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HARMONISING THE TENSIONS BETWEEN ENTERPRISE, CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

(VOLUME I)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a longitudinal qualitative study of teachers' and pupils' views and school practice between 2001 and 2004. The main purpose was to determine what we can learn from the ways in which Scottish education is dealing with the dual agenda of enterprise and citizenship. Data was gathered from interviews and questionnaires with headteachers and teachers in ten Scottish primary schools, and from questionnaires and discussion groups with children who were initially pupils in these schools and later made the transition into secondary education. Additional data was gathered from semi-structured observation of school practice and more structured practice observed in primary school pupil councils. The findings indicate that the current policy and practice in education that strives to link enterprise and citizenship has its roots in the political drive towards finding a 'third way' between economic and social renewal. While teachers and pupils are increasingly viewing enterprise in a holistic sense, which includes the need for both economic and social models of entrepreneurship and for democratic consultation, the findings suggest that the most common and strongest vehicle for participation in school decision-making is undoubtedly the primary school pupil council. Pressures associated with the attainment agenda and the continued existence of the school hierarchy still sometimes restrict the potential for apparently opposing educational dichotomies to be harmonised within democratic school environments. The findings are linked to suggestions for further research, made in the light of the new proposals released by the Scottish Executive's Curriculum Review Group at the time of the completion of this thesis.

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VOLUME I

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PROLOGUE: ETHICAL ISSUES

With its focus on the collection of qualitative data in school settings, the study outlined in this thesis required the researcher to take account of strong ethical considerations from the very outset. Cresswell (1998) outlines the type of considerations necessary for qualitative researchers, and these became guiding factors in the collection, analysis and dissemination of data throughout the study:

- Protecting the anonymity of the informants.
- Disclosing (or not) the purpose of the research.
- Deciding whether (or how) to use information 'shared off the record' in interview in a case study.
- Determining whether the researcher should share personal experiences.

(Cresswell, 1998, p.132)

Thus, the support of staff in ten case-study schools was gained through an ethos of disclosure where each participant was informed about the nature and content of the research study from the beginning. Between 2000 and 2001, permission from Scottish local authorities was followed-up by individual letters to schools, outlining the full implications of the study and seeking individual permission from participating teachers. In addition, pupils were informed about the purpose of the study and permission to participate was sought not only from parents, but also from pupils themselves. The researcher also made the decision to seek the permission of participants before using any information shared 'off the record' during interview and group discussion situations in subsequent reports. In addition, an early decision was made by the researcher not to share personal experiences with participants and he was particularly vigilant in guarding against the sharing of information between case study schools. Finally, the anonymity of individuals was assured from the beginning, and thus no reference is made to individual names of schools, teachers or pupils in the content of this thesis.

1 INTRODUCTION

Preamble

Into the new millennium, the renewed focus on values in education and on school democratization in Britain has been accompanied by a strengthening and widening of the enterprise education agenda, and the implication that existing 'enterprising' approaches may lend themselves to the development of education for citizenship. However, this presents education with a challenge. Davies et al (2001) sum up the tensions between apparently opposing dichotomies:

> 'Teachers and schools are expected to play an essential transformative role in developing pupils' attitudes towards being competitive and enterprising and towards developing civic values ... can one, at the same time, be wholly competitive and wholly civic-minded?' (Davies et al, 2001, p.261)

The origins of this debate stem from the late 1970s, when the emergence of the political ideology known as the 'New Right' in Britain brought with it an emphasis on the economic market and a focus on a particular set of individualistic and meritocratic values. Margaret Thatcher's assertion that there is 'no such thing as society', only individuals and families, was accompanied by a growing interest in enterprise, competitiveness and personal ambition. However, the more recent culture emerging from the New Labour rhetoric of the 'third way' has brought a focus on finding a route between capital and welfare, grafting old socialist principles onto modern neo-liberal ideals and producing the emerging emphasis on communitarianism and cosmopolitan democracy. Fairclough (2000) reflects upon this discourse and its rhetoric of reconciliation:

> 'The phrase "not only ... but also" pervades the political discourse of New Labour in a variety of expressions .... which both draws attention to assumed incompatibilities, and denies them. It is a rhetoric of denial of expectations – things are not as they have been thought to be.' (Fairclough, 2000, p.10)

The reconciliation of enterprise *and* fairness is one example of this (Fairclough, 2000), and the emphasis on both of these priorities is currently seen as important in education. Indeed, there is a body of opinion that suggests that these cultural changes and shifting political ideologies have brought with them a need for re-examining the whole purpose of education and the roles that school staff should be playing in their quest for preparing pupils for adult life in a rapidly changing society. By their very nature, schools should attempt to represent an exemplary model of society, as expressed in the words of Oliver and Heater (1994):

> 'The school is a micro-social or political community.' (Oliver and Heater, 1994, p.157)

The intention is that this thesis will contribute towards the ongoing discussion and debate that surrounds the relationship between enterprise and citizenship education. In so doing, it will provide some evidence of the way in which these apparently competing educational agendas may be reconciled, the way in which schools' practice may be addressing these mutual obligations, and the way pupils may be receiving it.

The Development of Enterprise in Education

The developments surrounding education for work, enterprise and vocational schooling in the recent past are typically traced to the Ruskin College speech given by the then Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, in 1976 when he called for a drive towards improving the links between education and industry. However, vocationalism in schooling is, of course, much older than this, and can be traced back to at least the Samuelson Commission on Technical Instruction in 1882-84 (Hayward, 2004). One of the most profound influences on the growth and development of a vocational approach to education was John Dewey, who argued the need for schools which utilise pupils' experience of the outside world and enable them to apply skills learned in school in wider life (Dewey, 1915; Shuttleworth, 1993).

Following a dip in interest in vocationalism in the post-World War II period due to growing prosperity in Britain and a reduced threat of unemployment and social unrest, the publication of the Brunton Report in 1963 aimed to ensure that young people were once again motivated by the 'vocational impulse' (Scottish Education Department [SED], 1963, p.24). The collapse of the apprenticeship system and the rising youth unemployment of the 1970s subsequently brought an increased urgency for schools to respond to the requirements of industry and the economy. A renewed focus on experiential learning in schools followed, with its emphasis on practical, community-based, on-site experience (Barnes and O'Connor, 1987; Shuttleworth, 1993). This included an emphasis on co-operative learning, internships, career education, work experience and job shadowing (Barnes and O'Connor, 1987). This return to vocationalism was seen as a means of equipping pupils with the knowledge, skills and competencies needed to later take up employment and stimulate economic growth.

When Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979, she expressed the desire to develop more enterprising individuals and her government began to foster an 'enterprise culture'. The introduction of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) in 1983 provided an alternative syllabus for 14-18-year-olds and aimed to equip them for the demands of working life in a rapidly changing society (Shuttleworth, 1993). The intention of the Initiative was to enable pupils to apply practical skills in solving real-world problems, seek novel solutions to the management of the curriculum and encourage collaboration between education authorities and industry. In so doing, the intention was to reduce the gap between education and work through work experience initiatives (SED, 1989; Gregory, 1999). The Mini Enterprise in Schools Project (MESP) followed, created by the Department of Trade and Industry in England, Wales and Scotland in 1985 in order to encourage the development of mini- Enterprise in both secondary and primary schools during Industry Year 1986 (Lynch, 1992).

Further endorsement for this type of learning followed through the publication of the 5-14 guidelines in Scotland, which highlighted enterprise as one form of cross-

curricular study. Indeed, lists of competences began to emerge as key indicators of the success of an enterprise venture, such as problem solving, creativity, independence and interdependence, initiative, risk taking and the development of strong persuasive powers among pupils (DUBS, 1988; Kearney, 1999; Twiddle and Watt, 1995). From the initial range of school resources and publications such as the Scottish *'Journey To Enterprise'*, *'Enterprising Infants'* and *'Go For Enterprise'* packs, there grew a wealth of projects, initiatives and materials and a huge financial commitment from the UK government towards investing in enterprise initiatives.

Current Developments in Scotland

The publication of the Scottish Executive document *'Determined To Succeed'* (2002) has acted as a review of the effectiveness of education for work and enterprise in schools and as a catalyst for widening and improving this practice and producing a culture change that may secure Scotland's future success. The Scottish Executive summarises its vision with reference to the need for enhancing young people's experiences of enterprise in education as a means to contributing to an enterprising Scotland as 'employees, employers and entrepreneurs' (Scottish Executive, 2002, p.6). In a Ministerial response to *'Determined To Succeed'* several months later, the Executive go even further in their widening perspective of how enterprise should be conceptualised and delivered in Scottish education as a means of widening young people's contribution to 'both society and the economy' (Scottish Executive, 2003a, p.1).

This broader perspective emphasises the need for more than just educating pupils for the world of work and implies the need for a fuller definition of the meaning of 'enterprise' and 'being enterprising'. However, the word 'enterprise' continues to cause much confusion among educationalists. Chapter three of this thesis provides an expanded and more specific history of vocationalism, education for work and enterprise and examines current thinking in relation to the agenda surrounding the need for enterprise *in* education.

The Development of Citizenship Education

The widening connotations associated with 'enterprise' and the bringing together of seemingly incompatible principles has been a key drive associated with New Labour's policies and vision. Tony Blair's approach has been littered with attempts to reconcile apparently incompatible principles (Fairclough, 2000; Humes, 2002), as the following example illustrates well:

> 'This is the third way. A belief in social justice and economic dynamism, ambition and compassion, fairness and enterprise going together.' (Blair, quoted in Fairclough, 2000, p.10)

Lawson argues that recent Blair statements have highlighted the present government's drive to engender a paradigm shift from a civic model based on *rights* to one based on *mutual obligation.* He attributes this shift to a general move over from the 'liberal individualism' of the 1980s to a gradual acceptance of a more 'communitarian approach' which includes opportunities for both civic rights and obligations (Lawson, 2001, p.164). Indeed, the discourse of the 'third way' suggests that previously incompatible terms may now be compatible, such as social justice and economic dynamism (Fairclough, 2000). Essentially, it could be argued that Blairism has brought new challenges to education, where competitiveness, enterprise and individualism have now to be combined with fairness, ethics and morality.

This shift of emphasis was reflected in the 1998 publication of the Advisory Group on Citizenship's report, *'Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools'*, which led to the inclusion of citizenship in the national curriculum of England and Wales. This was set against a backdrop of political and constitutional development, including the introduction of the 1998 Human Rights Act, a growing interest in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly and the creation of an assembly and elected mayor for London (Osler and Starkey, 2001). In wider philosophical terms, perhaps the renewed interest in the citizenship agenda has emerged from a more

general renewal of interest in values in education and also the perceived need for a more participative approach to school organisation. This has emerged as a reaction towards the worry (or, some would argue, near moral panic) surrounding young people's apparent disengagement with formal politics and alleged alienation from social and community values. Thus, one can associate education for citizenship as having three distinct strands, as described by the Advisory Group:

> 'Our understanding of citizenship education in a parliamentary democracy finds three heads on one body: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.' (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, p.13)

In Scotland, recommendations for developing education for active and responsible citizenship have recently been generated by Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTScotland, 2002, p.7), who present an overall goal for citizenship in schools which reflects the need for 'thoughtful and responsible participation' in public life and which may find expression through 'creative and enterprising approaches to issues and problems.' Thus, chapter four of the thesis will examine the history and debates surrounding citizenship education, and the more recent implications that enterprise and citizenship may be compatible.

Aims of Research

The purpose of this piece of research is to determine what we can learn from the ways in which Scottish education is dealing with the dual agenda of enterprise and citizenship. The main source of original data comes from a diverse sample of Scottish schools. The thesis examines how they currently conceptualise and deliver enterprise in education, how this contributes towards promoting the distinctive features of education for citizenship and how pupils themselves define enterprise in relation to communitarian attitudes and values.

Specifically, the data helps to identify the types of behaviour that teachers and Senior Management Teams (SMTs) in schools regard as fitting their description of 'enterprising' and how they define the role and purpose of enterprise in education. One hypothesis is that many schools already have a wide perception of what it means to be enterprising in their approach to the curriculum, and to the organisation and management of education in general. They may even be schools who do not necessarily deliver enterprise 'projects' *per se*. Their task of developing a citizenship dimension to their educational output may be relatively straightforward. Others may have a narrower perception of enterprise and confine it to a classroom project model, and thus they may have more work ahead. It could be that their model of enterprise may have to widen to encompass a generically enterprising approach to school organisation and management.

Much of the data, however, derives from the pupils themselves. A major intention was to uncover the values that a sample of Scottish pupils (age 8-10 at the start of the project) held in relation to enterprise, to place these values somewhere on a continuum between individualism and collectivism and to track attitudinal changes over time. This would allow the examination of the extent to which these values and attitudes reflected communitarian principles, with their emphasis on both civic rights and obligations. In short, the thesis seeks to examine the pupils' own perceptions of whether enterprise and morality may be compatible.

The Research Context

The cultural and political developments which have given rise to the widening of the enterprise agenda and the renewed interest in citizenship education have been touched on here, and will be expanded upon within the literature review contained within chapters two, three and four. In summary, there are several areas of development that have served as the backdrop to this research:

- A broadening perception of the meaning of the word 'enterprise' beyond its original association with the meritoctratic values of the 'New Right' and the

'thrusting entrepreneuur' model associated with business, making it more difficult for schools to define what they may associate with 'enterprising' behaviour.

- The continued commitment of central and local government to promote and fund enterprise in education, leading to a much higher profile for this type of educational practice and a wider range of views about its purpose in preparing pupils for a range of economic and social roles.

- A renewed focus on citizenship education, stemming from the perceived worry about youth alienation and leading to the expectation that schools should promote communitarian values through their practice in enterprise in education.

- The thorny issue (for schools) of whether democracy can be developed in authoritarian structures and whether existing enterprise practice can enable pupils to experience an authentic model of democratic decision-making. (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004; 2004a).

Characterising 'Enterprise' and 'Citizenship' in Education

Many theorists have attempted to define, in concrete terms, what the exact nature of enterprise and citizenship should be. In so doing, the common conclusion would appear to be that both concepts are, indeed, highly contentious and surrounded by much debate about their interpretation and application to the world of education. With enterprise, much has been written about the need for experiential learning and pupil responsibility, encompassing a focus on active approaches to learning that stimulate pupil motivation (Watts, 1984; Jamieson et al, 1988; Shuttleworth, 1993; Brownlow, Twiddle and Watt, 1998; Kearney, 1999). Many have seen it as a response to the continued need for a focus on vocationalism and for instilling more libertarian views of work among pupils (Chomsky, 1988; Corson, 1988), while more recent views have focused on the need for social entrepreneurship and a form of

caring capitalism (Hyland, 1991; Hunter, 2003). This latter, wider view of enterprise as an educational paradigm has been reflected in recent Scottish policy documentation, linking enterprise with the achievement of key national priorities such as values and citizenship (Scottish Executive, 2002).

In relation to citizenship, some writers have explored the apparent tensions between the civic republican traditions (emphasising rights) and the liberal traditions (emphasising social obligations and responsibilities) (Heater, 1999; Davies, 2001). Others have talked about the need for multi-dimensional approaches that encompass national loyalty and social criticism with aspects of global education, re-constructivism and social activism (Oliver and Heater, 1994). Indeed, theorists such as Giddens (1998) and Faulks (2000) have related citizenship to the duality of reaffirming individual autonomy and rights with the need for community interaction. This has built upon the views of Richardson (1996) and Osler and Starkey (2002) which emphasise the creation of a 'thinking, feeling and doing' model. Indeed, Humes' (2002) own view of citizenship as encompassing the related concepts of economic enterprise, moral renewal and civic activism relates well to recent policy documentation which emphasises the need for schools to promote a mix of knowledge and understanding, generic skills, values and dispositions.

For the purposes of this thesis, the author identified his own characterisations of both enterprise and citizenship from the outset, based on previous theoretical conceptualisations and linked to the conceptual framework that was used as the central point of his study. Thus, the author characterises 'enterprise' in terms of an individual's eagerness to be innovative and active in a range of different contexts. Alongside this, he relates 'citizenship' to an individual's ability to think about social, community and political issues, identify with a democratic framework and become active in responding to the major post-modern revolutions of the time. Thus, the author's own definitions are characterised by a rhetoric of reconciliation and this relates well to his overall aim of determining 'what we can learn from the ways in which Scottish education is dealing with the dual agenda of enterprise and citizenship'. This aim and underlying theoretical framework have provided the

essential catalyst for the development of his overall conceptual framework, as detailed on page 73 of this thesis.

Initial Exploratory Research

An initial, exploratory study in 2001 into the links between enterprise in education and pupil attainment provided the researcher with a learning experience that raised new questions and stimulated further research. An abridged version of the study is contained within appendix I, with relevant assessment tools reproduced in appendix II. The study was created in response to the claims that enterprise in education may lead to increased achievement among disaffected learners, through a wider framework for learning which involves non-school environments (Scottish Executive, 2002). Thus, the initial study sought to explore whether there was any tentative evidence to suggest that enterprise education may have a greater beneficial effect on the quality of pupils' functional writing than other types of contexts for lessons in case study schools. A rigorous match of experimental and control groups from an initial sample of three primary schools produced quantitative assessment data from 50 pupils aged 9-11, with follow-up interviews with relevant class teachers and pupils producing complementary qualitative findings.

The findings illustrated that teachers often embarked on enterprise projects with the specific goal of developing personal and social skills and also to enhance pupils' sensitivity to real social affairs. In so doing, many of them noted the increased motivation of pupils to engage in writing as a means of communication. Others, however, recognised that imaginative contexts or ones related to pupils' specific personal interests were the only way of motivating some pupils to write and that enterprise education was by no means a panacea. Indeed, assessment data emerging from the case study schools illustrated that the use of these imaginary contexts often produced better results than an enterprise stimulus. The way in which the school promoted enterprise also seemed to make a difference; it was clear that wider school and community initiatives resulted in pupils having more awareness of enterprise and using it successfully as a stimulus for writing. Certainly, it seemed that pupils

themselves had mixed reactions towards enterprise as a learning context, with some showing a preference for other imaginative contexts that may also be preferred by teachers.

These initial observations led the researcher to raise new questions about the political and social motivations underpinning enterprise in education and the way in which this may be transferred into practice in a wider sample of schools. It also led him to question the way in which teachers and pupils regard enterprising behaviour and the way in which enterprise in education may connect with civic, democratic and communitarian principles and practice. Thus, an initial, exploratory study had provided the researcher with a learning experience that enabled him to make a mature judgement about progressing the content of his thesis into wider territory that sought to tell a more substantial story.

Methodology

The findings from the initial exploratory study were combined with a focus on reviewing the literature that existed on enterprise education, and examining the conflicting debates surrounding it. This involved reflecting upon the philosophy underpinning enterprise in education in relation to the ongoing pressures brought about by the increased accountability of teachers which often act as a barrier to responsive practice and the creation of diversity, creativity and pupil autonomy. It also involved examining the cultural and political changes that have contributed towards the renewed interest in citizenship education and the increased emphasis on school democratization. These issues were measured against the continuing existence of school hierarchy and bureaucracy. This initial focus on the literature combined with exploratory data provided a springboard for a wider, phenomenological approach to research in a diverse sample of Scottish schools. Within this, the purpose of research as defined by Mouly (1978) was a guiding influence:

'Research is best conceived as the process of arriving at dependable solutions to problems through the planned and systematic collection, analysis and interpretations of data.' (Mouly, 1978, in Cohen et al, 2000, p.45)

From the outset, the most robust but practicable methods were used to ensure that dependable solutions would arise out of the collection and analysis of data, and which would enable teachers to more easily interpret the way in which enterprise and citizenship education may co-exist in relation to current documentation and national priorities.

The Research Questions

The key research questions may be summarised as follows:

1. What are the social and political motivations underpinning enterprise and citizenship education that can be identified through a systematic literature review of the key and related concepts?

2. What are the perceived causes of the consistency and inconsistency in the way that policies are translated into practice in enterprise and citizenship education?

3. What types of behaviour and activity do teachers and pupils regard as fitting their perceptions surrounding 'enterprising' behaviour and 'enterprise in education'?

4. To what extent do schools promote democratic and communitarian attitudes and values and to what extent do participants perceive that their policy and practice in enterprise in education helps or hinders this?

Essentially, the study was initially exploratory, and ultimately descriptive, by nature. Firstly it sought to uncover new insights into the literary evidence that surrounds the

cultural motivations underpinning the dual agenda of enterprise and citizenship education. Secondly it sought to provide a critical analysis of the key participants' perceptions surrounding enterprise and citizenship education, in terms of its purposes and ultimate aims in relation to preparing pupils for adult life. The aim here was to create accurate profiles with regard to the schools' observed policy and practice within enterprise education, and what the links were with the promotion of pupil capability for thoughtful and responsible participation in society. It also sought to ascertain the extent to which pupils' views about enterprising behaviour may lend themselves towards communitarian values and attitudes, and to ascertain the way in which pupil rights may be promoted in terms of consultation, participation and decision-making in school. The nature of the research was to involve prolonged contact with teachers and pupils in the field and was intended to measure their perceptions in natural settings. While some initial exploratory assessment of pupil attainment and later written questionnaires and pupil tasks produced **quantitative** data, this would provide the basis for the **qualitative** research, which occupied the major part of the study. Details of these methodological approaches are expanded upon in chapter five.

Summary

It is clear that enterprise in education has received a huge boost over the last few years, in terms of national interest, media publicity and funding, and that this is set to continue. At the same time, the discourse associated with New Labour's 'third way' between capital and welfare has shifted policy development into a renewed focus on values, ethics and citizenship. The political, social and cultural trends in Britain are focused on communitarian values, with a distinct focus on mutual obligation. The political ideology surrounding Blairism has brought the need for reconciliation of social justice and morality with economic dynamism and enterprise. As purveyors of social and cultural ideas, it is felt that schools should perhaps reflect this in their policy and practice. And while the rhetoric surrounding the promotion of citizenship in education is more consonant with many teachers' and schools' values, it is enterprise that continues to grab headlines and form the basis of politicians' and

policy makers' mantra. In the early part of the 21st century, Scottish schools are facing the challenge of ensuring that both enterprise and citizenship is accommodated within the same curriculum. Thus, the ultimate purpose of this thesis is to get nearer to answering the question posed by Davies et al (2001, p.261) and referred to earlier in this opening chapter:

'Can one, at the same time, be wholly competitive and wholly civic-minded?'

2 A PROFESSION IN CHAOS? THE CHALLENGE OF RECONCILING COMPETING AGENDAS

Introduction

In recent years, there have been many developments that have once again led us to question the real purpose of education and the fundamental role of teachers in society. It could be said that schools have succumbed to the pressure to conform to market forces, while still attempting to represent themselves as crucibles of morality, justice and values (Burke and Grosvenor, 2003). Some may argue that this has led to confusion and anxiety among many teachers as they strive to reconcile the needs of all educational stakeholders and meet both social and political demands. At the same time, the debates surrounding the way in which education should prepare pupils for contemporary life have continued to gain momentum.

Increasing the Focus on Ethics

The early part of the 21st century has seen an increased urgency about the need for a focus on ethics and morality in education. Totterdell (2000) pinpoints three closely-related factors underpinning this urgency. Firstly, the perceived moral breakdown in society, and the apparent erosion of values among young people; Lasch (1995) refers to the view that many young people seem to be 'morally at sea' and are failing to grasp the idea that values imply a form of moral obligation. Indeed, he observes that many young people 'insist they owe nothing to "society" – an abstraction that dominates their attempts to think about social and moral issues.' (p.80). The second factor is the perceived decay of our social fabric. Totterdell describes the times in which we live with reference to an ephemeral, self-obsessed culture:

> ' ... the change-rich factor seems to increase exponentially and our demographics become ever more liquid. The result is the culture of the transitory, the momentary; a lust for immediate gratification, a universal concern with self ...' (Totterdell, 2000, p.130)

The third is the erosion of professionalism and the move among public services, including teaching, towards a 'contract culture' where neo-capitalist management strategies focus on efficiency and cost-effectiveness, and where performance is judged against the outcomes of externally-imposed targets.

It seems that curative educational strategies that seek to raise pupil standards through improving teaching standards and practices have led to less focus on morality and ethics in education, which in turn has led to some teachers becoming demoralized. The renewed focus on values and ethics in education that reflect the principles underpinning democracy and social justice has perhaps been a response to the realisation that teaching must be a moral endeavour and not a neutral one. This is explained well by one Nazi concentration camp survivor:

> 'I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness: Gas chambers built by learned engineers. Children poisoned by educated physicians. Infants killed by trained nurses. Women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates. So I am suspicious of education. My request is: help your students become more human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmans. Reading, writing, arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.' (Siraj-Blatchford, 1994, pp.61-62)

Many contemporary areas of intense interest and debate are, indeed, increasing this drive towards ensuring that ethics is high on the educational agenda. For example, the increased focus on human rights discourse has given rise to a more pragmatic focus on tackling issues related to racism in society. The report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in 1999 which found Metropolitian police to be guilty of institutional racism opened up a whole new debate about the extent of prejudice against ethnic minorities and the way in which inequalities of power may be woven into the very fabric of society (Faulks, 2000). Critics of the 1998 Advisory Group on Citizenship feel that its report precludes the notion of multiple identities, and is conspicuous in its avoidance of personal, institutional and structural racism (Wilkins,

2001). It is argued that this may encourage schools to merely teach children about other cultures through a focus on cultural anthropology, and to sidestep the more serious issues such as the need to address current differentials in educational outcomes between ethnic groups in schools (Osler and Starkey, 2000; Wilkins, 2001). Indeed, the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act which provided the legal basis for the dispersal of asylum seekers has further increased the urgency for schools to recognise cultural diversity and facilitate equality of opportunity and social tolerance through multi-agency working (Barclay et al, 2003).

