

'Citizenship': what does it mean to trainee teachers in England and Hungary?

UDK:371.14
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Primljeno: 5.12.2009.

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Abstract

People growing up and living in different political systems and societies can have different answers to the question: 'What is citizenship?' It is especially important to know how future teachers answer this question as they will be one of the main socializing agents of the young generation and will be involved in the transmission of cultural capital from one generation to the next.

In this paper we describe the context for an empirical study by drawing attention to the increasingly high profile of citizenship and citizenship education that has been generated through claims of contemporary societal crisis, new forms of governance, and a heightened emphasis on identity. We discuss the findings of a research project in which 100 trainee teachers in England 100 trainee teachers in Hungary provided data through the use of the Associative Group Analysis (AGA) technique (Szalay and Brent 1967) about their understandings and perceptions of 'citizenship'. This study took place at a critical point when in both Hungary and England new national curricula were introduced for implementation in 2008. We present our findings and discuss the greater attention given by Hungarians compared with the English sample to national issues and the significance of institutions. We note that the English respondents have a more expansive characterisation of citizenship in that they are more likely to draw attention to a wider range of issues than the Hungarians. English trainee teachers refer to the community more readily than the Hungarians. Both groups mention rights and duties. There is relatively little attention given by both groups to citizenship in relation to economic issues (including money and work) and diversity. We argue that particular political contexts are associated with different characterisations of citizenship; beyond rather broad labelling about democratic community, participation and identity that are used to characterise citizenship in the literature these ways of understanding may not relate precisely to the nuances that may be present in empirical data; and, that aspects of some contemporary debates about citizenship are not aligned with the perceptions of people in our sample about what citizenship means. We suggest that researchers could usefully further explore whether academic and policy-related commentators could frame their understandings of overarching notions of citizenship more closely to research-based data.

Key words

citizenship, citizenship education, trainee teachers, England, Hungary

Introduction

This article focuses on the meaning ascribed by trainee teachers in Hungary and England to the word 'citizenship'. It is important to investigate the perceptions of trainee teachers whose thinking is, simultaneously, reflective of the ways in which citizenship is currently perceived and also illustrative of what will happen to the nature of citizenship and citizenship education once it is engaged within educational and other contexts by key opinion formers such as teachers. We suggest that the members of our sample are both mirrors of what citizenship is, and, actors in its future development.

We provide some contextual remarks about the nature of citizenship and explain why debates about it are conducted so prominently. Following an explanation of research methods used to gather and analyse data from a total of 200 trainee teachers in England and Hungary, we present our findings and then discuss emerging issues. We suggest that trainee teachers in England have an expansive notion of citizenship referring to more ideas and issues than the Hungarians. The latter tend to emphasise institutional and national matters in their characterisation of citizenship. English trainees refer more readily to the significance of community, to education and school and ethics, norms and democratic values than the Hungarians. Both groups mention rights and duties. Both groups give relatively little attention to a variety of other ways of characterising citizenship and mention only infrequently economic and financial matters and issues to do with diversity. In the final section of this article we suggest some priorities for researchers, policy makers and teachers.

Context

Citizenship

Citizenship is a key concept and practice in global contemporary society (Isin and Turner 2005). National citizenship has long been debated. Forms of citizenship were and are highly significant in socialist countries as well as in liberal democracies. Eastern societies have always been concerned with citizenship and there is now more formal and explicit consideration of its nature. In the 'west' (Europe, the US and Australia) citizenship has been influenced by debates about communitarianism and is discussed in terms of participation in national and transnational settings. In Japan debates are held about different forms of citizenship by using the words *shimin* and *kumin*. In China new civic education centres are being established (e.g. see <http://www.gmjyzyx.com/> accessed 1 October 2007) and there has since at least the

1980s been strong interest in Hong Kong in explicit forms of liberal civic education. Other Asian nations such as Singapore and Taiwan show strong interest in such matters. Many African, South American and other countries are similarly energised by such debates.

It is not straightforward to identify the nature of what is discussed in such high profile contexts. Perhaps two aspects are important: the meaning of membership of a community and what sort of action is congruent with the status of citizen. Within these 2 aspects characteristics of citizenship are developed by reference to several concepts and perspectives. It is possible that connections are being made between citizenship, politics and democracy (Crick 2007). The meanings of any one of these areas – citizenship, politics, democracy - is subject to fierce debate. It is difficult (Kekic 2007) to estimate the number of countries that are democratic and there are variants of democracy. Coppedge (2005), for example, refers to thin (minimalist) and thick (maximalist) concepts of democracy. Recently there has been a significant emphasis on what loosely can be referred to as communitarianism (Frazer 1999) with concern about rates of participation in democratic societies. Many commentators suggest that although micro participation has increased (e.g. talking with the teachers of one's children; becoming involved with health workers in order to ensure the best possible care for relatives; expecting planning officials to take individual circumstances into account), macro participation (e.g. voting; trade union membership; membership of political parties) has declined. In an age of greater population movements and given that citizenship is a means by which one can identify who belongs to a state and so is entitled to the benefits of such membership it is perhaps unsurprising that there is heated debate. Connected to these claims of opportunities and crisis in an elaboration of politics, democracy and citizenship, are debates about new forms of governance. The power and influence exercised by the nation state is open to question. Devolution (e.g. Scotland; Belgium), the break up of old states (e.g. Yugoslavia) and the development of new countries (e.g. Slovakia) mean that the question of citizenship or to where does one belong is crucial. Although it is uncertain that the nation state is declining, it seems clear that transnational forms of governance are developing. This is expressed with variations in economic, cultural and political focus in groupings such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Council of Europe, The Organisation of African Nations (OAN), the United Nations and the European Union. Beyond these associations the role of transnational corporations is regularly cited by those engaged in citizenship debates and it is noticeable that many of those bodies refer explicitly to their own role in what they refer to as

