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Enterprising citizens? The perceived interactions and overlaps between citizenship education and enterprise education in England and Hungary

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Introduction

This paper describes work in on work emerging from year one of a three year project funded by the Joint Academic Research Programme of the British Council and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education. The key research question for the project is: what are teachers' perceptions of the interactions and overlaps between citizenship education and enterprise education in Britain and Hungary? In both countries, national governments have emphasised the role of education in developing cultures that value citizenship and education. Teachers and schools are expected to play an essentially transformative role in developing pupils' attitudes towards being competitive and enterprising, and towards developing civic values. Our interest is twofold: firstly, is there some tension between these two ambitions: can one, at the same time, be wholly competitive and wholly civic-minded? Secondly, these national requirements rely very much on the role of teachers: how do teachers' understand and respond to these ideas? Do they see ambiguities and difficulties in implementing citizenship education and in developing ideas of competition and enterprise?

Our paper will:

- Describe some relevant contextual details concerning England and Hungary
- Raise a number of relevant conceptual issues
- Describe the intended empirical project that will be undertaken during the period May 2000 until March 2001.

One of the main purposes of presenting this interim report is to ask colleagues in the CiCe project for suggestions that may be of help in the further development of the project.

Historical background and the recent social context of the research

The historical background of the two countries in which the research is taking place influences the nature of the work. To a certain extent this project seeks to reflect on the nature of two countries that were once from different sides of the Iron Curtain. Simplistically, it could be imagined that there were very different issues that relate to citizenship and enterprise from western and eastern Europe. Of course, it is important to avoid these simplicities. Hungary was never a typical member of the Soviet bloc. Various commentators have discussed the ways in which Hungary was similar to and different from other members of the Soviet bloc (e.g. Simpson 1992; Mátrai 1999). The regime of Janos Kadar ensured that economically and politically Hungary was unusual. The 1970s and 1980s were formative years for relatively young technocrats, elite engineers, economists and others who represented the mainstream of the so-called 'other thinkers' who were preparing inside for the collapse of the Stalinist and post-Stalinist regime.

There was a relatively well-developed agricultural sector with many private enterprises. Politicians such as Imre Pozsgay who became leader of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front and some representatives of 'other thinkers' began to re-evaluate the meaning of the events in 1956 and to discuss the viability of the centralised economy and the discrepancy between declared values and realities. Negotiations for the establishment of a multi-party democracy were already taking place during the summer of 1989 when Hungary opened its borders with Austria and ushered in a series of events that led to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of Soviet-dominated eastern Europe. The coalition government led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum came to power in Hungary on 23 May 1990. However, alongside the celebrations many serious difficulties quickly developed as attempts were made to shift the economy onto a market footing. At the beginning of the 1990s it was reported that more than 2 million people earned less than 1500 Forints per week (i.e. below the poverty level), inflation seemed likely to reach 50% and interest rates were predicted to reach 35%. Since then different coalitions have held power with 1998 seeing a new right wing government elected by a narrow margin (it received only 4-5% more votes than the former coalition). Mátrai (1999, p. 343) sums up the current situation:

Problems such as widespread organised crime, corruption and an immense increase in the socio-economic gap remain unsolved. The mood of the Hungarian voters has been marked by the feeling that while the new political elite engage in skirmishes, the general population has had to leave its 'happiest barrack' only to find itself in a 'gloomy' democracy.

In England the context is rather different from that in Hungary but it is still problematic. The economy is said, by the present government, to be in fairly good health. However, during the last few decades there has been a tendency to see the UK as under-performing. There are also widespread (and until recently growing) disparities between the rich and the poor: as in Hungary, there is a realisation that a substantial proportion of the population is socially excluded in an increasingly divided society. The notion of losing the empire and still failing to find a role (as famously declared by the United States Secretary of State, Dean Acheson) is still apparent. For some, the relationship with the Commonwealth means little. There is, according to some, a 'special relationship' with the US. Certain individual politicians such as Macmillan (with Kennedy) and Thatcher (with Reagan) have attempted to demonstrate this special link. But recently this role has been played rather disastrously (e.g. Major looked ill at ease with Clinton and Blair seems, rather uncomfortably, to try to excuse his colleague's personal failings as well as developing a hawkish, and perhaps slavish, foreign policy). The abiding obsession with world war two (see Roberts 1994) is proving difficult for current politicians to dispel even though they try with embarrassing advertising campaigns that focus on 'cool Britannia'. Although Britain was firmly a part of the west during the cold war it is proving increasingly difficult for an appropriate meaning to be developed for a mixed economy that is supposed to be characterised by the by the rather enigmatic (or, perhaps, meaningless) 'third way'. Blair is trying to take advantage of the 'modernisation' undertaken by Thatcher while still trying to hang onto the heartlands of Labour Party support by guaranteeing the safety of key features of the welfare state such as the National Health Service. While he still faces little credible political opposition Blair's support is noticeably less strong.