Another issue of concern surrounds the more general need to recognise that the basic principle underpinning democracy is that policy should be decided by open debate based upon reason and argument rather than dogma or force (Carr, 2003). Thus, there is a feeling that children need to be regarded as active, competent and vocal members of society and that schools need to embody the values of justice, freedom and autonomy within their institutional practice (White, 1999; Burke and Grosvenor, 2003). There is an increasing recognition that pupils need to have a say in how they learn as well as the opportunity to engage in the discussion of controversial social and moral issues in the classroom. In Scotland, this recognition has perhaps been bolstered by the introduction of the Scottish Parliament, with sub-committees such as the Scottish Civic Forum and Scottish Youth Parliament developing a wider programme of political engagement with schools and colleges (Brown, 2003).

Certainly, it seems that the digital revolution has led to young people becoming increasingly aware of, and engaged in, single-issue politics. In particular, many children are intensely interested in issues connected with environmental sustainability, and it has been argued that more coherent programmes for young people to engage with local environment agencies is needed in the wake of debates surrounding such recent issues as global warming, BSE and foot and mouth disease (Potter, 2002). Many primary schools have responded to this through the establishment of eco-schools committees and a focus on development education programmes. However, media images in a global age also allow children to become exposed to many more controversial social, political and humanitarian issues than

ever before, such as the controversy that surrounded the Iraq War of 2003. Evidence has illustrated that pupils are keen to discuss such issues and that a programme on citizenship education needs to respond to this (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004; 2004a).

Alongside all of this is the continuing climate that surrounds the need for economic growth and prosperity. In Scotland, the Scottish Executive (2001) continues to encourage schools to focus upon employability skills and to enable young people to take their part in a prosperous, competitive economy. However, while entrepreneurship is still associated with the setting-up and running of a successful business, it is also seen as a form of caring capitalism, with opportunities for social endeavour (Scottish Executive, 2001; Hunter, 2003). Thus, policy documentation not only encourages a major expansion in the involvement of businesses in schools and the fostering of prosperity and wealth creation (Scottish Executive, 2002), it also encourages the need to be thoughtful, responsible and caring (LTScotland, 2002).

Here, then, we catch a glimpse of the huge challenges currently facing our teachers. The perceived breakdown of social principles and values among young people has led to a renewed focus on ethics and moral education in schools. This has been further bolstered by the continued recognition of the presence of racism in society, the need for recognising and showing tolerance towards multiple cultural identities, the concern over environmental sustainability issues and the humanitarian destruction caused by contemporary global conflict. Citizenship education has come to be recognized as a vehicle for addressing many of these issues. Alongside this, the national concern over falling academic standards has led to externally-imposed goals involving league tables and exam results, and yet teachers are also encouraged to promote democratic practice and autonomous decision-making among pupils. In addition, the concern over the apparent productivity gap in Scotland and the rest of the UK has led to a continued drive towards creating economic growth and prosperity through enterprise education, but the need for compassion and business ethics is also high on the agenda. It seems that teachers may be caught in the middle of a huge dilemma: how can they seek 'excellence' in terms of league table results and fostering economic drive and ambition, but also safeguard against losing their

own autonomy while maintaining the ethical model they seek – and are currently encouraged – to promote in schools?

Mixing Excellence With Ethics

In a world strewn with competing agendas and conflicting priorities, it is difficult to imagine how teachers manage to harmonise their professional goals and principles with the current priorities of society and the many stakeholders who have a say in the educational process. Oliver and Heater's (1994, p.157) claim that school should be regarded as a 'micro-social or political community' makes the teacher's task of harmonising ethical and professional priorities even more essential.

How can teachers do their *best* work, in order to prepare pupils for the wide set of roles that they will be expected to engage in when they are older? Gardner et al (2001) define people who do 'good work' in terms of excellence *and* ethics:

> 'People who do good work, in our sense of the term, are clearly skilled in one or more professional realms. At the same time, rather than merely following money or fame alone, or choosing the path of least resistance when in conflict, they are thoughtful about their responsibilities and implications of their work. At best, they are concerned to act in a responsible fashion with respect towards their personal goals; their family, friends, peers and colleagues; their mission or sense of calling; the institutions with which they are affiliated; and, lastly, the wider world – people they do not know, those who will come afterwards, and, in the grandest sense, to the planet or to God.' (Gardner et al, 2001, p.3)

However, Gardner et al also recognise that we live in difficult and challenging times, whereby many young men and women no longer have access to people of previous generations that may have provided a model for responsible participation in work roles. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them even to draw inspiration from the long-standing models of behaviour inherent within the traditions of

individual professions, due to the rapidly changing working conditions of the 21st century. As a result, the model of 'good work' may be difficult to aspire to:

> 'If the fundamentals of good work – excellence and ethics – are in harmony, we lead a personally fulfilling and socially rewarded life. If they are not, either the individual or the community, or both, will suffer.' (Gardner et al, 2001, p.16)

In short, many young professionals (including teachers) may find themselves in chaos. They strive to be loyal to the mission of the profession to which they were drawn, maintain the appropriate standards particular to that profession and also safeguard their own values, attitudes and moral principles, but at the same time they are faced with market-led, economy-driven agendas. Being thoughtful, responsible and ethically driven in work situations is commendable, but the modern workplace is now hugely complex. Expectations of external stakeholders often clash with the ethical standards inherent within a professional domain, and people ignore these expectations at their peril:

> '... today no professional realm can operate indefinitely if it clashes with the requirements of such stakeholders.' (Gardner et al, 2001, p.26)

When cultural values clash with those of a particular professional domain, or when the expectations of stakeholders are in opposition to those of the profession, two types of dysfunctional consequences may arise:

> 'When harmony in the social matrix falters, several consequences ensue ... *anomie,* which occurs when norms break down to the extent that nobody any longer knows the right thing to do; and *alienation,* when norms become rigid and oppressive and nobody wants to do what has to be done.' (Gardner et al, 2001, p.30)

Reflecting upon the conditions that may be affecting teachers in relation to the above dilemmas is useful. Although teachers tend to have strong professional and ethical goals, guided by thoughtful and responsible personal drivers that may have attracted them to the profession in the first place, the nature of their work has become increasingly challenging. They are faced with new expectations, whereby education is seen as a consumer commodity and schools are now run on a market model, operating along the same lines as commercial enterprises. Pupils and their parents have become the customers and consumers, and politicians and school inspectors measure school outputs based on league tables and target-setting in relation to national priorities. Much of this consumer-driven, competitive culture clashes with teachers' perceived educational mission, with its ethical and moral standards of preparing pupils with essential knowledge and life skills. Some may argue that Gardner et al's perception of the forms of dysfunction that threaten many professions apply completely to education. While some teachers may be confused and unsure about the right path to take in their provision of education, others may also have become oppressed by external influences and the frustration they feel at trying to harmonise these expectations with the more traditional ones that brought them into the profession to begin with.

Plato and Beyond

The challenges facing teachers now stem from apparently opposing principles that have quite distant origins. The teaching of moral education and values has become increasingly recognised as the responsibility of schools (Covell and Howe, 2001), with some writers arguing the need for education to enable young people to grow up with a sense of compassion and a capacity to love and care for each other (Potter, 2002). And yet, others have argued that personal ambition, individualism and egocentric attitudes may not be completely divorced from the need to develop ethics and values in education. Goggin (2003) raises a challenging and stimulating issue in relation to this:

> 'Self-interest is far from being an enemy of a more conventional way of thinking morally.' (Goggin, 2003, p.67)

It was, in fact, Plato who first recognised the existence of these types of opposing dispositions that had to be harmonised in order to create a pathway between personal courage and thoughtfulness, as noted by Cornford:

> 'A proper training will produce courage; but if that element is over-strained, it naturally becomes hard and savage. Gentleness, on the other hand, is characteristic of the philosophical disposition. Here again, too much relaxation will result in over-softness; the right training will produce a gentleness that is steady and disciplined.' (Cornford - translating Plato, 1941)

Thus, Plato saw education as having a role in developing students into courageous but gentle individuals. In addition, he stressed the need for pupil autonomy, recognising that, in preparing them to become functioning parts of an economic machine, we may be denying them their autonomous rights (Eyres, 2002). Indeed, a closer look at Plato's value-scales illustrates that he placed wealth and the drive towards money and material possessions at a low level, gradually building up towards the more humanistic elements of society at the top end of the scale:

> '... starting with wealth ... the scale proceeds upwards to muscular strength, then to bodily health, then ... to courage, then to justice, then still higher to temperance, and finally to wisdom and philosophical insight.' (Lodge, 1928, p.217)

Lodge (1928) documents Plato's dialogues in relation to values, with the recognition of money as a means to the end of satisfying bodily wants, and physical strength (accompanied by mental and bodily health) as playing a wider part in the individual progression towards service to the community. The development of a healthy body was seen by Plato as essential for developing a healthy mind, but his higher order 'goods' on the value system consisted of physical courage, temperance and wisdom,

all of which created a unique formula for societal justice. Described as the 'social virtue *par excellence,* the virtue which realises the highest possibilities of social living' (Lodge, 1928, p.223), Plato acknowledged the possibility of synthesizing the seemingly antagonistic qualities of courage and temperance to produce justice and ensure that all citizens were able to maximise their contribution to their community:

> 'Plato gives a formula for justice in this sense, "wisdom plus temperance plus courage" ... each citizen is to develop all his potentialities to the utmost and to realise fully his Idea ... But further, he is to contribute the results of his activities to the community, receiving in return the results of the activities of other citizens.' (Lodge, 1928, p.223)

In recognising the relationship between values in education and the needs of the community, Plato also deduced that two quite different aims could be possible in educating a child. It was possible to begin with the needs of the community and mould children so that they may fit in with these needs, or to help the child to develop along his own lines as much as possible (Huby, 1972). Plato's solution was a compromise, namely to acknowledge the needs of the individual community but to plan education around the individual and unique interests and talents of the children in hand.

It is clear, then, that the idea of having a stronger focus on values and ethics in education is not something new. The debate about how this type of education should be developed stems back to the education system of Ancient Greece. Recent debate about self-interest and individualism being a catalyst for developing moral education can be likened to the dialogues of Plato, who talked about quite hostile educational paradigms complementing one another. Although wealth was seen as being low on the Platonian value scales, courage and temperance were regarded as complementary sources of developing education for justice, which could feed into community involvement. Some of these early dialogues may have set the foundations for much of the modern debate about egoism that surrounds the question of moral education today.

Dewey's 'Social Necessity'

The development of values in education may not, in fact, always be governed by co-operative experience. In recognising the 'social necessity' in education, Dewey (1916) did not confine this to collaborative experiences and communication with others, but rather to the whole process of taking action. To him, the whole act of engaging in activities that may be linked to taking action provided the social setting necessary for democratic approaches to education:

> 'Thinking and feeling that have to do with action in association with others is as much a social mode of behaviour as is the most overt co-operative or hostile act.' (Dewey, 1916, p.81)

In defining society, Dewey explored the many and varied implications of 'social association', and highlighted both the eulogistic and descriptive sense of 'society'. On the one hand, Dewey recognised the perceived qualities associated with society, such as purpose, welfare, loyalty, and mutuality of sympathy. On the other, he recognised that the wide range of communities that actually exist includes those with more negative connotations that may still draw upon the tools of social synergy:

> 'There is honour among thieves, and a band of robbers have a common interest as respects its members. Gangs are marked by fraternal feeling, and narrow cliques by intense loyalty to their own codes ...' (Dewey, 1916, p.82)

Defining the social theory behind some of Dewey's views becomes a challenge in itself. Fishman and McCarthy (1998) argue that his views could be bracketed under both individualism and communitarianism. On the one hand, Dewey was heard to express his willingness to experiment with industrial socialism, and argued that all facets of contemparary life were becoming dominated by economic dictatorship:

> 'Although we have exchanged autocratic control of political matters for representative government, industry remains in the hands of the few, workers

having little say about decisions affecting them. Dewey urges us to ameliorate these conditions by experimenting with democratic, worker-run industries. And this is the same experimental spirit he wants to develop in pupils.' (Fishman and McCarthy, 1998)

Dewey's definition of intelligence involved the need for diverse points of view and his attitudes towards the need for a classroom which enriched student experience and expanded interest reflected an education rich with pupil autonomy and individual rights. However, as well as this classically liberated and individualistic view of education, Fishman and McCarthy also recognise the more communitarian principles in Dewey's writing, where he championed the need for classrooms to become social environments which promote 'oral integrity, wholeheartedness and co-operative interaction.' Whereas liberals, who highlight the intense importance of human rights, may feel that the goals of education should be left up to the individual student, Dewey acknowledged the importance of integrating the opposing forces of pupil autonomy and co-operative student learning. His attempt to reconcile individual potential and the meeting of collective, community goals - to honour both individual and group demands - may be considered as a form of 'welfare liberalism' as documented by Fishman and McCarthy:

'... defending the rights of individual students, even their right to be silent and left alone, may sometimes contradict the communitarianism value of having classmates work co-operatively with one another.' (Fishman and McCarthy, 1998, p.62)

In summary, Dewey's philosophical standpoint transcended both the individualistic perspectives associated with neo-liberalism and the collective spirit associated with socialist ideals. His view of education as having a strong social dimension reflected the need for pupils to take action and participate in a democratic school environment, where their views were heard and their autonomy and rights respected. However, he also recognised the need for co-operative learning and socialisation. He highlighted the need for providing a holistic approach towards defining 'society' and

'community' and the danger of confining these definitions to ideals. In fact, Dewey argued for a more realistically descriptive approach towards defining society to pupils, exploring both positive and negative examples as a means of developing awareness of synergistic principles.

Mixing Rights, Values and Moral Education

While moralists may despair over the apparent collapse of the duty ethic in modern society, Goggin questions their right to assume that 'duty is the only starting-point for morality' (Goggin, 2003, p.68). He argues that morality would, in fact, have no purpose if it did not connect at some point with human interests, and that individual decisions about lifestyle and human well-being may lead to the development of a range of values, such as fairness, thoughtfulness and consideration of others. In short, self-interest can be a catalyst for developing a broad set of principles and values (Goggin, 2003).

In a Canadian study carried out into the use of rights education in schools, Covell and Howe (2001) found that there may be 'a contagian effect in which learning about one's own rights results in support for the rights of others' (p. 31). Following the development of a children's rights curriculum in grade 8 classes in five different schools, it was found that adolescents who were taught about their rights as they are described in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, showed higher self-esteem, higher levels of perceived peer and teacher support and indicated more support for the rights of others. Indeed, the study concluded that rights education may be an effective agent of moral education (Covell and Howe, 2001).

However, research also suggests that it may be essential for such education to involve democratic styles of teaching, whereby pupils are encouraged to have a say in matters concerning them and where an egalitarian teaching approach is in evidence. Covell and Howe (2001) justify this clearly:

> 'Teachers who are concerned with the maintenance of their authority in the classroom may be uncomfortable with allowing for the participation rights required by the curriculum and the Convention.' (Covell and Howe, 2001, p.38)

It seems, then, that the re-emergence of values in education and a focus on moral education may, at first glance, be in direct conflict with individualism and the development of self-interest and freedom. However, recent research suggests that concentrating pupils' ideas on self may be a useful starting-point for developing their awareness of the needs of others. Focusing on developing pupils' awareness of their own human rights may, indeed, be a reasonable catalyst for enhancing their interest in wider values, and reaching the synergy that Dewey sought in his vision for social studies. In so doing, perhaps we can reach a shift away from socialisation into school hierarchical structures towards more of an emphasis on the child as an individual social actor - concentrating on being oneself and using that awareness of self as a medium for developing ethics and values in education, rather than focusing on becoming a part of a society that is dictated and stereotyped by schools and their internal structures (Burke and Grosvenor, 2003). One comment by a secondary school pupil, describing a vision for an 'ideal school', serves to reinforce this idea:

> 'In my ideal school the whole philosophy that dominates schools now will be dropped ... we will no longer be treated like herds of an identical animal wanting to be civilised before we are let loose on the world. It will be recognised that it is our world too ... There will be no ridiculous hierarchy who don't even know us, to whom we are constantly proving ourselves.' (Burke and Grosvenor, 2003, p.94)

The co-joining of rights education and individualistic principles with communitarian and collectivist views of society may be a useful way of enhancing the values and attitudes needed for a 21st century society. Indeed, this approach may reflect the way many young pupils think and feel in any case – mixing compassion with ambition and determination. However, research also suggests that this *thinking* and *feeling*

approach should be accompanied by *doing*; and so teachers should allow pupils to participate widely in decision-making and to break down traditional school hierarchies which may act as a barrier to democratic education. The above quotation reflects the desperate need for ownership that many children may feel – ownership over their education, their future and the decisions involved in creating that future.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the renewed focus on ethics and morality in education which has emerged as a result of the recent perceived moral panic about eroding values among young people in Britain alongside the wider recognition of the need to promote human rights, democracy, sustainability and tolerance in schools. However, the pressure put upon teachers to reflect these types of moral and ethical values in their own professional endeavours is accompanied by the added pressure of meeting the demands of employability and market-led models of education, guided by externally-imposed goals, target-setting and league tables. Some may argue that there is a general feeling of confusion and frustration among many teachers, who perhaps feel constrained by seemingly opposing demands of achieving excellence and ethics. However, the debate about mixing values with excellence is nothing new, and can be traced back to the Platonian dialogues. While Plato talked about the mixing of courage, autonomy and personal wisdom as a catalyst for social justice, John Dewey later reflected on the need for individualism *and* communitarianism as a vital part of the educational process. More modern studies have illustrated that individualistic approaches to education, highlighting children's rights, may serve as an agent for enhancing moral education. However, evidence suggests that the provision of a curriculum based upon individual rights and collective responsibilities should also be underpinned by a democratic approach to teaching, whereby pupils are able to have ownership over their learning and where hierarchical approaches to school education are eliminated.

3 'CAN DO, WILL DO!': FROM 'EDUCATION FOR WORK' TO 'ENTERPRISING INDIVIDUALS'

Introduction

In modern times, the presence of individualism in society became increasingly prominent in the education system as a result of 1980s Thatcherism in Britain. Thatcher's assertion that there is 'no such thing as society' was accompanied by a focus on neo-liberalism and personal gain (Faulks, 1998). This focus served to extend the moves towards education for work that had its roots in Dewey's philosophy and had emerged again in the 1970s in the form of improving education and industry links. A closer look at the background to the education for work movement and the history of enterprise education will allow a fuller exploration of the nature of individualism within education and how this has evolved into the contexts currently associated with enterprise *in* education.

Vocationalism and Active Learning in Schools

In recent years the promotion of enterprise in education and the related focus on preparation for work and lifelong learning has been accompanied by multi-million pound initiatives, the national recruitment of enterprise advisers and a national enterprise agenda throughout Britain. Hayward (2004) acknowledges that such developments are typically traced to the Ruskin College Speech given by the then Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, in 1976, but also argues that the idea of vocationalism is much older than this and stems from at least the time of the Samuelson Commission on Technical Instruction of 1882-84 (Ryan, 2003; Hayward, 2004).

A key figure in the development of a vocational perspective in education was undoubtedly John Dewey. Through his 'laboratory school', Dewey (1938) saw himself as trying to persuade education to develop in line with the pace of change within industry, and to encourage schools to promote pupil individuality, autonomy

and experiential, contextualised learning. He contrasted the advantages of this approach with a more traditional approach to learning:

> 'To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world.' (Dewey, 1938, p.19-20)

Jamieson et al (1988) argue that Dewey's vision for education encompassed a model of industry in which people have an active and creative part to play that should be mirrored in schools. Dewey condemned the institutional school model of the nineteenth century in this sense, with its apparent isolation from the realities of life experience:

> 'From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experience he gets from outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply to daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school – its isolation from life.' (Dewey, 1915, p.67)

From the late nineteenth century onwards, sections of industry made attempts to promote vocational schooling, although the growing prosperity following World War II which served to reduce social unrest and produce changes in the demand for labour resulted in a temporary decrease in vocationalism (Shilling, 1989). However, the publication of the Brunton Report in 1963 aimed to ensure that young people were once again motivated by the 'vocational impulse' (SED, 1963, p.24) and more prepared for opportunities in Further Education. Brunton's vision was combined with the need for creating a cadre of teachers that would ensure that vocational

approaches would be used to increase pupils' intrinsic motivation across the curriculum (SED, 1963; Weir, 1988). This vision was later put into a wider context by the Scottish Education Department's Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC), which saw vocational schooling as being co-equal with social and moral education (Weir, 1988). However, much of Brunton's vision was misinterpreted as being a remedy only for non-academic pupils in secondary schools, and that the more academic should continue to be educated via didactic approaches. At the same time, the Scottish Primary Memorandum was promoting the need for active learning in primary schools:

> 'It is now recognised that learning occurs most effectively when the learner is personally involved in purposeful activity which captures his interest or arises from it.' (Scottish Education Department, 1965)

From the growth in living standards and low levels of unemployment in the 1960s, there followed a period of technological change, a decline of the manufacturing industries, the subsequent collapse of the apprenticeship system and economic recession in the 1970s which led to increased levels of youth unemployment, poor working conditions and low wages (Shilling, 1989). The subsequent analysis of many industrialists led to the belief that schools were not equipping students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to stimulate economic growth. Thus, a renewed focus on education for work and vocationalism emerged:

> 'From a dominant focus on universities and the career destinations of highly qualified students, industrial interest widened to a concern that schools should promote the skills, attitudes and knowledge required in different echelons of the economy.' (Shilling, 1989, p.44)

The increasing pressure on schools to promote education that was relevant to the needs of industry thus added to the need for more active forms of learning. This style of learning, with its emphasis on pupil discovery, autonomy, responsibility and co-operation, was regarded as a means of improving student motivation and

deepening children's understanding of what they were learning. Essentially, the active learning approach was seen as intrinsically more enjoyable than more passive forms of learning, and a useful vehicle for preparing pupils for the world of work and industry (Jamieson et al, 1988).

Thus, the focus on vocationalism in education, which could be dated back to at least the late nineteenth century and was given added momentum by philosophers such as John Dewey, provided an alternative to the traditional institutional school model. The focus on the need for individual pupil autonomy, active and experiential learning was seen as a way of preparing pupils for creative work roles. The need for this focus on vocationalism was revived in the 1960s following the publication of the Brunton Report and the Primary Memorandum in Scotland. These ideas took on a new urgency in 1970s Britain, following the concerns surrounding youth unemployment and recession, leading to wider debate about the relationship between education and industry.

The 'Great Debate'

The subsequent positioning of education-industry relations as a central part of the political agenda stemmed from the Great Debate launched in 1976 by Jim Callaghan. His Ruskin College Speech focused on the need for schools to equip young people with the skills, attitudes and knowledge required by industry. The subsequent launch in 1977 of the Education for an Industrial Society Project (EISP) in Scotland was paralleled by the Schools Council Industry Project (SCIP) in England and Wales. The key focus of the EISP project was to review and enhance the methods that secondary schools used for preparing pupils for work in an industrial society, leading to local authorities setting up development groups for specific curricular areas.

Jamieson et al (1988) describe the paradox inherent within Callaghan's attack on the progressive forms of learning which were being promoted in schools at this time by way of a response to the schools-industry movement he was recommending. Indeed, much of the rhetoric behind progressive, active forms of learning stemmed from

industrial approaches and work simulations. Jamieson et al (1988) trace the origins of experiential forms of learning to before the creation of formal schooling, when all forms of learning were active. They argue that the formalisation of schooling ushered in the creation of didacticism, which subsequently created problems for industry due to the increasing detachment of schooling from the realities of the industrial world. The attempts made to rescue schools from this trap involved the reinstatement of experiential learning methods. This included the drive towards integrating subject matter rather than separating it, ensuring the teacher acted as guide to educational experiences rather than distributor of knowledge, providing for the active pupil voice, learning by discovery, an accent on co-operative group-work rather than competition and a widening of teaching contexts away from the classroom base (Bennett, 1976).

It seems, then, that Callaghan's focus on education-industry links and the need for preparing pupils for the world of work launched a wider debate about the worth of progressive, experiential forms of learning. While this type of learning, which encouraged contexts beyond the classroom and a focus on pupil autonomy and co-operation, reflected the practice found in industrial training, its value in preparing pupils for the harsh realities of the workplace was increasingly coming into question. The Scottish responses to this renewed interest in enhancing education-industry links included the launch of approaches such as EISP. However, the over-reliance on volunteers and some short-term secondments led to a lack of coherence in the project, and the focused attention on the Munn/Dunning Development Programme on certification at this time deterred teachers' full commitment towards the initiative (Weir, 1988; Lynch, 1992; Gregory, 1999). Nevertheless, the debate about education as a valuable means of equipping pupils for the world of 'work' was set to continue.

