*Alistair Ross[1], Barbara Read[1],
Marjanca Pergar Kuscer[2],
Marta Fülöp[3], Cveta Pucko[2],
Mihaly Berkics[4], Monika Sándor[4],
Merryn Hutchings[1]*

Teachers' Constructions of Citizenship and Enterprise: Using Associative Group Analysis with Teachers in Hungary, Slovenia and England

Abstract

This paper presents findings from a joint project supported by the British Academy and the Academies of Science of Hungary and Slovenia. The research aimed to identify similarities and differences between the ways in which teachers (of primary and secondary age children) in the three countries constructed and understood the terms 'citizenship', enterprise', 'cooperation' and 'competition'. Concepts associated by teachers with each of the four words have been analysed using the Associative Group Analysis technique (AGA), and this paper is based on our analysis of the responses given to the first two of these terms. AGA has normally been used to contrast two populations: this paper demonstrates a novel way to show a three-way relationship. There are significant differences between the different countries, and to a lesser extent between primary and secondary teachers within each country. 'Citizenship' in particular is clearly perceived very differently by the English teachers, who stress words that can be categorised as indicating pro-social behaviour, a sense of rights and duties, being part of a community and being linked to education. These categories were relatively infrequently mentioned by Hungarian or Slovene teachers, who tended instead to stress aspects referring to the specific nation, and legal or institutional terms (which were much less fre-

[1] Institute for Policy Studies in Education, London Metropolitan University, UK

[2] Department of Education, Univerza v Ljubljana, Slovenia

[3] Department of Psychology, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary and the Institute of Psychology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

[4] Department of Psychology, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

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quently mentioned by the English teachers). These results are analysed in terms of different histories, cultural patterns and trajectories, and there is a brief discussion on the implications for the practice and training of teachers.

Keywords: *Citizenship Enterprise Cooperation Competition Teachers*

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 Union are the conceptions of establishing a common civic tradition and of a shared regulated 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, union leaders, 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 from one generation to the next – 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?

This research was part of a larger study of how teachers conceptualise competition, cooperation, citizenship and enterprise 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'.

Enterprise and Citizenship in the educational systems of the three countries

There is in some respects a tension between enterprise and citizenship. Enterprise can be characterised as an activity in which individuals (or specific groups) seek to compete with others in order to create and retain wealth or material advantage, often in a market context. Citizenship, on the other hand, can be characterised as behaviour for the common good, either regulating or empowering the wealth or well-being of society as a whole. In such a reading of the two concepts, enterprise has to be restrained by the commonwealth so that it does not act unfairly, or detrimentally, to the common good; so civic society acts for all (and particularly those who may be weaker or less advantaged), while enterprise (or a particular enterprise) acts on behalf of the few.

But it is also possible to construe the two concepts in a different way. Heater (1999) suggests that the civic republican and the liberal traditions of citizenship may themselves be seen as contradictory: it may not be possible to resolve rival programmes of protecting the rights of individuals and of ensuring that obligations to civil society are kept. This would emphasise the contradiction in attempting to pursue social and political justice in a society subordinate to an enterprise economy. There are alternatives to this: one might point to possible contradictions within societal systems, whether they are enterprising economies or state controlled. In free-market economics we expect actions for others in a political context and individual enterprise in an economic context. In a soviet style economy we expect economic decisions to disallow negative factors such as unemployment, but only a select minority are empowered within the political system.

As Davis *et al.* (2004) point out, there is no *necessary* reason why linkages cannot be made. Democracy is, perhaps, itself an example of enterprise. Enterprise perhaps is an expression of democratic action. The distinction between rights and obligations collapses fairly readily when discussed in particular contexts. Civil and political rights may be used as a lever to ensure that social or welfare rights are achieved. The economic (and political) tensions that lead to migration normally have political (and economic) consequences.

In all the three countries, citizenship and enterprise are perceived both as key determinants and significant outcomes of schooling. All students (as citizens) are entitled to education and are prepared for their role as citizens through schools. Citizenship is now practised in a more enterprising context than in recent years. There is, in all three countries, growing instrumental importance given to the idea of educating citizens who will contribute to particular kinds of enterprise. However, the relationships between education, citizenship and the economy are complex.

In all three counties there has been some bewildering proliferation in the provision of vocational education and 'enterprise' education. This has been in part related to high unemployment, and in part to the need to 'transform' the financial systems of east and central Europe to market-driven economies. These programmes that stress enterprise education have an essentially political nature, in whatever country (e.g. Gleeson, 1987; Bates, 1984; Iredale,1999; Peffers, 1998). This may begin to indicate some of the similarities between Slovenia, Hungary and England.

Enterprise education was a particular phenomenon in England in the 1980s and 1990s, when a series of business-oriented and vocational training initiatives were launched to both address the perceptions of a lack of entrepreneuralism and anti-business/industry among teachers and schools, and to develop an alternative curriculum for 'non-academic' pupils (Gleeson, 1987; Ross, 1990, 2000; Hutchings and Wade, 1992). 'Enterprise' within the school curriculum was largely conceived of within the limitations of profitable private business. Partnerships between industry and education operate across almost all of England.

In Hungary, a similar situation has developed. The Hungarian National Core Curriculum (NAT 1996) places emphasis on the development of economic understanding within a market/capitalist alignment. Organisations such as the Junior Achievement Magyarország (JAM) promote business links with secondary schools, and the development of entrepreneurial skills among pupils. As Rubinstein points out (1993) education systems are necessarily required to assist in establishing the skills infrastructure in a service-based economy

There have been similar developments to promote enterprise education in Slovenian education. A development programme for young people's entrepreneurship and creativity, launched in May 2000, has included nearly 1800 primary school pupils in establishing 'business incubators' for young people. In addition entrepreneurship courses are designed for pupils in 7th and 8th grades of primary schools: 72 schools were included in 2001. In secondary schools, the curriculum includes an entrepreneurship course, linked to the course on economics: pupils study entrepreneurship from the second to the fourth year. The number of participants is increasing after the two-year pilot period and 900 to 1,000 pupils are expected to enrol annually. Links between the Centre of the Republic of Slovenia for Vocational Education and Training (CPI) and the Foundation for SMEs' development at Durham University in the UK are introducing entrepreneurship in secondary school teacher training. A national programme to develop enterprise and business understanding within secondary schools was undertaken in Slovenia in 1996, which aimed to develop enterprise and business understanding within the core curriculum of all general secondary schools in Slovenia (European Commission, 2002).

