Title:

Staff perspectives on enterprise culture - A tale of two colleges (2011-2016)

London 2020
**Declaration and word length**

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

Approximate word length (exclusive of the 2,000-word statement, the list of references and appendices, but including footnotes and tables): 45,000
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Thank you to the staff in the case study institutions who gave their time to support my work so magnanimously.

I am especially grateful to my extremely supportive husband and our children for giving me time and space and providing support in thoughtful and kind ways. Thank you to Vicky and Henri for never tiring of reading and helping me out. A special thank you to Cy (RIP) and Daddy and all the members of our family who have encouraged me incessantly. I am also grateful to Ayesha Owusu-Barnaby for being a critical friend and to all the colleagues at work who kept cheering me on.

Soli Deo Gloria.
Abstract
A great deal has been written particularly about enterprise and entrepreneurship education and small businesses, but very little research has been undertaken into enterprise culture on an institutional level in educational establishments. My thesis, based on a series of qualitative interviews conducted in 2016, gives staff in two FE colleges the opportunity to reflect upon enterprise culture. The multi-level ecological framework developed by Hodgson and Spours is used to provide a means of considering the international, national, local and institutional over-lapping components of the FE system as a whole.

This is the first study of its kind and concentrates on gaining an understanding of how staff at various levels define enterprise culture, how enterprise culture manifests itself on a day to day basis and the consequences of these cultures in FE colleges. The framework on types of enterprise culture developed by the sociologist Ritchie is coupled with the rituals and routines, stories and symbols dimensions of the Cultural Web from Johnson and Scholes to analyse the views of staff within the case study institutions.

The research undertaken has allowed me to highlight what facilitates success in undertaking enterprise activity as well as what works against successful engagement in FE colleges. The deductive approach taken to data analysis has enabled me to put together a simple model that can support FE colleges who seek to develop a framework that aids their engagement with enterprise-related projects and activities.
**Impact statement**

My research considers staff perspectives on the contested concept of enterprise culture. I have sought to ascertain how the concept is defined, how it manifests itself on a day to day basis and its consequences in Further Education (FE) colleges. This study has facilitated an exploration of the concept to see what can be learned and how that fits into the local, regional and national components of the FE sectoral system. The results of my research illustrate positive benefits of engaging with enterprise activity and a number of factors that may impact staff, students and institutions negatively.

The *Analytical Expansionism* model derived from the findings highlights the need for colleges to take a variety of components into account in considering engagement with enterprise related activity. The components are: the impacts of localities, regions and nations upon FE colleges; an appropriate fit with the institution’s mission, values and goals; a contribution to the development of professional identity and staff goals; the facilitation of students’ progress in gaining skills, capabilities and networks. The model can be developed into a framework that colleges can make use of in making decisions about their engagement with enterprise-related activity.

As the model is essentially the encapsulation of the lessons learnt from the study, FE institutions can make use of it when considering opportunities to get involved with enterprise and entrepreneurship projects in their localities, regions or across the nation. Proposals made to colleges by organisations like local authorities, third sector and private organisations can be analysed with the aid of the *Analytical Expansionism* model. Particular enterprise programmes from organisations like the National Association of College and University Entrepreneurs, the National Centre for
Entrepreneurship in Education and Enterprise Educators UK could also consider using the various dimensions of the model.

The findings of the study and the model can assist in deliberations amongst staff in FE about the tensions and dilemmas that are embedded in their work as practitioners. The model presents another option for considering contextual factors that shape and constrain what staff do. It provides an aid to conversations about how the challenges staff face in considering enterprise and entrepreneurship activity can be constructed and various possibilities for engagement explored.

The centrality of student progress, well-being and achievement is promoted so that the chance of detrimental participation in enterprise and entrepreneurship projects is made more apparent and hopefully mitigated.

I will present the key findings of my study and the Analytical Expansionism model to the two case study institutions, the Association of Colleges and the Enterprise Educators UK organisation via written media and person to person contact when that becomes possible. As the model is derived from discussions with staff in two institutions, the colleges have an opportunity to learn from their staff and staff from another institution. FE colleges looking to devise enterprise policy may make use of the findings of this study to aid students, staff and institutions.
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2000 Word Statement

In October 2008, I commenced my doctoral studies at the UCL Institute of Education as part of the Doctor in Education (EdD) programme. My EdD experience spans a much longer period than anticipated mainly because of the challenge of dealing with illness and the loss of my closest sister. I interrupted my studies for a total of about three years. The incredible support of my supervisors is one of the main reasons why I have now been able to complete the programme. Looking back over what has been a long and protracted journey, I have learnt a lot about myself as an individual and as a professional.

My work on the taught modules and the Institution Focussed Study (IFS) was based on Widening Participation (WP). WP policy seeks to create an education system that includes all who can benefit from it. It seeks to engage those who may be discouraged from taking part in programmes of study because of social, cultural, economic or institutional barriers (Halsall, 2006). Very early in my EdD journey, I came to recognise the three approaches to the study of WP (Jones and Thomas, 2005). The academic approach seeks to address problems with attitudes that result in the low aspirations students possess (Burke, 2008). Attitudinal issues combine with the lack of academic qualifications in the utilitarian approach (Thompson, 2008). The transformative approach has the core assumption that structural changes can be made in institutions to accommodate the needs of students from diverse backgrounds in course design, assessment and delivery amongst others (Burke, 2008; Bowl, 2003). I found the proposition of exploring how the transformative approach could be studied and applied in my professional practice truly empowering.
Foundations of Professionalism was an excellent start to the EdD because it helped me get to grips with who I am as a professional from both a theoretical and a practical standpoint. Theorising about professionalism provoked me to question the kind of professional I was at the core and the kind of professional I had become over the years from working in FE. My first most important lesson that has been manifest in all the work I have undertaken is getting to grips with how the purposes and practices of education are characterised by paradoxes, contradictions and irresolvable dilemmas. Having grown up in a culture where there is an assumption that every problem has a solution that is essentially waiting to be discovered, this module helped me accept the existence of constraints and the limitations that I could only partially influence. The theoretical concepts explored gave names to what I had been experiencing over the years. I came to recognise the new managerialism, performativity and accountability (Ball, 2008). Seeking to widen participation in my role as a lecturer amidst the constraints was a challenge I explored in this module. I came to the point of adopting the stance of an imaginative professional (Power, 2008) that inspired me to think of how I could adopt a transformative approach (Burke, 2008) in my practice. In so doing, I could then aim to achieve my goal of widening participation in actuality and not just rhetorically.

Methods of Enquiry 1 (MOE1) was my opportunity to engage with planning a small-scale doctoral level research project. Having learnt about what professional practice meant for me and exploring how I could theorise about aspects of my work; I was prepared for undertaking modules that enabled me to apply my theoretical knowledge to undertaking a research project. MOE1 helped me develop my understanding of epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods (Crotty, 1998). The understanding gained of this basis for undertaking research and planning a study,
provided a helpful steer for undertaking MOE2, the IFS and my thesis. I was able to examine the WP literature in a critical way to highlight how the methodology applied in research projects impacted the outcome and the crucial role played by the research question in the design of my study. The importance of constructing and justifying my line of enquiry was highlighted in view of how that gives credence to or calls my findings into question. I adopted an objectivist epistemology in view of the research question ‘Do Foundation Degree students from Westminster Kingsway College successfully go on to achieve undergraduate degrees?’ The research design (Robson, 2002) I worked on helped me gain an appreciation of the crucial role of planning the stages necessary especially because of resource constraints and the geographical dispersion of the Foundation Degree’s alumni. Planning the possible dissemination and use of the research as well as reflecting upon the implications for current and future practice was an excellent precursor to the research studies I subsequently undertook.

The opportunity to study contemporary education policy was in retrospect the best part of the taught modules on the programme. The discussions about policy as both text and discourse opened up this area of study. Stephen Ball’s (1992) policy cycle was extremely engaging and gave me excellent insights into the policy making and implementation process. I was able to grasp how policy was impacting my practice and how it was mediated in the FE context. The opportunity to focus on New Labour’s commitment to WP as demonstrated in The future of higher education White Paper (DfES, 2003) was particularly insightful. I was able to grasp and explore the rhetorical nature of New Labour’s commitment to widening access. I also gained an appreciation of the numerous and intricate interactions between the various stakeholders that preceded the birth of the White Paper. In contributing a chapter to a book by my peers
and our professor, I faced a challenge that helped me understand the process and commitment necessary to produce a piece of work for publication. Working alongside our professor and other established academics helped with the progressive development of my critical thinking skills and my understanding and analysis of professional enquiry.

Methods of Enquiry 2 (MOE2) further stimulated my awareness of a broad range of research methods and how I could make use of some of them in researching WP within the FE college I worked for. I learnt how to formulate questions that were researchable and worked on selecting suitable methods after carefully considering the alternatives at my disposal. MOE2 gave me a chance to work more closely with my supervisor to undertake the small piece of research planned in MOE1. This very practical phase of the programme helped me develop my research skills in anticipation of the IFS. I came to appreciate the value of a pilot study as undertaking one with five students enabled me to alter some of the questions and my approach. In considering the findings, I realise now that having completed three taught modules, I had a much better grasp of the literature relating to WP and was able to analyse the findings more effectively. I experienced one of the practical challenges linked to research; being unable to contact ex-students via telephone. I have been able to take this into consideration in designing research for the IFS and the thesis.

The aim of my Institution Focussed Study was to explore the expected, experienced and preferred approaches to learning on a Foundation Degree in Business programme during the 2010-11 academic year. By the time I started the IFS study, the framework of the academic, utilitarian and transformative approaches to widening participation developed by Jones and Thomas (2005) had been used in all my work. This was a deliberate approach to ensure that my work could be linked to ways of adopting a
transformative approach in considering my professional practice and all my research activity.

The IFS project was a case study, with elements of action research, using a mixed methods approach. I was able to view qualitative and quantitative methodologies as being on a continuum rather than incommensurable. Overall, the research highlighted the students’ acknowledgement of an inflexible approach that denied the heterogeneity of individuals and groups. This approach also facilitated less effective learning than the deep learning experiences permitted by a transformative approach which impacted upon the whole person, influencing emotions and cognition (Illeris, 2008). The IFS study highlighted the need for changes to classroom practices on the Foundation Degree programmes and helped me develop a more questioning stance in my professional practice.

Throughout the taught elements of the programme and the IFS, the tutorial support I received was invaluable in helping me improve my work. The constructive feedback given and the insights shared helped me develop my understanding of concepts and theories and my professional identity.

By the time I began working on the thesis in 2015, my role in enterprise and entrepreneurship education had brought me to a place of seeking to research staff perspectives. The embedded nature of colleges within localities pointed to the need to adopt a system-wide approach to researching enterprise culture in the case study institutions. My previous work on the various modules contributed in a variety of ways. Foundations of professionalism impacted my decision to research staff perspectives especially in the light of new managerialism and performativity (Ball, 2008). The MOE modules helped me decide upon the appropriate theoretical perspective to adopt and
the design of my study as well as how to engage in data collection and data analysis. My work on policy has helped in assessing the implications of various policies of relevance to the FE sector and enterprise culture as part of my thesis work.

Working with my supervisors has been an extremely valuable experience because of the breadth of their experience and the insights they contributed at each stage of the journey. The common thread that runs through all my work is my devotion to the altruistic value of making a positive difference in the institutions I work in and in society. Having come to the end of my EdD journey, I recognise that I am still committed to doing my best to ‘…hold on to what freedom I have to resolve the uncertainties I am presented with…’ (Robson, 2006:13). In my first assignment, I looked for a way of being able to widen participation amidst the constraints; in my thesis, I have explored staff perspectives on their engagement with enterprise culture. I am more realistic about what can be achieved but I am not bereft of hope that things can improve if the whole FE system at the national, regional, local and institutional levels can harness the opportunity to become a more collaborative sector (Grainger and Spours, 2018).
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<td>Area Based Review</td>
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<td>AOC</td>
<td>Association of Colleges</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FE</td>
<td>Further Education</td>
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<td>IFS</td>
<td>Institution Focussed Study</td>
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<td>LSC</td>
<td>Learning and Skills Council</td>
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<td>LSS</td>
<td>Learning and Skills Sector</td>
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<td>MOE</td>
<td>Methods of Enquiry</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>PSA</td>
<td>Public Service Agreement</td>
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<td>Technical and Vocational Education Initiative</td>
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Chapter 1 Introduction, Context, Key Issues and Overview

Introduction

This thesis explores the perspectives of staff in two London colleges who have been exposed to programmes of study, activities and experiences linked to enterprise and entrepreneurship. It focuses upon the contested concept of enterprise culture in the Further Education (FE) context (Burrows, 2015; Coffield, 1990; Dodd and Anderson, 2001; Keat, 2011; Oldham, 2018; Smyth, 1999). It also provides a forum for critical engagement with literature and practice in the field of enterprise and enterprise culture within the FE sector. The colleges are viewed as part of the wider FE system and the impact of localities, regional, national and international contexts are also taken into account in this thesis. In this chapter, an explanation of the genesis of the study and why it is deemed an important area to explore at this point in the trajectory of the FE sector as a whole, is followed by the aims of the study. The scope of the study is then outlined in view of the multi-dimensional nature of this area of research. The chapter concludes with an overview of the salient themes and a description of the overall structure of the thesis.

Genesis of the study

I worked as the course leader of a Level 3 BTEC course in Enterprise and Entrepreneurship and a Level 5 Higher Apprenticeship in Business Innovation and Growth from 2012 until 2019. The Level 3 programme was designed to help students set up micro businesses. The Level 5 Higher Apprenticeship was a project run in partnership with employers. Both courses were discontinued by the institution in 2019. The high hopes for the creation of an entrepreneurial institution and ecosystem seemed to have all but disappeared by early 2016 – this trajectory is at the heart of
the decision to explore this area of study. The empirical work for the study covers the period between 2011 and 2016 in the case study institutions. Although the fieldwork was conducted at the end of 2016, apart from Area-Based Reviews and the very recent increase in funding for the sector, the impact of the pandemic is the most recent change (Diamond, 2020; Doel, 2020). The more recent changes in the policy and political context of FE in England are appropriately considered in the analysis undertaken.

At this point in English education, the general education tradition can be seen to be still quite dominant but an opportunity has risen in the technical vocational education sphere for a different ethos to be followed by FE colleges (Hodgson and Spours, 2019). The vocational turn in recent government policy, makes the possibility of a collaborative approach (Grainger and Spours, 2018) more of a possibility in the FE sector in England.