The Meaning of 'Work'

The dynamics of educational change and reform at this time were seen to be increasingly in conflict with Marxist principles following the publication of '*Schooling In Capitalist America*' by Bowles and Gintis in 1975. Here, the

fundamental theoretical claim that the nature of schooling cannot be understood apart from the matrix of economic life led to the function of education being defined in relation to the preparation of pupils for both the labour power and the social relations vital for a place in industry. Indeed, Dale et al (1981) argue that Bowles and Gintis' view of education reflects the need for authoritarian approaches in schools as a means of preparing pupils for work roles:

> 'Their argument centres around "the correspondence principle", the claim that "the major aspects of educational organisation replicate the relationships of dominance and subordinancy in the economic sphere".' (Dale et al, 1981, p.33)

Indeed, it has been suggested that the culture in many schools is still to teach children to become accustomed to a life of discipline and authority (Bowles and Gintis, 1975; Faulks, 1998) and that this hierarchical approach did, at one time, mirror that hierarchical division of labour in the workplace. However, the debate surrounding the nature of education for work and industry links was increasingly widened by a renewed interest in the meaning and context of the word 'work' in itself. Corson (1988) develops the Marxist distinction between 'meaningful work' and labour, and argues for a re-examination of the way in which 'work' is conceptualised and thus defined in educational terms:

> 'This distinction between work and recreation, the one a means to an end and the other an end in itself, is an important one ... If we do accept it as a reasonable distinction and "work", as a result, is characterised as a means to an end, then drastic implications might follow for "education for work".' (Corson, 1988, p.13)

Corson argues in 1988 for the distinction between *occupational* work, where people are less free to control time, venue, duration and intensity of work with *recreational* work, where people have more freedom over all of these things. He argues that many professionals, who may be able to adopt a licentious approach to matters of

time, venue, intensity and duration might regard work in much the same light as recreational workers, who see work as an end in itself. Conversely, the more constrained occupational workers may regard work as much more of a means to an end. Corson (1988, p.15) argues that 'a fundamental value at stake in the "education for work" debate is the individual's entitlement to freedom' and refers to the humanistic conception of education and work pioneered by Bertrand Russell and supported by Noam Chomsky (Corson, 1988). This concept of work incorporates a libertarian view, which sees work as a free and conscious activity. This is in conflict with the common stance of the economist with its 'constraining and more prevalent view of the nature of work, namely that labour is a commodity to be sold on the market for maximal return, that has no intrinsic value itself' (Chomsky, 1988, p.21). Chomsky takes this view further in terms of its implications for school education:

> 'Therefore the purpose of education, from this point of view, cannot be to control the child's growth to a specific predetermined end, because any such end must be established by arbitrary authoritarian means; rather the purpose of education must be to permit the growing principle of life to take its own individual course, and to facilitate this process by sympathy, encouragement and challenge, and by developing a rich and differentiated context and environment.' (Chomsky, 1988, p.20)

The conceptualisation of 'work' and its association with education has thus had an evolving history. As perceptions about the nature of work have increasingly become focused on libertarian views, so the need for education to prepare pupils for the intrinsic value of the participative workplace has grown. As a result, the thinking underpinning education for work has once again been dominated by the need for progressive forms of learning and skills-based curricula.

Education for Work and Enterprise

Thus, the widening perception of the nature of work itself and the way in which schools should be involved in preparing pupils for this work has resulted in a variety

of school-to-work transitional programmes in order to prepare young people for employment. Shuttleworth (1993) refers to Barnes and O'Connor's (1987) categories, which include experiential learning, co-operative learning, internships, career education, work-study, work experience and job shadowing. Indeed, the creation of the TVEI in 1983 signalled the beginning of a comprehensive British programme for equipping young people for the demands of working life (Jamieson et al, 1988; Shuttleworth, 1993). The approach adopted here was to relate the school curriculum to the world of work, to equip pupils with the knowledge, skills and competencies for working life, to enable them to gain direct experience of the world of work through work placements and to develop generic skills in pupils, such as communication, problem solving and teamwork (Shuttleworth, 1993). Jamieson et al (1988) describe the increasing pressure on industrial placements, and the subsequent response by schools to consider work simulations as an alternative. However, these simulations tended to provide a slightly outdated picture of the world of work and failed to represent the changing work patterns in Britain, such as the fall in the agriculture and manufacturing industries, the growth of the service sector, the impact of technological change and the need for flexibility and transferable skills (Jamieson et al, 1988). In short, it often seemed that work simulations in schools were 'preparing students to solve yesterday's industrial problems rather than tomorrow's' (Jamieson et al, 1988, p.19).

This continued concern over the success of education for work initiatives, combined with the growing attention given to the role of small businesses in employment creation and economic restoration as well as the growing interest in self-employment, gave rise to the growth of interest in enterprise in the 1980s (Jamieson et al, 1988). Shuttleworth draws upon the OECD (1989) definition of enterprise:

> 'The word "enterprise" has to do with the skills of initiative, imagination, creativity, being able to organise, make decisions and take control in a wide variety of contexts.' (OECD, 1989, in Shuttleworth, 1993, p.8)

These, of course, are qualities which have always been of vital importance in building the economy, but the contexts within which they are expected to be applied have changed from pre-industrial agricultural settings, through twentieth century manufacturing and labour-intensive industries to the twenty-first century contexts of small businesses, self employment and non-profit-making ventures (Shuttleworth, 1993). Shuttleworth (1993, p.14) describes the early 1990s perspective of the need for enterprise learning through primary, secondary and adult education as a process for engendering 'the attitudes and skills of self-reliance, co-operative problem solving, innovative action and entrepreneurial zeal'. Jamieson et al (1988, p.75) trace the initial market leader of the idea to 'Young Enterprise', founded as far back as 1963 with the aim of providing young people between the ages of 15 and 19 with an 'elementary working knowledge of the organisation, methods and practice of commerce and industry through first-hand experience'. Following the 1979 General Election, Margaret Thatcher expressed the desire to develop more enterprising individuals through the education system, and emphasised the need for children to leave school with a sound understanding of what industry and commerce had to offer (Watts, 1984). Indeed, as Law (1983) describes, education for enterprise appealed to all shades of the political spectrum:

> 'Education for "self-employment", "enterprise", "competitiveness" and "mini-companies" has - for some observers - an unmistakable bluish hue. While curriculum material concerning "communes", "co-operatives", "mini-co-operatives", "right-to-work action", "assertiveness" ... seem to others to be decidedly pink.' (Law, 1983, p.2)

Here, then, we see the evolving nature of education for work and enterprise, set against the backdrop of 1980s Thatcherism and arising from the renewed interest in experiential learning and the changing nature of employment. The need for a skills-approach with active elements of learning was combined with an emphasis on enhancing pupils' attitudes towards creativity, ambition and entrepreneurship. This focus on individuality and personal gain fitted well with the politics of the 'New

Right', while the accompanying focus on co-operative learning also satisfied the concerns of those further left in the political spectrum.

The Nature of Enterprise in Education

The word 'enterprise' has caused much confusion among teachers and academics, and there have been many different perceptions of what is meant by the term. The Collins Concise English Dictionary (1993) definition is that of 'a project or undertaking, especially one that requires boldness or effort'. Writers such as Paul Kearney (1999) have argued that, for an enterprise programme to be effective in schools, there must be two essential ingredients present - namely *pupil ownership* and *experiential learning.* The pupils must be given the freedom to come up with ideas for creating and maintaining a project, take responsibility for it and experience first-hand learning which offers a real sense of utility and audience.

Over the years in primary schools, the use of enterprise has traditionally taken the form of a business enterprise project where pupils work in teams to create, market and sell a product for a financial profit and learn about the key concepts of a business and how it operates. Alternatively, the children may be involved in a community-based project, whereby they learn about community support structures and how they must anticipate and respond to changing needs. Or, an environmental project enables pupils to develop an aspect of the local environment such as the creation and maintenance of the school garden or playground, and to learn that beneficial change is possible if some individual or group is prepared to take an initiative (Brownlow, Twiddle and Watt, 1998). One of the strongest sources of research on the development of teaching materials in this field in the late 1980s/early 1990s was the Enterprise and Industry Education Unit at Durham University Business School (DUBS). Ireland (1993) refers to DUBS' view that children should emerge from enterprise projects more motivated, confident, creative, flexible, able to cope with failure, able to work in teams and able and willing to take risks. Indeed, lists of competences began to be identified as key indicators of the success of an enterprise venture, such as problem solving, creativity, independence and interdependence,

initiative, risk taking and the development of strong persuasive powers.

Ireland (1993) makes reference to a study by DUBS into the views of headteachers in Durham and Gateshead towards enterprise education. Those headteachers who had not participated in an enterprise initiative tended to have the view that 'enterprise was concerned largely with profit making, producing entrepreneurs and having involvement with large industrial concerns' (Ireland, 1993, p.28). Conversely, headteachers who did have previous experience in this field regarded it as more of a process where pupils were involved in decision making in situations which involved 'the wider community and were relevant outside the classroom' (Ireland, 1993, p.28). Ireland refers to DUBS' key recommendations as a way of addressing these conflicting ideas, such as increased staff development, liaison between schools, teachers' increased experience of business and industry and links between schools and outside agencies.

Twiddle and Watt (1995) outline three broad rationales for enterprise education, stemming from the principles emerging from MESP, funded by the Department of Trade and Industry in England, Wales and Scotland in 1985 (Lynch, 1992). These can be summarised as learning about enterprise, learning through enterprise and learning for enterprise. Learning *about* enterprise involves teaching children about the key concepts of a business, about community support structures or about the beneficial change which is possible if an individual, group or government is prepared to take an initiative. In general, pupils can learn about 'the real social, economic and environmental world they live in' (Twiddle and Watt, 1995, p.2). Learning *through* enterprise suggests that children can develop a range of skills through participating in an enterprise venture, such as communication, team work, creativity, problem solving, decision making etc. Learning *for* enterprise suggests that pupils can develop new types of attitudes towards their own capabilities and develop the potential to become bold enough to initiate the setting up of a business, community or environmental project of their own in their young adult lives.

It would appear, then, that the content of enterprise education in schools was the source of some debate during its formative years. In Scotland, school resources and publications such as *'Enterprising Infants'* and *'Go For Enterprise'* have suggested that practice in enterprise education should be concerned with developing pupils' knowledge and understanding of the social, business and economic aspects of modern life. It should also be about active learning, developing skills that will be important to future employers and about instilling positive attitudes towards pupils' own abilities and potential for growth (Twiddle and Watt, 2001, Brownlow, Twiddle and Watt, 1998). However, evidence such as that cited by Ireland (1993) suggests that educational practitioners may differ in how they view enterprise. While some practitioners may view it as being about the hard-edged elements of business, industry and preparing pupils for employment, others identify more with the softer elements associated with personal and social education.

The Challenges of Enterprise in Education

In a publication by the National Centre for Education for Work, Nicol (2000, p.5) argues that Scottish education in the late 20th century has tended to be an expression of Fordism - 'strictly controlled, with minimal flexibility ... with rigid predetermined outcomes.' Now, he feels that teachers should be encouraging diversity, creativity, imagination and enterprise. He presents the argument that, if Henry Ford epitomised the features of modernism, then Richard Branson may represent certain aspects of post-modernism. Nicol refers to postmodernism as a 'descriptive term to describe the ways and directions in which the world seems to be working and going' (p.5). He raises the issue that, like Branson, perhaps our schools should be encouraging lateral as well as linear thinking (Nicol, 2000). Indeed, he refers to Bloomer's observation that 'successive prescriptive national guidelines have ensured that objectives such as promoting enterprise or active citizenship do not lie at the heart of the schooling process' (Bloomer, cited in Nicol, 2000, p.5).

It would seem that there are large and powerful debates emerging here. While, in theory, the Scottish model of national curricular guidelines should be less

prescriptive than the English National Curriculum, it has been argued that Scottish schools are, in reality, driven by subject content and very little scope exists for moving away from achievement targets as a key feature of policy-making and practice in schools (Gorard et al, 2002). Many teachers may value the use of 5-14 national guidelines to channel their thinking and allow them to justify teaching strategies to parents. However, other practitioners who may be implementing enterprise projects in class may feel that the use of pre-determined outcomes act as a barrier to active learning, responsive practice and for preparing pupils for a future that is open (Halliday, 1996).

The use of an 'objectives approach' in curriculum theory can be credited to the 19th century scientific management work carried out by Frederick Taylor. Taylor believed that any given job could be analysed and broken down into component parts for the most efficient way of achieving its targets, and workers could subsequently be selected and trained accordingly. The theory later became popular in education. Adams (1912) argued that this approach 'reduced the educand in this limited course of training to a mere instrument' (p.368). As early as 1912, Adams was suggesting that it should be the work of the educator to 'discover the best sort of life for the particular naturel of each of his educands.' Indeed, he predicted that the trend of educational theory would be to give bias towards the future life work of the educand (Adams, 1912, p.369). Still later, Stenhouse (1967) recognised the important and conscious part a school has to play in developing pupils not only into specialists, but also into citizens. However, more recently Hoachlander (1999), talking from a USA perspective, has argued that the authentic integration of academic and vocational curricula is missing from most classrooms because of the need for well-defined educational objectives and for teachers to meet the demands of time and resources (Hoachlander, 1999).

Many issues have arisen here, but it would seem that the influence of the Taylor model of rigid, predetermined outcomes has dominated the late 20th century/early 21st century approach to education. Perhaps the truly authentic model of enterprise education requires a shift towards an Adams/Dewey/Stenhouse-related philosophical

approach, whereby responsive approaches may prepare learners more efficiently for their future place in work and society.

Certainly, it is clear that the debate regarding the nature and purpose of enterprise in education is due to carry on and that education still carries the burden of blame for everything that may be wrong with the economy, including the lack of skills among young employees. Hayward (2004) refers to a recent report on the skills crisis facing Britain in the magazine *'Management Today':*

> 'Ask a group of business leaders what really causes them grief and the chances are that red tape, late payment and skills shortages will get a mention. Some headaches you may just have to live with ... Skills shortages are different – we can do something about them. Employers don't have to resign themselves to being permanently lumbered with insufficient human resources; passive acceptance of an under-skilled workforce is not a viable long-term strategy for any business organisation.' (Stern, 2003, p.1, cited in Hayward, 2004, p.9)

The publication of the government White Paper *'Twenty-first Century Skills; Realising Our Potential'* (Scottish Executive, 2002a) as well as the Scottish Executive's (2003) *'Life Through Learning; Learning Through Life'* signals a continued commitment towards the urgent and rapid development of skills for increased productivity, innovation, profitability, employability and fairness and inclusivity (Hayward, 2004). At the same time, the publishing of the Scottish Executive's *'Determined To Succeed'* underlines the continued commitment towards enterprise in education as a means to creating dynamic, enterprising individuals who can both improve the quality of their own lives and contribute towards economic strength:

> 'The Review Group's vision is of a more successful and prosperous Scotland where young people are determined to succeed and where innovation, wealth creation and entrepreneurship are valued ... Young people in Scotland must

> have the best possible experiences of Enterprise in Education so they can contribute to an enterprising, successful Scotland as employees, employers and entrepreneurs' (Scottish Executive, 2002, p.1)

Further, in the Ministerial response to the document a few months later, the Executive stress the need for expressing enterprising qualities within a range of roles and to use this as the basis for both contributing towards economic development and social renewal:

> 'Encouraging enterprising values - a "can do, will do" attitude - in our schoolchildren is not just about producing the business people and entrepreneurs of tomorrow. It is the route to a more enterprising Scotland, where all our people understand the contribution they can make as citizens, both to society and the economy. And where individuals have the self-confidence and belief in their ability to succeed in whatever they choose.' (Scottish Executive, 2003a, p.1)

In Scotland, the involvement of key figures such as Tom Hunter in promoting the policy agenda has provided a new model of entrepreneurship as a dual mechanism for both economic and social renewal (Hunter, 2003). It seems, indeed, that the debate surrounding creativity, enterprise, skills revolution and the need for education, industry and community links is set to continue and now incorporates new implications for schools to create enterprising approaches to teaching and learning outwith the more traditional vehicle of the 'enterprise project'.

Summary

This chapter has traced the history of education for work, vocationalism and enterprise. It has highlighted the emergence of vocationalism in the nineteenth century and the impetus given by philosophers such as Dewey, who stressed the need for a curriculum based upon pupil autonomy, experiential and contextualised learning. The emergence of the 'Great Debate' has been analysed and the way in

which the ensuing culture of strengthening education and industry needs in the late 1970s coupled with the emergence of Thatcherism led to a focus on 'enterprise' in its narrowest sense in schools. Much confusion surrounding the use of this term was combined with unease among teachers, although a business model of enterprise education became popular in primary and secondary schools in the late 1980s and 1990s. Much of the philosophy underpinning this practice was centred on pupil ownership and active, experiential learning. In addition, it was seen as satisfying the need for developing skills for the workplace, a positive attitude towards entrepreneurial activities and a 'can do' attitude among young people. In recent years, the Scottish Executive has endorsed this style of learning, although teachers have found it difficult to match the active, responsive approaches suggested by the enterprise movement with the increasing focus on national guidelines and prescriptive approaches to curriculum organisation in schools. The implications of the publication of *'Determined To Succeed'* in Scotland have clearly directed policy-makers' thinking away from 'education for work and enterprise' to 'enterprise in education' as a means of both economic and social entrepreneurship.

4 'NOT ONLY ... BUT ALSO': EDUCATION FOR THOUGHTFUL, RESPONSIBLE AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Introduction

In recent times, the development of the enterprise agenda and increasingly wider perceptions as to the nature of enterprise in education has been accompanied by a sense of renewal in the debate about 'citizenship education' in schools, following a period when the term had literally fallen into disuse. This chapter traces the origins of this renewed interest, the ensuing educational developments and the implications for schools of the 21st century.

The Re-Emergence of Citizenship Education

The term 'citizenship' was in use in the English education system from approximately 1880 to 1950 and then disappeared for nearly half a century. During the 1960s, the former 'education' badge in the Boys' Brigade became known as the 'citizenship' badge and was associated with the achievement of knowledge and understanding of local and national government, social responsibility and church organisation. After a temporary lull in interest, the concept was then revived c.1990 (Oliver and Heater, 1994, p.148) following Douglas Hurd's discussion of the need for active citizenship as a form of moral re-alignment (Hyland, 1991; Potter, 2002). The temporary lull in interest could perhaps be attributed to the introduction of the Welfare State and its strengthening of a sense of community in the UK. Perhaps, also, the general satisfaction with the system of government at this time made the interest in citizenship education less important (Oliver and Heater, 1994).

The recommendations of the Advisory Group on Citizenship in 1998 and the selection of citizenship education as one of the cross curricular themes for the English national curriculum has recently allowed it to grow again in status. This has been set against a backdrop of political and constitutional development, including the introduction of the 1998 Human Rights Act, the increased awareness of the 1990 UN

Convention on the Rights of the Child, the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly and the creation of an assembly and elected mayor for London (Osler and Starkey, 2001). In wider philosophical terms, perhaps the renewed interest in the citizenship agenda has emerged from a more general renewal of interest in values in education and also the need for a more participative approach to school organisation. Indeed, many schools have responded to these ideas by creating pupil councils for children to participate in the decision-making process.

Potter (2002) also cites some additional reasons for the renewed interest in citizenship education. Among them, he highlights the increasing threat of terrorism following the assault on the twin towers of the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001 as a trigger for the global re-assessment of what democracy actually means in terms of economic and cultural imperatives. The loss of social capital and weakening of community values during the 1990s have also been directly associated with many young people's apparent disaffection with democratic processes (Potter, 2002). Indeed, the British General Election of 2001 produced the lowest turnout of voters since 1918, leading to a worry (indeed, almost a moral panic) in Britain and other parts of the world about young people's apparent disengagement with the democratic processes of public life. The growing realisation that we may be living in an age where young people are more inclined to vote for the winner of national television programmes such as *'Big Brother'* than they are to vote in local or national elections, has moved the political debate on from the creation of the 'good' citizen to one that focuses on the creation of the *active* citizen (Mills, 2002).

In addition, Humes (2002) has acknowledged the large part that globalisation has played in the development of the citizenship agenda, in terms of economic, political, cultural and technological revolutions of the post-modern era. In simple terms, Humes argues that future generations will have to know more if they are going to function effectively. However, he also makes the valid point that ideas, creativity and knowledge will not be enough but that the modern citizen will also have to be equipped with many new generic skills and capabilities to be developed throughout life.

In the early part of the 21st century, then, the essence of what it means to prepare young people for active citizenship has become a critical educational debate. The interest in citizenship education in schools has arisen against a wider sense of the need for a knowledge and skills economy, and an increased awareness of the need for participative and democratic approaches as guiding forces for educational practice, set against a concern about apparent political apathy and social alienation among young people.

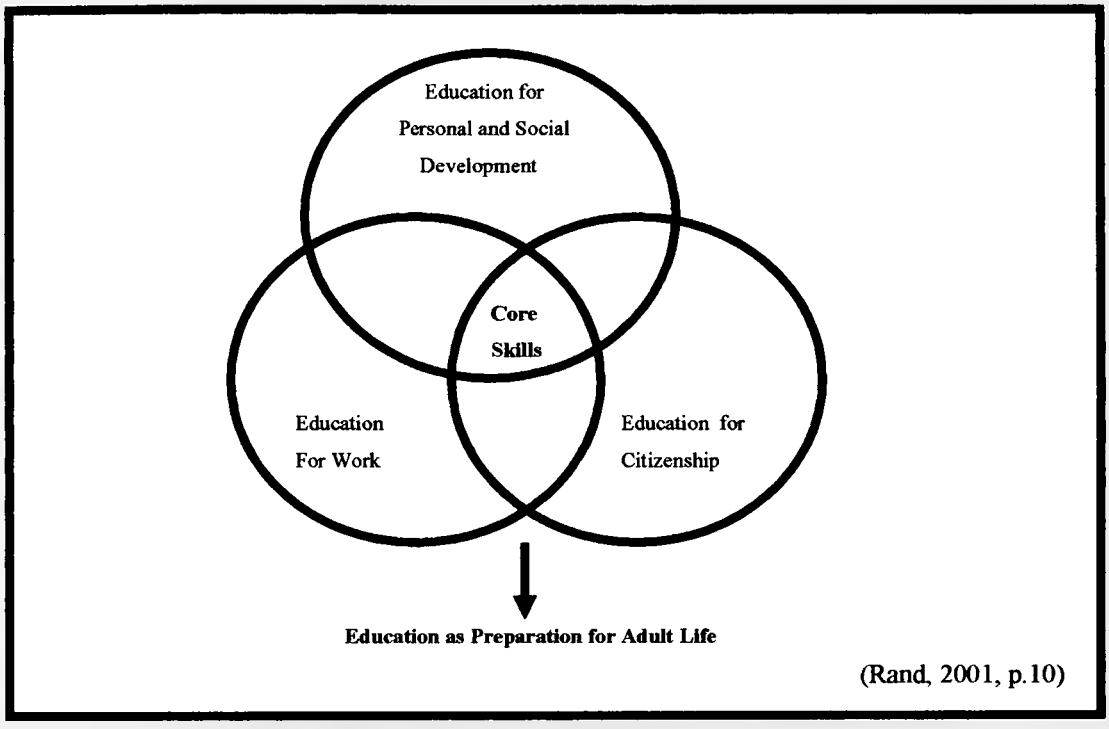
Preparing Pupils for Adult Life

There is general agreement that 21st century schools should certainly be able to equip the future generation for a variety of roles, and many writers have attempted to define these roles and how they may be applied in the school setting. Rand (2001) suggests that, at minimum, pupils should develop an ability to earn a living, become considerate and supportive family members, become active and responsible community members and lifelong learners. As Rand (2001) suggests, many of the intended outcomes highlighted in education for work and enterprise initiatives 'have a currency beyond the workplace' (p.10). He argues that much of the knowledge and understanding, skills and dispositions necessary for the workplace and to earn a living will also be necessary to be an effective parent, democratic citizen and lifelong learner. Indeed, Rand suggests that if preparation for one role is deficient, then it has consequences for the others. Thus, a model of overlapping priorities emerges which results in a rationale for 'education as preparation for adult life', as illustrated in figure 4.1 below.

This model clearly suggests that teachers should be preparing pupils for adult life through a great variety of methods. Hard-edged economic approaches may be complemented by a looser, softer approach in preparing pupils for a range of work, community and personal roles, and education for work may lend itself towards many of the key outcomes necessary for citizenship education. Humes (2002) cites Faulks' (2000) view that citizenship education has an almost universal appeal, since it

recognises the dignity of the individual with certain rights but at the same time reaffirms ideas of community, mutual respect and civic responsibility.

Figure 4.1: Education as Preparation for Adult Life



(Rand, 2001, p.10)

The re-emergence and increased public concern about citizenship in educational discourse in recent years has been set against the backdrop of the increasing interest in the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child. The recent Education Act (2000) from the Scottish Parliament enshrined Article 12 of the Convention, that young people should be consulted on issues that affect them. Indeed, Hart refers to Kohlberg's (1984) broad vision for promoting the young person's voice:

> 'The adolescent's values, explorations and declarations must be listened to, acknowledged, constructively criticised and debated and encouraged if he is to develop and attend to the evolving voice of universal principles within himself.' (Kohlberg, in Hart, 2002, p.252).

This focus on the rights of the child and the accompanying emphasis on the need for individual responsibility and active participation has resulted in new priorities for schools in their pursuit of modern civic values. Cogan (in Cogan and Derricott, 2000) classifies the essential ingredients of education for active citizenship under 5 categories: a sense of identity, enjoyment of certain rights, fulfilment of corresponding obligations, a degree of interest and involvement in public affairs and an acceptance of basic societal values. Cogan stresses the need for multinational dimensions to pupils' awareness of identity, along with equal emphasis on the pursuit of duty and individual rights, a commitment to participation and the promotion of values such as trust, respect and co-operation.

Reflecting on this recent educational thinking, it is interesting to observe the way in which the established priorities of the enterprise culture in schools have now been expanded and applied to wider preparatory contexts. Encouragement of diversity, creativity and enterprise pervades the personal and social development (PSD) and citizenship agendas and is governed by a range of core skills, such as communication, problem-solving and working with others. Children's sense of identity must now, more than ever, be set against a diverse multicultural backdrop. The need for rights must be framed against the need for responsibility and duty on a global scale, and children must be encouraged to be active in society but still hang on to moral and ethical principles. It is fair to say that teachers' work in this area is to be challenging, as they strive to prepare pupils for adult life.