But in parallel to these innovations in the three countries, there have also been certain degrees of cynicism about the political rhetoric surrounding 'wealth creation'. For example, at the academic level Gray (1998) expresses some reservations about the value of global free markets, suggesting that competitive economies may need to develop differently to match the context of a particular society; while at the popular level sceptical statements about business behaviour are common in the UK (Davies et al (2004) point out that this should not be dismissed as mere 'politics of envy'). There are similar reservations among the Hungarian public, as seen in opinion polls that correlate business enterprise with corruption, inequality, inflation and unemployment (Marián 1994) and in news stories about the business Mafia, and in academic analyses such as Fülöp (2005), whose forthcoming analysis shows that young people in East and Central Europe who have been socialised in the transitional period since the ending of communism have been through a variety of responses to the development of market economies: from an initial euphoric (indeed, almost naive) belief in the efficacy, efficiency and particular opportunities that would be afforded to them by the market; to a realisation that market enterprise economies might also involve losing social security advantages; and to disillusionment with the opportunities afforded to individuals in a system that frequently means that there are more losers than winners, and that capitalism may be as corrupt and corrupting as other economic systems.

Citizenship education has also been strongly promoted, in newly defined ways, in all the three countries in recent years. In the communist era, political education was part of the curriculum in both Hungary and Slovenia, and citizenship education has, to an extent, developed in the post-communist period in the shadow of this, anxious not to be tainted with the notion of ideological training and indoctrination.

In England, citizenship education has been reintroduced and strengthened over the past five years, after a long period of significant neglect. Heater's analysis (1977) describes how, until the late 1960s, political education in England was considered as a subject based on constitutional information, reserved for high status students towards the end of their schooling. In Hungary and Slovenia before 1978, civic education had been a general educational aim, in theory the responsibility of all teachers, but in practice mainly confined to teachers of the humanities. What is significant in terms of this paper is that the programmes, albeit introduced in all three cases with some tentativeness, did not arouse the scepticism and challenges from the teachers that the enterprise programmes had done.

In Hungary after 1978 a special subject of civic education was established, still within the constraints of the communist system. The political changes of 1989/1990 initiated a new kind of support for citizenship education, with a rather looser

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structure than that found in England: 'one of the most important basic principles for the curricula is the absence of politics', as one observer remarked (Halasz *et al* 2001, p 29). In 1996 the National Core Curriculum (NAT) was introduced, and as well as economic understanding this required civic education. An extension to the framework for the curriculum introduced by the Minister of Education in 2000 required schools to determine the nature of citizenship education on an independent basis, but as a field of knowledge that avoided old style allegiances, based on core values (defined as 'democratic, humanistic and European'; Halasz, 2001, p 29). The intention of the National Core Curriculum was that current issues should be taught from grades one to ten, arranged as three units of citizenship education (social studies, civics and economics) (Mátrai, 1999; Kerr, 1999). As in enterprise education, there were a variety of approaches - the KOMP curriculum programme covered social issues for a twelve grade comprehensive school system; the AKG programme focussed on academic economics, for example – supplemented by outside agencies, such as the US- linked Civitas programme, and the Amnesty International-Soros programme.

In England, there was a prolonged period of discussion before citizenship education was introduced. The lowering of the age of majority to allow 18-year-olds to vote in 1970 had an initial impact in starting some discussion. It was clear from academic research that even very young children had the capacity to understand key issues and begin to reason politically, as shown, for example, in the studies by Greenstein (1965) and Connell (1971). At the same time, researchers such as Stradling (1977) were showing what were seen as alarming levels of political ignorance amongst young people: a 'political literacy' programme sprang up in the 1970s, to fall into desuetude when a right wing government, suspicious of perceived left-wing educationalists, came into power in 1979. It was not till the mid 1990s that political opinion began to entertain citizenship education (Davies 1994; 1999). The current version of citizenship education as a National Curriculum subject explicitly stresses political considerations. Citizenship education has been a compulsory subject in secondary schools (11-16 year olds) since September 2002, and included - though not necessarily explicitly in primary schools as part of the Personal and Social education (PSE) programme. It has three interrelated strands, social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. Thus in theory, it is supposed to bring together citizenship as concerned with status (legal/political); identity; and civic virtue, or as Heater put in 'being a citizen in a constitutional framework, thinking about oneself as a citizen of a particular community or polity, and acting skilfully and appropriately within a democracy as a citizen' (Heater 2000).

In Slovenia the changes of 1989-90 resulted in the abolition of the explicit ideological subjects of "self management and the fundamentals of Marxism" (in sec-

ondary schools) and "social and moral education" (in primary schools). There had, in fact, been widespread avoidance by teachers of the transmission of ideological interpretations ('nobody expected teachers to take ideological subjects "seriously"', Šimenc, 2003), while moral education connected to adolescent development had not been avoided. A new subject, 'ethics in society' was introduced initially, and later, in 1996, a White Paper led to a set of laws that was intended, *inter alia*, to 'encourage democracy in the decision-making system' (Šimenc, 2003). As Krek observed,

> The essential premise for the participation in the democratic processes is the development of a critical spirit, personal decision-making, and autonomous judgement. School plays an important role in forming a democratic public, and in the development of the capacity to participate in the democratic processes. The contents of curricula (variations of the so-called citizenship education) as well as their forms are important for such a process. (Krek, 1996, p. 48)

Civic education is now present at all levels in the curriculum, implicitly in subjects such as history, geography and the Slovene language and, in secondary schooling, also in sociology and philosophy. However, the civic education realised here is largely incidental, rather than the outcome of carefully planned learning activities. It is better realised in the compulsory subjects such as Citizenship Education and Ethics (grade 7 and 8) and Civic culture (grade 9). Both grammar and vocational secondary schools teach the subject Civic Culture.

The subject of citizenship education in Slovenia is not clearly defined, however:

> In the subject students acquire knowledge about society, reflect upon their experiences, and develop their capacities for understanding and solving ethical questions. At the end of primary education the subject Civil Society and Ethics connects already acquired knowledge... into rounded, internally coherent yet open interpretative wholes (Schlamberger, 2002, p 5)

Given this pattern of curriculum, which is broadly similar in the educational systems of all the three countries – enterprise education introduced by governments, and accompanied by various degrees of cynicism and challenge by teachers; the commencement of citizenship education being far less contested - it becomes important to try to establish what teachers in each country think these terms mean. Do they have shared views about the connotation of these ideas? What differences are there, and how do these relate to the curriculum initiatives of the last decade and a half? And, particularly as these countries are participating in a Union that seeks to establish a shared citizenship and a shared market system, what do any similarities and differences signify for the development of educational systems?

