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Changing paradigms—the potential of enterprise education as an adequate vehicle for promoting and enhancing education for active and responsible citizenship: illustrations from a Scottish perspective

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Over the last decade, there has been an increasing drive towards the promotion and development of enterprise education in Scottish schools. This has involved much debate about the nature of enterprise and how it may be addressed and applied within primary and early secondary school settings. The recent renewed interest in citizenship education and New Labour's drive towards creating a 'third way' between capital and welfare has opened up new and wider debates about educational practice. This paper examines the enterprise and citizenship agendas, drawing upon evidence from the English National Curriculum model and recommendations recently published in Scotland, and opens up new debates about the potential for enterprise education to contribute towards the citizenship agenda in Scottish schools.

Introduction

We hear a great deal of anecdotal evidence from teachers to suggest that enterprise education can lead to important gains in educational attainment. These learning gains are often attributed to the style of teaching inherent within enterprise education, which enables pupils to see the purpose and relevance of their school work to the outside world (Twiddle & Watt, 1995; HMI, 2000). The recent renewed interest in citizenship education and its formal introduction into English schools has emerged against a backdrop of constitutional change and reform and a sense that pupils must now have more knowledge for participation in an increasingly complex world (Osler & Starkey, 2001; Humes, 2002). Newly published recommendations by Learning and Teaching Scotland (2002) suggest that enterprise activities may contribute towards expression of the key attributes of effective citizenship. This

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paper sets out to examine and define the nature of enterprise and citizenship education and raises questions about the potential of enterprise activities in school for contributing towards the growth and development of the engaging citizen.

The nature of enterprise 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 (Vocational Education Community web site) 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.

In primary schools, this 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. Finally, 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 *et al.*, 1998).

One of the strongest sources of research on development of teaching materials in this field in the 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 have been 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 head teachers in Durham and Gateshead towards enterprise education. Those head teachers 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, head teachers 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' (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. In Scotland, the recent appointment of local Enterprise Education Support Officers (EESOs) in local authorities combined with an increased drive in staff development is attempting to enable teachers to become more supported and to resolve conflicting ideas.

Twiddle and Watt (1995) outline three broad rationales for enterprise education which have become the backbone of many of the publications in this field. These can be summarised as learning about enterprise, learning through enterprise and learning for enterprise. Learning *about* enterprise involves teaching children the key concepts of a business, about community support structures or that beneficial change 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 & 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 has been 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 developing skills that will be important to future employers and about developing positive attitudes towards pupils' own abilities and potential for growth (Brownlow *et al.*, 1998; Twiddle & Watt, 2001). 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 education

In a publication by the National Centre for Education for Work, Nicol (2000, p. 5) argues that Scottish education in the late twentieth 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 postmodernism. 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' (Nicol, 2000, p. 5).

It would seem that there are large and powerful debates emerging here. While, in theory, the Scottish model of national guidelines should be less prescriptive than the English National Curriculum, in reality schools are driven by its content and very little scope exists for moving away from target-setting 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 predetermined outcomes act as a barrier to 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 nineteenth-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). Later, Dewey (1916, p. 8) warned us of the standing danger that educational material may become merely the 'subject matter of the schools, isolated from the subject matter of life-experience'. He talked of the ordinary notion of education—'the notion which ignores its social necessity and its identity with all human association that affects conscious life'.

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). Nevertheless, Hoachlander believes that integration is the key to increasing achievement among disaffected pupils.

This last point is a pertinent one in today's climate. Merton and Parrott (1999) report that 'every year tens of thousands of 16-year-olds leave school without any qualifications' (p. 7). They identify these young people as those who have 'low levels of self-esteem, motivation and expectation' (p. 8). Indeed, recent campaigns by the government such as New Deal for 18–25-year-olds and New Start for 14–17-year-olds have underlined the need to target this spiral of failure among school leavers (Merton & Parrott, 1999). Initiatives at the lower end of primary school such as the early intervention strategy have recently attempted to address literacy and numeracy difficulties early on in children's school lives. However, recent reports still indicate that many primary-age children, particularly boys, are still underachieving in many

areas of the curriculum. In recent times, great claims have been made about education for work and enterprise being a motivator to enhance pupils' interest and performance at school and reduce disaffection. On the launch of the HMI report on education for work and enterprise in Scottish schools, Douglas Osler made the bold claim that 'when young people see purpose and are motivated they attain better' (Enterprising Careers web site).