It would appear that Dewey's (1916) vision of education as including a 'social necessity' is being taken in new, innovative directions, although his vision of a process approach to learning is perhaps still being stifled by prescriptive national guidelines and curricula. Many of the attributes of the active citizen as they are defined in current documentation are those that could perhaps emerge from well-established enterprise projects. However, the citizenship education agenda appears to be taking things a step further. Seemingly incompatible philosophical parameters are now being driven together to become mutually tolerant and to provide an

educational agenda that will result in young people performing a wider set of more informed and highly skilled roles in society.

Political and Educational Perspectives

This bringing together of seemingly incompatible principles has, indeed, been a key drive associated with New Labour's policies and vision. Tony Blair's approach has been littered with what Fairclough (2000) terms as 'not only ... but also' statements:

> 'Education is not just the great liberator, it is crucial to economic development.' (Blair, quoted in Fairclough, 2000, p.49)

> 'My vision for the 21st century is of a popular politics reconciling themes which in the past have wrongly been regarded as antagonistic – patriotism *and* internationalism; rights *and* responsibilities; the promotion of enterprise *and* the attack on poverty and discrimination.' (Blair, quoted in Fairclough, 2000, p.44)

Lawson argues that recent Blair statements have highlighted the present government's drive to engender a paradigm shift from a citizenship model based on *rights* to one based on *mutual obligation.* Indeed, the changing pattern in educational priorities inherent within the citizenship agenda has perhaps emerged from the impact of wider changes and developments in political ideology. Loxley and Thomas (2001) document the emergence of the New Right as a dominant political force during the late 1970s and 1980s, with its emphasis on an 'individualistic and meritocratic set of principles' (p.293). They examine the dual strands inherent within these politics – namely, neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. The emphasis on acquisitive individualism within the former strand was mixed with the accent on nationhood, duty, family and tradition within the latter (Loxley and Thomas, 2001). Although there were areas of tension here, Loxley and Thomas (2001) identify the point of connection between neo-liberals and neo-conservatives as general antipathy towards the welfare state.

It has perhaps been one of the key drives of New Labour policies to graft inclusive and socially-oriented outcomes on to the ideology of the New Right (Loxley and Thomas, 2001). Communitarianism represents an attempt to create a route between old socialist ideals and more recent neo-liberal individualism, regarding community members as having rights as individuals but also obligations to society (Lawson, 2001). Potter (2002) traces the departure from neo-liberalism into the New Labour programme described by Tony Blair as the 'third way'. He cites several underlying democratic values within 'third way' politics which serve to unite a commitment to equality and inclusion with individual autonomy. These values include autonomy of action, no rights without responsibilities, no authority without democracy, cosmopolitan pluralism and philosophical conservatism (Potter, 2002). Loxley and Thomas (2001) discuss the complex role for education in its attempt to reflect these conflicting values and move towards the dual aims of 'economic restoration' combined with 'cultural and moral regeneration' (p.297).

Reflecting upon recent political developments and their implications for schools, it is easy to see how shifting ideologies have influenced educational policy and practice. The New Right perspective of individualism merged with duty and tradition has evolved into the New Left ideology of communitarian and collectivist values. The principles of 'third way' politics seem to encourage previous themes such as autonomy, rights, authority and community to continue, but with modern socialist values attached. Autonomy must now be mixed with action, rights with responsibility, authority with democracy and community with cosmopolitan and culturally diverse perspectives. Once again, schools are cited as agents of change for developing the educational vision that reflects these new political and cultural paradigms.

It would appear that the enterprise culture of the 1980s which served almost to vocationalise the curriculum and, as some may see it, turn education into a training programme for future employment has now been given a new dimension. The resurrection of citizenship education is perhaps serving the purpose of taking the edge off of some of the undesirable products of education for work and enterprise

(Lawson, 2001). It is possible that Blair's 'not only ... but also' statements are, in fact, compatible and that rights and responsibilities can and do sit well together in education, serving to develop what Hyland (1991, p.87) describes as 'entrepreneurs with social and moral consciences'. Perhaps the cultures of liberal individualism and collectivism may connect, depending on the approach taken by local authorities, school management, teachers and, ultimately, pupils.

The Advisory Group on Citizenship and Beyond

This shift of emphasis to include a wider set of principles was reflected in the publication of the Advisory Group on Citizenship's report in 1998, which led to the inclusion of citizenship in the national curriculum of England and Wales. The origins of the report lie in the release of the first New Labour White Paper on education in 1997, *'Excellence In Schools'* (Department of Education and Employment, 1997), which highlighted the need to strengthen the teaching of citizenship and politics in schools. Kerr (1999) highlights the worrying signs of 'alienation and cynicism among young people about public life and participation' as one of the principal reasons for the renewed interest in citizenship education at this time. He cites the Advisory Group's position on citizenship education as being the development of pupils' knowledge, skills and values relevant to democratic practice, which would include an awareness of individual rights and responsibilities, an understanding of world affairs and a sense of the value of community improvement.

Kerr refers to T.H. Marshall's (1950) classic definition of citizenship as encompassing civil, political and social elements and summarises the Advisory Group's recommendation of three strands that should combine to make up 'effective education for citizenship' (p.278). Firstly, *social and moral responsibility* includes the need for pupils to learn self-confidence and responsible behaviour towards those in authority and each other. Secondly, *community involvement* is learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities. Thirdly, *political literacy* involves teaching children about how to make themselves effective in public life through conflict resolution and decision-making in relation to local,

regional, European and international affairs (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998; Kerr, 1999).

This generic view of the purposes of the citizenship agenda is supported by LTScotland, (2002) in *'Education for Citizenship in Scotland - A Paper For Discussion And Development'*. LTScotland present an overall goal for citizenship education which reflects these priorities:

> 'Education for citizenship should aim to develop capability for thoughtful and responsible participation in political, economic, social and cultural life. This capability is rooted in knowledge and understanding, in a range of generic skills and competences, including "core skills" and in a variety of personal qualities and dispositions. It finds expression through creative and enterprising approaches to issues and problems.' (LTScotland, 2002. P.7)

Many issues arise from this statement, and it is useful to explore each one in turn more fully in the search for a definitive understanding of the nature of citizenship education. Firstly, LTScotland presents the idea of the 'knowledgeable citizen' as one who is aware of the 'complexity of the economic, ethical and social issues and dilemmas that confront people' (p.5). This may include an understanding of contemporary issues and of their own rights and responsibilities in society. Secondly, they believe that young people should also possess personal qualities such as 'self esteem, confidence, initiative, determination and emotional maturity' in order to develop generic skills such as the ability to work independently and in collaboration with others, and to make informed decisions through persevering in the face of setbacks. Finally, the modern citizen should possess values and dispositions that allow him/her to develop informed and reasoned opinions, express and critically evaluate views that are not their own and to value cultural and community diversity. LTScotland imply that pupils' capacity to think and act creatively and to be *enterprising* in their approach to solving a problem or resolving an issue may allow expression of these key ingredients of citizenship capability.

It would appear that the work of teachers is to be highly complex within the citizenship education arena. Children, it would seem, have now to be much better informed about a much wider set of contemporary issues than ever before and, at the same time, educated with an ability to capitalise on their strengths in order to work individually and in teams in a thoughtful, responsible and participatory manner. Previous thinking on the skills and attributes of the 'enterprising pupil' has now extended to encompass a much wider set of knowledge, skills, qualities and values and to reflect the increasingly wider aspects of post-modern living. The work of schools must therefore be to create well-informed, skilled individuals who are at the same time sensitive, responsible and visionary.

Key Outcomes of Citizenship Education

Writers such as Osler and Starkey (2002, p.70) argue that effective citizenship education can only occur when there is a 'clear framework, institutional support and appropriate pedagogy' (p.70). An examination of the programmes of study that form the basis of the new national curriculum subject introduced in English schools in August 2002 may allow us to begin defining the nature of that framework and pedagogy. In this model, pupils are expected to become 'informed citizens', and develop skills of 'enquiry and communication' and 'participation and responsible action.' (National Curriculum Online, 2002, p1).

At key stage 4, for instance, the National Curriculum Online states that pupils should, among other things, be taught about the importance of playing an active part in democratic processes, the role of business, the way in which individuals may bring about social change and the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees. They are also expected to engage in skills of enquiry and communication, such as the ability to research a topical, political, spiritual, moral or cultural issue as well as the ability to 'express , justify, identify orally and in writing, a personal opinion about such issues' and express and explain 'views that are not their own.' In addition, pupils are expected to develop skills of 'participation and responsible action'. Here, teachers are asked to encourage pupils to use their

imagination to 'consider other people's experiences' and to take part 'responsibly' in school and community-based activities (National Curriculum Online, 2002, p.1).

This type of knowledge and understanding and this form of generic skills, among others, is expressed and validated by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) as forming the basis of the citizenship curriculum. The DfES identifies a range of schemes of work and related learning outcomes such as 'consumer rights and responsibilities', whereby pupils develop an understanding of the differences between needs and wants, factors influencing choices and the nature of the decision-making process. One other unit on 'business and enterprise' is geared towards pupils learning about how a business operates through running a mini-enterprise and identifying how the inherent skills may be used in future life roles (DfES, 2002, p.1).

In Scotland, the citizenship agenda is reflected and referred to directly within national guidelines. The Scottish Executive's (2000a) document '*The Structure And Balance Of The Curriculum*' refers to the need for schools to 'encourage and empower young people to feel confident to participate actively in thoughtful and responsible ways in their communities and in society at large' (p.28). The document suggests cross-curricular experiences such as enterprise projects as appropriate contexts for the enhancement of citizenship skills and competencies such as learning about 'rights and responsibilities in society' (Scottish Executive, 2000a, p.28). Within the specific guidelines for *Environmental Studies 5-14,* the Executive recommends that pupils at level E should be able to understand how 'individual enterprise can help meet society's needs' and how citizens can 'participate in decision-making' (Scottish Executive, 2000, p.61-62). Pupil skills are identified as the ability to identify and justify sources of enquiry and review and also to report on issues, giving their own view with 'comparisons and conclusions' (p.65). These recommendations have recently been expanded by LTScotland (2002) when it refers to the educational vision of the engaging citizen, who should be both 'thoughtful and caring' and also 'active' (p.3). Many local authorities have responded to these recommendations through providing in-service training and curriculum support for teachers based around the theme of the 'enterprising global citizen', including

opportunities for exploring personal innovation within a global and ethical framework. Further endorsement for the dual agenda of enterprise and citizenship has recently been provided via the Scottish Executive's Curriculum Review Group (2004), which creates aspirations for all children and young people to become successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. Within this, the Review Group pinpoints values such as ambition and confidence as well as tolerance and respect as crucial underpinnings for a new 21st century Scottish curriculum.

It would appear, then, that the enterprise and citizenship discourse is co-joined in many of the learning outcomes and suggested activities inherent in the National Curriculum and also in the Scottish national guidelines and support offered by Scottish local authorities. The ability to research current social and cultural issues and analyse the different influences of both needs and wants, the capacity to express opinions about these needs and wants and develop the capability to respond and bring about social change are inherent in both enterprise and citizenship guidelines. However, perhaps additional thought is required in order to consider the extent to which enterprise education projects in schools may be located within an educational and value framework which gives meaning not only to social awareness but also to thoughtful, responsible and caring sentiments (Lawson, 2001). Perhaps, also, consideration must be given to the institutional support that may or may not be present in schools for the full implementation of citizenship education in its broadest sense, including the creation of a fully democratic school ethos.

Democracy in Schools

This focus on the need for democratic education leads us to consider the nature of democracy in more depth. White (1999) defines a democracy in concrete terms:

> '...democracy ... is a form of government whose rationale is handling of diversity of values within a fair and just framework to enable individual and communal flourishing.' (White, 1999, p.68)

By its very nature, the purpose of democracy is to provide a government by consent and should be informed by a range of values, such as freedom and equality (Carr, 2003). Indeed, it is fair to say that a society may only be considered a just society if it is prepared to provide equal respect and fair treatment to all of its members. Carr (2003, p.28) refers to the principles founded by Rousseau about the character of democratic engagement, and describes the good democrat as one who would be prepared to 'sacrifice personal advantage in the cause of overall justice and fairness.'

If a school is to be a democratic institution, it follows that teachers must have an understanding of the real principles underpinning democracy. White argues that educating pupils to be true democrats not only involves the embodiment of values such as justice, freedom and personal autonomy into school practices but also instilling democratic dispositions or virtues among pupils so that they might work within these practices 'in the right spirit' (p.61). In short, children need to become disposed to acquire the right knowledge and skills to pursue civic concerns. White highlights trust, in both personal and social terms, as being a vital democratic virtue that schools should encourage among pupils. Pupils should be encouraged to develop trustworthy personal relationships and also have trust in the school's system of rules, procedures and methods. In a democracy, the instilling of this social sense of trust in relation to institutions is often reinforced by the creation of distrust as an inbuilt protective device:

> 'Democracies have a legal opposition, an independent judiciary, independent commissions of inquiry into matters of public concern, a free press and, if educators have done their work, a vigilant public who will judge the government by what it does rather than its rhetoric.' (White, 1999, p.67)

Perhaps the development of scepticism among pupils and the creation of systematic methods of pupil inquiry into the way that schools are run is therefore an important part of developing the overriding democratic virtue of trust. Ensuring that pupils are disposed to this type of trust may be a means of enriching pupils' acquisition of further knowledge and skills necessary for democratic participation.

Analysis of the views of democracy presented here leads to a theoretical model of a just society, where diversity of values is encouraged and where freedom to express these values is promoted. Members of such a culture will elect a governing system that they believe will provide the practices that will best meet the aims of a fair and just society. Individual autonomy and collective achievement will be encouraged and celebrated within such a society. Citizens will be disposed to participating in the public life of such a society because of their trust in its methods, procedures and practices but they will feel protected by the presence of systems of monitoring and inquiry that will enable them to be reassured that practices are fair and just. Upon the official opening of the new Scottish Parliament building on 9th October 2004, George Reid reflected these values in his description of the Parliament as a place where 'the ears of the politicians are open to the voices of the people' (Reid, 2004), thereby underlining the principles of power sharing, accountability, access and participation and equal opportunities (Brown, 2003).

These views lead us to consider whether schools reflect these democratic practices and, where they do, if pupils are equipped with the dispositions necessary to wholeheartedly embrace the practices. The implication is that issues of institutional distrust should be raised with pupils as a means of ultimately enhancing their faith in the justice of the school system, including the way the school is organised and managed. Perhaps a starting-place for this is to ensure that pupils are aware of their own rights of participation as a means of equipping them with the drive to engage in the scrutiny of democratic principles and practices. Schools may encourage this type of participative, consultative ethos through cultivating the creation of democratic classrooms, where pupils have a say in matters relating to learning and teaching (Maitles and Gilchrist, 2003) or through encouraging the discussion of controversial issues of particular interest to the children (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004; 2004a). However, the creation of the pupil council is probably the most strongly recognised and commonly used vehicle for the expression of education for citizenship and democracy in schools.

Pupil Councils

The underlying principles of education for citizenship require that pupils not only learn about democacy but also *live* it (Maitles and Deuchar, 2004a). Richardson (1996) underlines the need for pupils to acquire formal knowledge of human rights, a felt sense of identity and the action skills to claim a place in society, and this is reflected in Osler and Starkey's (2002, p.85) 'thinking, feeling and doing' model. In short, pupils should learn about socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom and the skills and values needed to make themselves effective in public life (Kerr, 1999). But, in addition, they must also be encouraged to become actively involved in the life and concerns of their communities, and to be granted democratic freedom of participation (Oliver and Heater, 1994; Kerr, 1999).

Alongside these debates, it is also fair to say that the structures and pattern of relationships in schools have probably changed less than they should have in order to grant this type of autonomy to pupils and to convince them that their right to have a say is genuinely respected (Baginsky and Hannam, 1999; Burke and Grosvenor, 2003). Certainly, articles 12 to 15 of the UN Convention on The Rights of The Child affirm children's right to freedom of expression and the freedom to form associations. In Scotland, LTScotland have recommended the use of pupil councils as a vehicle for the expression of active citizenship and democracy in schools:

> 'Pupil participation should be developed within a framework that ... devolves the process of decision making on the responsible uses of resources, for example those that have been allocated to pupil councils.' (LT Scotland, 2002, p.15)

Pupil councils have, indeed, been long recognised as an effective vehicle for enabling the expression of thoughtful and active citizenship. Dobie (1998) argues that these councils can play a huge role in the process of encouraging pupils to have a sense of ownership in the life of the school community. Through participating in such councils, pupils can develop a range of attributes, which includes 'speaking up

on behalf of others, listening to and taking account of other points of view, working as part of a team and taking responsibility for decision-making' (Dobie, 1998, p.72). Baginsky and Hannam (1999, p.iii) develop this further when they argue that the use of pupil councils can be a very effective means for signalling to students that they are respected and that 'their capacity to contribute to the task of school improvement is recognised.' Further, Taylor and Johnson (2002, p.2) argue that, in its widest sense, pupil councils can contribute to the development of pupils' social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy – 'thereby in one strategy addressing the three main strands of citizenship education.' However, it is essential that pupil councils amount to being more than merely tokenistic:

> 'Many schools may rely on their school council but we know that these only work really well if they are the centre and symbol of school-wide democratic practice.' (Baginsky and Hannam, 1999, p.iii)

In addition, Baginsky and Hannam also highlight the fact that the agendas associated with the majority of pupil councils tend not to roam far outside the 'charmed circle of lockers, dinners and uniform' (p.iii) and call for wider issues to be discussed that involve the pupils in genuine discussion and debate over serious educational issues. Hart (1997) takes this further in his 'ladder of children's participation'. He stresses the need for pupils to experience genuine participation through child-initiated decisions, as opposed to merely being 'consulted and informed' or, at worst, experiencing tokenistic forms of participatory practice where they seem to have a voice but where the school hierarchy remains unchallenged.

So, in recognising the need for encouraging education for the 'active' citizen as a means of encouraging ethics, morals and values, pupil councils sit high on the agenda. Much of the research into these councils has suggested the potential for emerging values and qualities, including teamwork, decision-making and representing other people's views. In so doing, the Advisory Group's (1998) recommended outcomes for citizenship can be easily addressed. However, questions remain over the type of current educational practice that surrounds pupil councils.

Research suggests some tokenistic practice, where school staff pay lip-service to pupils' suggestions or where serious issues are sidestepped and the school hierarchy remains unchallenged. Even where good practice exists, it is unclear whether pupils may have opportunities to engage in and practice individual enterprise and determination as well as more communitarian values. Davies et al (2001) challenge the assumption that morality and enterprise may not be compatible, and suggest that democracy is perhaps itself an example of competition or enterprise.

Summary

This chapter has established that the renewed interest in citizenship education has arisen because of a number of factors, including a cultural shift towards the need for devolved decision-making and an awareness of human rights, globalisation, a concern for political apathy and a generally renewed interest in values in education. The qualities associated with entrepreneurial activity are increasingly being applied to a range of additional life roles, and the creation of New Labour's 'third way' politics has been reflected in the need for education to create both economic restoration and cultural and moral regeneration. Much of the documentation being released for citizenship education recommends that current enterprising approaches to learning and teaching may lend themselves towards the development of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.

However, although the co-joining of these agendas seems appropriate and achievable given the right educational framework and pedagogy, Osler and Starkey's (2002) view that the recommended outcomes also require a great deal of institutional support and acceptance cannot be ignored. The creation of a true democratic school ethos may pose a challenge for many schools, where traditional authoritarian attitudes persist. It requires a strong participative approach and this may be achieved in a number of ways, such as consulting with pupils on learning and teaching approaches used in the classroom. The creation of the pupil council has perhaps become the most strongly recognised vehicle for the expression of education for citizenship and democracy in schools, but this can only be successful if it amounts to

more than mere tokenism. Research into pupil councils has presented mixed findings; indeed, even where they are more successful, the extent to which they may act as a platform for reconciling neo-liberal enterprise with social justice remains unclear.

5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

As indicated in chapter one, this study was initially exploratory, and ultimately descriptive, by nature. It sought to uncover new insights into school communities' views, ideas and opinions on enterprise in education in response to projected policy, and how their conceptualisation of enterprise may be promoting pupil capability for thoughtful and responsible participation in society. It also sought to ascertain the extent to which pupils' views about enterprising behaviour may lend themselves towards communitarian values and attitudes, and the way in which pupil rights, individualism and also social and moral responsibilities may be promoted in terms of consultation, participation and decision-making in school. The nature of the research was to involve prolonged contact with teachers and pupils in the field and was intended to measure their perceptions in natural settings. While some written questionnaires and pupil tasks produced numerical data of a **quantitative** nature, this would provide the basis for the **qualitative** research, which occupied the major part of the study. This chapter outlines the rationale underpinning each part of the methodology behind the study.

Methodological Approaches to the Study

A search for understanding through interpretative techniques lay at the heart of this qualitative research study. Stake (1995) cites Von Wright's view of the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research in terms of *inquiry for making explanations* versus *inquiry for promoting understanding:*

> 'Practically every explanation, be it causal or teleological or of some other kind, can be said to further our understanding of things. But "understanding" also has a psychological ring which "explanation" has not. This psychological feature was emphasised by several of the nineteenth-century antipositivist methodologists, perhaps most forcefully by Simmel who

thought that understanding as a method characteristic of the humanities is a form of *empathy* or re-creation in the mind of the scholar of the mental atmosphere, the thoughts and feelings and motivations, of the objects of his study ...' (Stake, 1995, p.37)

Thus, the research study described within this thesis sought to create an empathetic understanding through thick description of human experience, interpretation of events and patterns of relationships (Stake, 1995). It was based upon data-gathering across a sample of Scottish schools and involved a number of methods – some of which yielded numerical data derived from the manipulation of qualitative responses, but the largest proportion of which resulted in descriptive data yielded from interviews, discussion groups and participant observation. Its focus, therefore, was predominantly driven by the features of anti-positivist methodology (Stake, 1995).

Miles and Huberman (1994, p.6-7) describe the recurring features of qualitative research thus:

- Qualitative research is conducted through an intense and/or prolonged contact with a 'field' or everyday-life situation.

- The researcher's role is to gain a 'holistic' overview of the context under scrutiny: its logic, its arrangements, its explicit and implicit rules.

- The researcher attempts to capture data on the perceptions of local actors 'from the inside' through a process of deep attentiveness, of empathetic understanding.

- Reading through these materials, the researcher may isolate certain themes and expressions that can be reviewed with informants.

- A main task is to explicate the ways people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day-to-day situations.

- Many interpretations of this material are possible, but some are more compelling for theoretical reasons or on grounds of internal consistency.

- Relatively little standardised instrumentation is used at the outset. The researcher is essentially the main 'measurement device' in the study.

- Most analysis is done with words. The words can be assembled, clustered, broken into semiotic segments. They can be organised to permit the researcher to contrast, compare, analyse and bestow patterns upon them.

In essence, Miles and Huberman (1994, p.10) define the major feature of qualitative research in terms of its focus on 'naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what "real life" is like.' This definition is developed further in Cresswell's (1998) view of the nature of a qualitative study:

> 'Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.' (Cresswell, 1998, p.15)

In addition to the centrality of holism, authenticity and naturalistic settings, qualitative research may invariably draw upon a flexible approach to methodological design, as opposed to the tight specification of design approaches prior to data collection that is usually a pre-requisite for quantitative forms of study:

> 'All of these approaches show substantial flexibility in their research design, typically anticipating that the design will emerge and develop during data collection.' (Robson, 2002, p.164)

Robson argues that, although the purposes of such flexible forms of research study will be clear from the beginning, the research questions may evolve and there will be no need to foreclose on options about methods since the early process of data collection may lead to changes in approaches, including sampling options. Indeed, Robson (2002) argues that flexible design investigators may require particularly unique skills, such as the need for an enquiring mind, the ability to be a good listener, adaptiveness and flexibility, the ability to grasp and interpret all of the emerging issues and to be able to ensure a lack of bias through involving critical colleagues for suggesting alternative explanations and suggestions for data collection.

Drawing upon all of this, there were many implications for the focus of the research study from the outset. It was clear that this was a study that was mainly qualitative in nature, but incorporated the manipulation of some numerical data that would serve to guide the qualitative data collection process or to illuminate the emerging findings. The study involved a limited number of case studies, and involved a form of data collection that sought to describe real-life happenings, occurring in the natural surroundings of schools. It involved the researcher in having considerable, long-term contact with people in the field, sought to provide a holistic picture of teachers' and pupils' perceptions and also the ongoing practice observed within the schools. It was flexible in its design, whereby the research questions, methods and sampling approaches evolved according to the emerging data, but ultimately the researcher was able to isolate themes which were interpreted according to the overall and central purpose of the study. As a result of this flexible approach and the centrality of the researcher as the main measurement device in the study, it was essential that an enquiring mind, flexibility towards research approaches and an ability to detect and guard against bias were overriding qualities that the researcher held at all times. One further distinctive feature of qualitative research may be the centrality of researcher interpretation of data. As Stake (1995) explains, the nature of the

interaction between researcher and persons in the field along with the constructivist orientation to knowledge often leads to the researcher ultimately coming to offer a 'personal view'. With the research study in hand, this called for stiff measures for ensuring research credibility through minimising bias and ensuring authenticity of analysis and findings.