A great deal has been written about the concepts of enterprise, entrepreneurship and self-employment (Bridge and O’Neill, 2018; Gibb, 1987; 1993; Gibb and Hannon, 2006; Jack and Anderson, 1999; Jones and Iredale, 2010; Keat, 2011; Peters, 2001; Smyth, 1999). Whilst this is acknowledged, there are several reasons why this exploration of the concept of enterprise culture is deemed appropriate in professional practice. From a policy perspective, at the macro level, the United Kingdom has been experiencing an unprecedented drive for entrepreneurial behaviour (Dellot, 2015). Whilst governments support enterprise, entrepreneurship and small business, this commitment appears to be informed by an ideological stance that causes social polarisation and displacement (Grainger and Spours, 2018). By considering entrepreneurship related activity in the FE sector, the scope for the building of other approaches can be appropriately explored.
Secondly, the concepts of enterprise and enterprise culture are often linked to self-employment, entrepreneurship and to education. (Selden, 2011, Young, 2014). There has been an increase in self-employment from 700,000 in 1979, to over 5 million businesses in 2019 (Dellot, 2014: 5; Office for National Statistics, 2019). This significant growth is often linked to enterprise culture (Oldham, 2018). It is often portrayed as positive and the existence of enterprise culture is purported to be one of the factors that ensures economic prosperity (Dodd and Anderson, 2001; Oldham, 2018; Smyth, 1999). How this growth can positively impact FE colleges based in sub-regions and localities in London is of interest. The promotion of an enterprise culture by the Conservatives (1979-1997), New Labour (1997-2010), the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition between 2010 and 2015 and the Conservative government since 2015 (Harris and White, 2018), is one of the concepts that impacts FE colleges and other educational establishments. The impact of the promotion of enterprise culture has been demonstrated in the introduction of activities, programmes and courses in enterprise and entrepreneurship and in the involvement of various business organisations in colleges. As Stephen Ball (2010:2-3) stipulates;

Enterprise is deployed in a multitude of ways to introduce new ways of working, new forms of organisation and new kinds of social relationships into education and social policy; ranging from privatisation …to making public sector organisations more enterprising and teaching enterprise education in schools, colleges…

Stephen Ball highlights the adoption of the enterprise narrative and the transformational impact this appears to have had. It is important to critically engage with and interrogate what is occurring in educational establishments and how that impacts, and is impacted by, the wider FE sector. The adoption of a critical perspective
contributes to highlighting the need to question taken for granted assumptions that impact FE (Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009).

Linked to the above, anyone who is familiar with the FE sector will acknowledge that staff experience ‘...the constant bombardment of national policy emanating from a bewildering range of ministries, government agencies and regulatory bodies...’ (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015:2). These almost incessant policy changes that have included a drive for a more entrepreneurial ethos in FE influence staff perspectives (Coffield, 1990; Londesborough, 2016). Alongside this influence are other factors that impact upon staff and their students who are encouraged to embrace enterprise culture (MacDonald, 1991; Oldham, 2018). This thesis seeks to present a reflective, critical and discursive viewpoint on the impact of enterprise culture in FE using a deductive approach to the analysis of the data. At this point in time when FE has the opportunity to begin to work more collaboratively with city authorities, local employers, local government and other smaller specialist providers (Londesborough, 2016), the part enterprise and entrepreneurship can play can perhaps contribute positively to civic society building and a transitioning from neoliberal realities (Hodgson and Spours, 2016; Hodgson and Spours, 2019).

The references made to enterprise culture in the literature range from very positive views (Bridge and O'Neill, 2018; Gibb, 1987; 1993; Jack and Anderson, 1999) to fairly critical and sometimes negative views (Coffield, 1990; Keat, 1991; 2011; Oldham, 2018; Peters, 2001; Ritchie, 1991; 2015; Smyth, 1999). The case study of what has occurred in two institutions between 2011 and 2016 fits well with an interest in exploring the value of entrepreneurship and enterprise in the FE context. As the concept of enterprise culture is open to a variety of interpretations (Dodd and Anderson, 2001; Ritchie, 1991; 2015), it can result in a variety of outcomes for staff and students in FE
colleges. Outcomes here first refers to the achievement of targets concerning recruitment, retention and success as well as the development of skills, capabilities and networks. Outcomes also refers to the extent to which staff feel that their work is rewarding, worthwhile and impactful where their values and beliefs and aim of transforming the lives of their students is concerned (Addo, 2018; Jones and Thomas, 2005).

In setting out in this thesis to explore staff perspectives on enterprise culture, the definitions, manifestations and consequences of enterprise culture are the main focus within the institutions that are a part of the wider FE system. Limited research has been carried out into FE’s approach to enterprise education as acknowledged by Huddleston (2010). Most of the literature does not deal specifically with FE (Coffield, 1990; Gibb, 1987; Jack and Anderson, 1999; Oldham, 2018) – and as such, this study’s focus contributes to the debate on the meaning and impact of the concept of enterprise culture and its place in FE.

The two London colleges that are the subject of this study have won a variety of enterprise awards. Interviews with members of both institutions over a period of two months thus facilitates a critical interrogation and exploration of staff perspectives.

The study is engaged in with a commitment to subjecting assumptions and the findings to the same robust questioning that other initiatives and practices are subjected to in education. As is the case in Higher Education, the FE field is a dense thicket of entangled interests and not many features of it are quite as simple as they appear to be or as some people would have us believe (James, 2018:14).
Aims of the study

This study aims to define enterprise culture from the point of view of the members of staff at senior and middle management level as well as teaching staff at two London FE colleges. The majority of those interviewed are charged with the responsibility of either creating, embedding, promoting or working within such a culture. It aims to establish what enterprise culture really means in the context of two educational institutions, how it manifests itself in the day to day activities of the institutions and what its consequences are for both institutions and for the wider FE sector.

The research question is:

- What is Enterprise Culture and what are its implications for two Further Education Colleges in London?

The sub questions are:

- How is enterprise culture perceived by staff in the case study colleges?
- How does such a culture impact upon the everyday experience of staff in the case study colleges?
- What are the consequences of enterprise culture in the case study colleges and how have these been addressed?

The theoretical framework employed throughout the thesis is Hodgson and Spours’ (2013; 2017) concept of a multi-level ecological framework that is aligned closely with institutional formation, policy-making and governance and results from the integration
of a number of theoretical components\(^1\). The employment of this adapted multi-level human ecological system provides a spatial and governance system setting within which the FE institutions and their actions are located. This framework also permits an appreciation of the vertical influences of the state upon the behaviours of FE colleges. As per Hodgson and Spours (2013; 2017), the *micro*, *meso*, *exo* and *macro* components of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological settings are conceptualised as not only being parallel to individual children and their development; they are regarded as levels of an education system that cover the national (*macro*), regional (*exo 2*), local (*exo 1*) institutional (*meso*) and departmental and personal (*micro*) that affect enterprise and entrepreneurship education in FE. These five levels developed by Hodgson and Spours are interconnected and overlapping.

![Multi-level nested ecological system](image)

**Figure 1:** Multi-level nested ecological system: adapted from Hodgson and Spours, (2017:46)

\(^1\) The theoretical components are : Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) multi-level ecology of human development; the high skill eco-system (Finegold, 1999; Hall and Lansbury 2006); conceptualisations of place/space and young people’s identity and agency in urban settings as per Lupton (2010), Raffo (2010) and Dillaborough and Kennelly (2010); models of weak and strong collaborative 14-19 local learning systems (Hodgson and Spours, 2006) and debates about localism that reconceptualise the links between national, regional, local and institutional levels of governance (Pratchett, 2004; Hodgson and Spours, 2011b)
- The *micro* terrain in FE colleges refers to the individual staff members that work within teams and develop various stances towards enterprise and entrepreneurship. The departments within institutions are classed as part of the *micro* level also. The relationships in these departments impact the sub-cultures within the organisation and the overall culture of the institution which determines the organisational paradigm in place (Johnson and Scholes, 1992).

- The *meso* level refers to the institution that is led by senior managers who have to mediate government policy and adopt particular stances in response to external levers and other factors such as the ethos and policies of the organisation (Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins, 2011).

- The *exo* terrain (1 & 2) refers to local government, local civic society and wider regeneration strategies as well as sub-regional and regional organisations like the London Economic Action Partnership (LEAP).

- The *macro* component of the system refers to national and international policy that impact upon all other levels and are mediated by FE institutions and local and regional bodies (Hodgson and Spours, 2013).

This framework has been chosen in view of how the analysis it affords highlights the wide variety of impacts on institutions, staff and the students they serve, especially middle and lower attainers that are often found in FE colleges (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015).

In acceptance of the notion that education cannot be studied in isolation because of the many factors that impact educational experiences and results, it is important to establish a contextual basis for everything that occurs in the case study colleges (Brown and James, 2020). The findings of the study are better understood when
local, regional (*exo* level), national and international (*macro* level) contexts are considered. This is because these contexts provide both constraints and opportunities for the institutions in question (Hodgson, Spours, Smith and Jeanes, 2019).

FE colleges are often a key part of localities and regions (Dabbous, Patel and Percy, 2020; Diamond, 2020); they are charged with improving the skills of local students and employees, employ large numbers of people, invest in the local economy and participate as civic institutions. As such, governance issues in localities impact upon what FE colleges can do and the challenges and constraints they grapple with. In addition, what occurs at the national level impacts FE colleges not least because FE colleges are reliant upon government for most of their funding (Fletcher, Gravatt and Sherlock, 2015). The regulatory approach to governance makes it necessary to consider *macro* factors. Regulatory bodies like Ofsted, the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) and FE Commissioners all police colleges, creating what Keep (2018:16) calls ‘...a high stakes environment for college leaders’. It facilitates an approach that rejects the one factor approach and encapsulates the breadth of what occurs in the FE system as a whole. Whilst Hodgson and Spours focus very much upon the *macro* and *exo* levels in their work, this thesis seeks to contribute to what is known by exploring what happens at the *micro* and *meso* levels where enterprise culture in FE colleges is concerned.

The data collected at the *micro* and *meso* levels is analysed with the aid of theoretical frameworks developed by the sociologist Ritchie (1991; 2015) and business strategy writers Johnson and Scholes (1992). This thesis is the first attempt at subjecting Ritchie’s model to empirical testing. Ritchie’s model is focused upon the stances staff adopt and types of enterprise culture that result from these stances whilst the work of Johnson and Scholes is articulated in the concept of the Cultural Web. Conclusions
about the paradigms that exist in the colleges are drawn on the basis of the stories
told by staff in the organisations, rituals and routines in place in the establishments
and the symbols recognised in both organisations. These three components of the
cultural web have been chosen as the most relevant indicators of culture as they
cannot be controlled or dictated by management and reflect what is truly occurring in
the organisations (Handscombe, 2003; Johnson and Scholes, 1992; 2017). In
considering the consequences, effects caused by and relevant to the exo and macro
levels are appropriately considered. Hodgson and Spours’ (2013; 2017) framework
facilitates the analysis of the whole FE sectoral system; Ritchie’s framework deals with
the individual staff within the institutions and their stances and the cultural web
combines with Ritchie’s framework to permit the analysis of departments and the
institutions.

**Principal Themes**

There are several key issues explored in this thesis. The first considers the
development of the FE sector over the last 25 years since incorporation and the
governance issues faced by the sector. In addition to this, the situations staff in FE
colleges encounter that result in the variety of beliefs and attitudes towards the concept
of enterprise culture are explored. These beliefs and attitudes of staff play a vital role
in the organisational paradigms (Johnson and Scholes, 2017) that govern colleges
and ultimately, interactions with other components of the FE sector. These paradigms
or commonly taken for granted assumptions in the various institutions are showcased
in the rituals and routines, stories and symbols found in the various institutions. This
study thus seeks to decipher what the commonly taken for granted assumptions are
in the case study organisations with respect to the concept of enterprise culture.
The stances (Ritchie, 1991; 2015) adopted by the staff at the various levels in the institutions determine the investments and commitments made to the concept of enterprise culture within FE. Certain types of enterprise culture are manifest in the institutions because of these stances and this thesis seeks to bring together the organisational culture, the stances adopted by staff and the impact of the resulting types of enterprise cultures in place.

**Thesis overview**

Chapter 2 introduces the FE context and explores how the sector has developed over the last 25 years. It also explores what has happened to staff in the sector over the last couple of decades. Chapter 3 presents a review of literature to date and discusses the concept of enterprise culture in the FE system. The methodology outlined in Chapter 4 presents the epistemology adopted, the research approach taken and the research methods employed in undertaking this study. The results of the primary research undertaken are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 focuses upon the definitions of enterprise culture and the categorisation of the case study organisations. An exploration of the day to day manifestations of enterprise culture in rituals and routines, stories and symbols is presented in Chapter 6. The last part of Chapter 6 outlines the consequences of enterprise culture. The key findings from this study are outlined in Chapter 7 and highlight what staff indicate makes engagement with enterprise activity beneficial as well as factors that militate against the successful incorporation of enterprise activity in the case study institutions.
Chapter 2 The FE Sector in England

Introduction

This chapter presents a contextual basis to the study by outlining aspects of the FE sector’s history that are of relevance to this thesis and highlighting issues of importance to the staff working in this sector. The history and culture underpinning any knowledge provides a context that enriches our understanding of what is taking place (Agger, 1991). Szydlo and Grzes-Buklaho (2020: 3) define organisational culture from a sociological perspective as ‘... a set of norms and values determining specific behaviours of members of a given institution and differentiating this institution from other ones’. FE colleges will each have a peculiar culture but there are a number of external factors that will impact upon the sets of norms and values developed in each institution. As highlighted by Hodkinson and Bloomer (2000), culture is inextricably linked to the economic, political, social and moral contexts of its location. The possibility of entrepreneurial practice is historically conditioned because of the need for circumstances like a social climate that favours individualism and the availability of help and advice (Burrows and Curran, 2018). As such, by adopting a historical phasing approach, trends in governance, how state power is exercised and its impacts on enterprise culture can be better understood. The very complex nature of what occurs in FE in terms of breadth of provision, the markets served, funding and regulation and the changes that have taken place (Augar, 2019; Wolf, 2011), are better explained by this approach. Decisions made in institutions concerning enterprise and other initiatives are impacted by the circumstances each institution finds themselves in but these circumstances are influenced by developments in the sector at particular points in history and over particular periods of time.
The research context – Further Education in England - What is FE?

FE is a sector that primarily provides vocational education and training for students aged 14 and over and has a relatively low profile compared to schools and universities. It is noted for its complex, ever-changing and amorphous nature (Addo, 2018; Hillier, 2006; Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015; Petrie, 2015; Wallace, 2013). Sir Andrew Foster (Foster, 2005) refers to FE as the middle child of the educational family; a sector that does not have a clear focus of activity in the eyes of the public and one that lacks advocacy. The level of centralised planning the sector has been subjected to and the sudden and repeated changes experienced, have made it difficult for the sector to carve out its strategic place and purpose (Doel, 2020; Huddleston, 2007; Nash and Jones, 2015). Although the state inspection system has categorised four out of five colleges as good, it is often described as a problem sector. FE has been subjected to what Tuckett (2018: xii) describes as dramatically decreasing budgets and increasing central control; public funding for FE shrunk by 25% from 2010 -2018 whilst funding for the higher education sector increased by 25%. However, in 2019, the Government announced a £400 million funding package for further education and 16-18 education (aoc.co.uk, 31/8/2019) and in March 2020, the Chancellor announced that FE would receive £1.5 billion of new capital over five years to improve the condition of the FE college estate (Camden, 2020).