Many issues have arisen here, but it would seem that the influence of the Taylor model of rigid, predetermined outcomes has dominated the late-twentieth-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. The interest in this type of approach to learning has been compounded by the many references to pupil underachievement in recent years (see, for instance, Duffield & Peacock, 1999; Merton & Parrot, 1999; Francis, 2002).

The growth of citizenship education

In more recent times, the development of the enterprise agenda has been accompanied by an increasing sense of renewal in the debate about 'citizenship education' in schools, following a period when the term had literally fallen into disuse. Oliver and Heater (1994) trace the history of citizenship education and observe that the term was in use in the English education system from approximately 1880 to 1950, disappeared for nearly half a century and then was revived *c.*1990 (p. 148). This 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 & Heater, 1994).

The publication of the Crick Report 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 establishment of a Scottish Parliament and a Welsh Assembly and the creation of an assembly and elected mayor for London (Osler & 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. Halliday (1996) refers to the business solution of creating flexible project teams with flatter management structures, and argues the need for similar collegiality and discursive methods of decision-making in schools. Indeed, many schools have responded to these ideas by creating pupil councils for children to participate in the decision-making process.

However, judging by the General Election of 2001, which produced the lowest turnout of voters since 1918, many young people in wider society seem to be complacent about their potential to become engaged in the democratic processes of

public life. So, a growing sense of empowerment, increased awareness of rights and responsibilities and the need for participative approaches to education on the one hand has been accompanied by great concern about voter apathy on the other. Indeed, Oliver and Heater (1994) refer to the 'political innocence, naivety and ignorance of British young people' (p. 152).

More recently, Walter 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.

The context in which schools currently find themselves has therefore been derived from a growing sense of political apathy combined with improved connections between national and global communities. 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.

Current perspectives on citizenship

This generic view of the purposes of the citizenship agenda is supported by Learning and Teaching Scotland (2002) in *Education for citizenship in Scotland—a paper for discussion and development.* LT Scotland 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. (LT Scotland, 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, LT Scotland present 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.

LT Scotland 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. However, it is also true to say that many other daily aspects of school life may also enable pupils to express the kind of knowledge and understanding, skills and values that are outlined in this document. For example, the teaching of the social subjects element of Environmental Studies 5–14 allows many opportunities for social, political and economic understanding. Also, the teaching of religious and moral education encourages multicultural awareness and discussion of relationships and values (LT Scotland, 2002).

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. However, at the same time they also have to conform to quite traditional, established and often extremely rigid school rules and procedures, sometimes with little or no say in the matter. The traditional hierarchy that still exists in our schools may often stifle *staff* participation, let alone *pupil* participation in decision-making. 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 both sensitive, responsible and visionary. However, as many would agree, pupils also still have to be prepared to conform.

Examining the ways in which complex sets of citizenship outcomes may be transferred from theory into practice is perhaps best done through exploring the views of current school staff. Between June and September 2002, the author conducted open-ended interviews with ten head teachers from a non-representative sample of Scottish primary schools, spanning seven local education authorities. The schools were purposefully selected to included a mix of inner-city and rural backgrounds and a variety of socio-economic settings. The interviews sought to explore the manner in which schools provide opportunities for staff and pupils to be 'enterprising' and the way in which these opportunities may be allowing the expression and demonstration of knowledge, qualities and values associated with the citizenship education agenda. Often, the head teachers involved described opportunities for pupils to come forward with suggestions for fund-raising causes of their own choice within the school community or beyond. In some cases, children were even provided with the opportunity to take charge of a section of the school budget. Two head teachers illustrated this with the following comments:

> 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 ...