Ensuring Authenticity of Emerging Data

From the outset, the researcher was focused on Maxwell's (1992) view of 'validity' as being primarily a positivist notion. Thus, the overriding methodological priority was focused on the need for *authenticity* of emerging data and the need for *integrity* and *character* within the qualitative findings as a means of leading the scholar to greater understanding of the issues under scrutiny. This was addressed through three main vehicles: Firstly, the researcher's prolonged involvement in each of the case study schools addressed the issue of reactivity, whereby respondents become more used to the researcher's presence and therefore their behaviour become less affected by it. Secondly, the use of triangulation of data collection methods ensured that more evidence emerged in order to counter both respondent and researcher bias. Thirdly, the use of a collegiate approach where the researcher worked closely with colleagues in the field and in his own academic institution ensured that descriptive, interpretative and theoretical understandings were made more authentic and thus the researcher bias was further diminished (Maxwell, 1992; Robson, 2002). Each of these strategies are described in more depth in relation to each stage of the qualitative study in the sections that follow.

This focus on prolonged involvement, holistic overview of practice, triangulation of methods and a collegiate approach to data analysis served to address the anti-positivist priority of ensuring authentic portrayal of key phenomena. Ultimately, the researcher's aim was merely to make internal generalisations in order to stimulate further reflection, rather than to create veridical findings (Maxwell, 1992; Stake, 1995). Thus, it was felt that the procedures described here and developed in the

sections that follow provided a useful model for ensuring that each of the findings were ultimately reported with confidence and integrity.

The Sampling Strategy

Having established the qualitative nature of the study, with its distinctive goal of providing thick descriptions of human experience, interpretations of events and holistic overviews of the various actors involved from 'inside' the case study schools, it is now possible to turn attention towards more specific aspects of sampling and methods. Cohen et al (2000, p.92) stress the need for researchers to 'take sampling decisions early in the overall planning of a piece of research.' In the study in hand, schools were selected by a combination of information from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE), LTScotland, local and national publicity materials and the database of the Centre for Studies in Enterprise, Career Development & Work at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow.

The author decided from an early stage to work with primary schools (age range 5-11) that would provide a diverse background to the research, through a range of school types and socio-economic contexts. As such, schools were selected from across Scotland, in seven local council areas from the Northeast to the Southwest but mainly in the Central Belt. A mix of denominational and non-denominational schools were selected for inclusion, and the selection of several inner-city schools was contrasted with the inclusion of other more rural and small-town school environments; one school was selected with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils, while others had almost exclusively white pupil populations. Finally, while some schools were set within very affluent social contexts, several were located in more deprived areas and at least one school's location was within an extremely socially deprived area with a high level of drug-related criminal incidents. In addition to considering the social backgrounds of the schools it was also important that the researcher selected schools with differing experiences of enterprise endeavour. So, while some schools had won awards for their enterprise practice, others were less high profile and were perhaps only starting out on their journey with

enterprise. Within each sample school, one specific class was selected as a case study from primary 4 (P4), primary 5 (P5) or primary 6 (P6) (ages 8-10), thus providing an initial sample of 240 upper-stage primary pupils.

The emergence of a wider research project in 2002, funded jointly by Schools Enterprise Scotland (SES) and the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) provided a backdrop to the study. This enabled the collection of numerical data, some of which was of a strictly quantitative nature and some of which was derived from the manipulation of qualitative responses. This served to illuminate and, at times, guide some of the qualitative findings from the smaller study. In this wider project, which sought to explore the educational and economic benefits of enterprise in education through exploring several sub-themes, a further 351 pupils from 16 additional schools were added to the original pupil population. The average size of primary school in the wider study was 255 pupils, against a national average of 183 pupils in the 2001 Scottish Executive School Census (Brownlow et al - University of Strathclyde, 2004). Further details of this wider study may be found in the University of Strathclyde's 2004 publication of '*The Educational and Economic Benefits of Enterprise In Education, Volumes 1-3*'. Although the design and initial implementation of the author's research study pre-dated this wider project, the ten schools selected as case study settings became part of the final 26 schools selected for study in the wider project. Thus, from early 2002 the two projects ran concurrently and findings from one fed into findings from another. As a result of this, data from the wider study is occasionally referred to within the body of this thesis as a means of illuminating the author's research findings. However, the vast majority of the data described within the thesis is confined to the settings of the ten schools involved in the author's original study.

In each case study class, all pupils were asked to complete specific focused tasks, seeking to explore their values and attitudes towards 'enterprising' behaviour in society. In addition, as part of the wider research project described above, all pupils were later asked to describe their involvement in enterprise projects at school, their perceived roles within these and the perceived learning gains that emerged from such

experiences. Evidence from the original focused tasks is referred to within this thesis, as well as occasional reference to the additional background data that emerged from the wider project. From an initial sample of 240 upper-stage pupils, smaller groups were selected for follow-up discussions. At an early stage, a decision was made as to how many pupils were to be selected for this more focused discussion. In relation to sample size and nature, Cohen et al (2000) comment:

> '... researchers must obtain the minimum sample size that will accurately represent the population being targeted ... Where simple random sampling is used, the sample size needed to reflect the population value of a particular variable depends both on the size of the population and the amount of heterogeneity in the population.' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.93)

In the researcher's study, the population within each case study class amounted to an average of 20-30 pupils. Thus, it was felt that a small sample of five or six pupils would suffice for follow-up discussions, but that a good gender mix and range of intellectual ability was essential. Therefore, it was felt that this sample of pupils would represent a 'purposive' sample, as illustrated by Cohen et al:

> 'Some members of the wider population definitely will be excluded and others definitely included (ie. every member of the wider population does not have an equal chance of being included in the sample).' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.99)

Later in the study, the author tracked sample pupils over 3 school sessions as they progressed through their primary school settings (from P4 through to P6 or P5 through to primary 7 [P7]) and as some made their transition to secondary education (moving from P6 through to secondary 1 [S1]). Again, all pupils were asked to complete focused written tasks, and the same small samples of pupils participated in follow-up discussion group forums. This longitudinal element to the research resulted in the school sample being widened from the original 10 primary schools to an additional 7 secondary schools towards the end of the study. It was recognised

that there are problems with this kind of panel/cohort study, as outlined by (amongst many others) Mason and Bramble (1978); Cohen and Manion (1989); Gall et al (1996); Ruddock and McIntyre (1998); Gay and Airasian (2000). Chief amongst these for this study were that pupils might give what they perceive as the politically correct answer to please the researcher.

The researcher's work with ten primary schools also involved contact with ten different classroom teachers and ten headteachers. It was decided that each of these professionals would be interviewed in order to measure their perceptions of enterprise education and 'enterprising' behaviour. In addition, it was felt useful to interview one additional staff member in each school who had also had experience of working with enterprise initiatives, in order to provide an additional perspective. Here again then, the author was extending his approach of purposive sampling:

> 'Participants or settings are carefully selected for inclusion, based on the possibility that each participant will expand the variability of the sample. Purposive sampling increases the likelihood that variability common in any social phenomenon will be represented in the data.' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994)

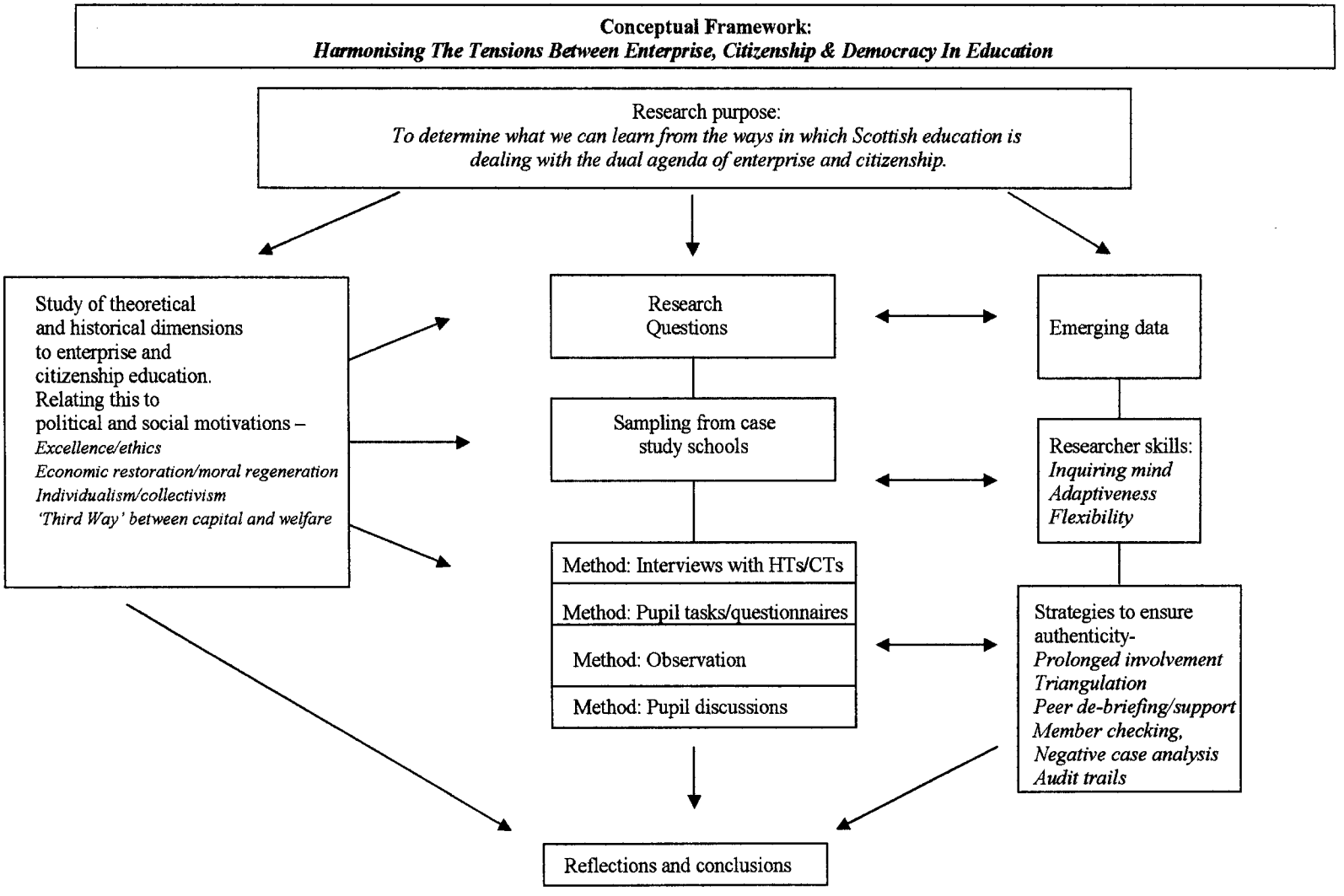
Thus, a particular group of primary schools (and in some cases their related secondary schools) were selected as a purposive sample because of their diversity and differing experiences of enterprise in education. The teachers within the primary schools were selected due to their experience of working with enterprise education in different forms. While some such teachers were highly experienced in working with enterprise, others were in their infancy and the advice of headteachers was sought in order to complete this selection of teachers.

Conceptual Framework

An overview of the research model is contained within the 'conceptual framework' illustrated in figure 5.1 and in appendix III. Miles and Hubermann (1994, p.18)

recommend the researcher's creation of intellectual 'bins' that derive from theory, experience and the general objectives of the study and which lead to the creation of a conceptual framework. This process enables the researcher 'to decide which variables are most important, which relationships are likely to be the most meaningful and, as a consequence, what information should be collected and analysed.' The framework attempts to illustrate the evolving and flexible nature of the study, whereby the research purpose was clear but the ongoing analysis of literature led to the research questions and methods evolving and changing. In addition, the right-hand side of the model indicates the ongoing interaction between emerging data and the sampling and data collection strategies.

Figure 5.1: Conceptual Framework



Thus, as well as the research methods leading to emerging qualitative data, the data emerging from initial interviews with teachers and work with pupils influenced the design of future questionnaires, formal interviews, informal discussions, pupil tasks and observation schedules, as well as the evolving nature of the research questions. In addition, the qualities recommended by Robson (2002) as being essential for flexible design investigators, such as an enquiring mind, adaptiveness and flexibility enabled the researcher to expand his sampling from primary into secondary contexts. The framework indicates that many of Padgett's (1998) strategies for enhancing the credibility of flexible research designs were also present, such as prolonged involvement with the research settings, use of triangulation, peer support, member checking, negative case analysis and audit trails (Robson, 2002). Once again, the design of data collection methods helped to influence the strategies used here, as well as the strategies influencing and informing the methodological design. So, for example, although the design of data collection methods dictated the length of time the author spent in the field, his prolonged contact in the field and observation of practice also informed his future design of methods. In addition, a commitment to triangulation led to the author designing particular methods of data collection, but his data collection process also led to the design of further means of data collection in order to provide further checks on authenticity and reliability. Ultimately, both the analysis of ongoing literature and the emerging data combined with the flexible research strategies led to reflective analysis and conclusions in relation to the original research purpose.

Overview of Methods

In addition to interviews with teachers and headteachers, observation of and discussion groups with pupils, the author also decided to compile questionnaires for individual teachers and headteachers to complete. Towards the end of the research, a commitment was made to track a cross-section of pupils into their secondary-school settings, with follow-up tasks and focused discussion groups.

As the conceptual framework shows, the research was very much flexible in nature. Although early decisions about data collection methods were made, these options were not definitive. As Robson (2002, p.165) observes, flexible research approaches often mean that 'you don't have to foreclose on options about methods'. Thus, initial interviews were conducted with participants which enabled the research questions to evolve and provided a backbone for much of the content of the work conducted with pupils through tasks and discussion forums. In addition, the ongoing review of literature on enterprise and citizenship education continually informed the study and helped to re-shape the nature of the research questions and methodological approaches.

Throughout the study, the researcher's use of Robson's (2002) general skills needed by flexible design investigators was in evidence, and permeated everything he did: the use of questions and a generally *enquiring mind* was needed both during interviews, discussions and general observations of classroom practice and pupil interaction; *good listening* was needed in order to provide an unbiased account of the practices observed within each school and to give a general description of the ethos that emerged from those practices; *adaptiveness and flexibility* was needed in order to change and adapt procedures in response to individual school procedures and events and also to emerging data; a *firm grasp of the issues* within each school was needed in order to interpret information gleaned during each research visit; and a co-operative approach with colleagues working on the wider project was useful in order to provide a critical eye over findings and ensure a *lack of bias.* Each of these skills enabled the author to complement the methods used for data collection, and the author decided from an early point to include the use of a reflective diary to document his visits to schools and allow him to construct 'pen portraits' of his observations. These biographical details served to complement the description, interpretation and theory that emerged from other data-gathering methods and provided an additional source of data triangulation, with the aim of enhancing the authenticity and credibility of the research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 1992; Padgett, 1998; Robson, 2002). Thus, the study became driven by two traditions of qualitative inquiry: a phenomenological approach, guided by the analysis of

interview and discussion data, led onto the descriptive case study approach which drew upon multiple sources of information including narratives obtained from researcher observation (Cresswell, 1998; Cohen et al, 2000). Table 5.1 provides a schedule of the entire data collection process, while the subsequent pages thereafter describe each of the data collection methods in more detail.

Table 5.1 Schedule of Data Collection Process

Research Phase	Timescale	Schools	Stages	Methods (frequencies)
Initial, exploratory Phase	October 2000-December 2001	A, D, I	P6-P7	Standardised testing: functional writing (n = 50) Pupil discussion groups (n = 4) Class teacher interviews (n = 3)
Phase 1	May-June 2002	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J	P4-P6	Headteacher interviews 1 (n = 10) Class teacher interviews 1 (n = 20) Pupil task 1 (n = 240) Pupil discussion groups 1 (n = 10) Semi-structured observation in schools (n = 10)
Phase 2	November 2002 – June 2003	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J	P5-P7	Headteacher/class teacher questionnaires (n = 30) Pupil tasks 2/3; 'Q6' from SEP project (n = 240) Pupil discussion groups 2 (n = 10) Structured observation of pupil councils: schools A, D, G, I, J (n = 5) Pupil discussion groups 3: pupil councils (n = 5) Semi-structured observation in schools (n = 10)
Phase 3	March 2004	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J Transition schools for A, C, E, F, H, I, J	P6-S1	Headteacher interviews 2 (n = 10) Class teacher interviews 2 (n = 20) Pupil tasks 4/5/6 (n = 240) Pupil discussion groups 4 (n = 10) Semi-structured observation in schools (n = 10)

Teacher Interviews

The first stage of the research (in May/June 2002) was to systematically interview all headteachers and classroom teachers involved in the original sample schools. Interview schedules used are illustrated in appendix IV, along with an illustration of one full headteacher and class teacher transcription. The purpose of the interviews was to establish the first, initial insight into the issues underpinning the research questions. Firstly, it was the author's intention to explore staff's perceptions of the type of behaviour they regarded as being 'enterprising' and the purpose and role of enterprise in education; secondly, the way in which staff encouraged democratic approaches to decision-making through making links between enterprise and citizenship education was also of interest. In so doing, the author's intention was also to consider the consistency and inconsistency in the way that national policy was being translated into practice in enterprise and citizenship education. In short, the interviews were designed to probe into school staff's views about the meaning of enterprise and its links with recommended practice for citizenship education as it is defined in current policy documentation.

Cohen et al (2000) describe the way in which new knowledge may be generated through an interview situation, as part of a social process that involves intersubjective means:

> 'Interviews enable participants – be they interviewers or interviewees – to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view. In these senses the interview is not simply concerned with collecting data about life: it is part of life itself, its human embeddedness is inescapable.' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.267)

The design of interview schedules was carried out with the intention of generating knowledge between interviewer and interviewee through reasonably informal conversations. Since each school would be different and each participant coming

with different background experiences and personal values, it was essential that the interview schedule was open to individual interpretation according to the setting and the participants involved. Robson (2002, p.270) describes the use of the semi-structured interview as one where there is pre-determined questions, but 'the order can be modified based upon the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate'. This seemed to be an appropriate strategy for interviewing a range of teachers with differing backgrounds, experience and school settings.

To this end, the first part of the headteacher and class teacher interviews focused on general questions to set the scene and allow staff to describe their school setting in an open and perceptive way. As Cohen et al (2000) argue, there are four attributes that ethnographers should possess as interviewers: *trust*, where the interviewer is able to build a relationship with the interviewee that transcends the research; *curiosity*, whereby the interviewer is keen to learn about people's views and perceptions; and *naturalness*, where the interviewer is unobtrusive in order to witness events as they are and to secure what is actually in the minds of participants. Therefore, since the author was to have prolonged contact with each of his interviewees, he was committed to establishing a rapport with the staff members and to show an interest in the background of the schools, making the interviewees feel comfortable and establishing a common ground for the remainder of the interview process. These first initial questions were also vital for the author to be able to establish a wider picture, establishing the nature of the school background, the local labour market, the school's aims, the social and academic background of the pupils and the experience of the teachers. This initial background information aimed to establish participants' opinions about the general ethos in the school and provide the author with a rich description of what it is like to be in each of the case study settings, through establishing some lived experiences of particular situations (Cohen et al, 2000).

The second part of the interview schedule was designed to establish the curricular strengths of the teachers and of the school as a whole, and to explore which of this practice could be described as 'enterprising'. Here, the focus was again open-ended, and allowed the respondents to reply with clear insights, provide individuality and

subjective facts about their particular experience from the inside of their school settings. It also provided what Cohen et al (2000, p.275) describe as a 'funnel', whereby the interviewer uses a broad question to lead onto to a more specific and narrower focus. Therefore, from an open-ended and broad approach to questioning respondents about their perception of enterprise experience in the school, the author was able to lead onto a more focused probing of respondents to give specific examples of enterprising behaviour among pupils. With headteachers, this involved a description of the way in which the school specifically encouraged enterprising behaviour and the extent to which projects were implemented; with teachers, it involved initiating a description of an 'enterprising pupil', their qualities and traits and the type of projects or activities these children had been involved in. Further, the funnel effect then allowed questions to become even more focused, by initiating a discussion about the intended outcomes of the enterprise projects and/or activities, the evidence of these outcomes and the perceived benefits to the school and the pupils. Finally, the headteachers were asked about the specific enterprise training that teachers may have been given and the perceived benefits of this on their practice. Class teachers were asked to reflect upon their recent experience of enterprise, and consider how their approaches may change in the future.

Follow-up interviews were carried out just under 2 years later (in March 2004). Open-ended questions were again used to investigate schools' progress with enterprise in education and the changing attitudes and perceptions of staff (see appendix IV for examples of schedules and transcriptions). Here, headteachers were asked to comment on the type of enterprise now in place within the school, the type of training staff had undergone, how the schools' position had evolved and changed with respect to its enterprising nature and its overall mission and aims and the extent to which enterprise in education may or may not be conflicting with other aims related to ethics, morals and social and moral responsibility. With class teachers, questions were directed at uncovering the extent of their involvement with enterprise in education since the initial interviews, the training they had received, the perceived changing nature of the pupils' attitudes and values and the pressures that they may be

under to incorporate enterprise into the curriculum and harmonise this with the apparently competing agenda of citizenship education.

In addition to these teacher and headteacher interviews, plans were made to interview the teacher-leaders involved with pupil councils in primary school settings. This strategy emerged as a result of initial interviews, where teachers tended to highlight the pupil council model as a recognised vehicle for the expression of both 'enterprising' educational practice and citizenship education. These brief interviews enabled the researcher to uncover background information about the councils, such as their perceived aims, the frequency of meetings, challenges involved in establishing the councils, the type of topics discussed and methods of representation and feedback. In addition, teacher-leaders were asked more open-ended questions with regard to the perceptions they had about members' and non-members' views about the council, which was used for comparison with the responses yielded from the pupils themselves during follow-up discussion group sessions. The interview schedule used is contained within appendix IV, along with illustrations of two full transcriptions of relevant interviews.

The type of questions used in all sets of interviews, with an emphasis on the general lived experiences of staff, were underpinned with the key characteristics of qualitative research interviews. They focused on interpreting the meaning of certain themes in the real lives of the respondents, were channelled towards obtaining open nuanced descriptions of the respondents' professional experiences, but used this openness to subsequently focus more closely on specific situations and lived examples of practice (Kvale, 1996; Cohen et al, 2000). The data was produced through interpersonal interaction between interviewer and interviewee, but it was clear that the nature of the questions could invite ambiguous and subjective data to emerge. This gave rise to the issue of bias, which could stem from *respondent* obstructiveness or the 'good bunny' syndrome of only giving the answers that they perceive that the researcher wants to hear (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Robson, 2002), or even from the preconceptions held by the *researcher.* In response, several of the strategies outlined earlier for dealing with bias and enhancing the authenticity of

emerging data were put in place early: prolonged involvement, where the researcher made regular visits to each school both before and after the initial interviews; peer debriefing, where the researcher consulted with colleagues in the wider research project and shared the contents of interviews; an audit trail which was carried out via an ongoing reflective diary and, finally, methodological triangulation via other means of data gathering, to complement emerging interview data.

Teacher Questionnaires

In aiming to uncover the way in which teachers conceptualise 'enterprise' and how this may lend itself to the distinctive features of citizenship education, the author strove to achieve as many views and interpretations as possible in order to find answers to his research questions. It was essential for the author to confirm the authenticity of findings from initial teacher interviews through using questionnaires as a form of triangulation. These questionnaires (an example of which is contained within appendix V) were sent out to all primary headteachers and classroom teachers involved in the study (between December 2002 and March 2003). As well as corroborating previously uncovered views and descriptions, these questionnaires also enabled the researcher to dig deeper and examine specific examples of stated practice in more depth.

Cohen at al (2000) describe the process of operationalizing a questionnaire, and highlights the centrality of the research purpose in its design:

> 'Firstly, a questionnaire's general purposes must be clarified and then translated into a specific concrete aim or set of aims ... Having decided upon and specified the primary objective of the questionnaire, the second phase of the planning involves the identification and itemizing of subsidiary topics that relate to its central purpose.' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.246)

The central purpose of the questionnaire was to establish the priority given to enterprise in education in schools, and the values underpinning staff's

conceptualisation of 'enterprising' behaviour and enterprise in education. With this in mind, the questionnaire was designed in order to provide questions in relation to subsidiary topics that related to this overriding aim. Since these questionnaires were sent to a specific sample of teachers, the author felt that the questions could be reasonably open in nature:

> 'If a site-specific case study is required, then qualitative, less-structured, word-based and open-ended questionnaires may be more appropriate.' (Cohen at al, 2000, p.247)

The acquisition of rich, personal data to complement and expand upon the data yielded from interviews was a priority. Therefore, the researcher designed the questionnaire using many open-ended questions that would enable respondents to write a free response. Such questions were used in order to uncover staff's views about the values and attitudes they would hope to instil in pupils through enterprise education, and their conceptualisation of an enterprising school, pupil and teacher. The use of open-ended questions that invited a free response meant that the author had to be particularly cautious with his wording. In relation to Cohen at al's (2000) pitfalls of questionnaires, the author was careful to avoid leading questions or questions that were overly complex and/or highbrow in nature. Questions were framed clearly, and the author was careful to avoid irritating questions, ensuring that the layout and content of the piece provided interest and encouraged the co-operation of the respondents. In addition, the author was keen to avoid the construction of a purely open-ended questionnaire; the use of more highly structured, closed questions that would yield quantitative data and enable the analysis of frequencies of responses was also felt a useful means of complementing and expanding upon the emerging qualitative data. These will now be discussed in relation to the questions on the questionnaire.