'corporate citizenship' (e.g. see Microsoft <http://www.microsoft.com/about/corporatecitizenship/citizenship/default.aspx> and Coca Cola http://www.coca-cola.co.uk/what_we_do/ accessed 1 October 2007) where the phrase 'corporate responsibility' is used interchangeably with the word 'citizenship'. All teachers (in their roles as individual citizens and also as professionals involved in citizenship education) are shaping future generations. We need to know what they think if we are to understand the sort of society that exists and might exist in the future.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is now a globally established phenomenon with national governments promoting it in many parts of the world. The Discovering Democracy programme in Australia (<http://www.curriculum.edu.au/democracy/> accessed 5 August 2005) has attracted attention. In Ontario, Canada (see Ministry of Education and Training 1999) a separate unit of study has been introduced. In the USA the National Council for Social Studies has longstanding interests in this field and Torney-Purta leads to the IEA civ ed project (Torney-Purta 2007). NGOs active (e.g. Oxfam <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/coolplanet/teachers/globciti/key.htm> accessed 5 August 2005) and trans-national research projects are proliferating (e.g. Fouts and Lee 2005; Torney-Purta and Richardson 2004; Osler and Starkey 2005). The Council of Europe has been active over many years in the promotion of citizenship education and related initiatives, the European Union funds several relevant projects and programmes and within individual European countries there is some evidence to suggest that the area is enthusiastically embraced (e.g. DfEE/QCA 1999). 2005 was designated as the Year of European Citizenship through Education. There is increasing interest in citizenship education Asia. In China a citizenship education centre has been established (see <http://www.gmjyzy.com/> accessed 25 September 2007) and there is an increasing amount of research and development work. In 2006 Kennedy and Lee edited a special Asian issue of the journal *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*. Extensive work is taking place with, for example, Lee and Hu (in press) exploring the connections between moral education and citizenship and Dai (2007) discussing the perceptions of Chinese university students in relation to traditional forms of patriotic education. In Pakistan (Dean 2005) there are attempts being made to promote democracy through citizenship education. In Japan (Parmenter 2006) the longstanding acceptance of responsibilities by school students has been developed recently by a more explicit focus on what democracy might mean within and perhaps

beyond the nation state (recent developments include citizenship education being constructed as a new subject in Shinagawa Ward, Tokyo in 2006).

The nature of what is included in citizenship education programmes varies across countries. Davies and Issitt (2005), for example, characterised citizenship education textbooks in Australia, Ontario and England, respectively, as providing social studies (societal understanding that emerges from the development of critical thinking skills related to existing academic subjects such as history and English), civics (provision of information about formal political institutions) and education for citizenship (a broad based promotion of socially useful qualities). Previous studies about Hungary and England discussed the potential tension between 'enterprise education' (in which individualism is accorded particular status and esteem) and 'citizenship education' (where consideration for others and the social good are held to be of value) (Davies *et al*, 2004). However, despite wide variation, citizenship education programmes tend, generally, to cohere around a number of focal points. The scope of teachers' work is often debated. Audigier (1998), for example, has suggested that.

Since the citizen is an informed and responsible person, capable of taking part in public debate and making choices, nothing of what is human should be unfamiliar to him (sic), nothing of what is experienced in society should be foreign to democratic citizenship (p. 13).

This is both simply true (what is not connected to citizenship?) and a warning for teachers. It is not possible to teach everything and it is necessary to look for some sort of governing principles by which citizenship education can achieve coherence. Normally, three axes are used in the search for this coherence (Heater 1999). These relate to legal and political status (in national and or transnational settings), identity and engagement (Marinetti 2003). These matters are not necessarily without problems. The legal status of citizenship can be used to exclude as well as to guarantee rights; a concentration on identity can be used to divide as well as unite societies; an emphasis on participation can be misused by those who wish to use teachers and others to convince learners of the appropriateness of particular forms of action.

What is citizenship education in England?

Despite all the controversy, a meaning of citizenship education may be found in official definitions used by national policy makers . The National Curriculum for Citizenship in England was developed following the Crick report (DfEE/QCA

1998). That report characterised citizenship education as consisting of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. The report declared its principal aim in very ambitious terms:

We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves. (DfEE/QCA 1998, pp. 7-8).

The National Curriculum Order for citizenship became compulsory for secondary schools in England in September 2002. The latest version may be seen at <http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/subjects/citizenship/index.aspx> accessed 14 March 2008). The following indicates the three key aspects of the requirements:

Teaching should ensure that **knowledge and understanding** about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing **skills of enquiry and communication**, and **participation and responsible action** (DfEE/QCA 1999, p. 14) (emphasis added).

