Enterprising education in Scotland: is education for work enough?

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Abstract

Although there have never been prescribed curriculum directives for enterprise education in Scotland, the Scottish government has provided some documents to support and consolidate good practice and provide frameworks for developing programs throughout the school curriculum. The most recent of these is *Determined to succeed: a review of enterprise in education* (SEED 2002). The government clearly perceives a link between this kind of activity in schools and the future health of the economy and the prosperity of the nation. The shifting nature of this perception, and the views of the government at any particular time on the relationship between education and the economy, can be traced through the discourses of various policy documents.

This paper sets out to explore whether the policy advice offered is enough to make education enterprising by tracking the changing discourses used and approaches taken in documents recommending education and work activity to teachers in the last decade. It then examines the information and advice offered to teachers in the 2002 document, seeking to identify the ideological stance of the writers and to suggest aspects for exploration and development. A plea is made for support for teachers of a more theoretical nature in the areas of enterprise, entrepreneurship and economic literacy.

Introduction

Although not a specified curriculum area in Scottish schools, 'education for enterprise' and education—industry links have been written about and recommended to teachers through several publications and policy documents in recent years. With the support of careers services, and in the interests of careers guidance for secondary school pupils, much useful work has emerged in areas such as work experience placements, education—

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industry links programs and careers conferences to assist older pupils to make informed decisions about career pathways. There has also been a huge increase in enterprise and education for work activity in other sectors and stages of school education, with a range of projects and initiatives, supported by some excellent resource materials, emerging in classrooms anywhere from pre-five to post-sixteen. Although there have never been prescribed curriculum directives in Scotland, policy documents have begun to emerge that aim to support and consolidate good practice and provide frameworks for developing programs throughout the school curriculum. The government clearly perceives a link between this kind of activity and learning in school and the future health of the economy and the prosperity of the nation. The shifting nature of this perception, and the views of the government at any particular time on the relationship between education and the economy, can be traced in the discourses selected for policy documents. This paper, spurred by the style of the documents provided to teachers, particularly the most recent offering Determined to succeed (SEED 2002), seeks to identify whether the support on offer is enough. It then asks if more opportunities should be provided for teachers to develop greater familiarity with concepts relating to education and work.

Policy documents: from neo-liberalism to New Labour

The Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum produced a document in 1995 entitled *Education–industry links in Scotland 5-18: a framework for action*, with the stated intention of clarifying the status of education–industry links in Scotland. The document begins by recognising the 'long Scottish tradition of success in links between industry and education' (1995). The rationale provides words of encouragement for a variety of interested parties under these headings: young people, employers and employees, education staff, parents and the community. Particularly in the section referring to young people, the discourse reflects the neo-liberal influences of the time, the late years of the conservative New Right agenda.² Education–industry links are said to 'Improve understanding of work and the key importance of wealth creation in a highly competitive world' (SCCC 1995, p 2).

The policy context in Scotland had been substantially altered in the 80s and early 90s and by the time of the above-named document policy was strongly market and consumer choice driven. Although the Education Minister at the time was Lord James Douglas-Hamilton, the agendas of his predecessor, Michael Forsyth, were still being pursued. Forsyth had established a series of reforms in Scottish education (Humes 1995)

¹ An example of support for schools is the Centre for Studies in Enterprise, Career Development and Work at Strathclyde University.

² For a succinct description of the political influences on policy in Scottish education, set in train by Michael Forsyth when he was Minister of State, see Humes (1995).

within recurring themes of 'consumer choice, accountability, standards, value for money'.

The framework goes on to offer straightforward and reasonable suggestions for practical activities and ways of utilising links with workplaces. There is no bibliography or suggested reading in the document to assist teachers in informing themselves of the implications of education—industry links or to support the writers' claims for the purposes of the endeavour.