First of all, there was a need for one dichotomous question, in order to gauge how many of the sample schools actually had a written policy for enterprise in place. This was felt important in order to assess the extent to which each individual school

had formalised their procedures in each area. Secondly, there were a number of multiple choice questions that allowed the author to identify key background information, such as the year groups currently studying enterprise education, and the designated staff member responsible for its implementation. In addition, respondents were also asked to identify the curricular areas that they felt were most suited to delivering aspects of enterprise and those that could experience higher attainment levels as a result, as well as the types of knowledge and skills they felt were important to emerge from enterprise education.

Although the author recognised the advantages of using dichotomous and multiple choice-style questions for their quick coding and measurement of frequencies, heed was also paid to Robson's (2002) warnings of ambiguity in sentence structure or the use of leading questions. Simple, everyday language appropriate to education was used, and the inclusion of an additional category of 'other' included where respondents were asked to give opinions in relation to pre-set categories.

Finally, the questionnaire also included opportunities for the use of rating scales in order to measure the respondents' degrees and intensities of response to common statements and views. Thus, respondents were asked to use a Likert scale in order to respond to statements about the purposes of enterprise education. The aim here was to measure the extent to which staff views of enterprise in education related to individualistic or collectivist conceptualisations. The priority given to enterprise education was also measured in this way, as well as the extent to which the staff viewed their school's ethos as being 'enterprising'.

Although these questions were seen as useful for generating numbers in relation to differing forms of values and attitudes, Cohen et al (2000) provides us with some realistic cautions about rating-scales. Firstly, we have no check on whether respondents are telling the truth; secondly, we have no way of knowing whether respondents may have wished to add any other comments; thirdly, respondents may wish to avoid extreme poles at either end of the continuum, and finally, there is no assumption of equal intervals between the categories, viz:

'... one cannot infer that the intensity of feeling in the Likert scale between "strongly disagree" and "disagree" somehow matches the intensity of feeling in the Likert scale between "strongly agree" and "agree".' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.254)

In spite of the drawbacks to questionnaires already discussed, the author felt that the mix of open-ended, multiple choice and rating scale-based questions provided a useful complement to the data that would emerge from interviews. Above all, the questions were carefully designed in order to achieve the goals of this particular data collection method, and ultimately to help answer the research questions. The author adhered to the advice given by Robson (2002) in order to maximise the response rate to the questionnaire. In particular, care was taken in order to give a user-friendly appearance, clarity of wording and a progressive approach whereby initial questions were easier to answer, and subsequent questions became increasingly more challenging. The questionnaires were piloted in one of the sample schools, and amended accordingly. Although the researcher was known in each of the sample schools, in certain cases, with the more distant schools, a postal form of delivery was necessary with an accompanying letter. In other cases, the researcher delivered the questionnaire by hand.

Pupil Questionnaires / Written Tasks

The next main stage of the research involved the use of pupil questionnaires and written tasks for each of the focus classes in the sample schools. The data collection here aimed to guide some of the later use of focused discussion groups with smaller samples of the full pupil population. In addition, some of the questionnaires and written tasks issued as part of the wider externally-funded research project were also drawn upon in order to illuminate some of the qualitative data emerging from pupil discussions. All pupil questionnaires described in this section are contained within appendix VI.

During the first phase of pupil data collection (in June 2002), the main aim was to explore the nature of pupil values and attitudes towards role models and potential 'enterprising' behaviour. During this period, all sample pupils were located within their primary school environments, in P4, P5 or P6 classes (ages 8-10). There was one pupil questionnaire/task, as follows:

Pupil Task 1: The Most Important Person To Me

Pupils were asked to make a drawing of the most important person in their lives. They were asked to give reasons why they chose this person, and find suitable words to describe them.

From this initial pupil task, it was possible to identify some understanding of the world in which the sample pupils lived. Stake (1995, p.38) refers to the work of Simmel, who argued that qualitative research aimed at seeking *understanding* is actually 'a form of empathy or re-creation in the mind of the scholar of the mental atmosphere, the thoughts and feelings, motivations, of the object of his study.' The pupil questionnaires helped to establish this appreciation of the feelings and motivations of the sample pupils, and to provide a benchmark of their values and attitudes in a personal sense. Although the task called for responses to an open-ended question, common qualitative responses were grouped via the use of the SPSS statistical analysis package, and the resulting numerical patterns were analysed accordingly. In order to combat the issue of crude statistics emerging here, follow-up pupil discussion groups were deemed all the more important.

In phase two of the pupil data collection process (carried out between January and March 2003), a further two questionnaires were administered. The aim here was to begin to explore the way in which pupils may conceptualise 'enterprise' and the qualities associated with 'enterprising' behaviour. These tasks were again administered while all sample pupils were located within a primary school context, in P5, P6 or P7 classes (ages 9-11). The content was as follows:

Pupil Task 2: Enterprising Qualities

Pupils were asked to identify the qualities they would associate with someone who is 'enterprising' from a given list. The chosen words here were associated with a range of individualistic and collectivist, communitarian values. Pupils were also asked to add additional words of their own.

Pupil Task 3: Enterprising Jobs

Pupils were asked to identify the jobs that people could do in an 'enterprising' way from a given list. They were then asked to pick up to three of these jobs and describe the way in which someone could perform them in an enterprising way.

In addition, evidence was also drawn from another pupil task administered as part of the wider research project at this time (described as 'Q6' within appendix VI). Here, pupils were asked to give their own definitions of 'enterprising' using a free response, and provide examples of people they regarded as displaying 'enterprising' qualities, giving reasons.

This second round of pupil questionnaires was again related to specific purposes, and these were translated into subsidiary topics through a range of open and closed questions. While some of the questions posed in the questionnaire arising from the wider project were open in nature, allowing pupils a free response and the opportunity to explain and qualify their answers, there were also times when pupils were asked to respond to multiple choice questions where pupils picked 'enterprising' qualities and jobs from given lists. Again, many of these questions were designed to act as a springboard to more pupil discussion via focused group interviews. As Robson (2002, p.166) explains, the characteristics of flexible research designs include 'multiple data collection techniques' and fundamental characteristics such as 'an evolving design'. The pupil questionnaires enabled the researcher to build further interview questions and add to existing ones in the form of evolving pupil discussion topics. Again, the mixing of question types and the multi-site, multi-method approach enabled the researcher to analyse data using multiple methods of abstraction (Robson, 2002).

In phase three of the pupil data collection process (conducted in March 2004), the aim was to track the sample pupils' changing attitudes and values with respect to their conceptualisation of 'enterprise' and its effects on learning and the way in which their attitudes towards work and personal role models had evolved. At this stage, some pupils were still located in primary school settings, in P6 or P7 classes (ages 10-11) but many of the sample pupils had progressed to secondary education, in S1 classes (age 12). Three main questionnaires/written tasks helped to guide and inspire the nature of subsequent focused discussion groups:

Pupil Task 4: The Person I Most Admire

In this task, pupils were asked to draw the person they most admired, give reasons for this admiration and find suitable words to describe the chosen person. This task acted as a direct follow-up to task 1, and was designed to track pupils' changing attitudes towards role-models just under 2 years after their initial responses.

Task 5: Learning Gains from Enterprise in Education

Here, pupils were asked to identify three things they had learned from being involved in enterprise work in school, from a given list. Once again, the identified outcomes listed were associated with a range of individualist and collectivist qualities and pupils were expected to identify their outcomes using a multiple-choice response.

Task 6: Qualities Needed for Jobs

Finally, pupils were asked to rate eight different jobs on which of six factors they thought were necessary for success in those jobs. The factors were knowledge, ambition, imagination, teamwork, hard work and luck.

Once again this final round of pupil questionnaires and written tasks contained a range of open-ended and free responses, this time aimed at providing an insight into changing perceptions and values. Stake (1995, p.41) identifies the essence of qualitative case study research as 'seeking patterns of unanticipated as well as expected relationships', while Miles and Huberman (1994) equate naturalistic research methods with prolonged contact with a field or life situation, which can

involve social anthropologists' descriptions of 'local particularities; focus on individuals' perspectives and interpretations of the world' (p.6). Therefore, the planned use of longitudinal qualitative case analysis involving prolonged contact with particular school communities enabled the researcher to track pupils into new settings and establish their continuous or changing beliefs, values and attitudes. Once again, the use of follow-up discussion groups provided the opportunity to build and extend pupil ideas and provide a further means of qualitative data collection. However, the problems associated with longitudinal studies referred to earlier in this chapter were taken into consideration.

Observation

With its emphasis on the use of case study schools, the researcher's study also relied on a great deal of data which was gathered through observation. The purpose of this data was primarily to enrich and supplement the data gathered through questionnaires, pupil tasks and interviews, as well as acting as a catalyst for further discussions with teachers and group discussions with pupils. In essence, the various types of planned observation were aimed at providing a wider database, from which further implications could be drawn:

> '...the case-study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit – a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.185)

The researcher's mission here was to examine the way in which pupils and teachers within specific schools tended to reflect various types of communitarian and democratic values and attitudes through their practice within enterprise in education, and the type of decision-making that this practice was enabling pupils to be involved in. Through three types of observation of school practice and pupil working groups,

generalisations could be made about the sample schools. These three main types of observation can be classified in relation to Cohen et al's (2000) typology of observation studies, an adapted version of which is shown in figure 5.2 below.

Firstly, the use of an ongoing reflective diary enabled the recording of semi-structured observation in each of the focus schools throughout the study. Where visits were made, the researcher adhered to the advice given by Robson (2002) in relation to flexible designs, whereby questions were addressed to key players in the research study in an informal and ad-hoc basis. Informal discussion with headteachers and teachers prior to interviews, immediately following interviews or at the beginning or end of a visit often yielded a wealth of valuable additional information that was worth recording. These informal observations enabled the researcher to create field notes and 'pen portraits' of individual schools, which complemented and built upon other data. As stated earlier, this type of observation involved the need for an enquiring mind, good listening, flexibility and a firm grasp of the issues in order to be able to ask the right questions at appropriate moments.

Figure 5.2: A Typology of Observation Studies

	Natural		**Artificial**
Semi- structured	Reflective Diary: Informal discussions with HTs and CTs	Reflective Diary: Classroom activity and interaction	
Structured		Pupil Council Visits	

(Cohen et al, 2000, p.186)

As indicated in figure 5.2, the observations recorded in the reflective diary were only partially structured under pre-set headings and allowed for free responses derived

from individual school contexts and events. However, this 'semi-structured' format provided all the advantages that go with the participant observation approach, including the ability to capture non-verbal behaviour, behaviour as it occurs in natural settings, the development of more informal relationships with participants and the minimising of bias through less reactive forms of data gathering being included (Bailey, 1978 in Cohen et al, 2000).

Secondly, this type of informal, naturalistic observation was extended to the analysis of classroom interaction and practice. When the author was visiting each classroom and administering pupil tasks, he was able to observe the interaction between pupils with other pupils and pupils with their teachers. Simpson and Tuson (1995, p.2) argue the need for researchers to 'make the familiar strange' by detaching themselves from personal interpretations and trying to see things from other people's perspectives. Indeed, as the data-gathering process continued into a second and third school session, the author's familiarity with each of the sample schools grew, and many of the classroom environments became increasingly familiar to him. It was imperative that he was able to take a step back, observe events from afar and detach himself from personal interpretations. This type of classroom observation enabled the researcher to produce permanent records of social interactions, and helped to enrich his understanding of pupil/teacher interactions, as well as pupil/pupil interactions in response to the more structured ongoing data gathering methods in use. Although this observation was recorded in similar ways to the field notes gathered through informal conversations with teaching staff, the one difference here was the fact that this observation was slightly more artificial: the researcher's presence as a visitor in the classrooms in order to administer pupil questionnaires and tasks imposed an unusual routine on pupils, which may have resulted in less naturalistic forms of pupil behaviour at times.

The third type of observation was more structured, and involved the researcher in making visits to five primary pupil council meetings and acting as an observer between November 2002 and June 2003. Here again, the observation was natural to a degree, but the researcher's presence may have introduced a slightly unnatural

variable into the proceedings. This type of observation was guided by the use of an observation schedule (illustrated in appendix VII, along with two full sets of data collected and relevant case studies) that was used for gathering data under key headings. Among other things, the researcher was keen to identify the number of pupils involved in meetings, the time spent on items, the type of items discussed, the level of interaction involved and the kind of decisions made by council members. However, although a specific observation schedule was used, it was imperative that the system used for recording observations also allowed for flexibility:

> 'A descriptive system for recording may have some pre-set categories, but they are much broader and more flexible than those of category systems. Their flexibility allows the observer to consider the context of the behaviours, their sequences, their meanings and to use naturally-occurring events as starting-points and finishing points of recording sequences.' (Simpson and Tuson, 1995, p.46)

Thus, the recording schedule used enabled the researcher to categorise the proceedings of pupil council meetings in relation to categories used in previous research by Taylor and Johnson (2002). However, it was recognised that every school was different and some flexibility in observation categories was essential in order to capture the true picture of pupil interaction, and enable the researcher to begin to answer the final research question related to pupils' involvement in decision-making processes in school.

In planning the observation methods in schools, the strengths and weaknesses of such approaches were recognised from the outset. Simpson and Tuson (1995) argue that the use of observation in research has four main strengths. Firstly, it can give the researcher direct access to social interactions: in visiting classrooms, pupil councils and during general visits to schools, the researcher was able to gather more direct data, where real social situations were captured in his records. Secondly, observation can give a permanent, systematic record of social interactions: the researcher's field-notes and observation schedules provided a firm record of the transient situations he

encountered in classrooms and during pupil council meetings. Thirdly, observation can enrich and supplement data gathered by other techniques: the records made during observation complemented and extended the information gathered through interviews and questionnaires, and helped to fill the gaps in many ways. Finally, observation techniques can be extremely varied and can yield very different types of data: on many occasions, the researcher carried out observation by simply looking at what was going on (using a reflective diary); at other times, the observation was more systematic (while using observation schedules during pupil council meetings). Such varied approaches were useful in yielding very different types of data – sometimes additional and supplementary in nature, other times more detailed situational analysis (Simpson and Tuson, 1995).

Set against these strengths are the weaknesses of observation techniques. It must be recognised that any type of observation is susceptible to observer bias, and can place great demands on time (Simpson and Tuson, 1995). In order to minimise this, the researcher engaged in several preventative measures; firstly, his prolonged contact with each of the focus schools brought with it the opportunity to build strong relationships with class teachers and headteachers. This enabled the researcher, to some degree or another, to discuss his interpretations of observed situations with colleagues. These follow-up discussions often reminded the researcher of the different ways of viewing a social situation, and helped to minimise bias. Discussions ranged from informal conversations to more structured interviews with teachers and discussion groups with pupils. In addition, the researcher used one school in his sample as a pilot, which enabled a judgment to be made about the length of the research visits and data collection methods to be modified accordingly.

Thus, the use of observation was a major vehicle for finding some answers to the research questions, particularly numbers 2, 3 and 4. The description that this approach yielded ranged from quick, fragmented jottings of key incidents, 'pen portraits' of individual schools and classrooms to transcriptions of more detailed and structured observations yielded from observation schedules. However, the need for minimising the bias that may emerge from such observations and for following-up on

data gathered from pupils via questionnaires and written tasks called for the need for a final method of data collection: the use of pupil discussion groups.

Pupil Discussion Groups

The use of group interviews with pupils provided a forum for building and extending on data gathered from pupil questionnaires and written tasks and from observations made during pupil council sessions, as well as providing an opportunity for discussions to develop and lead to a wide range of responses (Cohen at al, 2000). Indeed, the characteristics of such interviews can be useful in yielding some rich opportunities for in-depth discussion:

> 'The more common versions (of group interviews) have a substantial degree of flexibility and are effectively some form of hybrid with characteristics of a discussion as well as an interview. Even although general topics, and sometimes specific questions, are presented by the researcher, the traditional interview format of alternative question and answer is both difficult to maintain and eliminates the group interaction which can be a particular strength of the group interview.' (Robson, 2002, p.283)

Thus, although the group interviews were designed around the use of specific questions, these questions were open in nature and allowed for the generation of wider discussion and group interaction among pupils. The researcher was involved in conducting four sets of group discussions over the period of his research. Each of these will be now described, in relation to the schedules and exemplars of transcriptions contained within appendix VIII.

Phase One

This was designed as a follow-up to the first round of pupil questionnaires and written tasks (in June 2002). The purpose here was to explore the type of enterprise project(s) the pupils had been engaged in up until that point, what they had learned

from this and also to explore more of their attitudes and values towards key role models and the behaviour they associated with 'enterprise'. This data would help to strengthen the answers to research questions 3 and 4.

Phase Two

At this stage, the pupils were asked to expand and develop the responses given in relation to enterprising qualities and jobs (pupil tasks 2/3, January-March 2003). They were asked to focus on words which they associated with 'enterprising' behaviour and to justify this through specific examples. In addition, they were asked to explain why some other qualities may not be associated with enterprise. Thus, the pupils were describing, in more specific terms, who they thought was enterprising in the world at large and how these particular qualities may be associated with these people. In addition to this, pupils were also asked to describe particular jobs where enterprising behaviour was not so likely, and justify this. Other pupils were invited to argue or debate on these points, giving reasons why some people may be able to engage in enterprising behaviour as part of these job occupations. Pupils were also asked to describe their current enterprise project in school and what they had learned from it. Throughout all of this, opportunities were planned for expanding on pupil answers, in order to give a fuller and more in-depth picture of their attitudes and values. Thus this second phase of group interviews was designed to develop more answers to research questions 3 and 4 – highlighting pupil views of the nature of 'enterprising' behaviour and the type of values and attitudes that may be emerging through their engagement with enterprise education.

Phase Three

Following on from the more structured observations made during pupil council meetings (from November 2002 to June 2003), it was decided to include a group interview with selected council members in order to explore the issues in more depth. Here, questions were designed in order to explore pupils' perceptions about the aims of the council, how they felt about being part of the council, why they wanted to be

involved in it and what they felt their friends' view of the council might be. In addition, the researcher probed the members about the type of changes they had been successful in bringing about as a result of their involvement in the council. Pupils were also asked to provide examples of learning gains emerging from council involvement, and how they may use the knowledge and skills acquired in the future. In addition, group interviews were also carried out with a selection of non-council members, in order to explore their perceptions of the role of a council member, their views of the work of the council members and the role of its leader and the extent to which they felt involved in contributing ideas towards their work. The purpose of both sets of group discussions was to provide additional answers to research question 4 – examining the extent to which schools' practice may enable democratic decision-making in pupils.

Phase Four

This final set of group discussions was designed to track pupils' changing views of the meaning of 'enterprising' behaviour, the role and purpose of enterprise in education, the communitarian values emerging from engagement in enterprise education and how pupils may use this in the future. They were also used to explore the extent of pupils' involvement in enterprise initiatives and decision-making following their transition to secondary education (in March 2004). This discussion forum was designed to provide answers to research questions 2, 3 and 4, and was again guided by the final pupil questionnaires issued to pupils.

In essence, the open-ended approach to these group discussions facilitated group interaction and discussion which provided a rich source of data that complemented that which derived from pupil questionnaire responses. In designing the questions, the researcher had to be guided by the same principles he adhered to in his design of interviews and questionnaires, outlined in earlier sections. In addition, the sampling strategy had to be made thoughtfully, and the researcher was careful in selecting pupils that provided a good mix of homogenous and heterogeneous group make-up. Robson's (2002, p.283) view of the advantages of the homogeneous group, with its

opportunities for common backgrounds and experience and the opportunities for providing a sense of safety for 'groupthink' was important. However, his arguments for the use of a heterogeneous group approach, with opportunities for a range of different personalities to stimulate discussion and enable group members to examine issues from a variety of approaches, was also considered. Therefore, through consultation with class teachers, the researcher formed groups with pupils from the same class, with a mixed-gender, mixed-ability membership but also with opportunities for friendships and established camaraderie.

Finally, in implementing group discussions the author also had to be careful in overcoming some of the difficulties in interviewing children highlighted by Simons (1982), Lewis (1992) and documented by Cohen et al (2000). Among other issues, this involved the ability to overcome the pupils becoming distracted, dealing with nervous or inarticulate children, encouraging children to give honest responses and not just ones that the interviewer may want to hear, the ability to pitch language at an appropriate level and to deal with individual children who may dominate or give long-winded responses. Many of these issues were addressed during initial piloting, but others were ongoing and called for particularly strong planning, organisation and management on the part of the researcher during visits.

Coding

Data emerging from semi-structured interviews, observation of practice and open responses gleaned from teacher and pupil questionnaires and discussion groups was coded under five main phenomena, ranging from a macro- to a micro-level of analysis: *meanings, values, settings, activities* and *democratic practice.* Within each of these phenomena, several sub-codes were devised in order to categorise data under specific headings. Appendix IX provides a list of these codes and the individual code definitions. The author subsequently applied this 'starter list' of codes to the emerging data via the use of 'NVivo', a Computer-Assisted Qualitiative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) package which supports the storage and manipulation of codes, known in NVivo as 'nodes' (Gibbs, 2002, p.16). This enabled the

researcher to keep good records of his hunches, ideas, searches and analyses and gave access to data that could then be examined and analysed, and results reported (Gibbs, 2002). Thus, a process of horizonalization was initiated, providing an efficient means of clustering statements and synthesizing common themes (Cresswell, 1998). As an example, data that emerged from interviews, questionnaires and reflective diaries that described participants' conceptualisation of 'enterprising' behaviour and enterprise in education was categorised under 11 sub-headings in relation to the 'meanings' phenomena and allocated a 'MEAN' identifier. If the relevant text described enterprising behaviour in relation to pupils, it was coded under a MEAN-PUP node; if it related to teachers, it was coded under a MEAN-TEACH node. As the data expanded, the flexible nature of the research design enabled new codes to emerge and refined reports to be produced. The researcher ensured reliability of emerging data through creating node coding reports and through profiling the coding in sets (Gibbs, 2002). This resulted in accessible illustrations of the frequency of passages coded at particular nodes. Thus the researcher was able to avoid the use of 'selective anecdotalism' by highlighting only the most representative respondent views for illustration and making references to frequency (Gibbs, 2002, p.231).

Thus, chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis report on the data that emerged from interviews with headteachers and teachers as well as discussion groups and questionnaires with pupils, and classified under the *meanings* and *values* phenomena. This led to a second layer of research, where observation via reflective diaries and follow-up questionnaires and discussions was coded under the *settings* and *activities* phenomena and enabled the emergence of 'pen portraits' of stated and actual school practice. This data is reported in chapter 8. Finally, the data emerging from interviews, discussions and portraits led to the final layer of data – observation of pupil councils and interviews with participants – which was categorised under a final set of codes in relation to the *democratic practice* phenomenon and reported in chapter 9. Although the research methods described above enabled all data to be captured via teacher/pupil interviews, questionnaires and observation methods, not all of the emerging data is reported in this thesis. Indeed, as time passed it seemed

that some data were more powerful than others and dominant themes were emerging. Chapters 6-9 of the thesis attempt to reflect this, so that only the most significant data and sub-headings are examined and central themes highlighted.

Reflective Thoughts

The implementation of this research methodology proved to be a hugely rewarding experience for the researcher, and often resulted in the formation of strong and intense professional relationships with staff in the various case-study schools. Both the author and his colleagues in schools benefited immensely from the experience. For school staff, the emerging data from the study was often used to feed in to aspects of staff development, action research initiatives and policy-making decisions. It also provided opportunities for staff to collaborate with the researcher in presenting data to other practitioners within research seminars and conferences. For the researcher himself, it allowed his whole perception of enterprise and citizenship education to widen, enabled many opportunities for him to disseminate his work through conference papers, national research publications and teaching approaches linked to the continuing professional development of teachers. This was an extremely exciting journey, made all the more worthwhile because of the nature of the social and human issues under scrutiny, and the naturalistic settings in use. Miles and Huberman (1994) sum up the rewarding nature of qualitative research, with reference to both the researcher and the reader:

> 'Qualitative data are sexy. They are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts ... the findings from qualitative studies have a quality of "undeniability". Words, especially organised into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavour that often proves far more convincing to a reader - another researcher, a policymaker, a practitioner – than pages of summarized numbers.' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.1)

The subsequent chapters detail those words and thick descriptions, which provide a vivid account of lived experiences in real and natural settings, and document a journey that was both hugely informative and rewarding.

6 TEACHERS' VIEWS OF THE MEANING OF 'ENTERPRISE' AND ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION

Introduction

The systematic interviewing of the headteachers and selected classroom teachers from all ten of the sample schools enabled the researcher to probe into their views about the meaning of 'enterprise' and 'enterprise in education'. Early interviews (implemented in May/June 2002) acted as a vehicle for later exploring the evolving nature of school practice and the way in which attitudes and values were changing via follow-up interviews (in March 2004). This prolonged contact with the field as part of a longitudinal study enabled the emergence of a holistic overview of the actors from inside the case study settings, and resulted in a thick description of human experience which later acted as a catalyst for exploring pupils' views and observing tangible school practice. The flexible nature of the research allowed the researcher to adapt and modify his approach towards interview questions in order to generate new knowledge between himself and the interviewees. The initial interviews were closely followed-up with a survey of staff views via questionnaires, and later a second set of interviews aimed to track teachers' changing perceptions.

