating' (2.0§; SI 0.4§, HU 0.3§), 'decent/human behaviour (1.4§) and 'being a good neighbour (1.3§; neither of these last two words was given at all by the Hungarians or Slovenes).

This tendency is supported by the responses in the associated category of 'community'. The English gave the word 'community' frequently (4.0§; SI 0.4§, HU 0.0§): they also referred to 'society' (2.3§; HU 0.3§, SI 0.1§). It was in England twenty years ago that the

then prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, proclaimed that "there is no such thing as society": clearly many of her teachers disagree!

The English also are distinctive in associating citizenship with educational or social developmental concepts. This is particularly true of the secondary teachers, where citizenship was recently designated as a distinct subject in the curriculum (it is absorbed within personal, health and social education in the primary school). English secondary teachers scored 17.7§ in this category (UK primary 5.7§): it barely rated in Hungary (1.4§) or Slovenia (0.8§).

However, not all differences were between Hungary and Slovenia on the one side, and the UK on the other. The category 'belonging' was rated highly by both the Slovenians and the English, but not by the Hungarians. A massive 12.9§ of all Slovenian responses were that citizenship meant 'belonging' or 'belonging to the country' (UK 4.0§, SI1.3§). The English also gave words such as 'being part of the community', 'togetherness'; both Slovenes and English referred to 'identity'.

Conversely, the Hungarians and English both associated citizenship with 'values' more than the Slovenians. The English referred, for example, to 'morals' (2.2§), and the Hungarians to 'honesty' (0.6§). The English also referred to 'respect', ''values', 'fairness', 'equality' and 'democracy'; the Hungarians to 'freedom' and 'respect'.

The Slovenians emphasise the category 'diversity' in contrast to the English and Hungarians, giving 'refugee' (1.5§) and 'exclusion' (1.4§), which were hardly mentioned by the English of Hungarians.

Figure 4 attempts, as did Figure 2, to show these relative distributions of categories in the form of intersecting sets. The 'citizenship' categories are more likely to be dominant in just one country, or a pair of countries – indeed, no categories appear in the intersection between all three countries.

Discussion

This confirms some of the findings of Davies *et al* (forthcoming), who found that, in respect of citizenship, Hungarians "emphasised community issues and being active less often than teachers in England. Hungarian teachers were less positive about state and civil society and more patriotic about their country… Enterprise is seen less positively in Hungary than in England but all teachers seem wary at least initially about a form of enterprise education that relates directly to the economy."

Figure 4: Relative distribution of 'citizenship' categories between the three countries
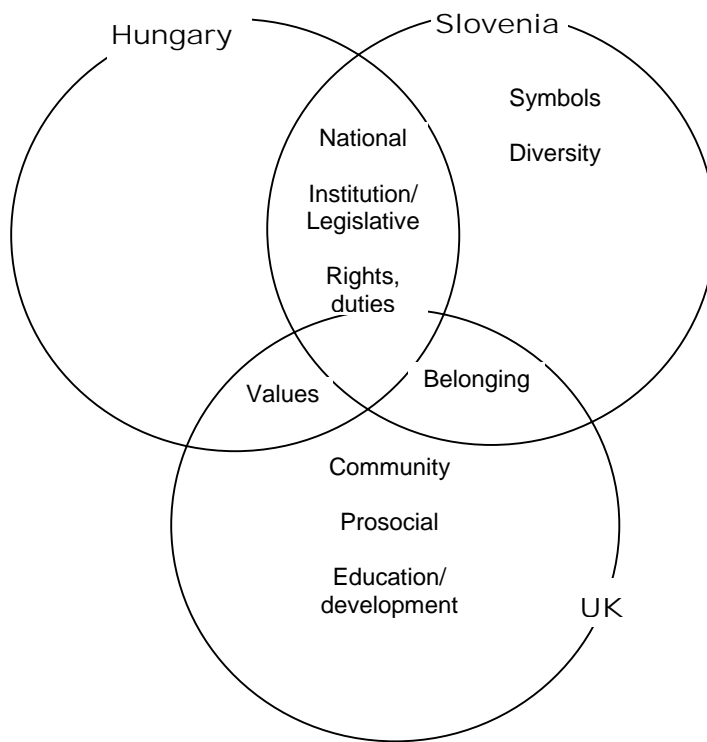
It may be that structural differences in the associations and in the meaning of these concepts can be related to the political, economical differences of the three countries. For example, enterprise in the UK is basically positive, in that role models or representatives of business are given, that innovation is cited. Among the Hungarians, concrete examples are not given but there is a greater emphasis on negative characteristics and particularly on failure. Slovenians show a work ethic in giving ideas related to business, entrepreneurs and work most frequently.

Citizenship is seen is the UK as part of everyday behaviour, of good social behaviour, in an applied and integrated meaning – and with a special focus on educational associations, because of the recent inclusion of the subject within the curriculum. Hungarians understand the concept more formally and as a legal relationship: citizenship appears to have little to do in terms of their relationship and behaviour towards their fellow citizens. The Slovenians share some of these characteristics, but do also include a strong sense of belonging within citizenship.

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