In both countries, there has been a need to redefine what 'the nation' is, that has stretched over much of the last century but has become rather more focused in the past decade.

Hungary has had to come to terms with the loss of significant areas of territory that were once considered integral to the concept of Hungary. Its position as a co-partner in a substantial European empire has been lost. It has been on the losing side in two major wars, and was for thirty-five years seen as an (uneasy) satellite of the USSR. The UK, on the other hand, has had to adjust to its relegation from being a major world economic and military power to a relatively much weaker role. The cost of being on the winning side in the same two wars has been a crippled economy (Barnett, 1986) and the loss of an overseas empire. Fissiparous local nationalist tendencies have challenged the hegemony of the Westminster government. Both states are attempting to take on fresh roles through the European enterprise, and this too challenges the concept of what it means to be an 'independent' nation. Competition and enterprise are held up by both governments as a way of maintaining (or restoring) national economic security and prosperity; the development of citizenship (or communitarianism) as a means of achieving some form of national solidarity in the face of internal diversity and pluralism.

Contextual and conceptual issues relevant to citizenship and enterprise

Both countries thus face significant challenges. This project is definitely not being undertaken in the context of one country being seen as having something that is better than the other. Rather we want to explore the different contexts and reflect upon the interrelationships and shared challenges. As we have suggested, there are a number of ways in which some similarities can be seen between Hungary and England. The economies of both countries are seen as being too weak. This is probably a response that would be made whatever the power and efficiency of production. Governments and most people would simply like the country to be better off at least in absolute terms. There is a perceived link between the health of the economies and the effectiveness of the education systems.

As a result of these perceptions education in both countries has seen an increased emphasis on competition and enterprise in a number of ways. Firstly, the education systems in both countries have become more competitive structurally (i.e. schools are to compete against each other in a more explicit manner). Two key phrases indicate the priorities of the education policy of the Labour government in the UK since 1997: 'standards not structures', and 'intervention will be in inverse proportion to success'. In other words there is to be less emphasis on what is done by a central agency to make progress. In fact, intervention is likely to occur only when there is perceived to be a problem. But there is an increased emphasis on the need for schools to achieve. And they are to do this by operating in a highly competitive system in which league tables and performance indicators have replaced the 'old' Left discourse of the direct links between social class and achievement and the need for welfare and collaboration (Ross 2000). Comprehensive schools in England in which all were educated together now receive less attention than new policies for specialist colleges and a promise not to work against grammar schools that have selected the more able. In Hungary the traditional 8 + 4 school structure (i.e. 8 years in primary school followed by 4 years secondary) broke up. New types of state school appeared (e.g. 6 + 6 that allow an elite to gain extra time in the more academic secondary schools) as well as an increase in the number of private schools.

Secondly, the classroom climate has become more obviously competitive and less collaborative. John Major, when he was Prime Minister, bemoaned the lack of competition within schools. Now there is, with the continuing focus on public

examination results, a tremendous incentive for individuals to compete and achieve. The so-called progressive approach in England demonstrated by the Plowden report of 1967 (even if that advice was never taken on board to the extent to which it is sometimes imagined) is no longer talked of. There has been less talk of equality and more about achievement. Hungary is experiencing similar developments. It is perceived to be important to compete in order to achieve benefits (Fülöp 1999).