The qualitative nature of the research ultimately meant that the author worked with a few cases and many variables, and searched for meanings and happenings through interpretative techniques (Ragin, 1987; Stake, 1995; Cresswell, 1998). Thus, during analysis of the initial data, teachers' views in relation to the meaning of enterprise were coded under the phenomena outlined in chapter 5 and illustrated in appendix IX. Sub-codes provided multiple variables, and eleven sub-headings emerged in relation to the 'meanings' phenomenon (as described in appendix IX). These same codes were used later, when follow-up interviews were carried out. Reliability of emergent data was ensured through the generating of node coding reports (as described in chapter 5). As the research process progressed, the researcher was committed to looking for the most dominant sub-themes that were emerging and drew upon the features of his flexible design approach in order to adapt his analysis

and interpretation of data accordingly. Increasingly, more and more data illustrated that *communitarianism* was becoming the most dominant research theme in relation to teachers' conceptualisation of enterprise. The following sections therefore present the results from the teacher interviews and questionnaires in relation to the identified phenomenon and selected sub-codes, that serve to illustrate the meanings that were emerging in relation to 'enterprising' behaviour and the purpose of enterprise in education. In so doing, the sub-theme of communitarianism is treated as a significant dominant issue within the second half of the chapter, drawing upon data that emerged from previous sub-codes as well as specific data pertaining to the 'communitarian' sub-code itself.

Enterprising Teachers, Pupils and Schools

The majority of teachers described 'enterprise' in relation to the behaviour that they associated with teachers. Teachers in 4 out of 10 schools felt that an 'enterprising teacher' was one who was able to equip pupils with life skills and relate what they were learning to the outside world, while staff in 3 of the schools referred to a model of a teacher who encouraged pupil responsibility in making decisions. In addition, 4 teachers referred to enterprising teachers as those that achieved the dual aims of providing pupil responsibility and relating their teaching to the outside world. One representative view illustrates the way in which teachers were committed to empowering pupils to take responsibility, but still found the whole notion of stepping back and enabling pupil autonomy a challenge:

> *'I think it's more about letting go of the reins a bit as a teacher. I feel sometimes it's difficult for us to give the children real responsibility and I feel I'm getting closer to that now.'* (School H)

Teachers described the behaviour they would associate with an enterprising pupil in wide-ranging ways. While one class teacher felt that an enterprising pupil was purely one that was thoughtful, caring, kind to others and able to empathise, 6 teachers talked more about individual children's ability to come up with new ideas,

show confidence and lead and organise others. One example represents 4 class teachers' views of the need to combine confidence and innovation with the ability to work with others:

> *'I'd probably use the words forward-thinking, somebody who had leadership skills but also somebody who was reasonably popular because to me an enterprising pupil has to be somebody that will work well with others.'* (School C)

As time passed, it seemed that more teachers were concentrating their concerns for enterprise on the need for social and moral responsibility, and using this quality as a measure for enterprising behaviour in class. In one follow-up interview, the class teacher appeared confident in her assessment of the growing nature of social responsibility among pupils:

> *'I think children working together is the key ... and being responsible for yourself ... I don't think children are as selfish as they were 10 years ago. I think they think more about one another ... I think the collective responsibility of children is much greater than it was 10 years ago.'* (School C)

Teachers also described enterprising behaviour in relation to their school as a whole. While two headteachers equated this to the number of enterprise projects within specific stages of the school or the creation of a formal policy in enterprise in education, the majority of staff referred to the participative and inclusive ethos in the school and the extent of the pupil autonomy that was given for organising specific projects and whole-school events. Two responses provided evidence that some staff were beginning to realise that the school could be classed as enterprising even although enterprise projects were limited or even non-existent:

> *'It's not just the one class that do enterprise. I mean there's other children that are running things like an enterprise, because they go out and monitor the playground.'* (School B)

'It's about mutual respect, the way people work together knowing you are as valued as the next person whether it's the janitor, the dinner lady, the headteacher, a pupil or whoever.' (School G)

It appears, then, that headteachers and class teachers were able to frame enterprising behaviour in terms of the teacher, pupil and school and that the descriptions given were wide-ranging. While some teachers felt that an enterprising teacher was one that afforded pupils responsibility and decision-making skills, others related it to the ability to provide relevance in the curriculum and equip pupils for future life roles. This seemed to reflect the priorities set out in much of the documentation on enterprise in education (Brownlow et al, 1998; Scottish Executive, 2002). While some teachers described enterprising behaviour in pupils in relation to confidence, having ideas and leading and managing others, other staff highlighted the need for teamwork and social responsibility towards peers. These mixed views seemed to eclipse the essence of 'welfare liberalism' described by Dewey (Fishman and McCarthy, 1998).

As time passed, teachers appeared to be responding to the wider policy changes that were bringing a deeper focus on social entrepreneurship and were focusing more on the need for social and moral responsibility and selfless behaviour as a measure of enterprise (Scottish Executive, 2003a; LTScotland, 2002). In a wider school sense, headteachers appeared to describe an 'enterprising school' with differing benchmarks. While some reflected only upon the number of enterprise projects in operation in the school or whether the school had a policy in enterprise education, others measured an enterprising school in much wider terms such as the extent of pupil responsibility and the value and respect shown to staff and pupils alike.

Desired Outcomes from Enterprise in Education

Data emerging from both teacher interviews and questionnaires provided evidence of the way in which enterprise education was conceptualised in terms of desired outcomes. Some staff framed their priorities around the need for developing pupils'

knowledge and understanding of the nature of business, the way in which a product can be marketed and sold, the resources managed and profits used productively. Others felt that it was more important for pupils to develop core skills through enterprise, such as problem-solving, working and communicating with others. Some staff talked about the need for a change of approach away from 'enterprise education' to the education of children to become 'enterprising people' (School J), through giving pupils more responsibility and helping them to examine the need for interpersonal skills and social tolerance in whatever they chose to do in later life. In addition, some teachers viewed the emerging attitudes from enterprise projects as the most important. Some staff talked about the way in which projects could develop children's self-esteem. In some schools that were situated in areas of high social deprivation, staff related the outcomes of enterprise projects to the need for developing a culture where pupils could begin to believe in their potential for contributing to society.

Many teachers also related the outcomes of enterprise in education to enhanced motivation to learn and improved attainment levels among pupils, particularly those who were seen as low achievers. For instance, class teachers were impressed with the way in which children appeared to be more on task when they were engaged in writing letters to local banks or businesses, or in the course of writing reports about the progress of individual projects. Other teachers instanced the way in which enterprise education enabled pupils to develop skills in other areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics and expressive arts. And some noted the way in which pupils began to work more co-operatively and engaged in problem-solving at a deeper level. One headteacher summed up these views in her thoughts about the way in which enterprise could add purpose and relevance to the curriculum as a whole:

> *'The main reason I started delivering enterprise projects years ago when it was probably unusual was because I thought it made things more meaningful ... more purpose.'* (School E)

In questionnaires, teachers were asked to rate the importance of a number of possible reasons for providing pupils with enterprise education activities. Although the 50% response rate from questionnaires was slightly disappointing, the data still provided some useful confirmatory evidence to support interview findings. It was clear that all participating teachers rated the importance of enterprise activity as a means of developing 'can do' attitudes in pupils, for motivating and helping to raise attainment and for its potential for raising pupils' self-awareness and self-esteem. Conversely, only half of the sample regarded the use of enterprise education as a means of enhancing employability skills, introducing pupils to the idea of self-employment or risk-taking skills as important. In addition, only one third of the teachers saw the importance of developing political awareness through enterprise education.

During follow-up interviews, teachers in 5 of the schools continued to express the observations they had made about social benefits from enterprise and the way in which such experiences enabled pupils to gain confidence and maturity. Teachers continued to observe the way in which less-academically able pupils were given the opportunity to 'shine' (School C), and the way in which enterprise initiatives enabled teachers to provide a context that motivates and is 'real' (School D). This view was set against the continuing pressure for meeting externally-imposed attainment targets and coping with a crowded curriculum, both of which tended to detract from some teachers' ability to engage in enterprise in its fullest sense. However, one head who saw enterprise in a holistic sense could see the way in which 'enterprising approaches' to teaching and learning in a general sense were helping her school to address national attainment targets:

> *'I do think that the things we are doing by enabling and empowering the children is having a knock on effect on attainment ... the class teachers are doing many teaching developments in terms of independent learning and teaching the children about their personal learning ... so that is enterprising and that is giving them charge of their own learning ability to an extent.'*
> (School G)

However, staff also expressed caution about politicians' apparent view of enterprise education as the universal remedy for all educational challenges. One teacher clearly vocalised this concern:

> *'I have slight worries about the directions that come from the likes of Jack McConnell etc... who seem to see enterprise as ... a panacea that's going to solve everything ... I think there are dangers that it could be seen to achieve more than it was actually ever geared to achieve.'* (School C)

In addition, although teachers felt that the outcomes from enterprise could be wide and varied, it was clear that they felt that children were less certain of what they were learning from enterprise and tended to see it as 'fun' and a way of making money:

> *'... if you asked them, the first thing that would come into their mind would be "we didn't do any work". And then, if they were pushed, they would say that they raised money to give to charity.'* (School G)

Thus, it is clear that teachers viewed the learning outcomes of enterprise in education in a variety of different ways. A minority regarded it as solely a means of enhancing pupils' knowledge of the world of work and introducing them to employability skills, risk taking, self-employment and political awareness. However, it seemed more common to frame the desired outcomes in terms of enhancing pupils' social and interpersonal skills, confidence, self-esteem and the development of 'can do' attitudes. These views seemed to partly reflect the priorities set out by the Scottish Executive (2002, p.6), where the development of 'enterprising attitudes and skills' is highlighted as a key priority. However, the Executive's references to other aims that would ensure pupils are prepared for 'innovation, wealth creation and entrepreneurship' (p.6) featured to a lesser degree in sample teachers' priorities. Teachers appeared to regard enterprise as a great motivator, a way of making the curriculum 'real' and for raising pupil attainment, thereby mirroring previous claims made by prominent figures such as the then Senior Chief Inspector of Schools in Scotland, Douglas Osler (2000). Although the pressure of target-setting got in the

way, some staff viewed enterprise in a more holistic manner and were able to recognise the way in which enterprising approaches to teaching and learning were enabling pupils to meet those targets. However, teachers also recognised that enterprise education was by no means a panacea, and that pupils often did not recognise the learning that was being achieved.

Business, Community or Environmental-Orientation

It was found that 7 out of the 10 schools studied initially delivered enterprise in education solely through the use of business-related projects. In such cases, pupils were introduced to the idea of a commercial company and took part in simulations involving such areas as advertising, finance, market research and sales. Pupils were encouraged to design, make and market a new product within the school community, and consider the options for profit-making and the management of resources. Teachers in these schools described the way in which pupils were involved in writing to external companies and negotiating loans, and visiting local businesses to find out about profit-making ventures. Teachers also invited in a business representative to talk to pupils about job applications and interviews. Staff involved in initiating enterprise from a business-related angle tended to attribute a great deal of autonomy and responsibility to pupils, as the following representative view suggested:

> *'They did it all, they presented it, they voted in their chairperson, treasurer, etc. They had their finance and dealt with lots of money.'* (School D)

Less commonly, initial interview responses indicated that teachers in 5 schools also viewed enterprise as a means of community involvement for pupils, often encompassing some focus on the local or global environment. This involvement ranged from picking up litter in the local area, organising recycling activities and re-designing the local grounds for the elderly to more challenging activities involving peer mediation schemes in the school playground or raising money for Third World countries. In such cases, teachers had clear views about their aims of encouraging children to grow up to be 'participating members of their community' (School D).

In one school, the headteacher talked at length about the work of pupil committees such as the 'garden gang' and the 'playground improvement group', where pupils had become involved in re-developing areas of the school grounds on a budget and drawing upon their own set of design ideas (School G). Three schools in the sample had achieved their 'eco-schools' award through innovation in local environmental activity and one school had even encouraged pupils to work with parents and staff members in devising a statement of 'shared values', which later formed the basis of the school discipline and 'code of conduct' policy (School A).

During later interviews, it seemed that those schools which had originally placed most of their emphasis on business-related themes were now evolving and expanding their practice into more of a social and community-based focus. By the end of the research, only 3 schools continued to relate their enterprise practice solely in terms of business projects, while the majority of schools had expanded their focus to include more community-based initiatives. Indeed, even in those schools where enterprise education was still focused primarily on business-related projects, teachers also talked about a range of other practice that enabled pupils to engage in decision-making but was not necessarily classed as 'enterprise education'.

Here, then, it is evident that different schools appeared to be placing different emphases on particular educational priorities through enterprise education. While some staff still gravitated more towards the business element of enterprise, with a strong focus on marketing and selling a product for a financial profit and involving the participation of local commercial companies, others were focused more on community and environmental elements. The range of practice described in relation to this focus included the setting-up of local and global campaigns, involving pupils in the participative decision-making process through establishing committees that focused on environmental concerns and working with parents, staff and the local community. The orientation towards the latter type of conceptualisation seemed to be growing as the research study developed, and schools were generally moving more towards a model of social entrepreneurship. This orientation seemed reflective of the principles emerging from the renewed interest in citizenship education, with its

emphasis on civic, political and social elements of learning (Marshall, 1950; Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998; Kerr, 1999; LTScotland, 2002). However, some schools did not always recognise that their generic practice in community involvement, pupil decision-making and autonomous learning was directly related to the enterprise education agenda.

Communitarianism

As the researcher dug deeper into teachers' responses to interview questions and questionnaires, it seemed that more and more data was emerging that illustrated the way in which teachers seemed to regard enterprise in education as lying somewhere on a continuum between the 'traditional' individualistic view of business entrepreneurship and the more collectivist view of social entrepreneurship. The inductive nature of the research thus allowed for another layer of codes to emerge, in order to analyse teachers' perceived interpretations of enterprise in relation to this continuum and allow *communitarianism* to become the most significant, dominant issue in relation to the meanings attached to enterprise. The remainder of this chapter will therefore concentrate on the data relating to this theme.

Individualism

One set of responses provided a range of ideas associated with the more 'traditional' view of entrepreneurship, and the need for individualism, self-interest and personal ambition. For example, reference has already been made to the fact that some teachers spoke about the need for pupils to emerge from enterprise projects with a solid understanding of how a company operates and how to make money. Others expressed their desired outcomes from enterprise initiatives in terms of equipping pupils with the skills to be able to 'sell themselves and sell their company' (School C), and for pupils to become confident, mature and responsible through enterprise. Two comments about the way in which the pupil council had enabled greater expression of the pupil voice and encouraged more political awareness represented a common view:

'The pupil council has given them the confidence to come and say "this is something we should be looking at" and to give ideas.' (School F)

'We've recently handed-over funds ... they are making the decisions, rather than the school ... Pupils are consulted about the budget, the curriculum, things from the authority.' (School E).

Some headteachers spoke about the specific aims they had in launching enterprise initiatives in relation to strong individualistic perceptions as well as social and political ones;

'So that's really what I would hope to gain ... that these children will grow up to be participating members of their community. To get involved, to get on to community councils, to actually vote in local and national elections and become politically aware.' (School D)

As discussed already, many teachers also framed their definitions of an 'enterprising pupil' in terms of individualistic qualities such as confidence, determination, resilience and the ability to organise and lead others. One headteacher clearly felt comfortable with the idea of including aspects of 'competition and enterprise' within the school curriculum (School B), while another talked about the need for introducing aspects of fair trading within a business-oriented project in order to combat some pupils' tendency to view the venture as a form of capitalism (School D). That said, this head also felt that profit-making should not be underplayed within enterprise education:

'... we have to be very careful that we are not having any negative views of profit, because we don't make a profit. We're salaried public servants ... I do think it's important that we don't just give a very cosy caring message and not an accurate account.' (School D)

Thus, this particular set of responses illustrated that teachers felt that some form of individualistic emphasis within enterprise was to be expected and that this should, to some extent, be reflected within an enterprise education programme. Some were enthusiastic about pupils learning about the needs of business, being trained to sell themselves and have ambition, determination and the will to persevere. Others felt that enterprise initiatives gave children a sense of their own rights of participation and enabled them to engage in decision-making through forums such as pupil councils. Some felt that the outcomes of enterprise education should include preparation for political and community involvement later in life. During later interviews, some staff recognised that there are many children who view enterprise as being solely about money-making ventures and that this has to be addressed through introducing elements of fair trade within the business models presented to them. However, some teachers seemed comfortable with introducing children to the competitive side of enterprise and felt that profit-making should not be discounted or underplayed in the planning of enterprise education topics in schools.

Collectivism

A second set of data provided many principles associated with strong elements of collectivist ideals. Some teachers provided responses that associated enterprise activities very much with enabling pupils to work in teams and come up with collective responses. In one case, the headteacher referred to the way in which enterprise initiatives could be used to specifically harmonise the tensions between individual pupils:

> *'... the enterprise project served to reunite the children and to bring them together and to work towards a common goal and to bury their differences.'*
> (School C)

This view of enterprise education as a means of social cohesion was not uncommon, and other teachers talked about the need for promoting collectivist values as a means of preparation for life and work:

'I think working in teams and co-operation is the most important thing. I know from friends and family who are involved in commerce and industry that's what they're looking for ... if you are an absolute swine of a person who is going to cause mayhem on a staff they don't want to know.' (School I)

In teacher questionnaires, some staff referred to the way in which enterprise initiatives provided a focus for the notion of 'strength in unity' (School I), while others mentioned the need for having concern for the welfare of others throughout their work. Some teachers spoke about the need for pupils to use their initiative in order to further the ends of the local community, and charitable causes were seen as important end results of fundraising activities. Indeed, some staff identified the focus on co-operative skills and teamwork, the need to value other people's contributions and to show respect for other people as being the most important to emerge from enterprise projects in schools. During later interviews, some teachers continued to develop this line of thinking through identifying the need for children to learn about 'give and take' (School A), and for inter-class co-operation in terms of pupils supporting each other in whole-school activities. The teacher's role within this process was made clear by one headteacher, who spoke about the need for encouraging children to value and respect their peer group and to promote the team ethic:

'... the teacher needs to be aware of that and be able to protect everyone's vulnerability and weakness and be able to promote this idea that everybody is valuable.' (School G)

It is clear, then, that this data provided wide-ranging evidence of teachers' perceived connections between enterprise and collectivism, and the way in which collectivist ideals could emerge from enterprise education in schools. Many staff valued teamwork and the need for collective responses as being the most important part of enterprise, while others spoke confidently about the way in which enterprise can provide social cohesion and harmony among pupils. Some staff talked about the way

in which pupils had shared ideas with each other, worked to support other classes and projected themselves in the local community. Others spoke about the strong parallels between 'enterprising' behaviour and the need to care for others, show respect and work for charitable causes through co-operative means. Some teachers appeared to see this as a good preparation for the world of working in industry, where employers were keen to have staff that could work well with others and regard the needs of colleagues as important and valuable. However, the teacher's role was always seen as essential in encouraging the team ethic.

Representing The 'Third Way'

The feeling of the need for *mixing* respect, compassion and ethics with ambition, innovation, self-interest and wealth creation was also illustrated by teachers. Data emerging from these responses reflected a form of communitarianism with a focus on both social *and* economic enterprise. As previously discussed, some class teachers were able to pinpoint specific pupils who displayed both insight into the expression of their own goals and also sensitivity towards including others and promoting a team ethic. Others described recent enterprise projects in terms of dual aims, which centred both upon developing pupils' knowledge of business and their ambition to become involved in industry along with the inclusion of personal and social development and the need to 'make pupils into better citizens' (School D). One memorable but representative view came from school D, where the class teacher expressed the activities involved in her enterprise project both in terms of handling finance but also being socially and morally mindful with its management in the community:

> *'We speak about why we would charge less to old people, we have to look at people's incomes ... would children pay less than an adult for the ticket? We talked about prices and what would be reasonable because a lot of the senior citizens come free.'* (School D)

Towards the end of the research, the views expressed by many teachers centred upon more holistic endeavours such as pupil councils, with a mixture of focused aims where children were encouraged to become involved in handling money but also to use it to improve the school resources and equipment to help others. Some teachers expressed their desired outcomes from enterprise education here in terms of instilling the notion of rights *and* responsibilities, while others went further in their identification of seemingly opposing educational values such as ambition, determination and risk-taking with tolerance, interdependence, compassion and respect. In some cases, this involved the inclusion of a global element to projects, as one response illustrates:

> *'I suppose the recycled card in a way is making them look at .... a global situation and the Thailand challenge is making them look at a global situation....and perhaps out of that you might start to look at ... fair trade companies.'* (School A).

Finally, some teachers who had taught enterprise for a while were coming to the conclusion that, within every class, there tended to be some children who gravitated either towards collectivism or self-interest. One teacher referred to some pupils who tended to overlook other people's feelings within their decisions and displayed attitudes associated with 'the typical hard-nosed businessman' (School G). The headteacher from this same school agreed, but also recognised that other children tended to concentrate too much on others' needs and that maybe both kinds of values were needed:

> *'Within every given class you get the whole spectrum. You see the ruthless, cut-throat person ... you'll get the children who put their own needs second ... it's probably quite useful to assess those as two separate things: when is the child focussing on their own development of skills and the product and objectives, and when are they supporting others and being a carer within the group, or acknowledging other people's needs? And when is one at the detriment of the other?'* (School G)

Thus, it seems that many teachers were able to see the word 'enterprise' and the outcomes of enterprise education in terms of dual perspectives that incorporated equal amounts of individual values and social and ethical priorities. Their perspectives here focused on maintaining a strong element of business-related knowledge, enabling pupils to set goals and still incorporating aspects of profit-making and competition. However, in these teachers' minds there was a need for mixing business knowledge with strong civic awareness, combining individual goal-setting with team ethics and incorporating a charitable focus into profit-making ventures. Rights shared equal priority with responsibilities in these teachers' minds, and the need for determination and risk-taking was no more important than tolerance, respect and community involvement. It was clear that the focus on collective responsibility was growing in the priorities of many of the schools. This manifested itself in the creation of more projects involving global awareness, a focus on eco-schools initiatives and the need for peer mediation and community involvement. Some teachers recognised that there are many children who gravitate towards self-interest and others that always tend to put other people's needs first. They made it clear that a balance should be sought between promoting self-interest and sentiment in any form of enterprise endeavour.

These views illustrate that seemingly opposing agendas were often being reconciled comfortably through enterprise, whereby many schools were encouraging pupils to recognise what they were learning in terms of their own personal goals and in terms of their commitment to serving other people. It seems that teachers were often illustrating a view of enterprise which was strongly related to communitarian values. This appeared to reflect many of the values associated with New Labour's 'third way', and the political and cultural expectations being placed on schools to represent a reconciliation of neo-liberal enterprise with social justice and ethics (Fairclough, 2000; Davies et al, 2001; Gardner et al, 2001).

Summary

This chapter has presented the data emerging from interviews and questionnaires in relation to teachers' views of 'enterprising' behaviour and the nature and purpose of enterprise in education. It was found that participants were able to reflect upon the nature of enterprising behaviour in both teachers and pupils and in the organisation of the school in general. Enterprising teachers were seen as those who encouraged pupils to take responsibility in class, who acted as facilitator and enabler and who made genuine attempts to make the curriculum more meaningful. Pupils were seen as enterprising by some if they created ideas, were confident to see them through and were able to lead and manage others. Others felt that social responsibility played a part, and that co-operative skills were essential. A school was seen as enterprising by some if it created opportunities for projects that involved pupil responsibility, or promoted mutual respect within the staff/pupil relationship. Over the course of the study, it seemed that many teachers' attitudes towards enterprise were widening, and the focus on projects was being replaced by a more holistic view of 'enterprising teaching styles' which could be applied to any classroom situation. There also appeared to be a developing emphasis on the need to instil social and moral responsibility through enterprise, whereby children were encouraged to think beyond their own needs and incorporate the needs of the wider community into their school activities.

Enterprise in education was initially seen by some staff as a means of developing pupils' knowledge of the world of work, employment and business-related themes. In some minds, it was a way of encouraging pupils to take risks, to work in teams and persevere in the face of setbacks. More commonly, it was seen as a way of developing social skills, encouraging pupils to become more confident and develop positive attitudes towards their own potential. It was also seen as a motivator – a way of making the curriculum relevant and thus raising pupils' interest and, ultimately, their attainment. While some staff still tended to frame enterprise education solely in terms of business-related themes, others saw it as a means of reaching out into the wider community and introducing pupils to environmental

concerns. Although target-setting was always seen as a pressure, teachers were increasingly finding that their more holistic sense of 'enterprising' teaching allowed them to address these targets. However, there were some reservations about seeing enterprise as an educational panacea, and it was recognised by some as the latest example of a political 'mantra'.

The data emerging from teacher responses acted as a springboard for further layers of analysis in relation to the overriding aims of this thesis. Teachers' views on enterprise education were examined in relation to the individualistic-collectivist continuum. While some teachers appeared to regard enterprise education in terms of rights, competitiveness, perseverance and determination, others saw it in relation to responsibility, co-operation, caring, respect and charity. A third view saw enterprise as framed between self-interest and ethics, and recognised the equal need for rights *and* responsibilities; ambition *and* tolerance; wealth creation *and* charity. These views seemed to equate perfectly with the rhetoric of New Labour's 'third way', seeking to combine aspects of economic dynamism with social justice (Fairclough, 2000).

The views and perspectives outlined above present an indication of the thoughts and perspectives of teachers, which acted as a catalyst for examining educational practice later in the research process. One interesting view that emerged here from one of the teacher interviews was that pupils do not always recognise the learning that can emerge from enterprise in education, and tend to view 'enterprise' in its narrowest sense. In the following chapter, the views of pupils on the nature of 'enterprising' behaviour and the role and purpose of enterprise in education are examined.