Other staff spoke about the way in which pupils were consulted about raising funds for the school playground or for local issues and problems. One head teacher spoke about not only having a pupil council, but also class representatives that consulted with the pupil council on the 'needs and ideas of the class'. One such idea was the pupils' suggestion that lunch breaks should be completely changed to a staggered system that would minimise the congestion in the school dining-hall.

Comments during interviews often indicated a strong sense of vision on the part of head teachers about what they hoped to achieve with pupils:

> I would like them to be saying ... yes, we did all that and it meant something and I'm going to be using my vote ... these children will grow up to be participating members of their community ... to get involved, to get on to community councils ... become politically aware.

During the discussions, it emerged that many of the head teachers regarded the aims of the school as a shared process. One head talked of the need for all members of a school community to take responsibility, to take risks and engage in teamwork. In her view, the relationship between the head teacher and teacher should be the same as the one between teacher and pupil—open, discursive and democratic:

> I think self-esteem is raised in everybody if you feel that your opinion is valued and you feel that you can use your own judgement and take a risk ... it's about knowing you are as valued as the next person, whether it's the janitor, the dinner lady, the head teacher, a pupil or whoever.

However, the diverse range of personalities and opinions that can exist among school staff raises the question of whether these broad views of citizenship education that may arise from enterprising approaches to learning and teaching are always shared by other teachers. Inevitably, counter-arguments and views may stifle the effective practice and implementation of the flat hierarchy, the enterprising approaches to school organisation and the encouragement of staff and pupil vision. One head teacher summed this up well in her description of some teachers' negative reaction to participative school approaches: 'We still suffer from some people, and they're very good teachers, don't get me wrong, but they have the idea that they're in charge and they feel threatened if children show initiative'.

This small-scale exploratory study has opened up many issues worthy of further exploration. There is much evidence here that these head teachers are responding to the changing needs in society through providing more participative approaches to school organisation, increased collegiality and democratic awareness among pupils and staff. Their vision of what it means to be enterprising spans a wide continuum. At one end, pupils are encouraged to work in teams to create ideas for fund-raising and community support. At the other, they are actively involved in a wider sense through working on committees to allocate school budgets and coming up with new ideas for school improvement. At the very least, children in these schools are encouraged to use their initiative and express their views on school and community issues and not be afraid to impact change. However, despite many

attempts by some head teachers to promote open relationships where all staff and pupils feel valued, it appears that some teachers may still be a little uncomfortable with the perceived loss of their own status and control within the process of school democratisation.

Preparing pupils for adult life

There is general agreement that 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, p. 6) suggests that, as a minimum, pupils should develop an ability to:

- earn a living
- become considerate and supportive family members, partners, parents
- become active, responsible and environmentally aware members of their communities
- become active democratic citizens
- become lifelong learners.

As Rand (2001) suggests, many of the intended outcomes highlighted in recent 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 1.

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. 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.

Reflecting on these recent educational publications, 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 PSD and citizenship agendas and is governed by a range of core skills, such as communication, problem-solving and working with others. 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 education 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