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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 psychological dispositions of different groups of respondents. Szalay and his associates initially used AGA to compare the dispositions of 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 who do not (Grenard, 2002). The approach has also been used in tracking changes in beliefs and perceptions towards managerial-enterprise concepts in Poland as a market economy developed in the 1990^s (Mroczkowski, Linowes and Nowak, 2002). It has also been used to analyse understanding of political terms, such as 'socialism' in different countries and in different periods (Pecjak, 1994). AGA is non-reactive: it measures perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs without directly asking participants to identify these characteristics. During the assessment, participants write down any words that come to their minds as free association in response to stimulus words that are provided: the language used in the free associations is assumed to be a reflection of the person's dispositions.

Szalay developed his approach from the earlier work of Charles Osgood on semantic differentials (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957), and that of Deese (1962, 1965) and Noble (1952), who showed that free associations can usefully measure subjective meanings. Osgood developed ways of measuring subjective meanings critical to behaviour (Szalay, Strohl, and Doherty, 1999), arguing that though subjective meaning may be difficult to measure, understanding meaning is critical in understanding behaviour (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957). James Deese worked with verbal associations, emphasising that the use of associations was not about investigating particular associations, but that the key observation was determining the pattern or structure of the associated ideas (Deese, 1965). The structure of these verbal associations gives insight into the meaning-based mechanisms of behaviour.

The basic procedure in using AGA is to obtain free word associations and compare the results between different groups of respondents. A stimulus word is given (a 'theme'), and respondents independently write as many free associations as they can in one minute. In the recent work on substance abuse, four stimulus words are given in each of six domains (thus the domain 'Alcohol and Drugs' has the stimulus words: "alcohol", "drugs", "marijuana", and "drunk"). Stimulus words are thus selected in relation to the objective of the research. In the cross-cultural studies that used AGA, initially words were selected to represent particular domains of interest in the culture (Szalay and Brent, 1967). In later studies, stimulus words

were selected to represent key domains in each culture of interest (Diaz-Guerrero and Szalay, 1991; Szalay and Deese, 1978; Szalay and Maday, 1973).

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 (a process Szalay calls 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.

Szalay *et al.* (1999) conducted studies to estimate content validity and construct validity of the technique. Does AGA actually measure perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs through free word associations? It could be that associations are based upon linguistic meaning or simple verbal habits, rather than on an association of concepts suggestive of some psychological meaning. Content validity was partly determined in a cross-cultural study of Korean, Columbian, and American students. Responses for the three groups showed a correspondence between the associations and categories that matched generally known differences in cultural beliefs (Szalay and Brent, 1967; Szalay *et al.*, 1972). Szalay *et al.* (1999) used cultural experts to confirm that the responses in the various categories did reflect the respective cultural values. The relative influence of linguistic factors and cultural factors in verbal associations was studied in cross-cultural studies with bilingual students (Szalay and Windle, 1968).

Enterprise and Citizenship using the AGA technique

Data was collected in each country from fifty primary teachers and fifty secondary teachers. These had varied ages and levels of professional experience. The respondents in each country were working in or near to the capital. In the case of the teachers in England, the secondary teachers were not those specifically responsible for citizenship education in the curriculum, because we were seeking to establish a general professional view of these concepts, not the views of those with very specific responsibilities. In most cases, the samples consisted of groups of teachers brought together from different schools for early evening continuing professional development courses on a variety of subjects (not connected with

citizenship or enterprise). Each group of fifty teachers was composed of teachers gathered on between two and four such occasions, and generally includes teachers from at least twenty schools.

Each respondent was asked to write down, in one minute, a list of all the words that came to mind in response to a key word. They could give as many words as they chose within the time limit. Four words were given: 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: he and his associates evaluated their validity and reliability (Szalay and Brent, 1967; Szalay and Bryson, 1974; Szalay and Lysne, 1970; Szalay, Lysne, and Bryson, 1972; Szalay, Windle, and Lysne, 1970).

When all the lists were scored, the three national teams of researchers compared what had been gathered. 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 to the theme word.

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, 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 conducted with small groups of boys and girls were conducted separately: in each case the focus was on views of cooperation and competition. We report here only on the responses to the theme words 'enterprise' and 'citizenship'.

Enterprise: a degree of congruence

Table 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 the responses that fell outside these major areas. It should be noted that in this article all percentages are of the

total weighted scores achieved by each group of respondents. This allows comparisons to be made between groups about the respective weight given to each category, though not (given the different numbers of responses given) about absolute numbers. Note also that these values are based on weighting the response according to its 'importance' (see above). To avoid confusion with the term percentage, these figures are indicated with the symbol '§' rather than '%'

It is clear from immediate inspection of the table that all groups of teachers – in all the 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 English teachers, for example, give more weight to 'innovation and risk' than do the Hungarians, who in turn give more responses in this category than do the Slovenians.
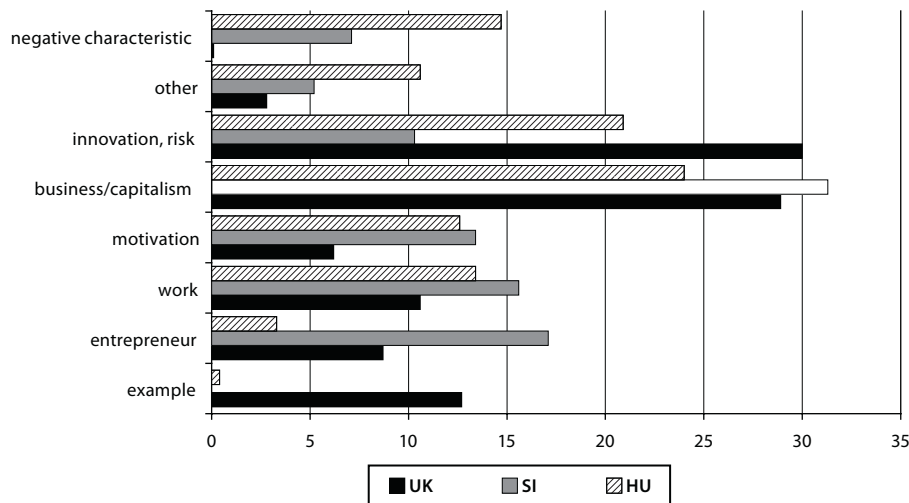
Table 1: Responses to the theme 'enterprise' given by teachers, by country and phase