The assessment of citizenship education is compulsory but the uncertainty surrounding the area has meant that for the one attainment target that has been established levels have not been declared as in other subjects. Instead brief end of key stage descriptions are given for key stage 3 and key stage 4.

There is support for the implementation of citizenship education. Citizenship teams have been established within the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) and QCA (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority). The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) has been established, schemes of work have been produced by the QCA. The Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) is funding a project (see www.citized.info) designed to strengthen action in teacher education for citizenship education. Almost all educational publishers active in the schools sector have rushed to produce materials for the new commercial market in citizenship education.

What is Citizenship Education in Hungary?

In Hungary the political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s were very significant for prompting support for citizenship education. The framework for curricular work is rather looser than that in England. As one might expect in Hungary,

“one of the most important basic principles for curricula is the absence of politics” (Halasz et al 2001, p. 29). The most recent version of the National Core Curriculum (NAT) published by the government in 2007 (http://www.okm.gov.hu/letolt/kozokt/nat_070926.pdf). It lists among the key competencies the ‘Social and Civic Competencies’, which include interpersonal and intercultural matters and conflict resolution as well as knowledge of democratic institutions and practices, knowledge of citizen’s rights and duties, interest in local and wider community, solidarity, sustainable development, respect towards other’s values etc. The previous framework curricula published by the Minister of Education in 2003 (<http://www.okm.gov.hu/main.php?folderID=390&articleID=2290&ctag=articlelist&iid=1>)

had already introduced a separate subject in grade 7 called ‘Studies of Man and Society’. A small part of the curriculum (approx. 3-4 lessons out of 37 for the whole academic year) should be devoted to civic studies (values of democratic citizenship, public good, rights and responsibilities, social justice, majority/minority). From the 9th to 12th grade a subject called ‘Studies of Society’ can be introduced separately or its material can be taught under other subjects like for instance history or geography. This consists of four sub-topics: civic studies (9th grade), economics and psychology (10th and 11th grade) and contemporary issues (12th grade). Teachers are reluctant to teach contemporary issues and normally use the suggested number of lessons to teach history, claiming that the material to teach is so huge that there is no time to deal with other matters, and also that they are not educated to teach citizenship issues (Knausz, 2003).

There are five programmes dealing with socio-economic issues of civic education. For example, the KOMP programme aims to cover a range of social issues in a manner suitable for a 12 grade comprehensive school while the AKG programme focuses more on academic economics. Examples of alternative programmes in civics are the US-linked Civitas, and an Amnesty International-Soros programme which concentrate on fields of knowledge that give schools the opportunity to determine their subjects independently. Much of this, of course, is essentially about the need to avoid old style allegiance to communism as opposed to asserting a requirement for a completely apolitical stance. It is very clear that the emphasis on new segments of knowledge (including civic education) and core values (named as “democratic, humanistic and European” Halasz et al 2001, p. 29) look to a specific sort of citizenship education.

Methods

This study explores the meaning given by respondents to a central idea or practice, citizenship. Our work with trainee teachers is a way of elaborating existing meanings and seeing what may happen to citizenship in the hands of these opinion formers. As such, we see some connections between this study and social constructionism. Fiske, in describing Saussure's work, suggests that "the enterprise is to discover how people make sense of the world, not what the world is" (1990; p.115). We are attracted to the idea (Burr 1995) that in looking at something as contested as 'citizenship' we need to take a critical stance towards 'commonsense' knowledge and look for categories that are situational and contingent. The decision to sample trainee teachers was deliberate both as some of our earlier work (e.g. Davies et al 1999; Davies et al 2004) had focussed on serving teachers and that of others (e.g. Grossman 2004) had used mixed samples. We wanted to add to the relatively limited literature in this field (e.g. Wilkins 1999; Wang et al 2006; McLean et al 2008) which explores the perceptions of trainee teachers as a key group for developing citizenship education in the future and who are themselves experiencing professional development perhaps in more keenly felt ways than experienced teachers. In our approach to investigating the views of beginning professionals in a new field of study we have nevertheless found relatively little previous research work and consequently have discussed the context for the study and interpreted our data using studies on both trainee and experienced teachers.

Our sample consisted of 200 trainee teachers in different majors with an equal number of males and females in the two national samples. The average age of the participants were 21.5 in Hungary and 22.2 in the UK. Data gathering took place in 2008. See Table 1.

We employed the Associative Group Analysis technique (AGA). This was developed by Szalay & Brent (1967) and measures perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs without directly asking the participants to identify these characteristics. 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) 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 AGA technique uses continuous, free word associations to assess and compare the psychological dispositions of different groups of respondents. It has been used to explore themes that are similar to our central concerns. For example, it has been used in tracking changes in beliefs and perceptions towards managerial-enterprise concepts in Poland as a market economy developed in the 1990s (Mroczkowski, Linowes and Nowak, 2002) and has also been used to analyse understandings of political terms, such as 'socialism' in different countries and in different periods (Pecjak et al, 1994). 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. Our respondents were invited to supply data within a scheduled teaching session following a brief explanation of the nature of our research interests. Analysis of the associations is achieved by scoring the responses indicating the weighted order of their occurrence. Earlier responses are seen as more closely associated with the stimulus word and to carry more meaning, therefore they get higher scores. The weightings assigned to responses beginning with the first in the sequence are: 6 (first), 5 (second), 4 (third), 3 (fourth), 3 (fifth), 3 (sixth), 3 (seventh), 2 (eighth), 2 (ninth), 1 (tenth and others). These weightings - based upon the stability of responses in test-retest trials - were originally determined by Szalay: he and his associates have evaluated their validity and reliability (Szalay and Brent, 1967; Szalay and Windle 1968; Szalay, Lysne, and Bryson, 1972).