The historical context (1992-2019)

In considering developments in FE over the last three decades, the most salient occurrence is undoubtedly the incorporation of further education colleges in 1992 that put colleges on a highly marketised path (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015; Spours, Hodgson, Grainger and Smith, 2019). In the post-war period, further education
colleges were primarily about the development of vocational skills and were referred
to as the 'local tech' (Hyland and Merrill, 2003) where students obtained practical
qualifications such as those validated by the City and Guilds and apprenticeships. In
the 1980s and early 1990s, an expansion in post-16 educational participation took
place primarily because of the collapse in the youth labour market. It is at this time
that FE increasingly catered for young people who could not access jobs, selective
vocational courses or academic programmes of study. This social inclusion role is still
perceived to be of importance today (Azumah, Springbett and Walker, 2019).
In 1992, FE colleges became incorporated institutions, set up to compete with each
other for students; a distinct national sector made up of colleges that were hybrids of
public and private institutions. The establishment of a professional identity still eluded
FE colleges post incorporation because of a variety of factors. The wider context was
caracterised by market-based policies in the economy and in education - competitive
schooling and a competitive universities sector were coupled with the significant
reduction in local employers as the economy became more driven by the service
sector (Graystone, Orr and Wye, 2015; Hodgson and Spours, 2015). Within the FE
sector itself, lecturer conditions of service were particularly fractious, adding to a high
level of dynamism and complexity that the institutions had to deal with (Fletcher,
Lucas, Crowther and Taubman, 2015). From that era until today, FE has been
perceived to exist in an atmosphere of public servitude rather than a public service
provider (Londesborough, 2016).
What happened in the early 1990s with incorporation set the English FE sector on a
marketised path that has effectively defined the last three decades. Hodgson and
Spours (2019:9) highlight five phases of further education governance since
incorporation in 1993 as seen in the diagram below:
Phase 1 - Early Incorporation (1993-1997)

The Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 is arguably the most radical political and structural shift in FE; a watershed in further education (Wallace, 2013; Fletcher et al, 2015; Petrie, 2015). As a result of this Act, in 1993, just under 500 colleges became self-governing institutions; the situation of FE in the centralised and private quadrant illustrates the paradoxical nature of what occurred. As highlighted by Doel (2018), incorporation did not really give FE colleges full control; control simply shifted from the
hands of the local authority into the hands of central government. The creation of Further Education corporations with the transfer of staff, legal powers and budgets on the 1\textsuperscript{st} of April 1993 established a common structure which has allowed successive governments to apply common rules and policies to colleges. The powers of oversight and intervention placed in the hands of central government is what has made the huge numbers of policy changes over the years since incorporation possible. This first phase up until 1994 points to a focus upon growth and increased efficiency and the creation of a common system in the FE sector. As highlighted by Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas (2015), the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) sought to promote a competitive market situation to resolve the issues of poor financial management, the level of student participation and poor student retention and success rates. This was very much in line with the neo-liberal policies of the Conservative government of the day (Keat, 2011). Education has been subject to neo-liberalisation since the Thatcher government of 1979-1990 (Brooks, 2013; Hill, Lewis, Maisuria, and Yarker, 2016; West, 2015). Harvey (2007:2) defines neoliberalism as:

\ldots a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.

In view of the Conservatives’ belief in free markets, their approach to FE, which involved the creation of a quasi-market through incorporation, demonstrates this very clearly (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015). Neoliberalism involves a transformation in the role of the state and transformation in the economy that seeks to empower organisations. These organisations then operate in a manner that effectively reconfigures people as productive economic entrepreneurs of their own lives. By
focusing on individuals and purporting to liberate them, neo-liberalism effectively responsibilises individuals, transferring the risks involved in organisations succeeding to those individuals, to ensure that their behaviour is thus controlled (Burrows, 2015; Davies and Bansel, 2007). This is what Foucault (1988 cited in Valls and Cummins, 2015) refers to as governmentality via technologies of the self.

National policy levers took the place of local education authorities; the most effective being the funding mechanisms imposed by the FEFC (Fletcher, Gravatt and Sherlock, 2015; Steer et al, 2007). The FEFC used the three key concepts of: the unit of activity which replaced the previous student full-time equivalent; the basing of the unit of funding upon the three stages of entry, on programme and achievement and convergence of funding based on expanding student numbers. In so doing, the FEFC managed to address the issues of poor student retention and achievement, uneven funding between colleges and the government’s desire for greater efficiency in the sector (Hodgson et al, 2015). This change in the meso component of the ecosystem was driven by macro policies and served to radically reduce the part played by localities (the exo component).

Phase 2 - FE and LSC phase 1 (1997-2004)

When a Labour government was elected in 1997, the financial crisis facing the sector combined with calls for widening participation and a clearer strategic role for FE colleges both locally and nationally and resulted in fundamental change in the strategic direction of the sector and the funding regime. Where overall governance is concerned, the macro component of the ecosystem was still very much a driver of what was occurring in FE colleges on the meso and micro levels (Hodgson and Spours, 2019). The common arrangements for funding, inspection and contracting accentuated the move to centralisation and the encouragement or restraint of
particular institutional responses (Fletcher et al, 2015). Labour’s drive for modernisation took the place of the New Public Management ethos of the previous Conservative Government (Steer et al, 2007).

The establishment of the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) in April 2001 to replace the FEFC and the 72 Training and Enterprise Councils for England signified an attempt to create a more consolidated learning and skills sector. This phase signifies the embedding of the sector in the public and centralised quadrant (Hodgson and Spours, 2019) as the focus became the delivery of central government priorities and the detailed management of provider allocations (Learning and Skills Council, 2006). During this period, pure market-led policies were replaced by a commitment to planning and the promotion of collaboration between organisations in the sector. There was a move to using a range of policy levers; funding was no longer relied upon as the primary policy steering mechanism. There was a drive to make provision in the Learning and Skills sector more responsive to local needs. The intention was to link funding to performance management and improvement targets that were agreed with institutions. The Strategic Area Reviews formed the final component of the early LSC’s approach to planning. The extensive consultation with local partners could have been an attempt to move towards the creation of partnerships that could have started the process of building a more collaborative system (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). Unfortunately, this programme was abandoned in less than three years as funding was tied to centrally set targets – a top-down approach that was applied to other public sector contexts. (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015:16).

In spite of these challenges, overall levels of funding for the Learning and Skills Sector increased as New Labour aimed to make the worst effects of the quasi-market more tolerable.
This move to what could have been the creation of a collaborative instead of competitive system was rendered impossible by a variety of factors. The Local Learning and Skills Councils did not have the political support nor the power to reorganise provision innovatively or radically. In addition, doubts were cast over how qualified staff were to undertake the comprehensive planning required. These challenges were made more onerous by the tendency the Department for Education and Skills had to micromanage the LSC. The early period of the LSC, recognised as a time when new opportunities arose and growth occurred in the LSS, did not manage to build the kind of integrated system that FE colleges could have benefitted from.

**FE and LSC Phase 2 (2004-2010)**

With the appointment of Mark Haysom in October 2003 (Steer et al, 2007:11) as the second Chief Executive of the LSC came a move away from a planning ethos towards a more marketised approach. The LSC promoted a discourse that integrated funding priorities, inspection, institutional flexibility and self-improvement. Choice, competition and contestability were highlighted as national priorities and were to be translated to fit the local contexts of FE colleges. Institutional improvement and self-assessment became the dominant logic and collaboration with the inspectorate to make use of sanctions and improvement strategies as required was advocated. The work of the LSC was to be based on the concept of trust and an overall more ‘light touch’ approach.

The LSC demonstrated an interest in ensuring that providers were meeting the learning and skills needs of their local communities and that provision of good quality was being purchased. In actual fact, the imperative continued to be the need to meet national priorities or Public Service Agreements (PSAs) but in a manner that served each locality - a quasi-market model. Rising public sector costs resulted in the
concentration upon national priorities such as the improvement of Level 2 attainments by the age of 19, the expansion of employer engagement and the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) (Perry and Davies, 2015). As depicted in the Hodgson and Spours diagram above, during the second FE and LSC phase, there was movement towards each institution being responsible for itself. The Foster Review of 2005 and the Leitch Review of 2006 brought a return to centralisation. Foster pointed to over-regulation and the undue emphasis placed upon qualifications whilst the Leitch Review advocated a demand-led system with funding routed through employer led schemes. Unfortunately, New Labour’s top-down approach, its micro-management of FE colleges through the LSC and the Department of Education contributed to the sector’s inability to engage in area planning that could have resulted in the creation of a collaborative system, assuming the local partnerships and the colleges themselves were so inclined (Hodgson et al, 2015:17).

The Coalition Government- Skills Funding Agency, new providers and use of Ofsted

The Coalition Government came into power in May 2010, with the policy agenda of drastic public sector spending cutbacks (Hatcher and Jones, 2011). The Train to Gain government funded and employer-led scheme launched in 2006 to provide free work-based training to adults was immediately closed and funding withdrawn for the 14-19 Diploma programme. In addition, the EMA was abolished in England. Demand and outcome led funding replaced centralised control through the decision to fund colleges based upon enrolments and qualifications students passed in the previous year.

The Coalition placed greater emphasis on schools offering more traditional academic subjects (DfE, 2011b); it also increased the stress upon external and linear rather than modular assessment for 14-19-year-old qualifications and changed performance
tables to reduce the currency of broad vocational awards ((DfE, 2010; Wolf, 2011). In so doing, it became more difficult for middle and lower attainers (who are often in FE colleges) to progress and gain access to A Levels and other advanced qualifications after the age of 16.

Another policy lever of the Coalition government was the emphasis placed on institutional diversity and freedom, markets and competition (DfE, 2010) rather than collaboration. The local authorities’ statutory role to ensure adequate 14-19 provision for all learners in their locality was significantly undermined by the government’s active encouragement of new types of schools like academies that are funded directly by the DfE. This reduced the power and relevance of the exo components of the ecosystem.

In addition, the public expenditure cuts resulted in a shrinking number of schools (exo); as such, it was impossible for local authorities to prioritise their area role in relation to 14-19 education and training provision (Baird et al, 2010). By 2016-17, as reported in the 25th May edition of FE Week, the sector was on the brink of bankruptcy with collective college debt at £1.25 billion (Staufenberg, 2020). In one sense, the sector was pushed to explore non-traditional ways of increasing their income to survive. Some institutions found ways of putting their buildings to use through hiring arrangements so that they could raise commercial income.

**Area-Based Review (ABR) Formal Phase**

By embarking on area-based reviews in March 2015 (DofE, 2019), the Conservative Government appears to be accepting of the failure of the marketed and competitive logic that has been the dominant discourse in FE colleges for the last 25 years. (Spours, Hodgson, Grainger and Smith, 2019).

The two related policy objectives of Area-Based Reviews point to what has eluded the
sector to date. The first was to have larger, more resilient and more efficient providers; this was achieved through mergers. Competition between colleges did not result in reduced costs in the FE sector and the financial viability of colleges was a cause for increasing concern (Doel, 2018; DofE, 2019).

The second goal was about the creation of high quality technical and professional routes to employment that equipped individuals with the skills valued by employers and improved responsiveness to the needs of local employers and economic priorities. ABRs were looked to as a contributor to the reform of technical education which includes the introduction of 15 Technical routes and the adoption of a new standards-based apprenticeship model (Spours, Hodgson, Grainger and Smith, 2019).

By the time the Department for Education published its end of programme report in 2019, 57 mergers had taken place. (DofE, 2019:4). This was fewer than the predicted number of 80 possible mergers. It also does appear that the first objective of financial sustainability has been prioritised over meeting learner and employer needs. Having said that, the existence of a strategic group in every area is certainly a step in the right direction towards building a more collaborative FE system (Spours et al, 2019).

The aftermath of ABRs and the establishment of post-ABR bodies- Sub-Regional Skills and Employment boards

The implementation of devolution policies and the bid to achieve coordination at the regional and local levels essentially demonstrates that there are possibilities ahead for the FE sector but we are yet to see a coherent, planned and collaborative system in place (Spours et al, 2019). Whilst a number of criticisms have been levelled against the ABR process, the fact that it has brought colleges and local authorities in the sub-regions together to discuss skills issues is a start for those that seek to be a part of an ecosystem built around a common social mission.
Staff in the Further Education Sector

This study primarily engages with staff perspectives and as such the impacts upon their experiences in the sector need to be considered. This is the *meso* level of the multi-level ecological system (Hodgson and Spours, 2013; 2017) that is undoubtedly influenced and often driven by what happens at the *macro* level and the *exo* levels to varying degrees. The opportunity to be a transformative influence in the lives of students has been highlighted as one of the reasons why some staff choose a career in education; an important *micro* factor (Addo, 2018; Jones and Thomas, 2005). Staff in FE are a group of practitioners that face a system context that can cause the perception of a multi-faceted denial of autonomy of action and denial of freedom to exercise professional judgement (Tuckett, 2018). This situation has been caused by what Ball (2003:215) refers to as the three ‘…interrelated policy technologies of the market, managerialism and performativity’ at work in all sectors of education. The market refers to the establishment of the quasi-market referred to above that was established through incorporation. A wide variety of managerial controls that include performance management systems and graded lesson observations is the second policy technology that impacts staff at the *micro* and *meso* levels of institutions (Hamilton, 2007; O’Leary, 2013). The high degree of managerial direction imposed upon staff is deemed necessary because of the output-based measures of retention, achievement and overall student success (Davies, 2018) imposed at the *macro* level of the FE system. Performativity, the third policy technology is hegemonic and managers have to measure and monitor what they do as proof of their efficiency. Ball (2003:216) defines performativity as

> a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as a means of incentive, control,
attrition and change based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic).

In discussing how performativity has taken hold in education, Ball is referring to a situation in which the public sector is less distinctive and is now very much aligned with the ethical system, culture and methods of the private sector. In terms of staff in FE, performativity refers to the measurement of their worth by what they do or their output. This is effectively a way of controlling staff. Staff can be described as enterprising subjects who live their lives as though they were seeking to run a business - ‘...adding value, striving for excellence ...’and constantly calculating the contribution they are making to their worth (Ball:2003:19; 2008). This approach changes the staff themselves and Ball (2003; 2008) highlights how for some staff it may be enhancing and empowering whilst to others it appears to be inauthentic. Up until now, this lack of authenticity is experienced if staff do not have a personal ethos that valorises the dominance of the market. It is thus possible to either become a new kind of professional or someone who is caught in the trap of meeting quality standards and ticking boxes (Davies, 2018). There is less room for the individuals to operate within the boundaries of their personal beliefs and values (Jephcote, Salisbury, Fletcher, Graham and Mitchell, 1996). Staff find that marketisation means that they are effectively mediating between an output-focused ideology imposed at the macro level and their beliefs and values as teachers at the micro level. It is entirely possible however that the policy environment does not depict what happens at the meso level within all institutions. The manager in FE is depicted as the hero of educational reform; they are responsible for ‘...instilling the attitude and culture within which workers feel themselves accountable and at the same time committed or personally invested in the organisation’ (Ball, 2003:219).
Martin Doel (Doel and Silver, 2019:8) describes the world of the FE practitioner as one of ‘coping and compromise’ in the light of exceptional funding pressures since 2008, the need to respond to wider societal change and policy turmoil. Writing in 2006, Hillier describes staff’s conditions of service as worse than those of school staff and points to the increased casualisation of their terms of service (Hillier, 2006). When Tuckett writes in 2018, the picture is not improved as he describes staff as experiencing year on year reductions in their salaries as wage settlements do not match rises in inflation. He also mentions the fact that a significant proportion of staff are employed on flexible or zero hours contracts and as such have little or no security (Tuckett, 2018). As FE in England, more than any other sector of education, has been targeted for budgetary cuts, staff have had to cope with increasing uncertainty about their livelihoods year in year out (Bennet and Smith, 2018). However, as previously mentioned, FE is at a crossroads of becoming a collaborative sector instead of one that has been driven by competition since incorporation (Hodgson and Spours, 2019).