	England			SI			HU		
	pri	sec	all	pri	sec	all	pri	sec	All
Example	14.3	11.4	12.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.4
Entrepreneur	9.5	8.0	8.7	16.1	18.2	17.1	3.8	2.8	3.3
Work	8.8	12.2	10.6	17.2	14.0	15.6	15.4	11.4	13.4
Motivation	6.0	6.3	6.2	8.2	18.9	13.4	14.3	10.9	12.6
Business/capitalism	25.0	32.2	28.9	38.1	24.0	31.3	25.9	22.0	24.0
Innovation, risk	32.7	27.7	30.0	8.2	12.4	10.3	18.1	23.8	20.9
Other	3.7	2.1	2.8	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.8	15.7	10.6
Negative characteristic	0.0	0.3	0.1	6.9	7.3	7.1	16.8	12.5	14.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Some of these differences can be seen more graphically in Figure 1.

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§; England 4.3§, HU5.7§). (Lists of the most frequently scored words are given in Appendix 3.) The English also responded 'company' or 'business' (5.0§; HU 0.4§, SI 0.2§). A second category stressed by all the three countries was 'work'. The word 'work' (or 'hard work') was given particularly by the Slovenians (4.1§) and the Hungarians (3.9§; England 1.4§).

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Figure 1. Responses to the theme 'enterprise'

The category of 'motivation' was also given weight by all the 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§, England 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 the Hungarians,
and to a lesser degree by the Slovenians, but hardly at all by the English. 'Failure'
was cited particularly frequently by the Hungarians (3.8§; not at all by SI or
England).

Similarly, the Slovenians associated enterprise with 'entrepreneurs', as – to
a lesser extent – did the English, while the Hungarians did not give this much
emphasis. The Slovenians gave words such as 'entrepreneur' (4.1§) and 'manager'
or 'leader' (3.7§) (England giving 1.8§ and 1.9§ respectively to these terms, and the
Slovenians 0.0§ and 0.2§).

'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 'inven-
tion' or 'inventive' (2.7§; England 2.3§, HU 0.0§).

The only category that appeared to be unique to one particular country was that
of 'specific example'. In England, 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 it was striking that many of the English respondents gave words associated with the popular television series *Star Trek*, which features a space ship named *Enterprise*.

These charts and tables do not easily convey the relative constructions and importance given to various meanings by the teachers in each country. Associative Group analysis has traditionally been used to compare two groups of respondents, which makes a comparison simpler to grasp. In order to compare three populations, we have devised a model based on set a theory, with each set representing one population.

The relative weighting given to each category by a country is shown by its position within the sets: one held equally by all the three sets of respondents would be in the central intersection, equidistant between all the three sets; while a category only displayed by one population would only be found within the set representing

Figure 2. Relative distribution of 'enterprise' categories between the three countries
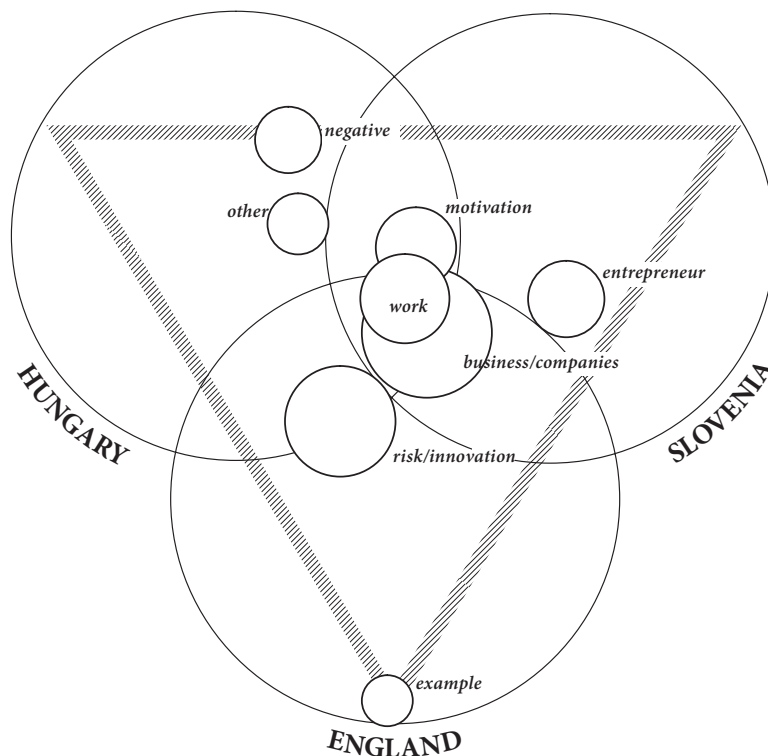
that group. Moreover, the relative importance of a category given by the whole sample (the sum of responses from all the three countries) is indicated by the area of the circle representing the category. The positioning of each category within the sets is calculated by determining the moments around a point: a fuller description of the technique is given in Appendix 1.[5] (Appendix 2 shows the same technique applied to the other two key words, competition and cooperation.)

This display confirms that there is a clear broad consensus on certain aspects of enterprise. Business and work are clearly in the area of intersection between all the three countries. But risk and innovation – the second largest category identified by the sample as a whole – is more clearly identified with enterprise by the English and Hungarian teachers than by the Slovenians. Similarly, motivation is a shared Slovenian/Hungarian concept, largely not employed by the British. There are also some sharp singularities: only the British gave examples of enterprise; the Hungarians in particular gave the word negative connotations; and the Slovenians associated it with entrepreneurs.

However, the general congruence of ideas in the construction of 'enterprise' is evident, particularly when compared with some other themes. Broadly, to the teachers in all the three countries, enterprise means work, business and companies; associations with risk, innovation, entrepreneurship and motivation are also shared by many respondents. Given the very different economic systems that have until recently been in place in the three countries, this degree of congruence is particularly remarkable: how much so will be seen when we turn to consideration of citizenship and the political sphere.

Citizenship: a high degree of variance

The differences in the associations given in response to Citizenship are particularly striking. Table 2 shows that the Hungarians and Slovenian teachers put most emphasis on 'national' and 'legislative or legal' connotations (45§ of all the Hungarian responses, 38§ of all the 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§).