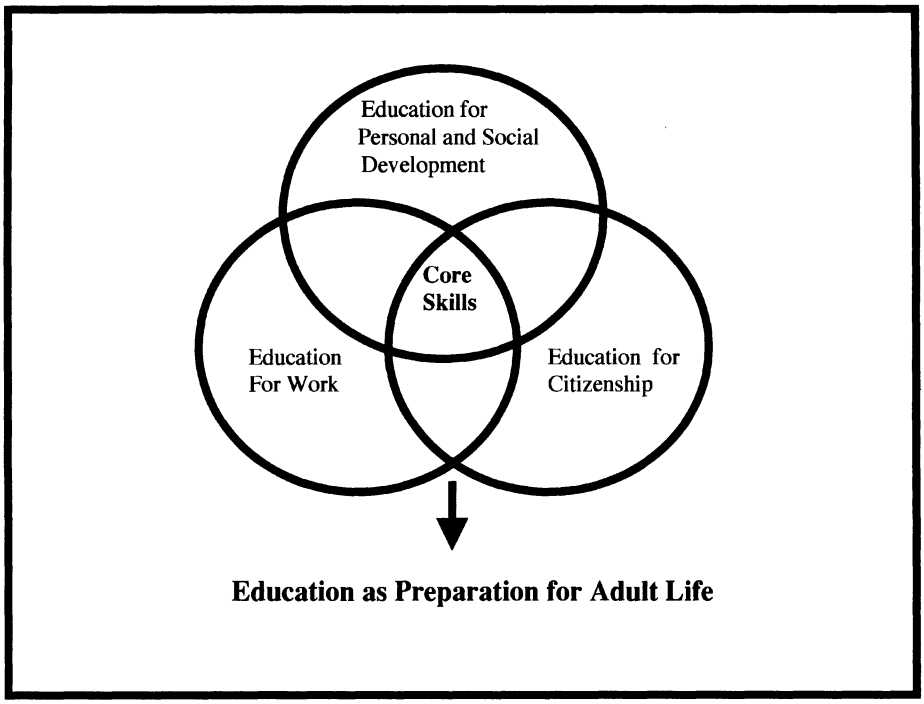

Figure 1. Education as preparation for adult life (Rand, 2001, p. 10)

philosophical parameters are now being driven together to become mutually tolerant and to provide an educational agenda that will result in 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, p. 10) terms as 'not only ... but also' statements:

> Education is not just the great liberator, it is critical to economic development. (Tony Blair, quoted in Fairclough, 2000, p. 49)
>
> To be a citizen of Britain is not just to hold its passport, it is to share its aspirations, to be part of the British family. (Tony Blair, quoted in Lawson, 2001, p. 170)

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*. 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). This shift of emphasis was reflected in the 1998 publication of the Crick Report which led to the inclusion of citizenship in the National Curriculum of England and Wales. Crick highlighted the need for 'social

and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy' in all our schools (Davies *et al.*, 1999, p. 1).

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. Perhaps the cultures of liberal individualism and communitarianism may connect, depending on the approach taken by local authorities, school management, teachers and, ultimately, pupils. A closer look at the proposed outcomes for the English National Curriculum may clarify this further.

Key outcomes of citizenship education

Writers such as Osler and Starkey (1996, p. 70) argue that effective citizenship education can only occur when there is a 'clear framework, institutional support and appropriate pedagogy'. 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 web site).

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, are expressed and validated by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) as forming the basis of the citizenship curriculum. The DfES identify 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 web site).

In Scotland, the citizenship agenda is reflected and referred to directly within national guidelines. The Scottish Executive 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, 2000b, p. 28). Within the specific guidelines for *Environmental Studies 5–14*, the Executive recommend 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, 2000a, pp. 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 LT Scotland (2002) when they refer to the educational vision of the engaging citizen, who should be both 'thoughtful and caring' and also 'active' (p. 6).

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. 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).

Implications for learning and teaching

Attempting to define, in concrete terms, what schools should be doing to provide adequate preparation for citizenship and meet the requirements of the new and diverse learning outcomes provides a great challenge. LT Scotland (2002) emphasise that this should not involve the creation of a new subject labelled 'citizenship education' but that the outcomes can be secured through a combination of participation by young people in the decisions and activities that are part of the everyday life of the school, studies within specific curriculum areas, cross-curricular experiences such as enterprise activities and involvement in activities within the wider community.

Some writers (e.g. Harber, 1995; Rand, 2001) have expressed concern that perhaps our schools are still not preparing young people for full membership of the adult community. This is, perhaps, due to teachers' uncertainty of what should be included. Their desire is to become neither too political and economic in their approach for fear of criticism from conservatives, nor too moral for fear of hostility

from radicals (Humes, 2002). Indeed, many people are still hostile to the idea of citizenship education in schools at all, due to their reservations about children's ability to grasp controversial adult principles and the fear of teacher bias. However, as Oliver and Heater (1994) point out, this reveals a shallow understanding of teaching, since a great deal of research shows that 'school pupils from the age of about 7 upwards have the potential for interest in and learning about civic affairs' (p. 154).