A new edition of this document was published in 1999 with the altered title *Education for work: education–industry links in Scotland – a national framework* (SCCC 1999). There is minimal but interesting change in the new document. The introduction of the new wording 'education for work' in the title, with the old phrasing retained as a subtitle, indicates the shift within the document. The listed benefits for partners and the suggested progression of learning activities is barely changed at all, other than a slight streamlining of the phraseology in a few instances, in a way that does not alter the basic intent of the writing.

The rationale shows little change and has the same subheadings as the 1995 document but there is a more extensive preamble on the nature and importance of education for work. In this section a different discourse is in evidence. The writers clearly wished to broaden the view espoused. The terminology indicates a wider definition of work and a recognition that work may indeed mean different things to many people, including the young people who will make up workforces of the future in whatever form they ultimately take. An example of an interesting addition is:

Work, in the widest sense of the word, is integral to human life and takes a variety of forms. ... much of people's working life is also taken up with unpaid forms of work, most notably in the home and in a variety of voluntary activities. (SCCC 1999, p 2)

There is also a general statement on the interest of the industrial and business community in contributing to and supporting 'the essential work of educating young people'. This does not refer specifically to work-related education but to educating in a wider sense although this sentiment is not picked up on again and is so fleetingly expressed that it is unlikely to be dwelt upon by those seeking support in work-related education.

This document places more emphasis on the coherent coordination of activities than its predecessor and also refers to the performance indicators listed in *How good is our school at education–industry links?* (SCCC & SOEID 1997) to promote evaluation of activities.

The adaptations made in the 1999 framework arise within a new political context in Scotland; two years into a New Labour government and in the year of devolution and the new Scottish Parliament. The 'softening' in tone of the introductions to the document

is in stark contrast to the unchanged body of the paper. Other than what little can be gleaned from the discourse of the early part of the document there is again no indication of the sources informing the voices of the writers.

The year after the above framework was published, HM Inspectors of Schools produced a report (SEED 2000) on the status of implementation and practice of education for work activities in schools.³ Entitled *Education for work in schools: a report by HM Inspectors of Schools*, the aims of the report were to:

- · describe good practice in education for work
- identify and evaluate key features of effective education for work programs
- make recommendations to improve the quality of education for work across Scotland.

The work of the sample schools was evaluated using two of the documents mentioned above (SCCC 1999; SCCC & SOEID 1997).

Commenting on the 2000 report, I have previously made some observations about the way in which the data were gathered and interpreted (Fagan 2002). The schools selected for inspection were already performing impressively in many areas, including that of education for work, and there was little indication of any wider movement to make extensive use of the frameworks provided. There was no attempt to explore attitudes to issues relating to education for work and its place in the curriculum, or indeed larger questions about teachers' and policy makers' understandings of the meaning of work in our society and in the future. There was some recognition of the need to be aware of shifting patterns of work and labour markets, but no advice for teachers on becoming aware of current ideas or how to help young people to be suitably adaptable. In summary I suggested that documentation from policy makers should take several major contemporary issues into account and design frameworks accordingly. I provided the following suggestions:

- Policy makers should examine the theoretical contexts of the changing nature of work in post-industrial societies. They should look at the views of sociologists, economists, philosophers and contemporary management theorists in order to make informed choices about the contributions of school education to our future society. What is the future of work and how must we change our current understandings to allow for future relevance?
- They should explore the changing patterns of work through empirical analysis of emerging conditions especially in the UK. How is the expansion of new

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³ The concept of 'education for work' in this document has a narrow focus on employability, acquiring 'enterprise skills' and the suggestion that lifelong learning is desirable. For more detailed comment on the document see Fagan (2002).

technology affecting our traditional occupations and encouraging new ones? What is the extent of the shift from the role of industrial workers to that of knowledge workers?