Figure 3 shows these graphically. There appears to be a greater difference between primary and secondary teachers than was the case in the responses to the 'enter-

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[5] We are grateful to David Ross, University College London, for help in devising this system of representation.

**Table 2.   Responses to the theme 'citizenship' given by teachers,
by country and phase**

	England			SI			HU		
	pri	sec	all	pri	sec	all	pri	sec	all
National	5.8	3.5	4.6	20.1	21.7	20.9	31.6	19.4	25.7
legal/institutional	7.9	9.4	8.7	15.8	18.4	17.1	17.8	21.0	19.4
Symbols	2.4	0.0	1.2	12.1	7.8	10.0	2.6	0.5	1.6
Diversity	2.3	2.9	2.6	6.5	6.6	6.6	0.7	3.5	2.1
rights/duties	5.6	13.3	9.5	12.0	10.8	11.4	19.9	15.2	17.6
Other	3.9	8.0	6.0	7.9	8.6	8.2	6.0	10.9	8.4
Values	9.0	9.2	9.1	4.8	4.4	4.6	7.8	12.7	10.2
Belonging	19.5	8.2	13.8	16.6	16.2	16.4	7.5	6.5	7.0
Community	11.9	13.7	12.8	2.7	3.4	3.0	2.5	5.6	4.0
Prosocial	26.1	14.0	20.0	0.4	1.7	1.0	1.9	2.5	2.2
education/development	5.7	17.7	11.8	1.3	0.2	0.8	1.6	2.3	2.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Figure 3.   Responses to the theme 'citizenship'
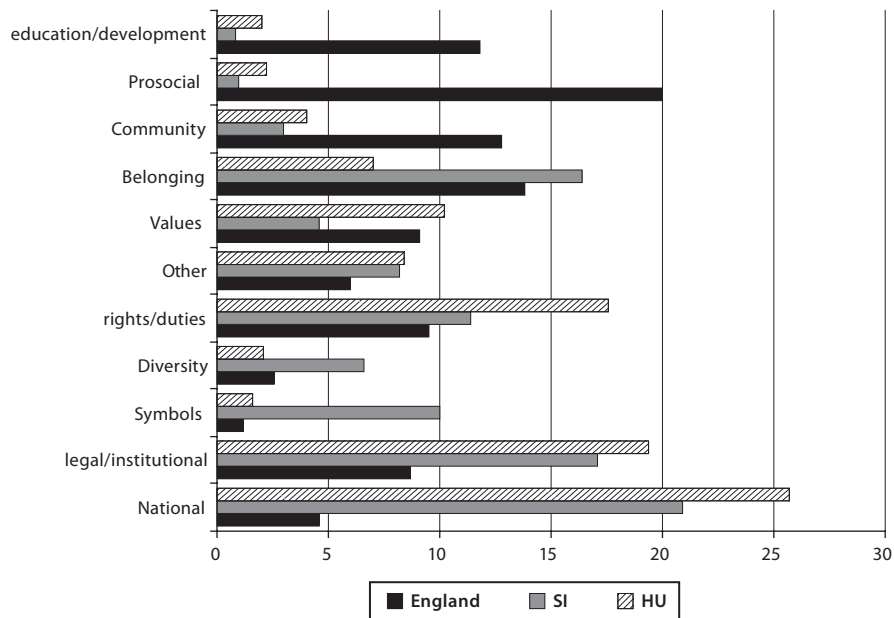
prise' stimulus theme, particularly in the case of the Hungarians and the British teachers. The English primary teachers stress 'belonging' more than their secondary counterparts, and the primary teachers gave more emphasis to 'rights and duties' and 'education'; the Hungarian secondary teachers are more emphatic about 'values'.

The category of 'legal and institutions' also showed marked differences. The Slovenians gave most responses in this category, giving words such as 'state' (5.8§; 1.3§ HU, England 0.0§); 'documents, records' (5.7§; HU and England 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§).

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 being 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 (England 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 England on the other. The category 'belonging' was rated highly by both the Slovenians and the English, but not by the Hungarians. A substantial 12.9§ of all the Slovenian responses were that citizenship meant 'belonging' or 'belonging to the country' (England 4.0§, HU 1.3§). The English also gave words such as 'being part of the community', 'togetherness'; both the Slovenes and the English referred to 'identity'.

Conversely, the Hungarians and the 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 emphasised the category 'diversity' in contrast to the English and the Hungarians, giving 'refugee' (1.5§) and 'exclusion' (1.4§), which were hardly mentioned by the English or the Hungarians.

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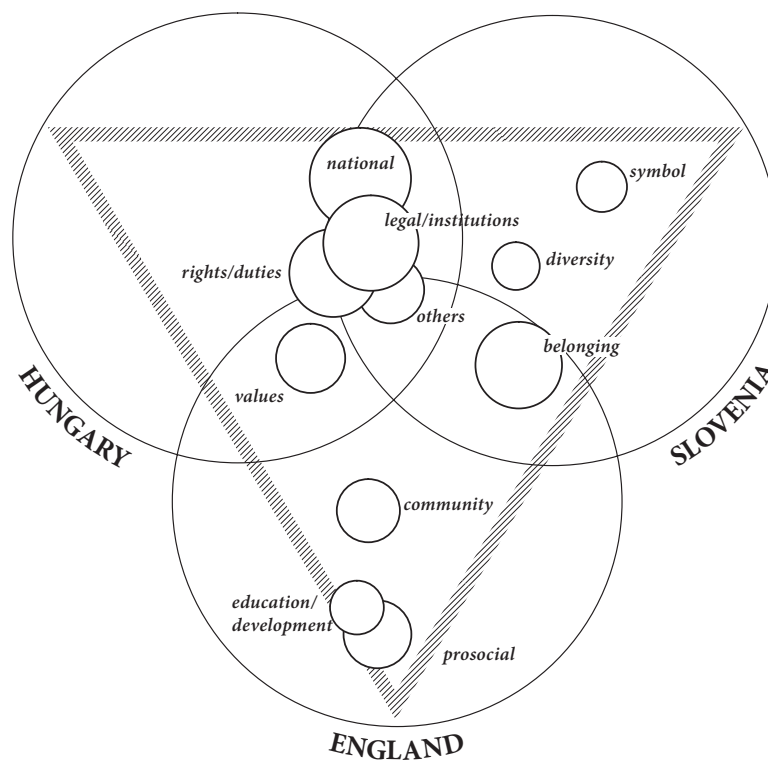
Figure 4 attempts, as did Figure 2, to show these relative distributions of categories in the form of intersecting sets. The 'citizenship' categories are more often dominant in just one country, or a pair of countries – indeed, no categories appear in the intersection between all the three countries.