When all the lists were scored, and the Hungarian associations were translated into English the two researchers compared what had been gathered. One researcher categorized the words based on similarities in their meaning in both country sample separately, then provided the categories to the other researcher who controlled if the initial categorization made sense or not. In case of disagreement the researchers discussed the category belonging of the given words until they reached a consensus. We categorised the words given by type of meaning, rather than by precise definition taking into consideration nuances of meaning. This means that we are not, of course, able to identify all those characterisations that are intended or unintended by the respondents (e.g. use of the word 'foreigner' may be used within a positive or negative interpretive framework). We defined the particular categories of meaning given by trainee teachers in each country and calculated the number of words and their total scores belonging to the same category. Because the two groups did not give exactly the same number of associations in response to the stimulus word 'citizenship' we calculated the category scores into percentage of total scores. In our analysis of the results these percentages are compared.

Findings

We present below the data from our respondents with some limited comments in order to provide an initial indication of the discussion that will be developed in the next section of this article.

The Hungarian respondents provided more associations than those from England: The English trainees gave 562 responses, with each person providing on average 5.62 (SD=2.192), with the overall weight 2232. The Hungarian group gave significantly (ANOVA: $F=10.133$; $p=0.0020$) more responses (660), with each person providing on average 6.6 (SD=2.727), with the overall weight being 2449. In the Hungarian sample men gave slightly more associations than women, this was reversed in the English group (ANOVA (Nationality X Gender): $F=5.736$; $p=0.0180$). English women in the sample gave more responses than English men (6.14 (SD=2.313) versus 4.90 (SD=1.805); ANOVA: $F=8.279$; $p=0.0050$). Hungarian male trainees (mean=6.86; SD=2.893) gave significantly more associations than English males trainees (mean=4.90; SD=1.805; ANOVA: $F=13.768$; $p=0.0000$), while there was no noticeable difference between the Hungarian and English females in the sample (see Table 1).

Table 1.

Number of respondents, number of associations, average number of associations and overall weights

	<i>ENGLISH MALE</i>	<i>ENGLISH- FEMALE</i>	<i>ENGLISH ALL</i>	<i>HUNGARAN MALE</i>	<i>HUNGARIAN FEMALE</i>	<i>HUNGARIAN ALL</i>
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	42	58	100	42	58	100
NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS	206	356	562	288	372	660
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS	4.9	6.14	5.62	6.86	6.41	6.6
WEIGHTS OF ASSOCIATIONS	859	1373	2232	1052	1397	2449

The weighted associations were grouped into categories based on their semantic structure. Table 3 lists the eight categories established to include the majority of the responses given to the stimulus word 'citizenship', plus the residual category 'other' established to accommodate the approximately 2 to 5% of responses that fell outside these major areas. The established categories are the following: 1. democratic institutions; 2. national and national symbols; 3. society and community; 4. rights and duties; 5. ethics, norms and values; 6. diversity and globalization; 7. education and school; 8. personal development and skills; 8. work and economics; other (see Table 2)

Table 2.

Description of the semantic categories for the concept of citizenship with their most frequent associations

<i>CATEGORY</i>	<i>ASSOCIATIONS</i>
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS	POLITICS, LAW, CITIZEN, GOVERNMENT, VOTING, STATE
SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY	SOCIETY, COMMUNITY, COMMUNITY AWARENESS, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, RELIGION, SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, TEAM WORK
NATIONAL AND NATIONAL SYMBOLS	NATION/NATIONAL, HUNGARIAN, BRITISH, HOMELAND, NATIONAL FLAG
RIGHTS AND DUTIES	DUTIES, RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES, OBLIGATIONS
ETHICS, NORMS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES	DEMOCRACY, RESPECT, MORALS, ETHICS, LOYALTY, EQUALITY, FREEDOM
DIVERSITY/ GLOBAL	CULTURE, GLOBAL, TOLERANCE, FOREIGNERS, IMMIGRANTS, MULTICULTURALISM
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL	PSE, PHSE, EDUCATION
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SKILLS	SKILLS (SOCIAL, LIFE ETC.), DEVELOPMENT, GROWING UP, SELF-IMPROVEMENT
WORK/ECONOMICS	CAREERS, WORK AND WORK EXPERIENCE, MONEY, ECONOMICS
OTHER	WORDS THAT WERE NOT CATEGORIZABLE E.G. LAWN-MOWING, YELLOW, WARM ETC.

The distribution of associations among the different categories in the English and Hungarian group can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3.