- They should look at wider patterns influencing the nature of work, particularly the effects of globalisation on the development of a knowledge economy. How do we develop local economies in relation to international factors beyond our UK economy?
- They should look at work in relation to cultural issues and to self-definition. How do we deal with new classifications of work and activity? How do shifting patterns of age and gender of employees affect the working population? How do we support each other to engage in useful and fulfilling activity? This implies links with current studies into the role of citizenship education.
- They should consider questions of responsibility that would derive from developments leading towards a 'civil society' and consider the role of education in the process. Is it possible to share knowledge and work opportunities for the common good? How do we deal with knowledge management in order to promote a learning society? (Taken from Fagan 2002, p 69)

Determined to succeed: a new approach?

The most recent document relating to education and work to emerge from the Scottish Executive is entitled Determined to succeed: a review of enterprise in education (SEED 2002). It is rather different in style and presentation to the previous documents, which indicates a refreshing attempt to be innovative and prompts investigation as to whether any futures thinking or horizon scanning may have been employed in its compilation. Where previous documents have not mentioned any intention to inspire young people to become entrepreneurs with a view to encouraging new business, this document happily has this as an aim of enterprise in education. This is an interesting shift. Certainly the earlier policy documents were produced at a time when, although politicians and policy makers were keen to promote market approaches to education and enterprise, there was also awareness of a 'cultural unease' among parents and teachers (Humes 1995, p 123). This may have made the policy writers cautious about using the term 'entrepreneur'. Now, however, the term is becoming more generally acceptable, especially since a small group of successful business people in Scotland have committed themselves to encouraging entrepreneurial aspirations in young people (Williamson 2001; Henderson 2003). They have put substantial financial resources into projects and a good deal of

their time and energies, 4 and the involvement of these Scottish entrepreneurs is outlined in the document. It wisely recognises, however, that there can be other, equally enterprising, aims for young people besides that of being an entrepreneur. The language of this document is much more inclusive in terms of realising that not every young person would have either the wherewithal or the inclination to become an entrepreneur. Rather there is in the new document an ambition to bring about school contexts 'where innovation, wealth creation and entrepreneurship are valued' (SEED 2002, p 6) along with other stated aims. This new document aims to support schools, with the help of successful entrepreneurs and businesses, in producing future employees and employers as well as budding entrepreneurs. The goal, however, is set for enterprise in education rather than for education generally and the ends of prosperity and wealth creation are 'justified' as being vital to the support of services such as health care and education. In reality, however, there are relatively few successful entrepreneurs per head of population in Scotland (Galloway & Levie 2002) and only a small number of these are so far committed to being involved in Tom Hunter's scheme. Most are creating wealth for themselves or for their organisations, and services, including education, usually depend on the economy benefiting indirectly from the results of entrepreneurs' impact on the market.

The change in terminology from 'education for work', not back to 'enterprise education', but to 'enterprise in education' is significant. The document offers definitions for what enterprise in education is intended to mean. There is however a huge literature (Du Gay & Salaman 2000; Sedgwick 1992; Keat & Abercrombie 1991), not all of it in agreement, about what is meant by 'enterprise' or an 'enterprise culture' and there is no indication of whether this has been considered when the document looks at the links between enterprise and education. There is a widening of emphasis from the narrower approach of the development of skills for work to that of skills for becoming an enterprising person. There is a strong emphasis on support from successful entrepreneurs and business partners in general. Indeed, I suggest that business should take more responsibility for supporting educational initiatives, but not just in the sense of enterprise in education as it relates to education for work, but in the broader sense of education for learning, which is crucial for the future lives of young people in contemporary society.