The English sample see citizenship broadly in terms either of relationships (community, prosocial behaviour, a sense of belonging, values) or educational activities (reflecting the recent introduction of citizenship education into the national cur-

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riculum). The Slovenians have rather different priorities – legal, national, symbolic, encompassing diversity, as well as belonging. The Hungarians see citizenship more as institutional, legal and national, with associated rights and duties. This concept is clearly problematic in terms of discussions and initiatives within the European context. This has been noted more widely: a briefing note prepared by Eurydice for the Ministers of Education and Culture (Eurydice 2004) noted that 'citizenship' did not often simply translate into 'an equivalent term referring to the role of citizens in a society where they coexist with others. In some countries and depending on the context, the translated term can denote either a legal status or [a] social role whereas, in others, these dimensions are weaker or non-existent' (p 10). Teachers in different countries are likely to have very different ideas about what is meant by the term. The diagram above does tend to show that Hungary and Slovenia, two former Communist societies, share particular attributes (national, legal/institutional and rights and duties) that may reflect a rather more precise and textual relationship that reflects this heritage. On the other hand, Slovenia was not within the Soviet ambit, and Slovenia and England have a shared perception of citizenship as a sense of belonging, noticeably absent from the Hungarian teachers.

Discussion

These findings confirm some of the conclusions of Davies *et al* (2004), 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.'

It may be that structural differences in the associations and in the meaning of these concepts can be related to the political and economic differences between the three countries. For example, enterprise in England is basically positive, in that role models or representatives of business are given as responses, and 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 demonstrate a work ethic in giving ideas related to business, entrepreneurs and work most frequently. But these differences are relatively slight: as has been indicated, what is really significant is the degree to which common ideas of enterprise are held by teachers who were socialised under very different economic systems.

Yet they were also socialised in very different political circumstances. The former political regimes of Hungary and Slovenia (when part of Yugoslavia) were authoritarian, and the relationship between citizens and state contrasts with that found in England at the same time. Does this account for the different conceptions of citizenship that are shown so dramatically in Figure 4? Citizenship is seen in England 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. The Hungarians understand the concept more formally and as a legal relationship: citizenship appears to have little to do with 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. The degree of overlap between Slovenia and Hungary is evident, and may reflect some common heritage.

Setting these findings alongside the descriptions of curriculum innovations in all the three countries in enterprise education and citizenship education, a series of interesting questions arise. As described earlier in this paper, enterprise education was contested in various ways by teachers, who were in many cases uncertain, unhappy or perplexed by the perception that business-oriented perspectives should be introduced to pupils. The analysis of this data, presented above, suggests that there was a broad consensus between the teachers in all the three countries as to what enterprise means: work and employment related activities in businesses and companies, perhaps involving innovation and risk, motivation and entrepreneurial behaviour.

By way of contrast, the introduction of citizenship education was not a matter of controversy within the teaching profession in any of these three countries, and seems broadly to have been welcomed [apart from some reservations about further pressure on time] as promoting many of the social and communal aspirations that are a characteristic of teachers. Yet there is no clear consensus as to what citizenship means. In England it evokes communitarian and identity ideas; in Slovenia and Hungary concerns with legal status and national institutions.

The implications of this for teaching and learning in these three countries – and indeed, across Europe, are potentially significant. In terms of understanding enterprise, it seems that there is some congruence over the meaning of the term, which is potentially helpful in establishing dialogue between teachers in all the three countries. However, this is not the same as understanding the consequences of the activity. We have noted above Fülöp's findings (2005) of large-scale disillusionment and cynicism about the market economy among the young people of East and Central Europe.

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However, the principal significance for teaching and learning in this study lies in the responses to citizenship. It appears that local and contingent demands for the development of citizenship in each country – and perhaps some deeper cultural differences – have resulted in different conceptions of what the term means. This has major implications for teaching and learning in Citizenship Education in each of the three countries, and for the development of shared understanding and actions across the expanded European Union. Are the differences noted here contingent on the particular political immediacies of each of the three states? Two states, Hungary and Slovenia, have relatively recently embarked on the introduction of a new political culture, which may take a generation or more to achieve, while England [as opposed to the UK] is adjusting to a new series of identity crises as regional devolution of government is established. Or are there deeper cultural forces, that might make the achievement of shared aspects of civic identity more difficult to achieve in the future?

The European Union and its enlargement are based on both establishing a common civic tradition and a shared regulated market economy. The evidence collected here is that the main public agents of cultural transmission, the teachers, are not of a common mind concerning civic education and the meaning of citizenship, though not antagonistic to the conception. On the other hand, they do have a shared view of the meaning of enterprise in a market economy, but in this case there is some scepticism about its place and value within the school curriculum.

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Appendix 1:
Associative group analysis with three populations:
a form of diagrammatic representation using set theory

This is a form of representation that shows the various different emphases placed on the understsanding of particular themes, and is a variation on the Associative Group Analysis technique (AGA) developed by Lorand Szalay. AGA is normally used to compare two groups of population: the technique described here shows the relationship between three different groups.

Each theme can be shown in a Venn diagram, showing three intersecting sets that represent each population. The categories are then shown within the Venn diagram. The position of each category is calculated by the relative proportion scored by each of the three populations.

Thus, for example, a category that scored equally by all three populations would appear in the very centre, at the intersection between the three circles [●]. One that was only recorded by two of the populations, but not at all by the third, would appear on a line stretching between the two respecive circles, its position on that line reflecting the relative score given by each of the two populations [○].