Pupils' views about the 'enterprising citizen'

Recent research in Scottish schools may illustrate that pupils themselves are already more than ready for the challenge of learning about civic affairs. Indeed, their views on what it means to be 'enterprising' can be extremely diverse. During October and November 2002, the author returned to the ten Scottish schools referred to earlier in this paper in order to talk to small samples of pupils about their views on 'enterprising people'. The pupils, who were all aged 11 and in Primary 7, had been engaged in various styles of enterprise projects for some weeks which usually involved them in creating new ideas, participating in fund-raising activities and selling new products in the school community.

Asked about who they would classify as 'enterprising people', it was found that their views fell roughly into four categories:

- people they knew, such as their teachers, friends or family members
- current sports and media personalities, such as footballers and pop stars
- historical figures, such as inventors and statesmen
- modern entrepreneurs.

Of those pupils who selected their teacher or head teacher, they tended to regard them as enterprising because of their ability to create 'good ideas'. The ideas cited by pupils as being enterprising included the setting up of new initiatives in the school, such as the breakfast club to help people in the local community. Family members were chosen because they were seen as helpful and encouraged children to 'get along a bit more' with their brothers or sisters. Friends were often cited as people who did not give up, or who were fun to be around and made you feel happy. The most popular choice of sports personality chosen by pupils was undoubtedly David Beckham. Pupils attributed his enterprising qualities to his ability to work in a team, to entertain the crowd and also to think up new ways to beat people at football. He was also given recognition for owning his own brand of clothing, and two boys commented on his 'enterprising hairstyles'.

Some children elected for historical figures, e.g. inventors such as 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'. 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'. Finally, some pupils opted for the choice of the modern entrepreneur, such as Richard Branson or Bill Gates. One boy felt that

Branson was enterprising because he owned Virgin and 'he started a small company and it got bigger and bigger'.

When asked to describe the qualities of enterprising people, pupils opted for words such as *co-operative, smart, entertaining, happy, intelligent* and *artistic*. When asked if they could be arrogant or selfish, most pupils felt that this could never be the case because enterprising people were always trying to help other people. However, one boy equated an enterprising person with a 'salesman' model and his description of the young entrepreneur portrayed a rather individualistic image:

> 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...

These illustrations of pupil views and attitudes, although confined to a small non-representative sample of schools, provide a useful starting point for further research in this area. There is evidence here that enterprise projects can provide one route towards developing pupils' knowledge of social issues and a range of values about what it means to be 'enterprising' in today's society. There is clear evidence that these particular pupils' collective ideas fit into both ends of the communitarian and individualistic continuum. Many pupils felt that being enterprising would equate with having good ideas for helping other people, would work well with others and would also be fun and 'upbeat' in their approach to life. Others regarded enterprising people as having determination, competitive spirit and the ability to create and expand new ideas and initiatives. Although they were not generally regarded as selfish or arrogant people, there was some tentative evidence to suggest that some pupils felt that they might be cunning and ruthless in their approach to the 'hard sell'.

Concluding thoughts

The distinctive features of enterprise education in schools have traditionally been the inclusion of pupil ownership and experiential learning. Educational documentation has encouraged teachers to regard enterprise education as being about knowledge of the real world, skills to participate alone and with others in creating and sustaining a new idea or project and new 'can do' attitudes towards future employment and learning. Pupils have been encouraged to develop lateral thinking and teachers encouraged to move away from predetermined outcomes to more open-ended, responsive approaches where pupils take the lead, but still need to be guided by national guidelines and learning outcomes.

Recent political and cultural developments such as constitutional change, globalisation and a move away from the liberal individualism of the 1980s to a more communitarian approach have renewed the interest in citizenship education. Within this agenda, pupils are encouraged to be aware of contemporary issues and their own rights of participation. A renewed interest in educational values means that pupils are also encouraged to work in a responsible and thoughtful manner. The New Labour perspective of providing a 'third way' between capital and welfare has been

polarised by the shift of emphasis from *rights* to one of mutual obligation encompassing *rights and responsibilities*.