There needs to be consideration and debate among teachers and policy makers about where enterprise in education sits within the purposes of schooling. Those with business interests in the community should participate in this debate to reflect on the idea that wider support for enterprising approaches to all learning would encompass the

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⁴ The support of Dr Tom Hunter has been significant. He has established the Hunter Centre for Entrepreneurship at Strathclyde University and continues to support the development of entrepreneurship in Scotland in business and in education both financially and ideologically. See www.entrepreneur.strath.ac.uk/alumni/profiles/tom_hunter.htm

fostering of skills for future employees, employers and entrepreneurs. The document defines enterprise in education in these very terms, but still fails to recognise that the vast majority of our young people who manage to obtain paid employment will find it in the service sector or in aspects of the fastest growing area, the knowledge economy. Indeed new interpretations of what is meant by enterprise are continually developing as in the notions of the 'enterprising self' and 'human capital' (du Gay & Salaman 2000, p 89). This has direct relevance for Scotland at the moment, with the virtual disappearance of the traditional manufacturing industries and the rise of the service and knowledge sectors. Education policy, especially that which seeks to influence young people's economic prospects, should take account of the need to develop knowledge capital (Peters 2002).

The service and knowledge sectors need enterprising individuals who have the wherewithal to increase the account of social capital in Scotland. The type of support offered to education by business partners, however, tends to focus on the creation of businesses, often with a production-driven ethos, rather than on the broad range of career options that are necessary to keep the country functioning effectively. It is claimed that the low start-up rate of business in Scotland is the result of negative cultural attitudes to risk taking (Galloway & Levie 2002). However, the often-reported high failure rate of new businesses, particularly small businesses, in Scotland must be a large disincentive to potential risk takers. The Scottish Executive and Scottish enterprise need to consider better confidence building to assist new businesses and thus counteract this detrimental factor and its impact on our 'negative cultural attitudes'.

Comments on the document's recommendations

Enterprise activities, as outlined in *Education for work in schools: a report by HM Inspectors of Schools* (SEED 2000), can be experienced in a vast range of ways in all aspects of the curriculum, particularly in the primary and early secondary stages prior to work experience placement and career-driven education–industry links. In practice most schools do this by means of projects and these are mostly, although not exclusively, models of manufacturing and retail business practice.

My earlier research has provided some evidence that teachers who conduct enterprise or education for work projects with pupils in primary or early secondary schools are struck by the range of benefits seen to be arising for their pupils (Fagan 1998). Benefits noticed for pupils are often in the areas of taking responsibility for their own learning, working successfully in teams or managing to solve problems with ingenuity and creativity. Teachers claimed in this study that pupils gain a tremendous amount from enterprise-type projects and activities. So what is so different about enterprise education that it can produce such positive and startling effects? Is it the nature of the activities themselves, or could it be that, in finding ways of allowing pupils to work cooperatively or independently, with less direction, teachers are operating in ways that encourage active learning? Teachers setting out to provide an enterprise

experience for young people are often exploring contexts that are new for themselves too. They act as facilitators and consultants to pupils, but encourage them to manage and direct their own learning. Teachers take risks. If this kind of approach could more readily be applied to other areas of the curriculum then perhaps pupils could respond in a similar way in, for example, literary or mathematical/scientific contexts. I contend that it is not the content of enterprise activities as such that enthuses pupils but rather the sense of achievement and increased self-esteem that derives from operating within the contexts and processes met in such activities. This has implications for learning and teaching across the curriculum and also for teacher education programs.

Experiential entrepreneurial activities have the potential to be stimulating for many young people. They may also, however, have the potential to be elitist and threatening to others whose temperaments and inclinations may make them ill-suited to the cut and thrust of business, preferring less risky outlets for their aspirations. Care must be taken to ensure that all personality types are valued and that potential contributions to society, and to the common good, are rated whether or not they are entrepreneurial in the sense promoted in the documents. Succeeding can mean many things and certainly not only being successful in business. Knowledge workers and service providers must also be recognised as crucial to local and global success.

Close partnerships between schools and local businesses, and indeed workplaces of all kinds, can be mutually beneficial to all concerned. The means of communication should be many and varied and schools could particularly benefit from being able to seek advice and support from their business partners as co-contributors to local communities.

Award schemes can provide incentives and challenges, but care must be taken to avoid skewing the purposes of the activities. The benefits of the realism to be gained from working with business partners or engaging in actual business situations can be lost if the reward is a prize for competing rather than the genuine success to be had from a thriving enterprise.