7 PUPILS' VIEWS OF THE MEANING OF 'ENTERPRISE' AND ENTERPRISE IN EDUCATION

Introduction

As described in chapter 5, the second part of the empirical research focused on the views of sample pupils from each of the ten focus schools in relation to the meaning of 'enterprising' behaviour and its association with both liberal and civic-minded views, as well as the nature and purpose of enterprise in education and its connection with creativity for both economic and civic strength. The pupils, who were all in P4, P5 or P6 (ages 8-10) when the initial stages of the research took place during June 2002, completed written questionnaire-style tasks as part of the research and purposive samples also participated in group discussions. The research also sought to track samples of pupils as they progressed through primary school and glean additional information from pupil questionnaires and discussion groups in January-March 2003, when pupils were located in P5, P6 or P7 (ages 9-11). Finally, pupils were then tracked again following further progression through primary school or following their transition to secondary education in March 2004, when pupils were located in P6, P7 or S1 (ages 10-12).

This chapter reports on the data emerging from the three phases of focused tasks and discussion groups, as well as drawing upon some of the data that was emerging at this time from the larger, externally-funded research project referred to in chapter 5. The data was therefore gleaned from pupils initially attending the main sample of 10 primary schools, as well as a cross-section of the same pupils who were later situated in 7 secondary schools. Thus the chapter seeks to capture data on the perceptions of pupils on the inside of the case study schools, isolating certain themes and analysing thick descriptions of participants' experience through words (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In addition, the chapter reflects Miles and Huberman's (1994) description of 'multi-site, multi-method' studies, whereby evidence emerging from group discussions acts as the major source of data but is illuminated or guided from time to time by pupil questionnaire data.

During analysis of the initial data, pupils' views in relation to enterprise were coded using sub-headings in relation to the 'values' phenomenon as well as some aspects of the 'meanings' phenomenon outlined in chapter 5 and illustrated in appendix IX. Pupil tasks, which were analysed using the SPSS statistical software package, produced data that was occasionally reduced using factor analysis techniques and is presented in this chapter via tables. The following sections present the results from the pupil discussions and written tasks in relation to the identified phenomena, which serve to illustrate the views that were emerging in relation to 'enterprising' behaviour, entrepreneurial activity and the nature and purpose of enterprise in education. In so doing, the text draws upon data from selected codes which emerged during the analysis stage as a means of evidence and illustrative examples of key points, as well as the tables of data emerging from pupils' written responses.

As with teacher interviews and questionnaires, the researcher drew upon the features of his flexible design approach in order to isolate the most dominant sub-themes. Once again, it seemed that more and more data illustrated that communitarianism was becoming the dominant research theme in relation to pupils' conceptualisation of enterprise, and aspects of this theme thus permeate the discussion throughout this chapter.

Role Models

During the initial phase of empirical research, pupils were asked to represent their values and attitudes in relation to role model influences on their lives via pictorial representations (task 1, appendix VI). It was found that the majority of pupils chose family members, regardless of socio-economic background. Less commonly, pupils opted for friends, pop stars, footballers and media personalities. The reasons that pupils gave for making particular selections here tended to focus on emotional responses; in 8 out of 10 schools, pupils described how particular family members loved them, cared for them, were kind, looked out for them or were just simply the most important people in their lives. Where friends were selected, it tended to be because they were 'best friends', or were fun, generous or kind. In discussion

groups, pupils confirmed these responses by associating particular qualities with those closest to them. For example, parents and siblings were seen by most to be 'caring and friendly' (School A) or 'kind and loving' (School B). Others felt that they tended to 'look up' to their parents and 'kind of respect them' (School C). Best friends were described as being important because they were 'smart, good-looking, good at dancing and singing' or 'good at football, helpful, always there for you' (School J). On rare occasions, teachers were chosen because they were 'funny' (School D), but pop stars and media personalities were not seen as important because they 'don't know you and you don't know them' (School I).

The attitudes displayed in this initial stage of data gathering continued with pupils into secondary school, and those who were tracked into S1 appeared to still hold onto family values in many cases. Data emerging from pupil task 4 and follow-up discussions illustrated that children's less common choices of role models included sporting heroes such as footballers, pop stars and actors/actresses. Thus, it seemed that pupils' values throughout the research seemed to contradict previous arguments raised by researchers such as Lasch (1995, p.180), whose claims that young people seem to be 'morally at sea' were clearly challenged by these pupils' choice of, and justification for, role models. On the contrary, their values here suggested a strong sense of community welfare, human dignity and mutual respect (LTScotland, 2002; Curriculum Review Group, 2004). Indeed, their neo-conservative ideals and values also seemed to counter Gardner et al's (2001) concerns for the increasing difficulties surrounding young people's ability to draw inspiration from models in an increasingly changing society.

Entrepreneurs

During the second phase of written pupil tasks, all participants were asked to provide their own meaning of 'enterprising' as part of the wider research project and also to name people that they thought were enterprising, giving reasons (Q6, appendix VI). At this time, data was also collected in relation to 'enterprising qualities' that pupils would associate with such people (task 2, appendix VI). These tasks were followed-

up with discussion groups, where a cross-section of pupils expanded and developed their ideas. Pupils' views about enterprising people fell roughly into 5 categories:

- People they knew, such as their family members, friends or teachers.
- Current sports and media personalities, such as footballers and pop stars.
- Historical figures, such as inventors and statesmen.
- Politicians.
- Business entrepreneurs.

Family members were described as enterprising in almost all of the schools because they were seen as helpful, and encouraged children to 'get along a bit more' with their brothers or sisters (School J). Friends were cited for coming up with ideas, for persevering, or because they were fun to be around. Pupils in 2 of the sample schools selected their teacher or headteacher. In one school in particular, pupils regarded their headteacher as enterprising because of her ability to create good ideas, such as the setting up of new initiatives to help people in the local community and for leading the pupil council. The most popular choice of sports personality among pupils was undoubtedly David Beckham, who was referred to by pupils in 5 of the sample schools. One representative comment illustrates how pupils attributed his enterprising qualities to his capacity for teamwork, entertainment and creating ideas:

> *'He's got his own brand of clothes. And he's constantly thinking up new ways to beat people ... tricks that he can make up ... he's very enterprising in his hairstyles.'* (School I)

Pupils opting for pop stars related their enterprising qualities to an ability to work collectively and create new ideas. Children in 4 schools elected for historical figures, such as inventors like Alexander Graham Bell. One girl felt that he was enterprising because he 'worked out how to get sound to travel from one place to another very far away' (School I). Another girl mentioned Nelson Mandela because she felt he had done 'loads of work for charity and he stands up for what he believes in' (School J). Pupils in 2 schools referred to political figures, such as Tony Blair and George Bush;

however, while they appeared to associate some enterprising qualities with both Bush and Blair such as confidence and courage, they also appeared to dislike the power-hungry nature of Bush and the tendency of Blair to follow his motives. The gathering of this data was set against the background of the ongoing Iraq War, and pupils were clearly reflecting upon the many political images they were being subjected to through the mass media at this time. Finally, pupils in only 3 schools opted for the choice of the modern entrepreneur, such as Richard Branson or Bill Gates. Gates was recognised for his ability to create a new venture, while one boy felt that Branson was enterprising because he owned Virgin and 'he started a small company and it got bigger and bigger' (School I).

Table 7.1 illustrates the proportion of pupils supporting each entrepreneurial quality given to them as part of the second written task in this phase of data collection. It is clear here that the most commonly chosen qualities were *clever, confident, responsible* and *friendly,* followed by *creative, caring* and *team-player.* The least popular choices, with under 10% of positive responses from pupils, were *selfish, greedy, arrogant* and *poor.*

Table 7.1 **Attributes which are Valued in Enterprising People**	
Clever	91%
Confident	87%
Responsible	82%
Friendly	80%
Creative	79%
Caring	71%
Team Player	68%
Respectful	67%
Taking Risks	67%
Ambitious	61%
Determined	59%
Visionary	59%
Enthusiastic	52%
Ordinary	51%
Leader	50%
Independent	41%
Sensitive	38%
Rich	37%
Political	28%
Unusual	12%
Poor	8%
Arrogant	7%
Greedy	6%
Selfish	5%

During group discussions, pupils expanded on these ideas and provided insight into their justifications for entrepreneurial qualities. In so doing, pupils often opted for the more collectivist and compassionate qualities. For example, pupils in all 10 of the sample schools felt that enterprising people needed to be caring, since this was a quality that was useful when creating new ideas or participating in fundraising:

> *'I drew the lady in some of the shops ... she has a can and shakes it. Children come up with money and she gives them a sticker at the end ... for cancer research ... people can die from cancer and she's trying to keep them alive.'* (School J)

Pupils also recognised the importance of teamwork and co-operation to support each other's ideas in order to achieve more than you could working on your own. When asked if being 'enterprising' could involve being arrogant or selfish, the majority of pupils felt that this could never be the case because enterprising people were always trying to help other people:

> *'A person that is enterprising and is selfish ... no one would want to work with him and he wouldn't have anyone to help him to do the things he wanted to do.'* (School E)

However, some pupils also associated enterprising behaviour with quite individualistic qualities such as confidence, and the ability to be ambitious about their own ideas. Courage was seen as important, and some pupils related this to explorers who sailed around the world in order to achieve their 'life goals' (School C) or to political leaders such as Tony Blair and George Bush, who were brave enough to engage in public speaking, even although pupils sometimes disagreed with their political ideas. Pupils felt that entrepreneurs needed to be dynamic to succeed with new ideas, but also to be flexible if they don't succeed first time round. Other qualities such as taking risks, making money and knowing how to reach your goals were also seen as important. In 2 schools there were isolated examples of pupils who associated an enterprising person with the ability to be shrewd, cunning and ruthless:

'You need to be able to get the person to co-operate ... to be friendly, and then lull them into a false sense of security and then hit them with the double-glazing bit.' (School I)

Pupils in 4 of the schools opted for a more communitarian perspective, mixing individualism with aspects of compassion and morality. Here, pupils described enterprising qualities in relation to 'making money to help other people' (School J) and 'fundraising' (School A). In one school, pupils were impressed with the idea that Bill Gates gave some of his money away to charity and felt that this made him more enterprising. Indeed, this was not a unique view; other pupils talked about footballers who made a great deal of money but also had ethical values, such as Peter Lovenkrands who made donations to charity and David Beckham who spent a great deal of money on his children. These views provided evidence of the way in which some pupils were developing a capacity to hold dual images of prominent figures from the world of business and entertainment in their minds. In such cases, it seemed that the media was helping to confirm pupils' views, and that the model of charitable entrepreneurship projected in Scotland by figures such as Tom Hunter was having a strong influence on their values.

Following their transition to secondary school, pupils were asked again to define their attitudes towards enterprising behaviour and relate this to specific examples. Pupils' ideas at this stage continued to focus on similar categories as before, such as family members who cared for them or friends and media personalities who created new ideas. However, there were some interesting additions to the pupils' repertoire of enterprising personalities: in one school, Jesus featured because of the sacrifices he had made for humanity and charities such as the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund were now on the list of enterprising outfits. One particularly insightful response came from a pupil who had gone through the transition from school H to the secondary sector:

'African people .... They use their initiative to build their houses, because they've got to plan out the whole thing and they've got to use mud and stuff

like that. Then they've got to bake it in the sun. Honestly, I really do think that African people use their initiative in a good way and they also use teamwork to build this.' (Pupil from school H, following transition)

This type of response was fairly representative of the type of ideas generated among pupils in group discussions, whereby innovative ideas and creativity in everyday work was seen as enterprising. However, the multicultural feel to this particular pupil's ideas was perhaps more unusual. One other pupil stood out in his view of the need to be cocky in order to be successful:

'If they're not going to be a wee bit cocky they're going to be dead shy and they're not going to be able to show their real selves.' (School H)

These illustrations of pupil views and attitudes provide evidence of the wide-ranging qualities that they associated with the term 'enterprise'. The pupils' collective ideas fitted into both ends of the communitarian continuum. Many pupils felt that being enterprising would equate with having good ideas for helping other people, and that enterprising people would work well with others, be fun and 'upbeat' in their approach to life and be tolerant of and respectful towards cultural and community diversity (LTScotland, 2002). Others regarded enterprising people as having determination, competitive spirit and the ability to create and expand new ideas and initiatives. This was reflective of HMIE's (2004) quality indicators of good practice, which include the need for independent creativity, as well as LTScotland's (2002) focus on utilizing creative abilities and making informed decisions. As pupils moved from primary to secondary education, their views of enterprising people still focused on family members, friends and personalities from the world of entertainment. However, their references to the modern thrusting entrepreneur model and the need for economic enterprise continued to be rare, but now widened to include some more charitable causes, religious references and multicultural perspectives.

This continued focus on collectivist principles combined with new perspectives on cosmopolitan pluralism seemed to reflect the social orientation associated with many

teachers' views of citizenship, with a focus on community involvement, equality and inclusion (Davies et al, 1999; Potter, 2002). While a minority of pupils continued to focus on individualistic skills and qualities that were at times associated with ruthless and cunning motives, more reflective participants saw enterprise as framed between the need to be successful through financial gain but also to work as a team and consider others. This seemed reflective of the current political thinking behind the need for economic restoration combined with cultural and moral regeneration (Loxley and Thomas, 2001), and projected into the Scottish Executive's (2003a) vision for the contribution young citizens can make both to society *and* the economy.

Enterprising Jobs

During phase two of the pupil data-collection, participants were asked to identify jobs on a given list that they thought lent themselves best to enterprising behaviour (task 3, appendix VI). Table 7.2 illustrates the results here, and indicates that the most commonly cited jobs were professional or semi-professional in nature. The role of Company Director, headteacher, scientist, artist, teacher and lawyer were all regarded as ones that lent themselves well to entrepreneurial activity, whereas the more manual jobs such as lorry driver, cleaner, waiter, labourer, janitor and joiner were less frequently selected.

Again, follow-up discussion groups provided more insight into participants' views, and this time provided impetus for widening debate. Data emerging here illustrated the way in which pupils became increasingly more able to see how enterprise could be applied to the world of work in a general sense, rather than merely within the context of owning your own business or in a professional environment.

Table 7.2 Can this Person be Enterprising?	
Company Director	78%
Headteacher	76%
Scientist	75%
Artist	70%
Teacher	68%
Lawyer	67%
Doctor	59%
Footballer	59%
Fire-fighter	58%
Office Worker	57%
Accountant	55%
Nurse	53%
Politician	53%
Secretary	49%
Engineer	49%
Journalist	48%
Electrician	47%
Builder	46%
Joiner	36%
Janitor	35%
Labourer	30%
Waiter	28%
Cleaner	25%
Lorry Driver	19%

The following illustrate a range of typical views from across the sample schools in relation to how pupils felt you could be enterprising in even the most manual forms of occupation:

Lorry driver: '*You could think of the routes you have to do and take short-cuts.*' (School A)

Waiter or waitress: '*They could be funny ... a friendly attitude ... like TGI Friday's, they all dress up in wacky clothes and they do face paints and go behind the bar and chuck up bottles.*' (School E)

Cleaner: '*They've got to make the streets clean for other people so they're helping other people and they're doing a dirty job which isn't exactly the best job to have and they're doing it for other people.*' (School D)

Janitor: '*They make the school and playground safe ... they make sure no one can get in that would harm us.*' (School I).

One pupil summed up the views when he mentioned that, in fact, you could be enterprising in any job. Another pupil reflected upon this further when she stated that it depended on whether you looked at it from a 'business sense' or a 'community sense', (School D) but that enterprise could be applied to any occupation. This particular view came from a school where joint enterprise and citizenship themes underpinned much of the school curriculum.

Pupil views continued to expand following their transition to secondary school, where many displayed wide-ranging ideas about the type of qualities associated with certain jobs. In task 6, pupils were asked to associate particular qualities with specific jobs (appendix VI), and pupils were asked to expand upon their ideas in discussion groups. Pupils in all 7 secondary schools added to the sample in the third year of the study associated knowledge with professional jobs such as scientist, lawyer and business executives, while imagination was commonly applied to artists and pop stars. While pupils in 4 secondary schools felt that business people needed a great deal of ambition in order to expand the business and make a success of it, most pupils associated this trait also with footballers or pop stars in their determination to work hard and set goals for their careers. While teamwork was applied most commonly to footballers and nurses in all 7 schools, hard work was attributed to many. Nurses were seen as hard-working due to the support that they tended to give to patients, computer technicians for the skill and intellect they needed, and footballers for the physical work that they had to endure during training sessions. Finally, pupils recognised that some people required a great deal of luck to become successful in certain jobs, rather than any particular entrepreneurial skills; while pupils in 6 schools felt that singers or footballers needed luck to be given their big breakthrough, pupils in 2 schools also viewed luck as being important to the owner of a business due to the need for financial backing:

'If you don't have money you can't bring up a business and it's just luck if you have money or not.' (Pupils from school E, following transition)

Thus, it can be seen that pupils' initial ideas in relation to the world of work were expanding rapidly as the research progressed. While initial ideas about entrepreneurial skills were focused on the more professional and semi-professional occupations, pupils increasingly reflected upon the way in which any job could be carried out in an enterprising manner by making extra efforts and doing a job differently and innovatively. This included the ability to entertain people, to provide more of a service for people or even to set up their own company. This was reflective of the libertarian view of work upheld by Chomsky (1988) and Corson (1988), as well as Shuttleworth's (1993) perception of the need for self-reliance, innovation and entrepreneurial zeal in the world of work. It was also consonant with the focus on creativity and enterprise highlighted by LTScotland (2002) in the need for pupils to imagine alternatives to current practice and recognise the best use of their own creative abilities.

As pupils progressed to secondary school, their ideas continued to evolve; while requiring knowledge to succeed did seem to be mainly confined to the more professional occupations, ambition, hard work and determination were required in all occupations and luck was seen as a useful factor both in self-employment and industry. Pupils' views of individualistic determination and creativity as a vehicle for both economic strength and social renewal seemed reflective of the Scottish Executive's (2003a) priorities. They were also reflective of the political thinking underpinning the need for blending civic, republican and liberal traditions (Davies et al, 2001) and cultivating enterprising individuals with social and moral consciences (Hyland, 1991).

Perceived Outcomes from Enterprise In Education

In discussion groups, pupils initially described enterprise in education very much in relation to business-related projects that they had been involved with at school.

Pupils in 2 of the sample schools who had not yet begun to study an enterprise project predicted that it would involve learning about how to start your own business and 'making lots of money' (School D). Pupils in 7 other schools who had recently participated in an enterprise venture described how they had made something to sell within the school community and had been introduced to advertising, marketing and finance. Some pupils talked specifically about the way in which they had learned about calculating the projected profits from their sales and had learned about 'how to organise a successful business' (School F). As well as learning about the key aspects of a commercial business, these pupils also felt that they had learned about taking responsibility and working with others, becoming a team and listening to other people's points of view. Pupils in one other school in the sample had been involved in an environmental-based enterprise project where they re-designed the school playground, and described their perceived learning in terms of 'cleaning up the school' and 'taking care of litter and grafitti' (School J).

As part of the wider research project pupils were later asked to complete written tasks that asked them to describe their most recent enterprise education activity, their role within it and what they had most enjoyed (Q6, appendix VI). Responses here indicated that the most common enterprise activity in 8 out of 10 schools was centred around projects with an emphasis on craft and stationery. In such cases, the most common types of pupil roles were centred on buying and selling, making, designing and managing. In follow-up group discussions, pupils were able to describe their projects in more detail. Of those pupils involved in craft projects, the most common ones included the setting-up of gift shops in the school (School H), the creation of 'star pupil' badges (School I) and the design of memo boards to sell to pupils (School E). Creating Christmas gift tags, tea towels and fridge magnets were also mentioned (School F). Pupils tended to describe the learning emerging from their projects in terms of increased imagination, courage to try out new ideas and the ability to take risks. Working in teams, compromising and co-operating with each other were also seen as important skills. Profit-making, advertising and marketing were seen as important factors in schools involved in such projects, as well as the ability to help other people and raise money for charitable causes. In one school, pupils were

involved in teambuilding exercises at a Supported Study group, which was classed as an enterprising way of learning:

> *'We've been doing teamwork - we go into groups and do the team challenges. Stuff you have to work out in your team ... you pick people in your team to do exercises.'* (School J)

Finally, one school had been innovative in establishing a football coaching company in the school, whereby older pupils were responsible for coaching younger pupils in the skills involved in the game, in exchange for a small fee. Pupil roles included the managing director, advertising manager, head coach, and a team of assistant coaches. Among the participating pupils, it was clear that their original thoughts about enterprise education focusing solely on business related activities had evolved to now include the possibility of providing a 'service for other people' (School D).

During follow-up visits to schools in early 2004, when the majority of pupils had now transferred to secondary education, participants completed a written task in order to indicate the type of learning that they most valued from being involved in an enterprise project (task 5, appendix VI). From a given list, pupils were asked to select three possible learning outcomes that they saw as the most important. Table 7.3 displays the possible outcomes, and the percentages of pupils selecting each one.

Table 7.3
Pupils' Learning Gains from Enterprise In Education

Working as part of a team	46%
Listening to others	41%
How to take responsibility	36%
How to discuss things	35%
Not giving up when the work gets hard	31%
Making decisions	22%
Coming up with new ideas	19%
Taking risks	13%
Developing confidence	12%
Helping and serving others	11%
Negotiating	11%
Being involved with finance	10%
Feeling good about the things you have learned	7%
Being in charge of a project	5%

The results of this particular pupil survey revealed that almost half of the participants recognised teamwork and listening to others as an important learning gain from enterprise projects; just over one third of pupils regarded taking responsibility and discussion as an important outcome, while just under one third felt that perseverance was an important outcome. The least commonly recognised outcomes were the ability to be in charge of a project and the ability to feel good about the things you have learned.

In follow-up discussion groups, pupils were able to justify the responses they had made in the survey in relation to future needs. Discussing things with each other was seen as important in all schools because of the way in which it helped you to gain new ideas from peers and might benefit you in establishing a new business. Working in teams was seen as important by pupils in 5 schools because it enabled you to be able to co-operate and ensure that you provided good customer service. However, some pupils also recognised that finance played as equal a part in being successful as teamwork skills. In the words of one pupil, 'you need to work as a group to get somewhere and you also need money' (pupil from school E). Indeed, although they were generally less inclined to focus upon the more individualistic learning outcomes from enterprise projects, pupils in 2 schools saw enterprise education as a means of gaining the necessary experience to become commercially successful:

> *'Being an entrepreneur, making your own things and selling it and making a business out of it ... making money, maybe starting your own business.'* (Pupil from school E, following transition)

During further discussion with these pupils, it was possible to uncover the extent to which their enterprise experience had grown since their transition to the secondary sector. While in some schools, pupils could pinpoint some types of projects that may tentatively have lent themselves to enterprise, it was more commonly the case that very little enterprise experience had taken place since pupils had left primary school. Among the projects that pupils cited as being 'enterprising' were the creation of a class magazine in English, making a poster about natural disasters for Geography,

participating in group discussions in English and participation in a 'court simulation' exercise in Modern Studies. In one school, pupils had been involved in a more whole-school event when they helped to organise a coffee morning for the elderly, while another group of students had participated in a collaborative challenge as part of their S1 welcome day. Pupils in all schools could describe at least one teacher who was 'enterprising', although pupils often referred to their primary teachers here:

> *'Miss C and Miss H....they're practically alike because they're both funny and they both take ideas from kids.'* (Pupil from school C , following transition)

Taken together, the data gathered over the three contact periods with sample pupils provides some interesting perspectives on enterprise in education. In the initial stages of the research, it seemed that the pupils' perceptions of enterprise education were framed around a model related to business, the world of work and incorporating elements of profit-making, finance and sales. While this seemed to relate to that part of the current policy agenda that focuses on independent creativity, career development and the recognition of mechanisms for wealth creation (LTScotland, 2002; HMIE, 2004), it was less reflective of the other recognised priorities for civic engagement and providing responses to social, moral and community endeavour (LTScotland, 2002). However, once pupils were engaged in the projects, they appeared to understand the importance of teamwork, listening to others and taking collective responsibility. Later in the research, it seemed that pupils had most commonly experienced enterprise education as part of a craft or stationery theme, and it appeared that all of these themes were embedded within business-related projects. Pupils described their roles in terms of making, designing and selling. In more unusual cases, pupils described their involvement in more innovative projects, where enterprise was seen in a holistic, whole-school sense and where community service and team-building were seen as essential elements. Here, pupils were involved in coaching, working with others and looking at the qualities of being 'enterprising' in wider, socially-oriented contexts.

Following their transition to secondary school, it seemed that the majority of pupils' experience in enterprise education had diminished. Indeed, other than a few isolated instances, pupils had not participated in enterprise activities since leaving primary school. However, their perceptions of what should comprise an enterprising-style of educational activity were still sharp, although again these perceptions were still strongly related to projects and work-related themes. Teamwork was seen as important, due to the importance of having social unity in business endeavours, while listening and discussing were essential, in order that trust was transmitted to employees. Although it was more common for pupils to identify collectivist values as the most important to emerge from enterprise projects, a minority emphasised the value of learning about finance, making money, taking risks and preparing to set up your own business.

Thus, for the majority of these pupils, it is clear that enterprise in education was usually equated with their engagement in projects, although softer skills and strong collectivist attitudes seemed to be emerging within their conceptualisation of what was important within personal and work roles. Thus, the Scottish Executive's (2002) aims of instilling positive attitudes in pupils towards becoming successful employees, employers and entrepreneurs were clearly prevalent. However, pupils were also able to reflect upon the social and moral values needed for a place in society and highlighted in the recent priorities for citizenship education (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998; LTScotland, 2002). Although many pupils' ideas about enterprise were widening due to their primary education experiences, it seemed that secondary schools were allowing this to drift and that pupils' initial experience was beginning to taper off in S1.

Summary

This chapter has provided an insight into the changing and evolving values of sample pupils with regard to their role models, perceptions of the nature of 'enterprising' behaviour, the world of work and their perceived outcomes from enterprise in education. The data revealed how the pupils' values were very much centred upon