Categories of associations, number of associations, weights of associations, percentages of associations in the English and Hungarian group

CATEGORIES	ENGLISH			HUNGARIAN		
	NUBER	WEIGHT	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	WEIGHT	PERCENTAGE
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS	112	433	19.4%	235	862	35.20%
SOCIETY AND COMMUNITY	150	605	27.1%	65	239	9.76%
NATIONAL AND NATIONAL SYMBOLS	23	97	4.35%	179	695	28.38%
NATIONAL, PATRIOTIC	22	91	4.08%	149	589	24.05%
NATIONAL SYMBOLS	1	6	0.27%	30	106	4.33%
RIGHTS AND DUTIES	64	253	11.34%	67	254	10.30%
ETHICS, NORMS, DEMOCRATIC VALUES	76	308	13.80%	35	129	5.27%
DIVERSITY AND GLOBAL	27	92	4.12%	41	131	5.35%
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL	45	189	8.47%	5	17	0.69%
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SKILLS	31	128	5.73%	2	11	0.45%
WORK AND ECONOMICS	21	80	3.58%	2	8	0.33%
OTHER	13	47	2.11%	29	103	4.21%
TOTALS	562	2232	100%	660	2449	100%

Cross-cultural differences in the frequencies of various categories of associations were tested with Fisher's Exact Tests **in order to gain more accurate statistical results due to the low sample size**. In the Hungarian group the category 'democratic institutions' had highest weight and this was significantly higher ($p < .0001$) than the English (Hungarian 35.2%, English 19.4%). In the Hungarian group the words with the highest weights were law/laws (182), citizen (88), voting (51), state (57), politics (36). In the English group the words with the highest weights were politics (125), law/laws (63), government (59), voting (17).

In the English group the category 'society and community' had the highest weight (27.1%) and this meant significantly more associations ($p < .0001$) within this category than the Hungarian (9.76 %). Words with the highest weight in the English group were: society (92), awareness (71), community (46), religion (40), social responsibility (22), teamwork (18). The Hungarian respondents mentioned society (30), affiliation (20), belonging (19), people (18) and community (14).

The second biggest category in the Hungarian group was 'national, patriotic' (28.4%) consisting of two subcategories. One of them referred to national feelings. Words with the highest weight in the Hungarian sample were Hungary/Hungarian (124), nation/national (116), homeland (93). In the English sample they were history (36) and Britain/Britishness (16). The other subcategory was 'national symbols'. Hungarian respondents used words such as 'national flag' 'Parliament building', 'national anthem' with the total weight of 106, while only one English respondent provided the word "Union Jack" (loading:6). Altogether the Hungarians attributed significantly higher weight ($p < .0001$) to words in this category than English (only 4.4%).

'Rights and duties' had basically the same weight ($p = .5166$) among the English and Hungarian associations (11.3% and 10.4% respectively). The most frequent words were rights (83), responsibilities (77) and duties (21) among the English, and duties (71), rights (88) and obligations (17) among the Hungarians.

The English trainees had significantly more associations ($p < .000$) than Hungarians related to 'Ethics, norms and democratic values' (13.8% and 5.3% respectively). The most frequent words were respect (42), democracy (32), morals (24) and ethics (10). In case of the Hungarian trainees they were democracy (35), loyalty (19), equality (12) and freedom (10).

We called 'diversity and global' the category containing associations related to cultural diversity within, and citizenship beyond, the national borders. The most frequent words among the English trainees were culture (20), global (18), tolerance (10) and immigrants, multiculturalism, diversity etc., while among the Hungarian sample the EU (26), foreigners (20), immigrant, racism, Gypsies etc. This category of associations had only about 5% of all the weights in both groups and there was no difference ($p = .3175$) between the English and the Hungarian respondents.

'Education and school' was an 'English' category as it took 8.5% of all the weight of all the English associations, while this was less than 1% (0.7%) among the Hungarian sample ($p < .0001$). English respondents mentioned PHSE, PSE (83) and education (22) the most frequently.

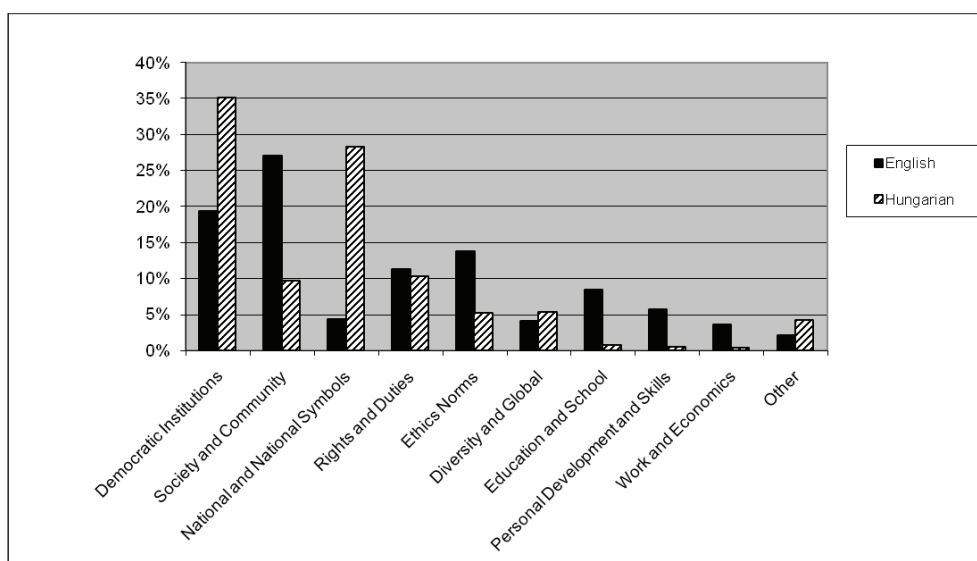
Associations related to 'Personal development and skills' to the word "citizenship" were also almost exclusively mentioned by the English respondents (5.7% versus 0.5%; $p < .0001$). Words like skills (48) and development (19) were the most frequent.