The introduction of citizenship as a compulsory subject in the English National Curriculum has provided some evidence of the types of outcomes we should expect from pupils, and enterprise projects are cited as one vehicle for achieving this. LT Scotland, in its discussion paper on *Education for citizenship in Scotland*, has set out views and characteristics for effective practice. Again, the emphasis is on pupil participation which is not only active but also thoughtful and responsible. Teachers in Scotland are being encouraged not to regard citizenship education as a new subject, but to recognise the potential of existing contexts for achieving the appropriate citizenship outcomes. While a great deal of existing practice in enterprise education may lend itself to achieving these outcomes, the question is—will this be enough?

The small-scale qualitative data referred to within this paper provide some initial insight into the views of head teachers in a non-representative sample of Scottish primary schools. It is clear that they have varied views about the purposes of enterprise education and what it means to be 'enterprising'. In many cases, they encourage great participation and collegiality among staff and pupils. Examples of open democratic relationships, flatter hierarchies and consultation between all members of the school community provide good illustrations of how these schools apply enterprise to all of their functions and forms of organisation. However, there is still evidence coming through that some teachers may be hostile towards the idea of relinquishing control and may be keen to hold on to conformist approaches to pupil management. Perhaps these teachers see enterprise only in its minimal sense, as providing a vehicle for experiential learning within the confines of a classroom project or undertaking.

In 1991, Hyland highlighted the beginning of the shift from individualism to mutual obligation, describing it as a 'moral realignment'. Perhaps the ultimate goal for Scottish schools is to produce what Hyland referred to as 'entrepreneurs with social and moral consciences' (p. 87). The emphasis on self-interest, freedom, right to participate and dynamic creativity in authentic settings has been a key feature of enterprise education. But still pupils have had to conform and may not have been encouraged to challenge and criticise all aspects of the day-to-day running of the school. Role models may have been confined to successful business people, entrepreneurs and community activists. The use of the traditional business enterprise project may have encouraged individualist attitudes, with pupils still emerging with no real heartfelt desire to act on behalf of others in the future (Hyland, 1991).

The views of pupils in the sample schools reported in this paper indicate a non-representative range of differing views about what it means to be 'enterprising'. It is clear that many children's opinions relate to a communitarian model of enterprise, through their references to teamwork, charity, helping and caring for others and being selfless by nature. However, other pupils display quite individualistic attitudes and values, equating enterprise with ownership, competition, cunning determination and rapid expansion.

With the advent of citizenship education, will schools now be able to use

enterprise education as a means of creating mutual obligation, emphasising responsibility as having equal status with rights? Will role models presented to pupils include a wide enough range of examples to emphasise the diverse functions of the engaging citizen, such as enterprising cleaners, builders or office workers? Will pupils have to conform less, and will they emerge with not only socially aware but also caring sentiments in their school work and beyond?

The relationship between enterprise and citizenship education is a close one, and it is possible that one may lend itself to the other. But the potential of enterprise education as a means of promoting the new expectations of the citizenship agenda will perhaps depend very much on how schools conceptualise their meaning of 'enterprise' to begin with. Many schools, it seems, 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 that do not necessarily deliver enterprise 'projects' per se. Their task of developing a citizenship dimension to their educational output may be relatively straightforward. For others who have a narrower perception of enterprise and confine it to a classroom project model, there may be more work ahead. Perhaps the existing projects may contribute towards some of the outcomes, such as knowledge of some economic and social issues, a range of creative and co-operative skills and positive attitudes towards their potential for active participation. However, their model of enterprise may have to widen to encompass a generically enterprising approach to school organisation and management. Then, they may be better equipped to address the full expectations of the new citizenship discourse, such as the need for thoughtful participation in school and community affairs, respect and care for others and an awareness of political and democratic processes.

Many claims have been made by politicians and teachers about the potential of enterprise education to motivate and improve pupil performance in other areas of the curriculum and in school life in general. However, new research must continue to examine the ways in which schools currently conceptualise enterprise education and engage in enterprising approaches to teaching and management. It must also examine the impact this has on pupil attitudes and values in order to determine whether these approaches are adequate vehicles for the promotion of active citizenship as it is defined in current documentation.

Notes on contributor

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