Conclusion

Several factors combine at the various levels of the multi-level ecological system to impact staff perspectives in FE. At the macro level, the effects of the various policy levers in FE, the broader policy framework, the curriculum in use and pedagogic practices all affect the experiences staff have and their perspectives. At the regional and local levels, we once more see the policy framework and the level of employer involvement having an influence on staff perspectives; the variations seen in individual institutions can be linked to this. In addition to these drivers at the exo level, the meso level factors that impact staff perspectives are the ethos and policies the institutions adopt, the curriculum and pedagogic practices, the physical learning environment and the management cultures in place. Lastly, apart from individual personalities and prior
and current experiences, the professionalism of staff and their values exercise some influence upon perspectives. It is important to add that the influences from these various levels overlap and are by nature both complex and dynamic (Fletcher et al, 2015; Steer et al, 2007).

Professionals in education mediate the effects of policy levers at different levels of the institution as highlighted by Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins (2011). Managers and lecturers adopt particular stances in response to these external levers and the other factors previously mentioned. In view of the focus of this study being enterprise culture, the stances adopted by staff in the case study institutions at the meso and micro levels of the ecological system reflect how policy mediation takes place. Policy mediation refers to where a national policy is translated into a college policy, which is then translated by middle managers into departmental policies which are reinterpreted and acted upon by lecturers in classroom practices (Steer et al, 2007).

Institutions formulate policies based upon how they translate macro and exo level policies and these can either benefit or work against staff members. Some managers may shield staff, others may choose to be promoters of policy whilst others may adopt what Steer et al (2017) describe as the strategic compliance with the demands of external policy levers whilst acting in line with their own professional values and judgement.

At this point in time, the policy-driven competitive and marketised behaviours across the FE sector is yielding to a greater emphasis on collaboration for skills development (Fletcher, Gravatt and Sherlock, 2015; Keep, 2018). This change in the complexion of the macro environment is happening in sync with combined local authorities and regional government being given power over skills development as a result of the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act of 2016. By introducing directly elected...
mayors to combined local authorities with housing, policing, transport and planning powers as well as the Adult Education Budget, the $exo1$ and $exo2$ components of the FE ecological system have the opportunity to engage more effectively with the $meso$ component of FE institutions. As the $exo1$ and $exo2$ components of the ecosystems are empowered, the possibility of the building of a collaborative ecosystem with FE colleges as anchor institutions appears to be more of a possibility than has ever been the case since incorporation. Spours et al (2019) describe the two logics of reform available as Logic A and Logic B. Logic A describes a situation in which competition between colleges in the FE sector continues to be encouraged. This would be similar to what has been in existence since incorporation. Logic B refers to a situation in which all FE institutions and other organisations involved in the provision of skills work collaboratively to achieve common goals.

Enterprise programmes are possibly one way of promoting Logic B. The exploration of types of enterprise culture in place in the two case study colleges, permits the exploration of the possibilities of a route to FE colleges becoming anchor institutions. Whilst FE colleges are often portrayed as autonomous, reactive and competing organisations, Grainger and Spours (2018) suggest that they have a potentially critical role to play in forging collaborations with organisations in their localities. The next chapter explores concepts about and related to enterprise and enterprise culture and considers how these concepts are dealt with in the literature of relevance to the FE system context.
Chapter 3 Reviewing perspectives on Enterprise and Enterprise Culture

Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of literature of relevance to this study. To introduce the reader to the focus of the study, a discussion of the terms entrepreneur and enterprise is undertaken. The concept of enterprise culture is then introduced to highlight the different viewpoints that exist. A consideration of how the concepts of enterprise and enterprise culture are viewed at the various levels of the FE system is presented with the aid of Hodgson and Spours’ (2013; 2017) framework introduced in Chapter 1 and applied to the historical account of the FE sector in Chapter 2. This facilitates an understanding of enterprise culture that considers the whole FE system and not just institutions. This is in acknowledgement of the fact that how enterprise culture is defined, manifests itself and its consequences in colleges are impacted by local, regional, national and international factors. A link is thus made between the meso and micro levels of the ecological framework and Ritchie’s (1991; 20015) framework of the types of enterprise culture. This chapter concludes with a summary of what this study can contribute to knowledge about enterprise culture in the FE sector.

The Entrepreneur

The word entrepreneur has almost achieved celebrity status in recent times and has been described as the god (or goddess) of current political ideology at the macro level (Packham, Jones, Miller, Pickernell and Thomas, 2010; Scarborough and Cornwall; 2019). This change is quite significant when one recognises that in the 1970s, the term was often linked to mild abuse (Burrows and Curran, 2018).
The literal translation of the French word entrepreneur is ‘go-between’ or between-taker’ (Hisrich and Kearney, 2012; Barringer and Ireland, 2012). The earliest reference to an entrepreneur in the Middle Ages is captured by Hisrich and Kearney (2012) as an actor or a person in charge of large production projects that are funded by government. Entrepreneurs are defined as those able to pinpoint and exploit opportunities (Scarborough and Cornwall; 2019). They engage in creative destruction using innovative combinations to destroy passive or lethargic markets (Schumpeter, 1942). Entrepreneurs have also been described as those who assume the risk involved in the translation of a vision into a successful business enterprise (Kuratko and Hornsby, 2017). The notion of risk-taking is the subject of some debate; Greene’s (2005) evaluation of a youth enterprise scheme points to a reality of small business activity that suggests that entrepreneurs seek to minimise or avoid risk. Read, Sarasvathy, Dew and Wiltbank (2017) describe the concept of affordable loss in their work on expert entrepreneurs. They highlight the fact that their research indicates that experienced entrepreneurs only invest what they can afford to lose and are not gamblers who simply hope for the best without a proper analysis of opportunities and contexts.

There is no agreement about traits that distinguish entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs. Writers like Scarborough and Cornwall (2019) have put forward a list of traits that include the desire for responsibility, willingness to break the rules, determination and self-reliance that entrepreneurs tend to have. However, people who are not entrepreneurs are seen to have those traits also. As Ramoglu, Gartner and Tsang (2020) say, even efforts to locate an entrepreneurial gene over the last ten years have not been successful. The nature/nurture debate is very real in the discourse of the entrepreneur. It is not clear from the literature whether entrepreneurs
become entrepreneurs because they are born with certain traits or they develop those traits as they engage in entrepreneurial pursuits.

The above highlights a pertinent issue in this subject area. There is a lack of clarity and agreement about definitions; a lack of a universal definition is at the core of the confusion that characterises research undertaken into this area of study (Bridge and O’Neill, 2018; Brockhaus, 1982; McKenzie, Ugbah and Smothers, 2007).

In terms of this thesis, the term entrepreneur is used to denote a person who is involved in starting up a business because of an opportunity they have identified, owns the means of production and employs at least one individual. A student who has considered starting a business and undertaken any two of the activities identified by Aldrich and Martinez (2001) can be classed as a nascent entrepreneur. The entrepreneurial activities Aldrich and Martinez highlight are: looking for facilities and equipment, writing a business plan, investing money or organising a start-up team. A student who has managed to start a business, no matter how small, is classed as attempting to engage in self-employment. Depending on the type of business and the sector, the level of risk involved and knowledge required will vary (Gibb, 1987). In addition, the context of the institutions in this study is vocational and as such, they focus upon building skills for employment (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015). The question of the number of skills that can be relevant is another difficulty that exists in the study of the entrepreneur.
What is Enterprise?

A definition of enterprise in the context of higher education that is applicable to the FE context has been put forward by the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA, 2018:7). It stipulates that enterprise:

...combines creativity, originality, initiative, idea generation, design thinking, adaptability and reflexivity with problem identification, problem solving, innovation, expression, communication and practical action.

The multifaceted nature of the term enterprise means that it can be used to signify business in general, the setting up of a business or a set of moral values and a particular mindset (Leonard and Wilde, 2019). As such, as stipulated by Leonard and Wilde, we can consider an enterprise (the noun) to be any business regardless of size (the narrow definition) but in common parlance, also think of enterprising behaviour as conduct that harnesses opportunities (the broad definition). There is no contradiction when the word enterprise is used as a noun to refer to a business or a plan. However, when the term enterprise is used in a policy context; in politician’s speeches, the media, academic articles as a non-count noun, it no longer appears value-neutral (Fairclough, 2011). This usage seems to be influenced by the personal convictions of authors and their political agenda (Selden, 2011). The broad and narrow definitions of the term can consequently fit a gamut of activities. It is therefore almost invariably down to the person or organisation engaging in an activity to decide whether they wish to describe an activity as enterprising or not. This is significant to this study because, in seeking to ascertain what two FE colleges define as enterprise, it is difficult to establish clear criteria against which what they claim can be measured or discussed. This difficulty underpins the decision to view staff perspectives through the lens of
Ritchie’s types of enterprise culture (1991; 2015). Using Ritchie’s framework gives some scope for recognising the variety of meanings given to the word enterprise and the stances and perspectives that result from this challenge.

As a researcher, the definition of enterprise refers to activity linked to the creation of a business, a project or a quest that is beneficial in some way to the client and therefore elicits a willingness to purchase what the entrepreneur offers.

Whilst this thesis focuses upon staff perspectives on enterprise culture, there is a body of literature in the field of enterprise that explores inequalities in access through lenses of gender, race, social class and parental background (Ahl and Marlow, 2019; Athayde, 2012; Dabic, Daim, Bayraktaroglu, Novak and Basic, 2012; de Groot, Mohlakoana, Knox and Bressers, 2017; Harper-Anderson, 2017; Kopkin, 2017; Vossenberg, 2018; Wilde and Leonard, 2018; Wang, 2019; Yang, Jackson and Zujicek, 2020). Some of the issues raised are briefly outlined below to provide a sense of what is occurring in the field of enterprise this thesis is located within. This thesis’ focus on staff perspectives that influence institutional culture concentrates upon staff views regarding what enterprise culture is within the institutions rather than each person’s peculiar orientation towards business start-up activity or how they have achieved success in their attempts to start businesses. This thesis does not extend to the exploration of the reasons for student success when they have set up businesses. The word limit of an EdD is a constraint that makes covering such areas that are undoubtedly important in the field of enterprise quite difficult. A follow-on study from this thesis could explore the dimensions of gender, race, social class and parental background and how they impact upon the success of the start-ups that staff or
students attempt to establish. The following section briefly explores some of the dimensions mentioned.

In terms of youth in the United Kingdom, Meager, Bates and Cowling’s (2003) longitudinal study seeks to establish whether the Prince’s Trust scheme can be justified because of its contribution to business start-up, the short-term reduction of unemployment and longer-term contribution to the human capital of disadvantaged groups. This study points to the impact of race and highlights the fact that white participants have higher survival rates than non-whites. Participants with a family background of self-employment and prior self-employment experience fare better as do older participants and those with a minimum of intermediate level qualifications. Meager et al’s work reinforces the need to focus more on inequalities rather than individual responsibility that seems to be highlighted as the reason for failure in enterprise projects (Ahl and Marlow, 2019). More recently, other studies highlight the inequalities in access to enterprise initiatives. Athayde’s (2012) study for example seeks to ascertain the impact of enterprise education on young people at school who participate in the Young Enterprise Company programme. Whilst she concludes that participation has a positive impact on young people’s enterprise potential, she refers to the moderation that occurs because of gender, ethnicity, socio-economic background and type of school attended.

Johansen’s (2013) work (cited in Wilde and Leonard’s 2018 study) evaluates whether male and female start-up activity is promoted by entrepreneurship education in upper secondary schools. In drawing the main conclusion from econometric analyses that participation in the Company Programme in Norway is positively correlated with start-up activity, he also highlights how the programme has a greater impact on male start-up activity than on female start-up activity. The Company Programme involves
students setting up small businesses that trade for a limited period of time so the students experience what it is like to set up and operate a business. Johansen builds further on this work in 2016 by exploring the impact participation in mini-companies has on the issue of gender. This paper concludes that the feasibility of self-employment for both men and women is increased by their participation in the company programme. The improved result for women is linked to their leadership of the mini-companies. Johansen suggests that such programmes may be the route to reducing the gender gap in self-employment. Dabic, Daim, Bayraktaroglu, Novak and Basic (2012) also contribute to the understanding that exists with regards to gender differences in the field of enterprise. Their work explores the university student’s viewpoint and considers gender differences in what students believe is required if entrepreneurial intentions will be feasible and desirable. By gathering data from 3,420 university students in more than ten countries, Dabic et al confirm that compared to males, female students are less willing to start their own businesses. The researchers pinpoint issues such as less self-confidence and greater reluctance amongst female students compared to their male counterparts.

In terms of the impact of race on self-employment and entrepreneurship, Kopkin’s (2017) study in the US provides empirical evidence that racial prejudice has a negative impact on black self-employment especially in industries that have high start-up costs. His study points to how discrimination in waged employment for example, may exacerbate problems like lower starting asset levels and how securing business loans or outside investments is more challenging for people from the black community. Mayer, Siegel and Wright’s (2018) work includes a review of the impact of entrepreneurship on gender and race discrimination. They highlight how lower rates of entrepreneurship (business ownership by women) and lower financial value of
female owned businesses exist. Some of the factors raised as causing this state of play are education levels, gender discrimination in paid employment and availability of bank finance and initial resource constraints. Mayer et al (2018) pinpoint how racial and ethnic minority groups face challenges of integration and assimilation even when they are not first-generation migrants. They indicate how in 2017, only 4 per cent of SME employers had someone from an ethnic minority in sole control or at least half of the management team coming from ethnic minority backgrounds (BEIS, 2018). All of the above demonstrates the wide spectrum of issues that exercise the minds of those researching the field of enterprise; the size of this study clearly limits the opportunity to acknowledge all the issues that have an impact upon what is occurring. It is from this state of affairs that we now consider the enterprise culture concept.

**Enterprise Culture**

The definition of the concept of enterprise culture varies, depending on the lens it is viewed through and several perspectives have been advanced in seeking to explain what it is and what its benefits, challenges and drawbacks might be (Morris, 2011).

The Centre for Policy Studies in a joint policy document with the Institute for Policy research (Morris, 2011:23) defines enterprise culture as:

> …the full set of conditions that promote high and rising levels of achievement in a country’s economic activity, politics and government, arts and sciences, and also the distinctive private lives of the inhabitants.

This definition is clearly open to very wide interpretation as there is not necessarily much clarity around what constitutes a full set of conditions or what a high and rising level of achievement might look like.
Enterprise culture has been linked to the need to eliminate bureaucratic ways of behaving in favour of the entrepreneurial behaviour demanded by a complex and dynamic business environment (Carr and Beaver, 2002). The following encapsulates this view:

…enterprise culture concentrates on the links between the activities of government and the activities of the individual. This linkage can be understood in terms of the strategies and policies drawn upon by government, for the direction of the behaviour of individuals and business in enterprise culture. In other words, the focus is on the range of policies and initiatives which aim to mould and shape entrepreneurial behaviour in business, both large and small and the response of individuals and business to this.

(Carr and Beaver, 2002:111)

To Carr and Beaver, enterprise culture is deemed necessary for entrepreneurs setting up businesses as well as managers in established firms. What is not taken into account is the view that the moulding and shaping of behaviour does not give room for a divergent approach that may suit particular institutions or individuals- enterprise culture is presented as a common-sense solution to coping with complexity and dynamism.