When young people, at whatever age or stage, reach the point of making serious choices about pathways for their futures and the sorts of careers they may wish to pursue, then sound, honest and realistic information and advice should be available to them. Careers services can offer much advice and support, but practical and realistic work experience of actual work situations would be invaluable. In this connection, the chance of one week in a real working environment is insufficient and runs the risk of being inappropriate or too contrived to be of any actual benefit in supporting young people in making choices. The support of employers, across the whole gamut of employment, in providing more extensive and frequent opportunities for pupils to explore possibilities would be welcome. This would not necessarily mean more work experience placements as they are currently practised. There are excellent examples in secondary schools of careers conferences where partners from various types of

employment assist in conducting interviews and providing realistic information and advice on opportunities that are available for young people.

With regards to opportunities for teachers, the 2002 document advocates both the inclusion of enterprise in education in initial teacher education programs and training and development in enterprise education as part of continuing professional development for practising teachers. This is acceptable, and indeed advisable, but the way in which this is to be achieved should be carefully considered. Having been exhorted, during a conference presentation on implications of enterprise education for teacher education, to 'just get on with teaching student teachers how to teach enterprise', the whole debate about the relationship between learning and teaching came to mind. Deliberating on whether it is possible just to get on with 'teaching teachers how to teach' anything, leads to consideration of whether learning to teach can come about in a mechanistic way, like an apprenticeship, where the tools of the trade can be picked up and then applied in the classroom. If student teachers were only to be exposed to this kind of training rather than receiving an education in what is involved in being a professional educator, then showing teachers and student teachers how to use pre-prepared materials and resources is all we can expect to achieve. This would produce the kind of teachers who, denied the opportunity of critical reflection on learning and teaching processes, are described by Stephen Ball as 'unselfconscious classroom drones' (Ball 2001).

Generally the 2002 document is more realistic and thoughtful in its approach than its predecessors. Arising from the above comments on the document, the following words of caution are offered. Firstly, good practice in enterprise in education, including exposure to entrepreneurial skills and attitudes, can be demonstrated and achieved in all areas of the curriculum and not just in projects or topics that may be narrow or removed from realistic practice or expectation. Secondly, the support on offer should not be directed at simulated business activities but on the enhancement of knowledge, skills and the development of attitudes contributing to enterprising approaches in every aspect of the curriculum. Thirdly, support from and partnership with business should include links with a wider range of employers, employment and categories of work from all kinds of contributors to the economy, both fiscally and socially. Fourthly, teachers and student teachers should be aware of the range of resources available to them, both in terms of materials and links to business and employers, that can assist in providing valuable contexts for learning. Fifthly, care should be taken when measures and indicators are devised to ensure that the purposes of promoting enterprise in education and providing opportunities for the development of future employees, employers and entrepreneurs is not skewed. Evaluations should be conducted with a light touch and with a view to longer-term objectives so that the potential for creativity is not artificially constrained.

Cultural issues for enterprising education

When we refer to school-based efforts to prepare young people for employment as 'education for work', 'enterprise education' or 'entrepreneurship education' we are

guilty of putting too narrow an interpretation on the nature, purposes and impact of the activities involved. The array of titles that have been used so far for this area of interest indicates an ongoing uncertainty about its status and nature, and some unease about the political correctness of the terminology in use. The 2002 document is more straightforward than its predecessors in promoting entrepreneurship, justifies the approach by citing Scotland's poor performance in entrepreneurial activity and uses the subtitle 'enterprise in education' to locate the thrust of the document's message. This subtitle is more inclusive than some of the earlier names given to the area, but it is still a label that maintains a separate identity. If this area of activity is seen as separate from the wider curriculum, we run the risk of engaging in the kind of 'balkanisation' of the curriculum warned against by Fullan and Hargreaves (1992). Arrangements in upper secondary schools for education for work are usually based on strong links to pupils' subject choices and planned pathways, and the terminology, provided the wider view is not forsaken, is generally appropriate. In the primary and lower secondary contexts, however, it is unwise to treat this area differently. Pupils should be encouraged to adopt enterprising approaches to all aspects of the curriculum and teachers should be encouraged to provide a stimulating range of learning contexts for all areas. An appropriate term would be 'enterprising education', which would relate to every part of the curriculum.