'Work and Economics' was the smallest category, only 3.8% of the English associations fell into this category and very few of the Hungarian (0.3%) ($p < .0001$).

Table 4 shows that the Hungarian trainee teachers put most emphasis on 'democratic institutional' and 'national' connotations (64% of all associations). The English trainee teachers gave significantly less emphasis to these two categories (24% of all associations). The English answers were more distributed among the categories, the main categories being 'society and community' (27.1%) and 'democratic institutions' (19.4%), 'ethics, norms and values' (13.8%) and 'rights and duties' (11.3%) covering altogether 63% of the weighted responses. English respondents have significantly more associations related to 'society and community' (27.1% versus 9.76%), 'ethics and norms' (13.8% versus 5.3%) and 'education and schooling' (8.5% versus 0.7%) and even "Work and Economics". (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

Distribution of associations in the English and Hungarian group



Discussion

Citizenship: focussed or expansive?

The English respondents include a broader range of categories than those from Hungary. This connects with the points made above about Audigier's reflections on the nature of citizenship. It seems that the English have accepted that citizenship is about a very wide range of issues and ideas whereas the Hungarian sample focus on far fewer categories. This is in line with previous research findings (Fülöp, Berkics, Davies, Hutchings, Ross, 2002). The words 'focussed' and 'expansive' in the above

sub title have been deliberately chosen for their positive connotations. It would, however, have been equally possible to have referred to 'narrowly exclusive' and 'vague'. Democratically conducted debates about citizenship need to be inclusive and wide ranging but the point at which those debates become incoherent is currently uncertain. As such we are dealing with 2 related issues when we analyse our data: the extent to which citizenship has achieved international consensus (beyond an acceptance of the word itself), and the achievement of a conception of citizenship that is appropriate for a democratic society. We would not wish to suggest that lack of consensus is necessarily a good thing; nor would we want to argue that there is no possibility of identifying a better conception of citizenship than others. We would certainly wish to avoid any suggestion that we cannot distinguish - as educators or as political actors – between versions of the good life. The uncertainty about clarity and acceptability that may be represented by these data need to be explored further.

It is also important to note that gender may play an important role in these considerations. Women, in the English sample, provide more categories than males. The burgeoning debates about the role of gender in citizenship (e.g. Arnot and Dillabough 2000) need to be considered further in order to explain what is happening in England and also in relation to the greater consistency between the genders suggested by our Hungarian data. And these points need to be related to the ideas raised above clarity and acceptability. Are women or men clearer or more focussed about citizenship; what, precisely, do they see as necessary; and, how do they feel it should be achieved. Our data are not strong enough to do more than suggest that this is a seam of understanding that could be probed further.

The Significance of Institutional Politics

The Hungarian sample seems to associate more readily than the English sample to a conception of citizenship that is based around institutional politics. This may suggest, in line with the above comments on the range of responses from each group, that the Hungarian trainees are perhaps more attuned than the English trainees to a form of civics. There have been consistent research findings from English samples about the reluctance to engage with institutional politics. Haste (2005) has suggested that young English people are interested and active in politics but bored by politicians. Crick's emphasis on community involvement and social and moral responsibility as well as political literacy seems reflected in the English responses. And yet, the English sample may be missing what our Hungarian trainees may know: that the rights and duties that are associated with formal membership of a polity may only be achieved if that status is accepted and recognised.

These institutionally related characterisations are given expression, not exclusively but most obviously, in the context of national forms of citizenship. The English sample's reluctance to accept a nationally-based characterisation of citizenship is very clear in our data and supported by previous research. Ross et al (2005) compared English, Hungarian and Slovenian teachers' concepts of citizenship using the AGA technique and found qualitative differences in the way the nation is represented. Hungarians and Slovenian teachers put most emphasis on 'national' and legislative or legal' connotations. This could be explained in a number of ways. Hungarians who have experienced suppression by the Soviet Union and the relatively recent emergence of a more democratic society are perhaps more likely than others to focus on a re-emerging national identity. Although Hungary enjoyed greater freedom than other parts of the Warsaw Pact there were significant challenges prior to the political changes and to the transformation to a market economy and a democratic system. (Matrai 1998;1999). It is important to ask what implications arise from the varying strength of national identification. Interestingly the Hungarians' greater attachment to the nation state is mirrored in other emerging or reformed states (including Russia; see Jacobson, Ellis and brown 2005). The seemingly positive celebration of patriotism that can be seen in, for example, Canadian schools where the national anthem is sung each morning may be distinguished from negative nationalism. We are not entirely clear as to what is meant by the Hungarians' national focus. The sentiments expressed in Hungary about the nation are likely, perhaps, to be more positively perceived than the nationalism that might emerge in an England that is adapting to a new devolved national identity in a faded imperial scenario (but, of course, there are right wing activists in Hungary who still refer to a 'greater Hungary' that would include parts of Slovakia, Romania, the Ukraine etc and so it is possible that we may do no more than say these references to national symbols provide us with an ambivalent result). It is interesting that the trainee teachers in England, on the whole, avoid referring explicitly to the nation and this may suggest that recent attempts to promote 'Britishness' by, in part, providing opportunities for young people to swear allegiance to the crown (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7287984.stm accessed 20 March 2008) are unlikely to succeed.