Thirdly, there is, in both countries, more taught about enterprise and business. It would be helpful to characterise all forms of enterprise education as being concerned only to promote profitable businesses, but there has been something of a narrow emphasis on that approach at times from some governments in the UK (Hutchings and Wade 1992). Although the National Curriculum in England and Wales does not make compulsory the teaching of Business Studies or Economics, there was until recently a cross curricular theme of Economic and Industrial Understanding (National Curriculum Council 1990) that asserted, rather controversially, that 'wealth creation brings benefits to individuals and communities'. There are a large number of Business Education Partnerships operating in almost all areas of England. A similar position can be seen in Hungary. The National Core Curriculum (1996) now places much more emphasis on the economy, and organisations such as Junior Achievement Magyarország (JAM) are growing in significance. Perhaps Rubinstein (1993) is a better guide to what is happening than Barnett (1986) in his argument that education systems do assist a service-based economy.

There has also been in both countries a tendency to move the school curriculum to focusing on 'useful' subjects. 'Useful', in this context, has often meant disciplines that are presumed to make the nation and the individual more economically productive and richer. The utility of the arts and humanities is questioned, and the presumption has often been that pupil performance in subjects such as mathematics and science needs to be improved in order that 'the nation' performs better in terms of international competitiveness. National league tables of pupils' mathematical performance have been constructed, and are sometimes regarded as significant explanations of national economic performance. It is interesting, but not often remarked on, that Hungarian children's mathematical performance generally appears to be significantly in advance of British children's abilities.

It is possible, of course, that the relationship between education and the economy is actually tenuous and that schools are merely used as scapegoats for economic decline (relative or absolute). Governments may reform education in the light of being unable to reform anything else. There is, after all, a confusing growth in the provision of vocational education at times of high unemployment and many have highlighted the essentially political nature of such programmes in various countries (e.g. Gleeson 1987; Bates 1984). This is a way of beginning to explain another similarity between Hungary and England. There is some scepticism in both countries as to the validity of the official positions about the nature of a society strongly attached to what is often euphemistically described as 'wealth creation'. While there is, of course, no possibility of a return to the Soviet model, a number of reservations have been expressed as to the sense of imagining the value of a global free market. This has been expressed academically (e.g. Gray 1998) in respect of the need for competitive economies to develop differently according to the societal context. Scepticism can also be seen in the form of popular statements against the nature of business (often described dismissively and unfairly in the UK as the 'politics of envy'). In Hungary public opinion poll responses to questions about privatisation point to

consequences associated with corruption, inequality, inflation and unemployment (Marián 1994). It may be difficult to achieve an easy translation from political opposition to economic enterprise within the new framework.

Thus in both countries (although there are very significant differences) there is in both a drive for more successful economies, a perception among politicians that schools can help solve economic difficulties and, importantly, that there are doubts and reservations from a number of sources as to the wisdom of the governments' approach.

Citizenship and citizenship education in Hungary and England

Of course, the above debates are all closely connected to the nature of citizenship and citizenship education. Issues about the economy and enterprise are fundamentally related to a number of the central concerns of citizenship. A number of negative possibilities should be discussed prior to the establishment of a more positive position on the relationship between citizenship and enterprise.

Heater (1999) shows some of the points relevant to this negative characterisation (that has not been accepted by the authors of this project). He draws attention to the argument that the civic republican and liberal traditions of citizenship may be seen as being contradictory. In other words, for some it may be impossible to reconcile the competing agendas between the need to protect the rights of individuals and the need to ensure that obligations to the state are honoured. Those people would argue that it might be impossible to imagine the pursuit of social and political justice within a society dominated by the needs of an enterprise economy. Alternatively, Hutchings and Ross (2000) draw attention to possible contradictions within societal systems, whether they are enterprising economies or state controlled. In 'western' economics there is the possibility that we expect actions for others in a political context and individual enterprise in an economic context. In a Soviet-style economy we would expect economic decisions to disallow negative factors such as unemployment but only a minority would be empowered within the political system.

These difficulties are related to fundamental matters. In England it has been argued that there has been since at least the 1960s a growing moral gulf in society. This could be crudely expressed as a conflict between traditionalists and permissives. For Healey (1990) it is one of the crucial factors that explain the emergence of the 'New Right', which emphasised the market rather than the society. Mrs Thatcher famously asserted that there was no such thing as society, only individuals and families. She stressed that school is the place where an additional 2 'R's are taught (right and wrong). The current Education Minister, David Blunkett, has declared himself to be a traditionalist and Blair is keen to develop a brand of communitarianism that is an aspect of his essentially Christian socialism. There have been to a certain extent similar debates in Hungary (Mátrai 1998). The well-publicised Mafia connections between 'businessmen' in Hungary (e.g. Hildebrand 2000) create the impression that morality and enterprise are not compatible.