These positions are determined by calculating the moments around a point. The three countries are represented by the three vertices of an equilateral triangle. The relative position between two countries is calculated as the moment around the point representing the third country. A line [①]joins the vertices to the point on the opposing side. The process is repeated [②], and the intersection [●] defines the position of the category. A third iteration [③] confirms the position.
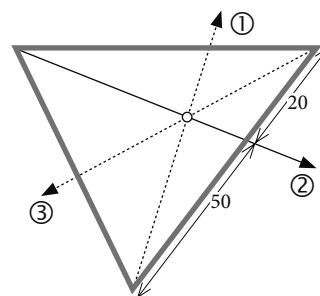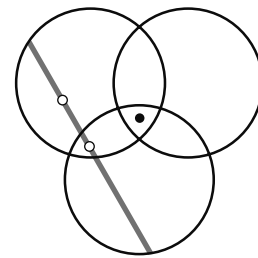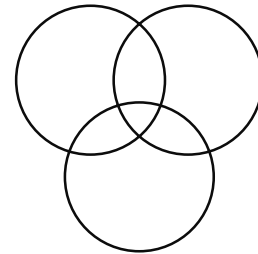
As a further refinement, the relative weight given to each category is shown by the area of the circle.
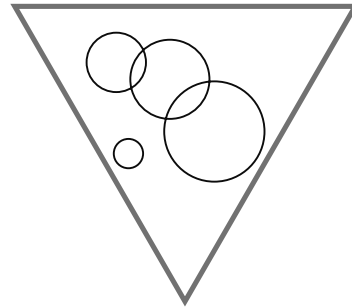
The triangle has the three intersecting sets imposed over it. Categories can only appear with their centres within the triangle.
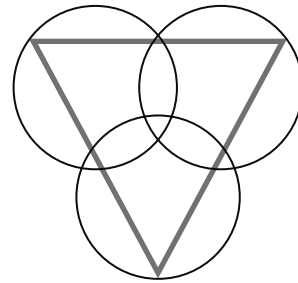
The positioning of the sets is such that half the area within the triangle falls within each circle: 50% of the possible positions lie within each circle (a = b).
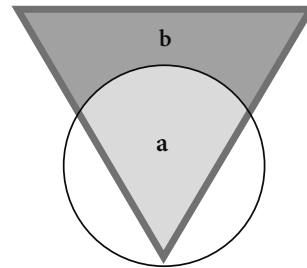
We are grateful to David Ross for his help in devising this sytem of representation.

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Appendix 2:
Diagrammatic representations of Competition and Cooperation

Cooperation
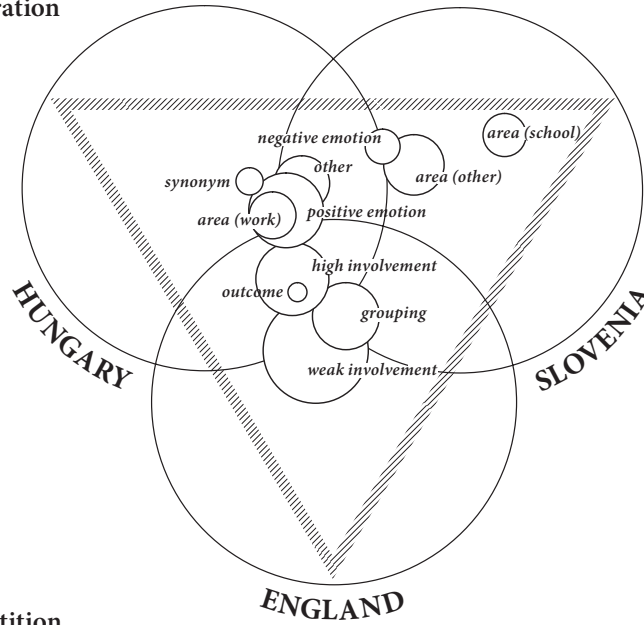
Competition
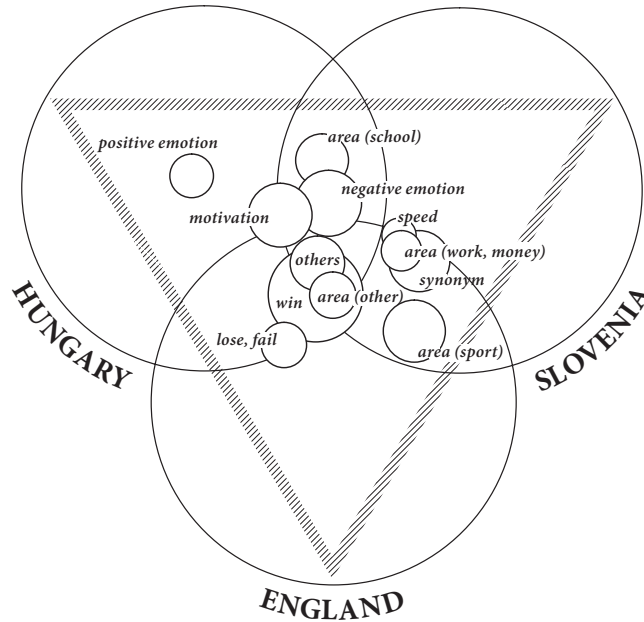
Appendix 3:
Most frequent words/phrases volunteered for key concepts

Only words scoring more than 2.5 shown. Categories which score over 2.5 shown **bold** and in a box.

ENTERPRISE	HUNGARY			ENGLAND			SLOVENIA		
	pri	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*
Business/capitalism	**23.5**	**20.0**	**21.8**	**23.6**	**29.9**	**27.0**	**33.0**	**20.6**	**27.0**
administration, accounting, rules	2.6	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.5
Business (es)	2.0	0.0	1.0	12.6	12.8	12.7	6.8	2.3	4.6
Company, PLC, corporation, firm	0.3	0.6	0.4	4.2	5.7	5.0	0.0	0.4	0.2
earnings, wealth, dividend	2.2	0.4	1.4	0.0	1.3	0.7	3.6	2.0	2.8
Money	1.4	10.2	5.7	4.7	4.1	4.3	9.9	7.3	8.7
Profit-making	3.8	2.0	2.9	1.5	2.3	2.0	0.9	2.4	1.7
property, egs of status symbols	1.4	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	2.2	2.8
Shop, trade, selling, commerce	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	2.4	1.3	3.6	0.5	2.1
Taxes, expense	7.1	3.4	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.6
Entrepreneur	**3.0**	**0.4**	**1.8**	**7.8**	**7.6**	**7.7**	**15.9**	**15.1**	**15.5**
business acumen, personality	2.2	0.4	1.4	0.7	2.0	1.4	0.9	4.3	2.5
entrepreneur (ing)	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	1.8	6.4	1.5	4.1
Knowledge, skill, expertise, education	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.9	3.9	2.4
manager, leader, leadership	0.4	0.0	0.2	2.0	1.9	1.9	4.8	2.6	3.7
Example	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**5.9**	**8.3**	**7.2**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
Star Trek	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.8	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
young, young enterprise	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
star ship	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	3.7	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
innovation, risk	**16.3**	**21.6**	**18.9**	**24.7**	**22.8**	**23.6**	**4.3**	**9.4**	**6.8**
creative, creating, lateral thinking	0.7	3.8	2.2	2.7	1.5	2.1	1.5	1.9	1.7
idea (s), concept	1.8	1.5	1.7	5.1	3.0	3.9	0.0	1.4	0.7
Initiative	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	6.8	6.0	0.0	1.2	0.6
Invention, inventive, innovation	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	1.4	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7
new, original, novelty	1.8	0.0	0.9	2.6	1.2	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
opportunity (ies)	3.1	1.7	2.4	1.7	3.1	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
risk, courage, luck	8.8	14.7	11.6	0.7	3.2	2.0	0.2	2.2	1.2
Motivation	**9.3**	**7.5**	**8.5**	**2.9**	**3.1**	**3.0**	**7.0**	**15.4**	**11.1**
moving forward	1.2	2.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Success	2.5	2.8	2.6	0.5	1.4	1.0	5.3	10.1	7.7