Community

'Community' was regarded as being associated with citizenship primarily by the English sample. In line with the more expansive view of citizenship held by them, that group refers to community more often than the Hungarian trainees. This finding requires further investigation and 3 related issues will be discussed below that highlights the need for further work. First the English trainees refer more frequently to ethics (which we interpret, broadly, as a commitment to norm related appropriate thinking and action) than do those in the Hungarian sample. This could be interpreted not entirely positively as there is some evidence to suggest that English samples express commitment to a potentially unthinking undifferentiated altruism (Davies, Gregory and Riley 1999). Furthermore, of course, simple involvement in the community may not be unproblematic. Communitarianism is not necessarily a benign force. Its potential to confirm inequalities by emphasising the capacity of elites with leisure time and financial security to become more active is not necessarily the democratic inclusive involvement that is imagined by some. Second, the Hungarian and the English samples both refer positively to rights and duties but may see the meaning of those concepts and practices differently. The Hungarian trainees, favouring a more focused institutionally based and nationally enacted view, compared with the more expansive and community based outlook of the English sample, may actually be referring to the need to promote the nation state. Thirdly, there may be different notions of individualism in evidence across the samples. Hungary is a post-socialist country characterized by rapid structural changes that are perceived to require adaptation. England has been a relatively stable capitalist democracy for centuries with the rhetoric of individualism and personal freedom used by politicians. A supposedly 'commonsense' expectation could be that English are liberal individualistic citizens while Hungarians are likely to be more readily committed to civic republican collectivism. However, such simplicities are unlikely to be meaningful in relation to the complexities of the perceptions of individuals and groups. Certainly there is a rich vein of attachment to a sense of associational activity in England. Henry Morris in the 20th century and many other figures much longer ago (perhaps including 17th century republicanism) stand testimony to this enduring concern. But it is perhaps only very recently through the political imperatives of prime ministers Blair and Brown and Blunkett (education minister who introduced the current form of citizenship education) that community is has been an explicitly asserted and precisely formulated political force. The trends in Hungary are similarly not straightforward. Hungary has obviously experienced a socialist tradition. However,

that tradition was perhaps only of relatively short duration and may have had limited impact. During the socialist era, in research work undertaken in the 1970s (Hunyady 1998), clear expressions of individuality were revealed. Further research has shown that Hungarians were individualists and non-cooperative during the socialist period. According to the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness) study carried out in the 1990s, (House et al, 2004) Hungarian middle managers proved to be the second highest (after Greece) among 62 countries in institutional individualism. In comparison to this, English middle managers perceived the institutional functioning to be significantly more collective, their scores were in the mid-range among the participating countries. There may be moderating forces at work. Broadly we have found that the English sample from what could be regarded as a stronger individualist tradition are more explicit about the need for community characterisations of citizenship while the Hungarian sample from a more obviously (although short lived) collective past see individualism as more significant.

It is important, however, to continue to consider further possible ways of explaining the differences between the Hungarian and English trainees. As well as the factors mentioned above we could consider a wide variety of issues such as the possible connection between the characterisation of the state in each country (with England as a nation and also a sub national part of the UK), the level of economic prosperity (as well as the shifts in economic policies) which may lead to particular relationships with others in the same national context and the varying ways in which the languages of Hungarian and English allow for expression of ideas about citizenship. This is not meant to suggest that our data could be open to almost any interpretation; we do suggest that our own interpretations of data need to be developed by means of additional research before we can be certain of our position.

What is not mentioned?

There is a great deal of potential value in exploring what is not mentioned frequently, or not mentioned at all, by our respondents. We were very surprised that diversity did not come up more frequently. The publication of a major report on diversity and citizenship in the UK (Dfes 2006) appeared just after our respondents had supplied us with data and as such similar research might now lead to different results. Economic conceptions were not mentioned very often with very few raising issues about money or work. Of course, it is possible that our samples imagined that these things would be subsumed in other matters. For example, a society that pays due attention to rights and duties will ensure that they are enacted in all contexts.

Notions of social class, gender, multiculturalism, perhaps, need not be mentioned if one has focussed on an overarching conception of justice. And yet, given comments in the media, government reports and international issues raised about diversity and economics we were surprised.