There is a clear demarcation between the views held by writers who have researched this topic area. Researchers like Ball (1991), Burrows, Ritchie and Curran (2015), Coffield (1990), Du Gay and Salaman, 1992; Keat (2011), Oldham, (2018) and Ritchie (1991; 2015) view enterprise culture with a great deal of scepticism. These writers do not appear to see much by way of a positive contribution of this concept to education at the meso and micro levels. On the other hand, writers like Davey, Hannon and
Penaluna (2016), Gibb (2000), Handscombe (2003) and Jones, Matalay and Maritz (2012) are in favour of promoting such a culture as a means of engaging students and enriching their educational experiences.

The theory of enterprise culture (Du Gay and Salaman, 1992) encourages employees to adopt a consumer-oriented outlook towards the duties they undertake and towards themselves. Those in support of enterprise culture support the idea of ‘flexible subjectivities’ or ‘enterprising selves’ that support the needs of the neo-liberal economy. Critics of enterprise culture highlight concern because enterprise culture suggests that the language of the market is the hegemonic discourse. Enterprise culture appears to have advanced beyond the recognition of the sovereign customer to the point where employees feel compelled to remake themselves in ways that demonstrate a willingness to embrace what the market place demands. As highlighted in chapter 2, Foucault’s theory of governmentality underpins views that critique the concept of enterprise culture.

In enterprise culture, power no longer operates negatively through the threat of punishment; instead it offers an affirmative guise that presents multiple choices or opportunities that can be normally accessed (Vallas and Cummins, 2015). In the context of this thesis, this refers to a situation in which embracing enterprise culture gives many chances for lecturers and students to take part in different learning experiences as part of being in an entrepreneurial culture.

Enterprise culture is also presented as a positive set of values, attitudes and beliefs but even then, Gibb (1987:11-12) admits that the area does not easily lend itself to value-free study. Gibb is adamant however that support for individual enterprise and the development of entrepreneurship should not be the prerogative of any political party. Gibb implies that what happens at the macro level need not determine what
occurs at the exo and meso levels but this is not easily achieved when policy levers make it difficult for institutions to chart their own course in the sector (Doel, 2018). As detailed in Chapter 2, what has occurred in the sector over the last two decades has made FE a sector that is extremely complex and restricts the ability of colleges to direct their own affairs.

Enterprise culture focuses upon promoting the need for individuals to be self-reliant and to take responsibility for their own lives within free market conditions. It also describes the reorganisation of the FE sector through incorporation that introduced competition but featured new and more stringent modes of state control (Keat, 2011:2; Peters, 2001; 2017).
In advocating that an enterprise culture is a positive thing, Gibb (1987:16) also makes reference to the improvement of relevance and worthwhileness in education. To Gibb, the adoption of an enterprise culture permits the reinforcement of innovation, creativity, flexibility, autonomy, self-direction and self-expression. He views enterprise culture not as being influenced by an ideology that is market-driven and capitalist (Harvey, 2007) but as something that enriches and enhances the education offer. Gibb (1987:17) levels a charge of a focus on the past and offering knowledge to a more or less passive audience after primary education right up to and including university. He uses casual observation of the education sector as a basis for a number of the conclusions he has drawn about how enterprise culture can benefit education. The above diagram illustrates Gibb’s viewpoint:

The claims made about education and entrepreneurial focus can be challenged as the study of the past for example, has no doubt aided the discipline of the mind necessary
to deal with an unknown future. Similarly, the gaining of knowledge can prompt insights and interest in a subject area and cause emotional involvement. Critical analysis and creativity need not be on the opposite sides of a continuum as one can undertake critical analysis and be creative at the same time. It is therefore difficult to accept this view of enterprise culture as an advancement of what can be gained in addition to what education focuses upon. Seeking to ensure that education achieves goals such as facilitating insights, harnessing creativity and looking to the future need not be termed entrepreneurial as such activity can occur in any subject area or context. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that an ideology like that promoted by the enterprise culture Gibb describes may need to be revisited time and again to ensure that its meanings have not evolved with the changing context.

This next section explores the terms enterprise and enterprise culture at the various levels of the multi-level ecological framework of Hodgson and Spours (2013; 2017).

Enterprise and enterprise culture - the macro level

Leonard and Wilde (2019) highlight how at the *macro* level of the European Union (EU) and the UK, both the narrow and broad definitions of enterprise and/or enterprise culture are embraced. The concept is positioned as the way to resolve economic challenges and unemployment and one that requires a particular mindset (Nabi, Linan, Fayolle, Krueger and Walmsley, 2017). In terms of the narrow definition of enterprise that focuses upon start-ups and the creation of jobs, the EU proposes that an encouraging economic environment can be created by improving access to finance and decreased regulation. The EU also embraces the broad definition that concentrates on the development of mindset; it proposes the use of role models in under-represented groups and training to produce a more enterprising population.
(European Commission, 2013 cited in Leonard and Wilde, 2018). This appears to be quite simplistic as structural factors clearly limit what can be achieved even when funding is available (Mueller, Van Stel and Storey, 2008).

In the UK, enterprise has been an important theme of government for young people and adults alike (Burrows, 2015; Carr and Beaver, 2002; Morris, 2011; Ritchie, 1989; 1991; 2015; Selden, 2011; Young, 2014). The Conservative government of the 1980s was intent on promoting cultural reconstruction that would (amongst others) result in individualism, independence, flexibility and self-help and get rid of the dependency culture (Keat, 1991; 2011). Mrs Thatcher viewed enterprise creation as a direct mechanism for lowering unemployment as well as highly desirable in and of itself (Mueller et al, 2008).

As previously mentioned, New Labour’s attempt to introduce a social justice element to marketisation was still tempered by the notion of people being required to work if they needed aid. Enterprise activities were promoted as a means of improving opportunities for employment (Mueller et al, 2008; Shutt and Sutherland, 2003). Between 2003 and 2008, the UK government spent more than 12 billion on policy initiatives to promote an enterprising society (Arshed, 2017). The commitment to enterprise activity is further observed during austerity with 9.8 billion being allocated by government for supporting businesses whilst (for purposes of comparison), the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills lost £400, 0000 from its budget for Administrative activities (Firpo and Beevers, 2015). In terms of government procurement for example, the Coalition Government set an aspirational target of 25% of procurement business being given to small or medium-sized businesses (Arshed, 2017). Ahl and Marlow (2021), in considering the current Conservative Government’s approach, point to the fact that entrepreneurship remains central to contemporary
socio-economic development with a dominant discourse of personal self-development and contributions to national productivity.

There is the suggestion that those leaving FE may benefit from being taught about how to become self-employed. Instead of the focus on employment that is seen in the 1980s, there is now the suggestion of self-employment which is very much in line with the notion of self-responsibility (Peters, 2001; 2017; Young, 2014). Over 60% of the rise in self-employment since the 2008 economic crash has been in part-time self-employment and there has been a marked decrease in the number of two-person businesses (Goodall, 2014). This means that whilst businesses may be starting up, they are in the main, not employing people and these business owners are more like employees of larger establishments (MacDonald and Giazitzoglu, 2019). The issue of the increase in the supply of educated workers and job scarcity (Brown and James, 2020) means more and more people are likely to opt for self-employment rather than risk being unemployed.

**Enterprise at the exo level (regional and local)**

Local policy-making on enterprise and the labour market options available to young people are framed by the regional context in question as highlighted by Wilde and Leonard (2018). A few studies to date give a view of how enterprise activity impacts regions and localities. One such study is MacDonald’s study in Cleveland (1991). MacDonald’s study took place in a locality of high unemployment. It is an interesting example of the impact of enterprise culture. He undertook a qualitative study of one hundred 18-25-year olds in Cleveland, a depressed area of Britain (MacDonald, 1991). For a number of years during the 1980s, Cleveland had the highest levels of unemployment in mainland Britain. In MacDonald’s study, the ethnographic interview data comes from young people who have all attempted to join
the enterprise culture. The intention of the project was to rejuvenate the local economy and reduce unemployment. The young peoples’ experiences demonstrate that attempts at self-employment are often extremely frustrating and do not often result in the success that those who support enterprise culture may report. The reality of the young peoples’ experiences included ‘unpredictability of work and income’ (p.259), ‘long hours and low pay’ (p. 258), ‘expectations of low financial rewards’ (p.258), and ‘continuous uncertainty’ (p.260). MacDonald (1991:266-267) identifies three groups of young people in his study: ‘fallers’ are the two out of ten young people who have left the enterprise culture after a maximum period of two years and have felt disappointed and dismayed. Runners are ten percent of the sample who have done well in self-employment and have commercially viable businesses whilst seventy percent of the sample are classed as plodders. These plodders are those who run businesses on a shoe string and have little intention or hope of expanding in the future. Smith and Air (2012) highlight how experiences can differ, depending on whether an individual comes from the entrepreneurial middle classes, is a working-class entrepreneur or a peasant entrepreneur. These distinctions help explain what happened in Cleveland. Structural factors impacted the outcomes experienced by the young people who took part in the study. The problems that are behind the lack of employment for example, are ascribed to the individuals concerned when the issues at stake may include the production and maintenance of inequality produced by the social and economic structures of society (Brown and James, 2020; Smyth, 1999).

More recently MacDonald and Giazitzoglou’s (2019) work investigating the ‘gig economy’, points to the existence of a situation that is similar to the findings of their Cleveland study. The gig economy is a term that can be used to refer to insecure work arrangements such as casual and zero hours contracts. Fraser Wheldon’s (2019)
FE Week report indicates that 29% of colleges have over 50% of their teaching staff on a form of insecure contract; resulting in significant precarity. MacDonald and Giazitzoglu highlight how zero hour and temporary contracts dominate the employment landscape and wage insecurity continues to grow. 34% of gig workers are between the ages of 16 and 30 (MacDonald and Giazitzoglu, 2019: 733). Gig workers seem to be quite low paid with over 60% earning less than the taxable threshold personal allowance of £11,500 and about 30% earn less than £4,500 a year. The researchers describe the similarities between the gig economy and the earlier forms of work found in the enterprise culture studied in the Cleveland example. It appears that the name tags may be different but challenges still exist (especially amongst young people) because of the reduced availability of employment even when people are well educated. MacDonald and Giazitzoglu (2019) point to forced entrepreneurship and low returns and even debts as a feature of the lives of young people. This is often because of a lack of choice and control if they are going to be able to earn money to help take care of their basic needs. The reference to what they perceive to be the proliferation of insecurity that is sweetened by the discourse of entrepreneurial individualism indicates that what was termed the enterprise culture in the 1980s and 1990s (Keat, 2011) still appears to present a number of challenges. The approach of presenting the gig economy as a desirable estate of freedom and choice masks dealing with the challenge of a society that does not pay sufficient attention to business models that exploit workers and strip them of their rights (MacDonald and Giazitzoglu, 2019).
Enterprise culture and entrepreneurship education - the meso level

It appears that staff in educational establishments realise that it is not realistic to expect more than a few young people to become entrepreneurs (Fletcher, 2012; MacDonald, 1991; Wilde and Leonard, 2018). Rather than turn away from funding opportunities, they appear to have reassessed what can realistically be achieved and badged it as the improvement of employability skills or personal development. Right from the start of relationships between those charged with providing government funding and those who deliver programmes, there are assumptions made that may be in essence quite contradictory.

The first university entrepreneurship programme was delivered at Harvard University in 1947 (Nabi et al, 2017). Entrepreneurship education (EE) is defined as the conveyance of entrepreneurial knowledge in a structured manner (Young, 1997) or education that develops the capacity for students to generate ideas that create value (Jarman, 2019). Entrepreneurial knowledge is described by Anderson and Jack (2008) as the mentality, concepts and skills required by owner managers. Whilst some writers focus very much upon the narrow definition linked to the creation of new ventures, as explored in some detail by Wilde and Leonard (2018), the European Commission has proposed a definition of entrepreneurship education that is extremely broad. This definition in this macro context is presented in its report on teacher education and training to prepare teachers for the challenge of entrepreneurship education. The Commission defines entrepreneurship education as a process that learners go through in order to acquire a broad set of competences applicable to every aspect of their lives and one that brings greater social, economic and individual benefits; once more we come across what can be viewed as synonymous with governmentality via technologies of the self (Du Gay and Salaman, 1992). The EC
has rejected the notion of enterprise education being about preparing learners for the world of business as much too narrow (Wilde and Leonard, 2018). This definition positions entrepreneurship education as being about life-wide as well as life-long competence development. If this proposed definition is considered logically, it appears that at the meso level, almost everything that enables individuals to turn ideas into action, may be classified as entrepreneurship education. A report from The Pearson Think Tank and the Education and Employers Taskforce (Coiffait, Dawkins, Kirwan and Mann, 2012:9) resents a UK Definition Spectrum that aids in providing some understanding of the range of meanings given to the same terms:
The range of different meanings arises from the variety of ways in which the term is used amongst educators at the *meso* and *micro* levels, policy makers at the *macro* level, employers and other stakeholders at the *exo* level (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). Without the distinguishing characteristic of the setting up of business ventures, enterprise education could effectively equal what all education could be in practice.

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**Figure 4: UK Definition spectrum of enterprise and entrepreneurship education:**

(Coiffait, Dawkins, Kirwan and Mann, 2012:9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enterprise Education</th>
<th>Entrepreneurship Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holistic and broad</td>
<td>Narrow and focussed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lens for viewing all education, a mindset &amp; business</td>
<td>Education for self-employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on soft skills, behaviours, competencies</td>
<td>Focus on hard skills and knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad work and life skills</td>
<td>Specific business and start-up skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employment one small part</td>
<td>A clear and discrete area of focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasise personal, community, social impact</td>
<td>Emphasise economic impact &amp; money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasise collaboration</td>
<td>Emphasise competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger learners</td>
<td>Older learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something experienced by all</td>
<td>Something offered to all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A more complex story</td>
<td>A simple story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Few role models in the media</td>
<td>Media role models common</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Reviews of entrepreneurship education point to a situation in which attitudes and behaviours of students are impacted both positively and negatively where venture creation and self-employment are concerned (Nabi et al, 2017). The contradictory findings are attributed to methodological issues such as the lack of control groups and the nature and context of pedagogical interventions and contextual factors (Pittaway and Cope, 2007). In addition, it is clear that whilst there are positive impacts of enterprise education on young people’s attitudes towards starting up a business, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic background and type of school attended are all mitigating factors (Athayde, 2012).

**Enterprise educators- the micro level**

The belief that entrepreneurship can be learned is what underpins the existence of enterprise educators (Jang, 2013); the *micro* level of the multi-level framework in the FE sector (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). Enterprise educators are those with the challenging brief of designing and delivering courses and study programmes that meet the rigours of academia and yet have a reality-based focus and promote entrepreneurial behaviour. Their clientele are students who seek more reality and experientially-based pedagogies instead of traditional business education (Plascka and Welsch, 1990).

Whilst the EC’s definition of entrepreneurship education is deemed to be expansive, considering the aims of this study, its presentation of the characteristics of the entrepreneurial teacher (ECORYS, 2011) presents a view of the characteristics and actions of the people they label as enterprise educators:
The description of the entrepreneurial teacher does not differ markedly from what one would expect from an effective teacher. There is an acceptance amongst several writers that students can be taught how to undertake entrepreneurship related tasks and projects using a variety of tools and techniques. Those who teach such students are often called enterprise educators. (Gibb, 1993; Jack and Anderson, 1999; Kuratko, 2005).

Figure 5: The entrepreneurial teacher: EC Entrepreneurship Education Report (ECORYS, 2011:8)
Whilst there is limited literature dealing with enterprise educators in FE, Penaluna (2018) has argued that the vocational areas covered by FE are normally taught by people with experience in a variety of crafts who have been self-employed. It is therefore quite natural to them to promote entrepreneurial learning at the micro level (Hodgson and Spours, 2017).