These debates about the connection between the economy and citizenship are longstanding. It is to be hoped that a more dynamic and positive appreciation can be developed. There is no necessary reason why linkages cannot be made. Democracy is perhaps itself an example of competition or enterprise. Competition and co-operation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The distinction between rights and obligations collapses fairly readily when discussed in particular contexts. Is it, for example, my right

or my responsibility to care for my children: both, of course, apply. Civil and political rights may be used as a lever to ensure that social or welfare rights are achieved. Dewey appreciated that the areas were linked. He argued for a form of education that was related to the real world not so as to develop a pliant and efficient workforce, nor to promote aggressive entrepreneurs, but rather to allow for the possibility of just transformation. He argued that:

The kind of education in which I am interested is not one which will adapt workers to the existing industrial regime; I am not sufficiently in love with the regime for that. It seems to me that the business of all those who would not be educational time servers is to resist every move in this direction, and to strive for a kind of vocational education which will first alter the existing industrial system and ultimately transform it.

The economic (and political) tensions that lead to migration normally have political (and economic) consequences (e.g. Cesarani and Fulbrook 1996).

The development of citizenship education in Hungary and England

There has been very little explicit and professionally based citizenship education in either Hungary or England until fairly recently.

Heater (1977) suggests that there are four factors that explain the absence of an explicit form of political education for the majority of pupils in schools in England. He argues that the lack of a tradition of citizenship education, few teachers professionally committed to it, a belief that politics is an adult domain, and a fear of indoctrination, meant that until the late 1960s, if anything was done explicitly, political education was characterised by constitutional information for high status students. A similar neglect of citizenship education occurred in Hungary, although this was due to different factors. Before 1978 civic education was a general educational aim that was supposed to be the responsibility of all teachers but perhaps mainly those who taught humanities. After 1978 there was a special subject devoted to civic education but this of course operated within the constraints associated with the communist system.

When the situation changed there were again different reasons that applied to the different countries. In England the lowering of the age of majority to 18 in 1970 had a significant impact: for the first time some of those still at school were allowed to vote. Research by Greenstein (1965), Connell (1971) and others showed that even very young children had the capacity to understand key issues. In the light of the alarming levels of political ignorance revealed by Stradling (1977) something had to be done. The notion that a democracy could be content with an appalling lack of understanding of basic issues was obviously no longer acceptable and it was considered imperative to ensure that people should be edged away from the possibility of life on the extreme political fringes of society. These factors all became accepted at a time when widespread educational reform was taking place. The growing school population, the lowering of the average age of teachers, and a rapid turnover of staff may have been significant enough in themselves to bring about a change in approaches to classroom management and school governance, which came to be regarded as essentially political. Other factors that contributed to this increasingly democratic climate included dissatisfaction with intelligence tests, a new more critical approach to knowledge, a greater interest in issues of equality with the appearance of 'new' concerns related, for example, to gender, meant that political

education would be more easily accepted. In Hungary the political changes were very significant for prompting change.