Conclusions and recommendations

We do not wish to claim on the basis of our data from a small sample that we can do more than identify issues that require further investigation. We are ready to acknowledge the limitations of research undertaken with relatively small samples from 2 countries. But there are discernible differences between how our samples have characterised citizenship and we have attempted to describe and explain those findings above. We also feel that these differences and similarities highlight a range of broader considerations that are potentially significant. We need to explore what our findings mean for teaching and learning. We wish to suggest that teachers can, broadly, be characterised by reference to notions of instruction and education. If a teacher is conceptualized as an instructor then he/she has to deal with his/her particular subject and will not perceive that the task of a teacher to socialize young people in the name of a particular concept of 'man' in a normative way. However, if a teacher is conceived as an educator then she/he can promote the socialization of active citizens who contribute to their community and society. Crockett and Silbereisen (1999) suggest that under the Socialist regime, schools were supposed to be responsible for socialising children to be 'good citizens', and were required to instil values reflecting a "socialist personality". A citizen was considered good, if he/she never intervened against anything in the political life and followed its rules. Following the political changes, however, personality development became the almost exclusive province of the family, and the role of schools was rather limited to teaching cognitive skills. Therefore schools in the post-socialist countries are reluctant to 'impose' their own views on students, as this is not considered to be democratic. Citizenship education is connected with the fear of indoctrination and people are suspicious and resist any kind of education that is related to an ideology, as it is against the individual's right for freedom (Mátrai, 1998). There is, therefore, no compulsory citizenship education connected to a specific subject in the Hungarian school and no discourse on its introduction as a separate school subject. Currently citizenship education is hidden in the curriculum of different school subjects, mainly history and geography. This lack of explicit civic or citizenship education has consequences. Van Hoorn et al (2000) showed in a study carried out with secondary sc-

hool students in Hungary between 1992-1994 that students had no clear concept about citizenship, they were not interested in citizenship and they did not think that school has any role to play in citizenship education.

Similar results were referred to in the Crick Report (1998) in England. Secondary school children were not very interested in forms of institutional politics. But with a broader notion of citizenship and a commitment to community, citizenship education has become a National Curriculum subject and has been gradually introduced into secondary schools on a compulsory basis for pupils aged 11-16 from September 2002. Its significance is recognised also in primary schools as it forms part of the Personal and Social education programme. The goal has been to increase social and moral responsibility, active participation in local communities, and the improvement of political culture. We do not wish to suggest that the implementation of citizenship education in England was motivated solely by democratic considerations. We do not suggest that it has necessarily been characterized appropriately for a diverse pluralist society. We are not prepared to argue that it is achieving positive outcomes. But in England citizenship education is a formal and largely accepted part of the government's agenda and we regard that positively.

This project, however, has explored perceptions. We need to find out more about what teachers actually do in their different contexts. What connection, if any, is there between policy statements and what is taught and learned? Does the Hungarian teacher with real experience of political change know more than others about how to act to build democracy? Is the rhetoric associated with international surveys of educational action for citizenship (e.g. Torney-Purta 2007) of what works (collaborative school ethos, active discussion in classrooms and engagement with communities within and beyond the school) convincing? Perhaps the most obvious challenge is to explore what happens when different notions of citizenship are promoted in educational contexts in Hungary and England that may not be conducive to the achievement of the ends that are explicitly declared.

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ŠTO GRAĐANSTVO ZNAČI UČITELJIMA PRIPRAVNICIMA U ENGLESKOJ I MAĐARSKOJ?

Sažetak

Ljudi koji odrastaju i žive u različitim političkim sustavima i društvima na različite načine odgovoriti na pitanje „Što je građanstvo?“. Posebno je važno saznati kako će budući učitelji odgovoriti na ovo pitanje jer će oni biti jedan od glavnih pokretača u socijalizaciji mlade generacije i bit će uključeni u prijenos kulturnog kapitala s jedne generacije na drugu.

U ovom se radu opisuje kontekst empirijskog istraživanja s posebnim težištem na rastuću eksponiranost građanstva i građanskog odgoja koja je izazvana zahtjevima suvremene društvene krize, novim oblicima vladanja i povećanim naglaskom na identitet. Raspravlja se o rezultatima istraživačkog projekta u kojem je sudjelovalo 100 učitelja pripravnika u Engleskoj i 100 učitelja pripravnika u Mađarskoj koji su primjenom tehnike Associative Group Analysis (AGA) (Szalay i Brent 1967.) dali podatke o tome kako razumiju i shvaćaju pojam „građanstva“. Istraživanje se vremenski podudara s kritičnom točkom kada je 2008. u obje zemlje uveden i implementiran novi nacionalni kurikulum. Rezultati pokazuju da Mađari pridaju veću važnost nacionalnim temama i institucijama u odnosu na Engleske ispitanike. Zamijećeno je da engleski ispitanici na širi način karakteriziraju građanstvo i vjerojatnije je da će posvetiti pažnju širem rasponu tema nego Mađari. Engleski učitelji pripravnici spremnije surađuju sa zajednicom nego Mađari. Obje skupine spominju prava i obveze. I jedni i drugi relativno malo pažnje posvećuju građanstvu u odnosu na ekonomske teme (uključujući novac i posao) i raznolikost. Autori tvrde da su određeni politički konteksti povezani s različitim karakterizacijom građanstva; da se osim prilično široke nomenklature o demokratskoj zajednici, sudjelovanje i identitet koji se koriste u literaturi za karakterizaciju građanstva, ovi načini poimanja ne odnose se nužno na nijanse koje se mogu pojaviti u empirijskim podacima; konačno, da aspekti nekih suvremenih debata o građanstvu nisu u skladu s percepcijom ispitanika u našem uzorku o tome što građanstvo znači. Autori predlažu da se daljnjim istraživanjima ispita mogu li akademski ili politički komentatori svoje sveobuhvatno poimanje građanstva formulirati na način koji bi bio bliži rezultatima temeljenim na istraživanjima.

Ključne riječi

građanstvo, građanski odgoj, učitelji pripravnici, Engleska, Mađarska