**Conclusion**

The key terms used in this study are all subject to debate and discussion in the enterprise and related literature. The term entrepreneur is used to describe people who are self-employed as well as those who have started businesses that employ thousands of people.

The term enterprise is used to refer to activities, characteristics and actual businesses. References are made to narrow and wide definitions that are on a spectrum beginning with business set-up and ending with the acquisition of a wide range of characteristics (Leonard and Wilde, 2019). The characteristic of being enterprising can consequently be linked with almost any endeavour in education that is undertaken with a view to being effective when the broad definition of enterprise is employed.

Although a number of professionals are referred to as enterprise educators, it is difficult to distinguish these educators from any others who are effective in their pedagogical practices.

The changing market place in which technology has made self-employment possible, demographic changes and changes in the attractiveness of employment opportunities (Dellot, 2014) all appear to promote enterprise culture. This is because at the macro level there is an ideological commitment to enterprise culture (Burrows, 2015); the
various terms continue to be used synonymously and there is no one definition of enterprise or enterprise culture per say.

This thesis adds to what is known at the meso and micro levels of FE colleges. It provides a qualitative consideration of the impacts of what has taken place at the macro and exo levels on the meso and micro levels of institutions and staff members (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). It permits the exploration of staff viewpoints with the aid of the theoretical framework developed to define enterprise culture, how it manifests from day to day and its consequences (Ogbor, 2000:627). It seeks to achieve an authentic consideration of enterprise culture by undertaking an empirical study that tests Ritchie’s framework that has not been tested prior to this study. It gives room to the exploration of variations and contrasting views and opinions about enterprise culture in FE using the sociological lens of Ritchie’s framework and the Cultural Web. These frameworks are described in some detail in Chapter 4.
Chapter 4 Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter begins by revisiting the overall aim of the study and the research questions to re-establish the scope of the study. The epistemology underpinning this study and the theoretical perspective adopted (Crotty, 1998, Creswell, 2007) are outlined and briefly explored in the FE system context. An explanation of the theoretical framework used for assessing the meso and micro levels (Hodgson and Spours, 2013; 2017) of the FE institutions and their staff is then given. This is followed by a discussion of why a case study approach is judged to be a suitable qualitative research method in view of the research question and the FE context. An introduction to the two organisations selected for this study follows the rationale for using a case study as a means of understanding complex phenomena (Yin, 2009). The research design is then outlined and includes details of how the organisations were chosen, the data collection process used and how the data collected has been analysed. Alongside a discussion of ethical implications, the impact of the researcher’s role is discussed in view of its effect upon the research process. The chapter ends with a consideration of the limitations identified in undertaking this study.

Research aim and research questions

This study aims to ascertain staff perspectives on what enterprise culture is, how it manifests itself and the consequences it produces in two further education colleges. The aim of the research is linked to the main research question and three sub-questions. The research question is:
• What is Enterprise Culture and what are its implications for Further Education Colleges?

The sub-questions are:

- How is enterprise culture perceived by staff in the case study colleges?

- How does such a culture impact upon the everyday experience of staff in the case study colleges?

- What are the consequences of enterprise culture in the case study colleges and how have these been addressed?

Epistemology and theoretical perspective

The stance adopted towards the nature of reality and its characteristics is one that embraces the idea of multiple realities (Creswell, 2007; Blackburn and Kovalainen, 2009). This position acknowledges the fact that the staff who constitute the micro level of the multi-level ecological framework (Hodgson and Spours, 2013; 2017) have a variety of perspectives informed by their unique personalities, values, beliefs, experiences and motivations. The potential illumination offered by the application of a social constructionist approach is deemed most beneficial in the light of the research question. This approach acknowledges the fact that shared understandings happen over a period of time and are developed, negotiated or socially constructed between participants as they are involved in ongoing conversations (Morehouse, 2012). The individuals have developed subjective meanings of their experiences that are multiple and varied and as such, the complexity of views is sought rather than an attempt to pinpoint a narrow range of ideas (Creswell, 2007). The decision to use Ritchie’s framework as the main tool for undertaking the analysis of the data and the cultural
web as a supporting theory points to the adoption of the theoretical proposition derived from the review of literature as a departure point (Pearse 2019). The literature review indicates that perspectives on enterprise culture range from the very positive to the very negative (Keat, 2011) and pinpoints a lack of clarity about the concept in education. The two theories together form a sensitising concept illustrating some of the prior understandings of enterprise culture (Gilgun, 2018). In adopting a deductive approach, this empirical study builds upon the theoretical work undertaken by Ritchie and contributes to building a body of knowledge about enterprise in the FE sector. As previously mentioned, this study is the first attempt to subject Ritchie’s framework to empirical testing. In addition, as recommended by Blackburn and Kovalainen (2009) in discussing the relative newness of entrepreneurship research, embedding research in entrepreneurship in a core discipline such as sociology helps improve its rigour.

An interpretivist theoretical perspective is still adopted in this study with a view to acknowledging what falls outside the theoretical proposition in the unique contexts in which the concept of enterprise culture is said to exist.

The results of the study will be ‘living theory’ (Shotter, 1997; 2010) that tests the applicability and relevance of the theory developed by Ritchie (1991; 2015) and the cultural web as a framework for this study of particular meso and micro components of the FE system. Living theory is of value in the FE enterprise and entrepreneurship context especially in the light of the fact that no acknowledged ‘general theory’ of entrepreneurship is currently in existence (Bridge and O’Neill, 2018). The insights resulting from this study are of value to educators, policy makers and other interested parties. This is because a reader gains a helpful picture of what is occurring that they can make partial and tentative use of in their own context as they deem appropriate
(Morehouse, 2012:23). The following section provides a background to Ritchie’s framework and outlines the rationale for adopting it in this thesis.

Background to Ritchie’s Framework

Ritchie’s work begins with the examination of ‘the different cross-currents of the enterprise culture’ highlighted by a variety of statements made during the time of the British General Election in 1987 (Ritchie, 1991; 2015: 19). His research highlights how the enterprise culture is referred to in the political sphere by advocates of enterprise culture like Lord Young and the Institute of Directors as the way to redeem Britain. He indicates how some politicians like Neil Kinnock cast doubts over the redemptive nature of the phenomenon of enterprise culture. In the 1987 General Election Editorial, (cited in Ritchie, 1991; 2015) The Observer newspaper expresses a view that totally vilifies the idea of an enterprise culture as something Mrs Thatcher has used to permit greed amongst those who benefit from things like windfall profits to the detriment of others who are less privileged in society. The less privileged are also depicted as victims of the industrial changes that have left people unemployed (cited in Ritchie, 1991; 2015:18). Ritchie also discusses how the concept of enterprise culture also exists in other spheres of existence. He highlights his way of framing the concept as a manner that embraces a critical approach and it is this stance that makes the framework appropriate for this study. His work recognises the puzzling paradox of an enterprise culture that is simultaneously ill-defined (Keat, 2015) and rarely measured (Athayde, 2012; Ritchie, 1991).

Ritchie approaches the concept of enterprise culture without prior assumptions about its value and seeks to question what enterprise culture really means and what it stands for. Ritchie’s ‘Chasing Shadows: enterprise culture as an educational phenomenon’
paper in the Journal of Education Policy (1991) deals with the depiction of enterprise culture in schools, colleges, universities and other institutions. He classes himself as having taken the stance of an academic analyst (Ritchie, 1991; 2015:23) who has undertaken the task of subjecting the concept of enterprise culture to reason. It is this attempt to bring reason to bear upon the discourse of enterprise culture that makes this framework ideal as a launchpad for this study. As Ritchie summarises, ‘… In a nutshell then, enterprise culture is basically self-descriptive when purely Subject driven; an article of faith when Believer-driven; euphemistic myth when Sceptic-driven; and carefully attested concept when Analyst-driven’ (Ritchie, 2015: 24). His work sets out to define the different types of enterprise culture that exist because of the dominance of each of the four main stances or the hybrid positions that exist, highlights the assumptions that underpin each type of culture and the relationship each type has with education.

Ritchie’s framework outlines options that cover the stances that can be taken towards the concept of enterprise culture ranging from those opposed to it to those who accept the concept without question. His work is a taxonomy that illustrates the diversity of the discourses that constitute the term ‘enterprise culture’ (Ritchie, 1991; 2015). It is consequently a valuable aid to deciphering the confused mixture of words and phrases that arise in the literature when the word enterprise is used (Coffield, 1990). By borrowing this theoretical tool developed by Ritchie, an understanding of enterprise culture in its various forms is facilitated. This also maintains the focus of exploring the concept in the educational setting of the FE sector. This is in agreement with the work of Dodd, Jack and Anderson (2013: 3) who stipulate that ‘…understandings of entrepreneurship are not universal but are differently conditioned by the cultural experience of respondents.'
Alternative approaches considered

There are several alternative ways in which institutional enterprise culture can be approached. The work on the Transforming Learning Cultures (TLC) in Further Education project (James and Biesta, 2007), Institutional culture and dispositions to learning (Hodkinson and Bloomer, 2000) and Robson’s (1998) work on professional cultures in FE are three options considered but not adopted as explained below.

The recognition of complexity and the multifaceted nature of learning cultures ‘… the social practices through which people learn’ (James, Biesta, Hodkinson, Postlethwaite and Gleeson, 2007:4) is what initially marks out this approach as a possible option for this study. Enterprise culture is clearly a complex and multifaceted concept. Learning cultures also explores how colleges deal with policy discourse, highlighting some of the contextual factors at play in the FE sector that prove challenging for staff. It would be possible to explore the actions, dispositions and interpretations of the staff participating in the study although the TLC project ‘… did not take account of the dispositions and learning of teachers, implicitly seeing colleges as sites where only students learned’ (James and Biesta, 2007:12).

Whilst the TLC project takes context into account, it concentrates very much on teaching and learning and its improvement. This study is more concerned with the creation of context or the dispositions adopted by staff in the light of their stances in enterprise culture discourse. As such, Ritchie’s framework that focuses on enterprise culture is deemed more appropriate than the learning cultures work that seeks to ultimately ‘… give an answer to the question of how teaching and learning in FE might be improved’ (James and Biesta 2007: 143). The size and focus of this study permits
the exploration of some wider factors but not teaching and learning practices experienced by both staff and students.

As the TLC project was an interpretive study, it is perceived to be more suitable as a basis for a follow-on study from this thesis. The TLC framework can be employed in a future study that focuses upon particular programmes of study within the enterprise culture to explore ‘...the complexity of the relationships between teaching, teachers, learning, learners, learning situations and wider historical, economic, social and political influences’ (Postlethwaite, 2007:161).

In Hodkinson and Bloomer’s (2000) work on institutional culture in Stockingham Sixth Form College, they acknowledge the key role played by the social conditions within which learning occurs and the method they employ could also be a possible option for undertaking this thesis. Hodkinson and Bloomer’s study identifies the three features of the culture at Stockingham as the tightly defined community, the positive culture for learning and the subtle elitism of the college (Hodkinson and Bloomer, 2000:190). A similar approach could be adopted in this thesis with a view to identifying the ethos of each of the institutions. The use of the work of Hodkinson and Bloomer would be a starting point that would then require the deciphering of what was occurring within the institutions in an inductive manner. This approach would most likely highlight many valid characteristics of each culture that would likely detract from the focus upon enterprise culture that the research questions in this study seek to address. Whilst this would no doubt be a viable approach it would be quite difficult to accomplish within the constraint of the size of this study. In addition, Hodkinson and Bloomer’s (2000) work explores relationships between institutional culture and learning and concentrates primarily on students. Whilst learning is of interest, it is not the focus of this study and as such, Ritchie’s framework is deemed more suitable.
In exploring status, culture and identity in the further education college, Robson’s (1998) work focuses upon staff in FE and as such, it deals with the perspective taken in this thesis. Robson highlights the many cultures found in the FE workplace that arise from the variety of occupations and roles that characterise FE lecturers. She points to how geographical location and the local industry historically determined the range of occupational groups found in FE colleges. How things were done in FE departments or the cultures in place was thus influenced by the ethos of various occupations. The professional identity of the various professions determined the variety of cultures in each institution. Robson makes reference to Becher’s (1989) work that highlights how different disciplinary groups within academia embrace unique views about the nature of knowledge, have their own language, give pre-eminence to different features of academic work and embrace particular customs, beliefs and rules of conduct.

This thesis could focus upon the various disciplines staff belong to in the case study institutions (Gleeson and Mardle, 1980), considering how culture varies depending on the technical or academic professions of the staff interviewed. This is not deemed to be a suitable approach mainly because of the level of fragmentation this approach brings to the study. The view adopted is one that stipulates that the stance taken by staff is more to do with an ethos that is definitely impacted by the profession one belongs to and the advent of new managerialism but the level of fragmentation at this level would effectively invalidate any attempt to establish the bonds that would be required for enterprise culture to be meaningfully discussed on an institutional level.
Tensions in the application of Ritchie’s Framework

Some tensions arise in applying Ritchie’s theoretical frame to an empirical setting. Firstly, the framework itself is an analytical approximation (Ritchie, 1991; 2015)- society changes and the meanings given to models, terms, occurrences and positions are subject to alterations and redefinition. Ritchie’s taxonomy was originally developed in 1991 and although his overall frame analysis was revisited in 2015, his work on enterprise culture as an educational phenomenon has not received similar attention. Ritchie’s work is an example of educational theory that is still in the early stages of formulation (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018). Secondly, the interpretation of the match between the framework and what is perceived in the setting are seen through the eyes of the researcher and their interpretation of the data collected (Gomm, 2008). The Analyst’s stance for example is described as leading to a culture of Objectivism in the theory but the epistemological view adopted in this study is that true objectivity does not exist as every view is impacted by different experiences and contexts. Objectivism in this study is defined as a neutral approach to the value of enterprise culture, viewing the phenomenon as having the potential to have a negative or positive impact in any educational setting. The stances and hybrid stances described by Ritchie appear comprehensive but there is always a chance that other stances exist. In addition, once a word like Pragmatism (Ritchie, 1991; 2015) is used in the framework to refer to the culture that results from a Sceptic leaning towards the stance of a Subject, it cannot then be used to refer to an analytical approach which in common parlance would be termed pragmatic. Such limitations in the framework are acknowledged and the divergences that occur during the thesis are appropriately noted. Divergences ultimately serve as a way of developing knowledge in the area of the study of enterprise culture in further education (Bergdahl, Ternestedt, Bertero and
What is effectively a process of ‘...progressive verification’ is balanced by a willingness to acknowledge the unexpected issues and challenges that can arise from the data (O’Leary, 2014: 305-306). In this thesis, the effort is thus made to be open to data and to have the preparedness to make any modifications required (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018).