Professional educators are aware that there are many purposes of schooling. Two that pertain to the issues discussed in this article and that are closely linked are that of preparing young people for their current and future economic roles in society and that of producing the necessary range of contributors to the future economic prosperity of the country. Both of these purposes justify consideration of how enterprising education can be embedded in the curriculum. In order to properly address this need, there are some aspects with which policy makers, teachers and business partners in education should at least be familiar and preferably have had a chance to study. These are the concept of 'enterprise', what we mean by entrepreneurship and the importance of economic literacy and understanding. From the perspective of a teacher educator with knowledge of teacher education programs, it is clear that teachers who have not studied economics or modern studies at some point in their own education, and this will be a substantial proportion of teachers, will have had little opportunity to explore the definitions of these terms. Neither are they likely to be aware of the implications of encouraging entrepreneurship activities, as now promoted by the Scottish Executive, without any background understanding.

In his *The theory of economic development*, the economist and social scientist Joseph Schumpeter defined 'enterprise' as 'the carrying out of new combinations' and 'entrepreneurs' as 'the individuals whose function is to carry them out' (1934, p 74). An informed discussion of the discourse of enterprise and enterprise culture can be found in the writings of du Gay and Salaman:

an 'enterprise culture' is one in which certain enterprising qualities – such as self-reliance, personal responsibility, boldness and a willingness to take risks in the pursuit of goals – are regarded as human virtues and promoted as such. (2000, p 88)

And:

No longer simply implying the creation of an independent business venture, enterprise now refers to the application of 'market forces' and 'entrepreneurial principles' to every sphere of human existence. (2000, p 89)

Both policy makers and teachers need to take into account the juxtaposition between the fact that 'enterprise culture' was a central theme of the Thatcher years and that Third Way politics sees enterprise and entrepreneurship, when coupled with education, as central to the development of social capital (Giddens 2000, p 73). Norman Fairclough, for example, argues that referring to business or industry as 'enterprise' seeks to attach meanings of 'being enterprising' to 'a process that also has a less rosy aspect' (2000, p 34).

The document *Determined to succeed* (SEED 2002) laments the poor rate of business start-up and small number of entrepreneurs in Scotland. It cites the *Global entrepreneurship monitor* (Galloway & Levie 2002) for background information on the current level of entrepreneurial activity in Scotland to justify promoting the support of entrepreneurship activities in schools. It is clear from the *Global entrepreneurship monitor* that there is a low rate of opportunity entrepreneurship in Scotland and a relatively small number of successful entrepreneurs. Fortunately some of our most successful entrepreneurs are committed to providing financial support to education partners to try to improve these statistics for the future benefit of the country (Williamson 2001; Henderson 2003). Some of this welcome resource could be usefully put to promoting teachers' and policy makers' understanding of entrepreneurial activity to inform their educational partnership activities.

Jean Baptiste Say is credited with the early use of the term 'entrepreneur', at the turn of the nineteenth century, meaning those who stimulated economic progress by finding new and better ways of doing things. In the twentieth century, the term is closely associated with Joseph Schumpeter. In his famous book *Capitalism*, *socialism* and *democracy* he described the function of entrepreneurs thus:

to reform or revolutionise the pattern of production by exploiting an invention or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up an new source of supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganising an industry and so on. (Schumpeter 1942, p 132)

Contemporary descriptions of the function of an entrepreneur as one who can create value and move the economy forward derive from these classic definitions. Peter Drucker (1999) has more recently extended this sort of definition to include the exploiters of opportunities created by change. He also proposed that entrepreneurship might not always be associated with new business start-up or vice versa. Entrepreneurial

opportunities may present themselves in other, perhaps non-profit related, forms and they are not confined solely to economic institutions. Building on such wider notions of entrepreneurship leads to exploration of the area of social entrepreneurship.