In England civic education in the 1970s was, generally, characterised by political literacy. This focused on politics with a small 'p'. The issues of the trade union and the youth club were now as important as a description of the national unwritten constitution. It asked students to focus on skills and wished to develop a proclivity for action. It also committed itself to what it described as 'procedural values', such as respect for truth, reasoning and justice as opposed to anything more substantive. This was replaced in the forefront of affairs in the 1980s by what I could rather inadequately describe as 'new educations'. These included peace education, global education, anti-sexist and anti racist education. It is rather misleading to bring these disparate strands together under one umbrella but they did tend to share a greater commitment to particular issues, adopt a more affective approach to issues, and saw appropriate responses as being those which took account of global considerations. The most recent part of the story concerns the move towards citizenship education. Although a plethora of theoretical models exist, the characterisation currently used in official circles is seen as having three aspects: social and moral responsibility; community involvement and political literacy. The architect of the reform is the same Bernard Crick who was the principal actor in the 1970s political literacy movement. At the beginning of the 1990s, emerging from the thinking of Conservative governments, education for citizenship was perceived as having a great deal to do with attempts to reduce crime and encourage young people to accept 'voluntary obligations' as demographic factors were perceived as leading to a need for young people to act to shore up a shrinking welfare state that could no longer be afforded. It is hard to tell what the current version may mean but it is, I feel, potentially more valuable. Even the change from education for citizenship (implying some sort of end point of citizen status to be reached by involvement in the implementation of a programme) to citizenship education (implying involvement in an educational programme as a citizen) is a welcome if subtle shift. From September 2002 citizenship education will be a statutory requirement for all pupils aged 11-16. There are three key aspects: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy, which have been translated into an attainment target in which students are expected to demonstrate knowledge and understanding, skills and dispositions. There is an expectation that history teachers will be particularly involved in citizenship education, although the precise ways in which a school chooses to meet the targets are not specified as a statutory requirement.

In Hungary (Mátrai 1999) it is the intention of the national core curriculum to teach current issues in grades 1 to 10 and to arrange the topics into three units (social studies, civics and economics) of citizenship education. 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; 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.

Throughout all the entanglements of the above debates and issues, citizenship seems principally concerned with legal and political status; identity; and civic virtue. To put this another way, it is a matter of being a citizen within 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.

Research methods in the project

Given the complexities and ambiguities that are evident in the governments' policies in both these areas, it is not immediately clear how they will be implemented in practice. The major agents of change have to be the classroom teachers: the way that they mediate texts, curricula and government educational policy will determine the actual character of what will be taught and learned. Teachers are not, in general, either trained to or experienced in handling the teaching of matters that are concerned with political and economic values. Such specialist teachers that there are have tended to work with particular sub-sets of the school population, generally in specialist options taken by a rather low proportion of the school population. The changes that are envisaged in both countries are far more wide-ranging: enterprise and competition for all, citizenship for all. The role of all teachers therefore is critical, and we know surprisingly little about their own beliefs and attitudes in these areas. What do teachers believe they should, or might, be doing in their classrooms? Do they see ambiguities in policy initiatives? How do they resolve these? How do they think they will handle sensitive issues of wealth, social class and political belief with their pupils?

It was decided that data would be collected by means of asking teachers to respond to scenarios that reflect dilemmas in both enterprise and citizenship. Six dilemmas will be used and teachers will be asked questions about why they have made certain responses. The dilemmas will focus either separately or in an integrated way to the themes of citizenship, enterprise and competition. Examples of some of the different types of dilemma are shown below.

Dilemma one - Citizenship

After considerable debate a law has been passed in your country that aims to reduce drug taking among young people. It is now illegal if anyone sees a young person taking drugs and then does not report that person to the police. If convicted of the crime, the young person would have a criminal record. That criminal record would mean that it would be very difficult and perhaps impossible to gain entry to university and gain a good job. You are a teacher. You see one of your most promising pupils at the end of term party taking illegal drugs. You know that taking drugs is self-destructive and if you do not report him you will also be breaking the law.

Do you report the young person to the police? Why/why not?

Dilemma two - Enterprise

You are a very busy person who owns a business employing 1500 people. The level of unemployment in your local area is high. You have a vacancy for a computer operator. You know that there are well-qualified people who would apply for the job if you advertised. You are wondering however, if you should go to the trouble and expense of advertising and interviewing given that a member of your family may want the job. Your relative is not well qualified.

Do you advertise the job? Why/why not?

Dilemma three - Enterprise and Citizenship

Imagine a low-income country called Tibia that is experiencing difficulties in repaying loans received from overseas countries. There is great poverty in parts of Tibia. You are the Prime Minister of a high-income country and have been asked by an international

organisation to cancel the very substantial debt that your country is owed by Tibia. It is suggested to you that cancellation of the debt would allow for the improvement of prosperity in Tibia. You promise to cancel the debt and this promise is to be formally approved in the near future. You then hear that a war has broken out between Tibia and a neighbouring country. It is alleged that human rights abuses are occurring on both sides of the conflict.

Do you as Prime Minister continue to make moves to cancel the debt? Why/why not?