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ENTERPRISE	HUNGARY			ENGLAND			SLOVENIA		
	pri	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*
Unbound working hours	3.7	0.6	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Negative characteristic	**11.8**	**7.0**	**9.5**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**0.1**	**5.5**	**5.7**	**5.6**
Corruption, mafia, stealing	1.8	2.7	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.6	1.0
Failure	4.5	3.1	3.8	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
stress, worries, problems, troubles	3.3	0.6	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	1.4
Other	**1.8**	**8.7**	**5.1**	**0.7**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**1.3**	**1.5**	**1.4**
Individual	0.3	4.3	2.2	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.2
Responsibility	0.0	2.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Work	**10.9**	**8.0**	**9.5**	**2.2**	**4.6**	**3.5**	**10.3**	**10.1**	**10.2**
Diligence, activity, conscientiously	0.0	0.8	0.4	0.0	2.1	1.1	3.1	2.4	2.8
hard work	3.9	3.8	3.9	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.8
job, occupation, profession	4.7	2.0	3.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.8	2.1	2.4
Work	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.7	1.3	3.5	3.0	3.3

CITIZENSHIP	HUNGARY			ENGLAND			SLOVENIA		
	pri	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*
Belonging	**5.4**	**4.4**	**4.9**	**19.5**	**8.2**	**13.8**	**18.9**	**17.7**	**18.3**
Belonging, b. to the state, people	1.6	1.0	1.3	5.3	2.6	4.0	13.6	12.3	12.9
Together (ness), unity	0.0	0.6	0.3	2.5	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Community	**1.8**	**3.8**	**2.8**	**11.9**	**13.7**	**12.8**	**3.1**	**3.7**	**3.4**
Community	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	5.0	4.6	0.5	0.4	0.4
country (ies)	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
People, population	0.4	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.2	0.6	1.9	2.7	2.3
Society	0.0	0.5	0.3	1.0	3.5	2.3	0.0	0.2	0.1
Diversity	**0.5**	**2.4**	**1.5**	**2.3**	**2.9**	**2.6**	**7.4**	**7.2**	**7.3**
Exclusion	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.4	1.4
Refugee	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.4	1.5
education/development	**1.2**	**1.6**	**1.4**	**5.7**	**17.7**	**11.8**	**1.4**	**0.3**	**0.8**
PHSE	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	4.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Socialisation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
legal/institutional	**12.9**	**14.3**	**13.6**	**7.9**	**9.4**	**8.7**	**18.0**	**20.1**	**19.1**
Documents, record	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.7	4.7	3.7
Election, voting	1.7	1.1	1.4	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.9	0.9
Law(s), Rules, regulation, order	2.3	1.2	1.7	4.1	4.1	4.1	1.7	1.6	1.7

CITIZENSHIP	HUNGARY			ENGLAND			SLOVENIA		
	pri	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*	*pri*	*sec*	*all*
State	0.6	1.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	4.9	5.8
Prosocial	**1.4**	**1.7**	**1.5**	**26.1**	**14.0**	**20.0**	**0.5**	**1.9**	**1.2**
A good neighbour, neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cooperating, cooperativity	0.0	0.5	0.3	2.9	1.1	2.0	0.2	0.5	0.4
help(ing)(fulness), helping others	0.0	0.3	0.1	4.3	1.9	3.0	0.0	0.4	0.2
National	**23.0**	**13.2**	**18.1**	**5.8**	**3.5**	**4.6**	**22.9**	**23.7**	**23.3**
Hungarian/British/Slovenian	7.4	3.4	5.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	5.4	6.0	5.7
Fatherland, homeland	7.1	5.2	6.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.4	0.9
Language	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	3.2	3.7
nationally feeling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.8	1.7
patriot (ism), for good of nation	4.6	3.1	3.8	1.4	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.2	0.4
Pride, proud	1.9	0.4	1.2	1.4	0.3	0.8	3.8	4.8	4.3
Other	**4.3**	**7.4**	**5.9**	**3.9**	**8.0**	**6.0**	**9.0**	**9.4**	**9.2**
being a (good) citizen	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6	4.0	1.7	2.8
Citoyen	0.0	3.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
rights/duties	**14.5**	**10.3**	**12.4**	**5.6**	**13.3**	**9.5**	**13.7**	**11.8**	**12.7**
duty (ies), requirements	7.2	4.1	5.6	0.5	1.2	0.8	5.2	4.0	4.6
responsible (ity)	1.5	1.2	1.4	2.4	5.4	3.9	1.1	0.5	0.8
Rights, voting- human- civil-	2.9	3.2	3.0	0.5	2.5	1.5	4.3	5.0	4.7
Secure, security	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.3	2.4	1.1	1.7
Symbols	**1.9**	**0.4**	**1.1**	**2.4**	**0.0**	**1.2**	**13.8**	**8.6**	**11.1**
coat- of- arms	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	1.1	2.1
Flags	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.1	4.6	2.5	3.5
Passport	0.6	0.0	0.3	1.8	0.0	0.9	1.8	2.8	2.3
Values	**5.7**	**8.6**	**7.2**	**9.0**	**9.2**	**9.1**	**5.4**	**4.8**	**5.1**
Honesty	2.4	0.8	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
moral (s)	0.0	1.0	0.5	1.5	2.9	2.2	0.5	0.7	0.6