For social entrepreneurs the social mission is explicit and central. This obviously affects how social entrepreneurs perceive and assess opportunities. Mission-related impact becomes the central criterion, not wealth creation. Wealth is just a means to an end for social entrepreneurs. (Dees 2003)

In *Determined to succeed* the only brief definition of entrepreneurial activity (SEED 2002, p 6) does not encompass social entrepreneurship despite the document's aspiration to support employees and employers as well as entrepreneurs. The stated purpose of the advice offered is to contribute to Scotland's wealth-creating potential.

The third area of terminology that policy makers and teachers should explore is that connected with economic literacy. The teaching of economics as a subject in Scottish schools is fading out of existence. In secondary schools the subject is now rarely offered, with other subjects such as modern studies, business management and even religious and moral education addressing some of the traditional areas of study in economics, although this not a planned alternative. In primary and early secondary stages, it could be argued that many aspects of economic awareness are embedded in the wider curriculum. I would be well satisfied with that approach if it were not for concerns about the general lack of economic literacy of teachers at these stages. All Scottish teachers should be equipped with economic awareness and understanding. This should be part of initial teacher education and, particularly for serving teachers, if funding cannot be obtained from SEED, the support could be funded through the grants that are being made to education by Scottish entrepreneurs (Williamson 2001; Henderson 2003). This would benefit school pupils indirectly but significantly. Examples of efforts to raise standards of economic literacy in other countries show what could be done. There is a Campaign for Economic Literacy in the USA, organised by the National Council for Economic Education (NCEE 2002), the results of which are now being used to promote awareness-raising activities. There is also an interesting approach to promoting economic literacy in a resource produced for Irish students called the Economic Literacy Activity Pack (Kawano 2002), which provides a course of study on some basic aspects of economics. In an informative, easy-to-read text on economic literacy, Jacob De Rooy promotes the necessity of being aware of elements of the economic environment such as 'business cycles, unemployment, wages, inflation, interest rates, financial markets, banking, taxes, government regulations, economic policies, and foreign trade and investment' (De Rooy 1995). De Rooy claims that basic economic awareness is necessary in every walk of life and this makes particular sense for teachers who will be devising learning contexts in education for work settings for their pupils.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that policy makers and teachers should consider enterprising education in a wider and more inclusive way than is currently the case. Although documentation to date gives helpful guidance on strategies for linking education and work, teachers are not supported to understand the academic and theoretical implications of these areas within learning and teaching. Teachers as professional educators should have intellectual and ideological awareness of the purposes of education, particularly when considering politically sensitive areas such as enterprise education. Policy makers should consider a longer view of the benefits of enterprising education both within and across the curriculum. This would require more embedding of the knowledge, skills and attitudes attached to education for work. It cannot be assumed, however, that being able to identify aspects of education for work in various places in the curriculum implies that it is actually embedded. Teachers would have to include specific learning outcomes across the curriculum and be fully aware of where the embedding was taking place. Even more crucially, teachers would need to have sufficient background knowledge of key aspects of education for work to be able to provide appropriate contexts for learning. Some will have useful background from school or university study of economics and social subjects, but many others will have concentrated on other curricular areas. For these others, there are three particular aspects that should be explored in both pre-service and in-service teacher education: definitions and meanings of both enterprise and entrepreneurship and the acquisition of basic economic literacy. Such background would also enhance the benefits to be gained from the topics and projects that are currently popular in this aspect of education, as well as allowing it to be embedded across the curriculum in an informed and realistic manner.

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