Theoretical Framework- Ritchie’s types of culture & The Cultural Web

![Diagram of Ritchie’s types of culture]

Figure 6: The differential constitution of enterprise cultures (Ritchie, 2015:24)

Ritchie’s four generic positions of *Subject, Believer, Sceptic* and *Analyst* are based on a constitution of enterprise culture that frames it as being viewed from different
assumptive standpoints by those engaged with it (Ritchie, 2015) at the micro level of departments and individuals. **Subjects** are entrepreneurs and small business people who have the day to day experience of trying to run a small business and face some challenges that can often prove to be insurmountable (Athayde, 2012). **Believers** are those primarily from the state and political organisations who believe in Britain developing an enterprise culture in which the market is the primary determinant of success (Holmwood and Bhambra, 2012). Believers like Lord Young (2014) advocate that all educational establishments should embrace enterprise culture which in his view, involves putting enterprise at the centre of everything an institution does. Believers view the enterprise culture as the means of resolving the challenges faced by the nation as young people get enthused, learn about what is relevant to the outside world and are better placed to contribute to society (Packham et al, 2010). In Ritchie’s view, there is no consideration given to the darker side of educational activity (James, 2018) such as the part structural inequalities might play in the disengagement of young people in institutions or their inability to become entrepreneurs (Henry, 2013).

**Analysts** take a dispassionate view to the idea of an enterprise culture. As highlighted above, this is unlikely to be a pure stance not impacted by experiences and the context. To the Analyst, conclusions about what the enterprise culture can achieve can only be drawn after research into its impact has been undertaken and cool reason applied to any claims made about what has been achieved in such a culture. **Sceptics** are those who are doubtful about the principles governing the notion of enterprise culture. They view claims made about the existence and achievements of enterprise culture with suspicion and think that those advocating enterprise culture and its merits are effectively bending reality to fit into what they have imagined an enterprise culture to be. Figure 6 also depicts the various hybrid stances that can result
as changes occur with the passage of time. A person that starts off as a **Subject** may be drawn towards the *Believer’s* stance due to particular experiences. They then become a **Follower** of what the believer advocates. Should a **Subject** be turned away from their position towards a more sceptical stance, they become a **Reactor**. Similarly, a **Sceptic** who has a more positive view by virtue of their interaction with believers becomes a **Convert**.

The basic types of culture that evolve from these stances at the *meso* (institutional) and *micro* (departmental) levels are as depicted in Figure 7. The dominance of the *Believer’s* stance results in a **Revivalist** culture. In a **Revivalist** culture, there is the belief that a country is cured of the illness of being anti-enterprising and is converted or transformed into having a healthy belief in enterprise (Burrows and Curran, 2018; Keat, 2011). This culture is described as one in which education is the servant and handmaiden of the **Revivalist** cause.

The **Subject**’s stance dominating an institution results in a **Survivalist** culture. In this culture, the organisation is a replica of a small business enterprise and goes from day to day seeking to survive and persevere as most small businesses do (Bridge and O’Neill, 2018). A college becomes a replica of a small business if it is an institution where this culture is ubiquitous.

**Analysts** dominating an organisation results in an **Objectivist** culture. In such organisations, there is a level of intellectual detachment so that what is observed is assessed with no prior bias as to what the organisation should be like. Whilst this sounds plausible in theory, it is unlikely to be so in practice because intellectual detachment is difficult if not well-nigh impossible to achieve (Gilgun, 2018).
When *Sceptics* are the most dominant group in an organisation, the resulting enterprise culture of *Scepticism* is one that advocates that education should be more substantial than existing to serve the needs of the marketplace (Smyth, 1999; Oldham, 2018).

As is the case with hybrids when the various stances of *Believer* etc are considered, hybrids exist in terms of the types of cultures also. The combination of the *Revivalist* and *Survivalist* cultures results in an *Expansionist* culture. This culture promotes the provision of opportunities and as such, it moves away from the image of the small business plodding along and just surviving (MacDonald, 1991).
Figure 7: Types of enterprise culture (Ritchie, 2015:25)
The Cultural Web is a framework that depicts organisational culture at the *meso* level as being constituted of six components that determine the organisational paradigm in place in an institution. As previously explained, only the three components that tell the story of what actually happens in organisations are made use of in this study. Rituals and routines describe events like awards ceremonies that take place in organisations on a regular basis and indicate what is viewed as important by the people in the organisation. Stories told amongst staff and to new comers tend to refer to successes and failures, villains and heroes; they are a means of pinpointing the values of the organisation. Symbols include the dress code, office size and corporate identity which
together provide recognisable expressions of what the organisation is (Johnson and Scholes, 1992; 2017).

The two frameworks are combined in determining how enterprise culture impacts upon the day to day experiences of staff and the consequences that result from enterprise culture at the _meso_ and _micro_ (departmental) levels. The examination of rituals and routines, stories and symbols and the resulting paradigms are compared to the descriptions of the various types of enterprise culture described by Ritchie (1991; 2015). In so doing, the types of enterprise culture that are in existence in the case study colleges are identified. The cultural web makes it possible for the categorisation of the types of enterprise culture to be undertaken based on the actual experiences of staff.

**Case study approach and the organisations being studied**

This part of the chapter provides a justification for the use of a case study approach in this thesis. The introduction of the two organisations involved in the study that follows this justification sheds some light upon their suitability for the achievement of the aims of the thesis. The choice made to adopt a qualitative instead of quantitative approach is primarily because of the focus of the research questions upon the perceptions and experiences (Cohen et al, 2018; Thomas, 2013) of the staff members in the institutions. In choosing a case study approach which is naturally purposive instead of other approaches such as an ethnographic study or action research it is possible to produce the type of context-dependent knowledge required to answer the research questions (Flyvberg, 2006; Yin 2009) within the constraint of the size of the EdD.
The objectives of this thesis require a focus on the contested nature of the enterprise culture concept. As highlighted in the review of literature, a lack of clarity about enterprise culture, its manifestations and its consequences as well as the nature of the FE context (as seen in Chapter two) drive the choice of the case study method. The myriad views highlighted in the literature (Burrows and Curran, 2018; Curran, 2015; Gibb, 1987; Huddleston, 2010; Keat, 2011) and the dynamism and complexities encountered in the FE context (Hodgson and Spours, 2015; 2019; Keep, 2018; Wragg, Stoszkowski and Macnamara, 2020) indicate that, the in-depth understanding of perspectives being sought is best provided by a case study approach.

In view of the small-scale, resource constrained nature of this study which explores the naturally occurring phenomenon of FE staff views and experiences, a case study approach permits the study of two institutions with a view to bringing some illumination to what happens in their peculiar contexts. The unique settings of the two institutions can be explored in an in-depth manner instead of the many instances a survey or experiment would require. Furthermore, it is more possible to have a focus so that relationships and processes can be explored in greater depth. Case study provides a holistic view through making use of multiple sources of data instead of the isolated factors surveys and experiments consider (Denscombe, 2017).

In terms of alternative qualitative approaches as mentioned above, both an ethnographic study and action research were considered. Ethnography requires a long-term immersion with a group or community to gain an understanding in a manner that permits the description and interpretation of their way of life (Cohen et al, 2018; O’Leary, 2014). In seeking to undertake a study covering perspectives over five years, the resource constraints meant that it was not possible to spend meaningful amounts of time with each of the six groups (senior managers, middle management and
lecturers in two institutions) to observe their behaviour and collect data in their real-life settings. The desire to engage with perspectives at the three levels of the institutions would have meant that a similar amount of time would have had to have been spent with the groups of staff from the two institutions. The narrow focus of the study because of an interest in enterprise culture with particular research questions means that a retrospective case study using interviews, tours, websites and documents provides the data required to answer the research questions.

Action research adds value for staff involved in teaching (Cohen et al, 2018; Thomas, 2013) enterprise and entrepreneurship through developing their practice. This approach of tackling real-world challenges and involving practitioners holds some appeal because it fits the ethos of continuous improvement prevalent in FE (James, Biesta, Hodkinson, Postlethwaite and Gleeson, 2007). James et al (2007) highlight how seeking improvement requires a clear definition of what exactly constitutes improvement as well as who takes part in making such value judgements. In considering whether action research was a viable option, these quandaries are further compounded by the lack of clarity around the concept of enterprise culture. As such, not knowing exactly how the concept is defined in each institution and seeking to build a picture from what staff say to determine how this culture manifests and its consequences, action research is not deemed appropriate, especially in the time frame available for undertaking this thesis. Action research normally involves several cycles within which staff are collaborators or co-researchers (O’Leary, 2014). As Thomas (2013:147) stipulates, the action cycle involves having an idea or seeing a problem, examining it and gathering information of relevance, planning an intervention, implementing it and reflecting on the consequences. However, there is room for
exploring action research as a means of engaging with the consequences of enterprise culture this thesis highlights.

The results that can be obtained from a quantitative approach such as surveys or experiments (Thomas, 2013), are unlikely to achieve the aims of the study. A descriptive survey would permit the descriptions of data collected from staff about enterprise culture whilst an analytical survey would facilitate the testing of a hypothesis (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018). Both would allow the collection of factual information in the main and permit the generalisability of the findings. The scope for expressing viewpoints however would be limited from the outset. As Cohen et al (2018) assert, surveys have limited explanatory potential and do not often permit the exploration of the impact of temporal, local or spatial contexts. Whilst a framework is used as a starting point in the analytical approach adopted in this thesis, there is scope for the identification and acknowledgement of any data that falls outside the parameters established by the framework. The researcher in survey research aims to be an outsider who is independent whilst this thesis is very much about insider research. The interactions with the participants taking part in the study is a central tenet in seeking to understand and explore staff perspectives (Thomas, 2013).

An experiment is undertaken when a researcher conducts an empirical investigation under controlled conditions and pays careful attention to the measurement of what takes place. The researcher is seeking to demonstrate cause and effect (Denscombe, 2017; O’Leary, 2014; Thomas, 2013). In this study where human beings in all their complexity are the subject of investigation in the institutions’ uncontrolled environments, the use of an experiment is not deemed appropriate. It would be difficult to take the very many factors at play in the case study organisations into account.
A quantitative study would most likely provide a breadth of views that staff have, producing a similar range to what is seen in the literature without necessarily enriching our understanding as to why those views are held.

Thus, a case study approach permits the development of understanding of reality that is nuanced (Flyvberg, 2006). The choice of a case study approach is presented as a legitimate option for gaining and accumulating knowledge as formal generalisation is not the only legitimate method of enquiry. Using the type of test Karl Popper calls falsification permits informal generalisation in a case study (1959, cited in Flyvberg, 2006). Falsification describes a situation in which only one observation does not match what has been proposed and thus makes a rejection or revision of the proposition inevitable. Flyvberg asserts that it is thus possible to generalise based on the findings in a single case when that one case disproves a claim of universality or is a Black Swan; the exception to what has been assumed to be the rule.

The choice of a case study approach also permits an appreciation of the real-life situations and tests views that may or may not fit into the adopted framework as staff share their perspectives. It permits the recrafting of what enterprise culture can mean as anything that falls outside the scope of the framework can still be identified, acknowledged and valued. The use of Ritchie’s taxonomy (1991; 2015) as an analytical framework enables the exploration of a variety of perspectives as well as the freedom to move beyond the confines of the framework in line with the story told by the data. Conceptual closure is not the main goal of the use of the case study approach (Flyvberg, 2006).

In terms of the boundary and shape of the case study, this is a multiple case study that is retrospective because it involves the exploration of staff perspectives over the period
(2011-2016) during which the colleges have been involved with enterprise activity. As the two institutions are studied at the same time, this is also categorised as a parallel study. A simple comparative approach is adopted with a view to highlighting the differences between the institutions (Thomas, 2013).

Choice of Institutions

The approach adopted in this thesis permits the exploration of staff perspectives on enterprise culture in institutions that have been involved in enterprise activity. The understanding in such institutions gives an indication of what is likely to be the case in other institutions in the sector. In seeking to explore the greatest amount of information available on enterprise culture in FE, these two institutions are judged to be the most appropriate in London instead of randomly chosen colleges that a different sampling approach could result in. A strategy of information-oriented selection is adopted (Flyvberg, 2006: 230). Both institutions have been engaged in enterprise activity and as such, they are appropriate for maximising the utility of the information obtained from the small number of staff interviewed. The two institutions are seen to be critical cases (Flyvberg, 2006) or key case studies (Thomas, 2013) in so far as the enterprise activity engaged in by these institutions suggests that what can be discovered about enterprise culture is likely to have meaning for other institutions. CA and CB were two of the three FE colleges approached by the National Association of Colleges and Universities Entrepreneurs (NACUE) in 2011 to join a pilot programme of enterprise societies in FE colleges. Enterprise Societies had existed in universities for several years – funding from the Department for Business Innovation and Skills enabled colleges to join the NACUE network. CB subsequently won awards from NACUE for an enterprise event and as Enterprise Society of the Year. CA won an award of Enterprise College of the Year.
CA Advanced Practitioner. CA was a member of the Gazelle Colleges group founded to promote enterprise and entrepreneurship in FE (Martin, 2015). CA was also one of only two FE colleges (out of over 300 colleges) showcased in Lord Young’s Enterprise for All report (Young, 2014). In CA’s 2013 Ofsted report, the inspectors comment that most students develop excellent entrepreneurial and employability skills that both build their confidence and improve their aspirations.

Background information on case study colleges

College A (CA) states its mission as seeking to unleash the potential of students and improving their future chances. In addition to helping students achieve their potential, College B (CB) has a mission of preparing their students for the world of work or further study. CA and CB are classed by their Ofsted reports (2013-CA; 2016-CB) as large General Further Education Colleges in the sector. They both had a budget of approximately 36 million in 2016/17 (CA & CB Financial statements 2016/17). In terms of the range of activity engaged in, both institutions offer courses for 14-18-year olds and adults. CA and CB offer general education courses at General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and Advanced Level, many vocational courses at levels 1-6 that include BTECs, Higher National Certificates and Diplomas, Foundation Degrees and Undergraduate Degrees and Apprenticeships. CA had 12,000 and CB had 14,000 students enrolled in the 2016/17 academic year.

CA was founded in the 1960s and is situated in East London. Its East London location enables the institution to provide the local community with a wide range of training opportunities in addition to the variety of vocational programmes of study; it is actively engaged with organisations in its locality. The institution employed 500 staff in teaching and support roles in 2016/17 (CA website).
CB has a history as a catering college that was started early in the twentieth century by a group of hospitality representatives and academics. A training restaurant that still operates today was founded at the time by a group led by a famous French Chef to provide opportunities for cooking and serving meals to members of the public. Following a merger with another college in 2000, the present college was established and is one of the largest institutions in the UK. CB had 609 staff in its employment in the 2016/17 academic year (Payroll Manager, 2016).

Especially in the light of the challenges students encounter when they come from backgrounds of significant disadvantage, the choice of institutions is made with a view to examining contexts that are typical of institutions in the sector. As highlighted by Perry and Davies (2015), FE colleges work with a disadvantaged group in the main. Staff in FE also feel disadvantaged in comparison with teachers in schools (Fletcher, Lucas, Crowther and Taubman, 2015).

Both case study colleges are cited as having a significant number of students with backgrounds of relative disadvantage. CA’s 2016/17 self-assessment report indicates that unemployment in the local area is high with one out of every eight people seeking training or employment; the fourth highest in London. The report also indicates that the proportion of students who join the college after obtaining five A* to C GCSEs that include English and mathematics is 3% lower for the borough than for London. The index of multiple deprivation (IMD) from the local council’s website indicates that the borough has the highest IMD score in London. The IMD is made up of a combination of income, employment, access to housing and services, quality of living environment, quality of housing, education, skills and training (CA local council website). CA’s self-assessment report shows that in 2017, 45% of students aged 16-18 came from the local borough and another 15% came from the 8th most deprived borough in London.
In terms of CB, the two boroughs the institution’s centres are based in have areas of affluence and high deprivation co-existing. 67% of the institution’s students are in the bottom three bands of social deprivation; some of the students live in the most deprived areas in the UK. Almost a third of the students have to share a tablet, laptop or computer with members of their family (CB’s website, n.d).