Dilemma six - Citizenship and Competition

You are driving your car along a dual carriageway and you are in a hurry. You are using the right hand lane that is reserved for those cars that will go straight ahead. The traffic light turns red. You need to go straight ahead but you are now part of a long queue. There are plenty of cars in front of you and it is not certain that even at the next green light you will be able to pass the crossing. You notice that there is only one car waiting at the red light in the left-hand lane. That lane is reserved for cars turning to the left. If you were to move into the left-hand lane and if you were fast enough you would be able to go straight ahead in front of all the cars waiting in the queue. If you did this you could continue your trip without losing a lot of time.

Do you stay in the queue? Why/why not?

It has been decided that a total of 80 teachers (40 in the UK and 40 in Hungary) will be interviewed using the scenarios and a series of agreed follow-up questions will be used to explore key issues. The forthcoming second year of the project will be largely taken up with data collection. The final year of the project (year 3) will be used for writing. It was agreed that colleagues from Hungary would visit the UK in December 2000 to listen to an initial analysis of data and to discuss emerging issues with teachers. The matching visit by colleagues from Britain to Hungary would take place in March 2001.

A detailed list of questions and prompts has been prepared. The dilemmas will be used both as a means of encouraging teachers to talk and also to supply a specific context for an exploration of concepts that need concrete elaboration if meaning is to be achieved. The questions put to teachers will seek to cover two main areas. Firstly, we want to probe their understandings of citizenship and enterprise (and reasons for those understandings). We will ask here about any links or barriers that they see both conceptually and in relation to issues in their own country and elsewhere. Secondly, we would like to know if their personal reaction to the dilemmas would be different from the stance that they might adopt as a teacher in a classroom. Also, we want to discuss more broadly their preferred way of developing pupils' knowledge, understanding and skills in relation to enterprise and citizenship.

It would be unwise to specify the nature of analysis prior to data collection. However, it is possible that three frameworks will be used when analysing data related to understanding teachers' perceptions of citizenship and enterprise, and understanding their perceptions of their preferred responses in their roles as teachers. First there is what we might describe as continua of understandings of the key concepts of citizenship and enterprise. Narrow characterisations of citizenship may relate only to a consideration of legal status. A more developed (or, to use McLaughlin's (1992) phrase, a maximal position) sense of citizenship may relate to the willingness and skills to undertake change

in the pursuit of social justice. A narrow characterisation of enterprise might mean the simple understanding or desire to make money. A broader characterisation might allow for enterprising approaches to a range of issues. Secondly, we may see patterns of response associated with what we will call 'contexts'. The relationship between citizenship and enterprise can be explored by asking respondents to consider conflicts in three contexts: within a private context; within a public context and between private and public contexts. Of course, the nature of what can be termed 'private' and 'public' will need to be carefully considered, but some fairly clear (if crude) distinctions can probably be developed. For example, whether one decides to lie to save a friend from embarrassment (private context) can be contrasted with a debate that might arise over the proposed siting of a nuclear reactor near a small town (public context). The nature of the conflict between private and public matters might, for example, be characterised by the perceived need to find employment for one's own family at the possible expense of others in the local area.

Thirdly, in the process of data collection and analysis there will be a need to explore the way in which a decision is reached in the attempted resolution of such conflicts. This is where the use of determinants is relevant. The first determinant could relate to what could broadly be described as 'content'. What would influence a respondent? Would possible gains of time or money or status be seen as the factor that led to certain actions being taken? A second determinant could be termed 'success'. This factor would be used as a way of determining the extent to which a person's reaction to a conflict scenario is governed more by the prospect of losing or winning. In certain circumstances avoiding loss might be considered as more important than achieving gain. A third determinant could be used by considering the extent to which people see themselves as being motivated by moral considerations. It is likely that the use of something like Kohlberg's levels of moral thinking may be helpful in the consideration of this area.

A very provisional hypothesis would be that low-level responses see the areas of enterprise and citizenship as being separate and focused narrowly on either economics or politics. More sophisticated responses, while seeing the worth of a proper understanding of those areas, would also see the broader (or maximal) meanings of each area and the potential for overlaps and interactions. No hypotheses are made at this stage about the nature of the interactions and overlaps that could be seen or about the influences of contexts and determinants that are perceived as having a significant influence upon the nature of responses.

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