CA scored 17 points (Linford, 2017) on the overall college league table, 185th position out of 208 colleges. The college league table is compiled by awarding points based on learner satisfaction, employer satisfaction, 16-18 destinations and adult destinations. The institution scored 5 each for learner satisfaction, 16-18 and adult satisfaction and 2 for employer satisfaction. CB scored 25 points on the league table: student satisfaction (8); employer satisfaction (3); 16-18 destinations (8); adult destinations (6). CB placed 135th out of 208 colleges. It is in the light of the engagement in enterprise activity and the above details regarding the types of students that study at both institutions that they have been selected for this study.

**Research design**

As explored by Thomas (2013), interviews used in qualitative research can be structured, unstructured or semi-structured. Structured interviews involve the researcher asking respondents a predetermined set of questions. Unstructured interviews are the direct opposite of structured interviews with no predetermined format so that respondents effectively set the agenda and determine the issues to be explored. By choosing to use semi-structured interviews in this study, it is possible to combine the structure of the issues to be covered in line with the research questions with the freedom to explore points that arise during the interviews. This method allows for the modification of the sequence of the questions, appropriate changes of wording
or the use of additional questions. Semi-structured interviews are well aligned with the aims of this study and the case study approach (Cohen et al, 2018; Yin, 2009). The questions devised serve as an aide-memoire and are divided into three categories in line with the research questions exploring the definition of enterprise culture, its manifestation and its consequences. This method permits the use of follow-up questions that explore how particular occurrences impacted respondents and/or probing questions that permit the deeper exploration of an issue that arises in the discussions that take place (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Simons, 2009; Thomas, 2013).

The research design is made up of three parts. The background knowledge of the institutions was provided by the websites of both institutions; prospectuses for 2016/17; CB’s full Ofsted report from 2011 and its short Ofsted report from 2016; CA’s full inspection report from 2013 and its short inspection report from 2017; CB Strategic plans for 2011-2014 and 2014-2017; CA’s Strategic Deliverables document 2012-2017.

The second element of the research design is the undertaking of semi-structured interviews and tours of the various parts of CA and CB. The tours provided a good understanding of the spatial aspects of the contexts being explored. The tours of CA took place at the main site of the institution where teaching and learning occurred and where the staff interviewed were based (James et al, 2007) and included visits to classrooms, the business incubator, the STEM centre, CA’s TV Studio and a restaurant. In CB, tours included visits to the college’s restaurants, the business incubator run by an independent company, classrooms, the organisation’s enterprise
academy, its conference centre, the hub at the institution’s North London site and the library\(^2\).

The third section of the design is the analysis and interpretation of the data with the aid of the combined theoretical framework adopted. The following outlines the processes undertaken.

In preparing for the data gathering stage, the reading of the contextual literature aided the development of the research questions. The various documents referred to above assisted in building a broad view of the institutions. As previously mentioned, the questions were developed as an aide memoire tackling the three issues of definition, manifestation and consequences of enterprise culture.

The principals of CA and CB were approached by email in August 2016 to request the participation of themselves and their staff in the study. Both principals agreed to staff and they themselves taking part in the study by sending an affirmative written response. The study was able to proceed once the letter and the consent form were received from the two principals. The request was for senior managers, middle managers and lecturing staff to participate in the study. The data collection strategy employed in each institution is a multi-level approach to evidence gathering to appropriately accommodate how the meso and micro levels are constituted. In both organisations, the first category of staff approached are the most senior members who have dealings with government and institutions at the macro system level like Ofsted and the LSC and determine overall organisational strategy. These members determine the brief of faculty heads and the overall strategic steer of the institutions. The next category in the hierarchy interviewed are the faculty heads who work with

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\(^2\) Please see descriptions of the various facilities in Chapter 5:108-113
senior managers and programme managers at the departmental (*micro*) level to implement policy and strategies and ensure that targets are met in the performance driven context the FE colleges operate in (Ball, 2003; 2008). The third category targeted is made up of programme managers (at the *micro* level) who report to faculty heads and are responsible for determining and monitoring the work of lecturers. The last group in this multi-level approach is made up of lecturing staff (at the *micro* level) who work with programme managers and are responsible for the day to day delivery of teaching and learning in the case study institutions. The monitoring of the *micro* level ensures that Ofsted’s reporting requirements (for example) that enforce market accountability are adhered to (Gallagher and Smith, 2018).

Purposive sampling was undertaken in view of the research questions being addressed (Creswell, 2007). In CA, the intention to interview half of the participants from the least enterprising faculty and the other half from the most enterprising faculty did not happen. The term ‘least enterprising’ refers to the department that engages least in activities linked to entrepreneurship and enterprise. The opposite of this applies in a department that has the most entrepreneurship-related activity taking place. The principal of CA maintained that every faculty was enterprising and the staff to be interviewed would be those available on the suggested dates; their names were provided by the institution. A confirmation of willingness to participate was requested by emailing the information sheet and the consent form to each participant and agreeing a time to meet over the period the interviews were being held. At the start of each interview, willingness to participate was also confirmed verbally.

In CB, the participants from the two faculties classed as most and least enterprising were based in the same centre. The identity of the senior and middle managers was clear from the designation of most enterprising and least enterprising and so they were
sent an email with the information sheet and a request to participate. Once they agreed to participate in the study, the consent form was emailed to them. The signed form was collected at the start of each interview. In terms of lecturing staff, no staff member in a reporting relationship was approached as it was felt that the results could be impacted by that. Lecturing staff were initially approached by email with the information sheet and asked to indicate their interest. The first ones to respond in the affirmative from each department were then invited by email to take part in the study (see Appendix A for details of the information sheet and consent form). Each interview started with an exploration of the meaning of enterprise culture and what the participant’s view was about the place of this culture in the institution they were working for. That was then followed by a discussion of their views on how enterprise culture manifested itself in the institution and their perception of the consequences of enterprise culture.

The semi-structured interviews in CA took place in the Institution’s board room on the main campus over two consecutive days in September 2016. Each interview lasted for an hour except for the interviews of the Chief Finance and Enterprise Officer and the Manager of the Business Incubator; each of which lasted for ninety minutes because of the follow on and probing questions asked. Each interview apart from the interview with the current principal was recorded and then transcribed in full. The electronic record of the transcripts is stored on a password-protected laptop in a private location and the printed paper copy kept in a secure file that no one apart from the researcher can access. Nine members of teaching staff out of the total number of 500 staff in CA were interviewed and as such, this clearly indicates that the conclusions drawn provides a snapshot of the views of staff and do not represent the whole institution.
The following are details of the members of staff who took part in the study from CA:

**CA Participants' background details**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work role/responsibilities</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Principal- Institutional Strategy &amp; Leadership</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal – Institutional Strategy &amp; Leadership</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>British Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Creative &amp; Digital Media (cross-college)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>White British (Portuguese heritage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Finance and Enterprise Officer (cross-college)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>British (Sri-Lankan heritage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Construction Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager of Business Incubator (cross-college)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>British Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer and Advanced Practitioner- Culture and Creative Industries</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer and Advanced Practitioner- Business Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>British (Pakistani heritage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer – Students with Learning Difficulties</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: Interview participants from CA

Semi-structured Interviews of staff from CB took place over a couple of weeks in September and October of 2016. Each interview was conducted over the course of one hour except for the interview of the principal of CB; that interview lasted for just under ninety minutes because of the exploration of the views expressed. The interviews took place in the staffs’ offices and two classrooms at the Central London Campus of the institution. Every single member of staff was interviewed alone. Each interview was recorded with the permission of participants and then fully transcribed. The electronic record of the transcripts is stored on a password-protected laptop in a private location and the printed paper copy kept in a secure file that no one apart from the researcher can access. The background details of the staff interviewed are as per below:
### CB Participants’ background details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work role/responsibilities</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal- Institutional Strategy &amp; Leadership</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Principal and Centre Director - award-winning Hospitality, Business and Enterprise Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Faculty - award-winning Hospitality, Business and Enterprise Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Faculty- English for Speakers of Other Languages Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme Manager - award-winning Hospitality, Business and Enterprise Department</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme Manager- English for Speakers of Other Languages Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Consultant – Manager of Enterprise Hub</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>White British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer – Enterprise within the Hospitality, Business and Enterprise Department</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>British (Ghanaian heritage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time Lecturer – Enterprise within the Hospitality, Business and Enterprise Department</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>British (Hungarian heritage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer – English for Speakers of Other Languages Department</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>British (Portuguese heritage)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Interview participants from CB

### Data analysis

The data has been interrogated via a combination of identifying codes and linking them to the various components of the combined theoretical framework (Pearse, 2019). The first stage involved becoming familiar with the data. The transcription process facilitated this. By multiple readings of the data, reflective passages that summarise the story being told by the data were identified (Cohen et al, 2018). Every attempt has been made to immerse myself in the data and to hear what has been spoken and
recognise the unspoken. (Please see Appendix C for the codes and how they link to the three-part theoretical framework)

The analysis across the data set has been facilitated with the use of the combined theoretical frameworks previously described. There are three frameworks in total employed in this thesis. The frameworks are embedded in each other and related in a multi-faceted way. The multi-level ecological framework developed by Hodgson and Spours (2013; 2017) is a framework that covers the whole of this thesis and permits engagement with all aspects of the FE sectoral system. This framework covers the *macro, exo 1, exo 2, meso and micro* levels. The focus of this study is the actual institutions; the *meso* and *micro* levels. Ritchie’s framework allows an in-depth analysis of the stances adopted by the individual staff in the colleges (*micro* level). The Cultural Web combines with Ritchie’s framework to permit the analysis of the *micro* level of the departments within the institutions and the *meso* level of the institutions themselves.

![Diagram of three frameworks](image)

Figure 11: Three Frameworks employed as analytical tools
The data analysis and write up occurred between September 2018 and August 2020\(^3\).

**Ethical considerations**

As a researcher working in the field being researched, every attempt has been made to respect the rights and dignity of all the participants. Every effort has been made to ensure that the involvement of participants has not caused them any harm. All the research has been undertaken with honesty and integrity (Denscombe, 2017). The informed consent of everyone that has taken part in the research has been obtained prior to their involvement. A letter explaining the purpose of the research and the consent form were sent by email to each participant in advance of each interview (see Appendix A). There are no names on the transcripts and all identifying characteristics have been altered to preserve anonymity (Kaiser, 2009). The transcriptions have been sent to each participant with the option to make changes or withdraw from participating restated. The one person who refused to have their interview recorded was sent a transcript of the notes made during the interview. Participants were also given the chance to change their answers or withdraw from the process. All the interviewees have expressed their approval of the interview transcripts.

The institutions have been assured of the intention to use the data solely for this research project. Undertaking research in an organisation that is a competitor of CB means care has been taken not to divulge any information gained from the research in a manner that would disadvantage the colleges. The necessary steps have been undertaken to ensure that all participants understand the process they have been

\(^3\) A family bereavement is the reason why there is a significant gap between the collection of data and the analysis and write-up stages.
engaged in and why their participation is necessary, how the research is being used and how and to whom it will be reported. All those taking part in the research have been made aware of their right to withdraw at any stage of the research (British Educational Research Association, 2011; 2018)

The stance I have adopted is that of a practitioner-researcher. I seek to provide some illumination where the problematic concept of enterprise culture in the FE context is concerned. The study views the problem of varying perceptions as a practical one that requires interpretive study aided by existing theory to provide insights of benefit to those in the FE system context and other interested parties. In essence, the role of choreographer is the most apt in describing this attempt to do what is necessary to provide some illumination in this study (O’Leary, 2014). As a practitioner, I come to this study with the view that enterprise and entrepreneurship activities can result in positive and negative outcomes for staff and students that are likely to be of a qualitative nature and cannot easily be quantified nor accounted for. I also recognise what James (2018) describes as the darker side of educational activity; a situation in which a variety of social and economic factors in this system may work against individuals and departments (the micro level) and the actual institutions (the meso level).

**Limitations of the study**

This study has been undertaken with nineteen staff members; a relatively small sample considering the 500 plus staff employed in each of the institutions and as such it is entirely possible that a larger number may have produced a different result. The constraint of the size of the sample and its purposive nature means that the results of the study do not profess to represent the situation in the whole of the case study
institutions (Thomas, 2013). There is no intention to advocate that the sample represents anything other than itself (Cohen et al, 2018).

The freedom to approach staff in CB is in direct contrast to the situation in CA; the willingness of staff to participate is clearly illustrated by their agreement to take part once they had read and understood the information sheet emailed to them. As previously mentioned, once the principal of CA was contacted by email, a list of staff at the various levels required by my request was given to me. The most important condition of interviewing staff at the three levels of the college was the determining factor in selecting staff who were willing to be available at the time. Having said that, there is no way of being entirely certain that a true cross-section of views was represented by the participants from CA. It is possible that the handpicked staff have given a ‘positive bias’ (James, Biesta, Hodkinson, Postlethwaite and Gleeson, 2007: 24) to the study. In addition, both case study colleges are large London-based colleges. Considering that there are 164 General Further Education colleges with 48 based in London, the issues that are linked to being located in the capital concern only a third of the colleges. There is also the acknowledgement of the existence of other colleges with different profiles where staff deal with students who come from more privileged backgrounds; the issues that arise are likely to be different also. The study did not really cover lecturing staff that teach higher education courses; this might have impacted the results also. In considering the profile of the staff interviewed, seven out of the ten people interviewed in CB were white British; the profile in CA was more diverse. There were eight females and eleven males, twelve of the staff were over fifty years old, four between 40 and 49 and three between 30 and 39. This gender and age distribution could possibly have impacted the results but this aspect of the data was not explored in view of the constraints of the size of the study.
As mentioned in the section about the limitations of using the chosen frameworks, a deductive approach to data analysis tends to facilitate a focus upon what is within the parameters of the chosen theories and can mean that other issues of relevance are given less attention (Cohen et al, 2018).

**Positionality**

In dealing with the challenge of undertaking insider research, I constantly reflect upon the ways in which I am like and unlike my participants. I recognise that in terms of my personal stance in relation to Ritchie’s (1991; 2015) work, I have transitioned from the stance of a *Believer* to that of an *Analyst*. My continued engagement with research, faculty and my peers has brought about this significant shift (from *Believer* to *Analyst*). What has happened can be described as the deconstruction of my familiar world as a result of my views being challenged and subjected to intensive scrutiny by myself and others (Van Heugten, 2004). The recognition that enterprise culture is a contested concept is fundamental to this change (Keat, 2011).

In terms of my positionality in this thesis, I categorise myself as an insider-researcher on two fronts. Firstly, my work in the FE sector since 1994 means that I am part of the FE social grouping (Greene, 2014). Secondly, working in one of the case study institutions indicates my involvement in practitioner enquiry (Hellawell, 2006).

In CB, I am classed as a total insider as I share my identity as a lecturer and course leader as well as the many experiences I have had with staff members participating in the study. My intuitive knowledge of CB and the fact that I have worked in the institution for over two decades has enriched my perspective in analysing the data collected (Hodkinson and Bloomer, 2000). The title ‘partial insider’ fits my perceived role in CA because I share the FE lecturer identity with interview participants but do
not work in the institution. There is naturally some distance between the staff at CA and I because of this (Chavez, 2008). My total insider and partial insider positionalities have several benefits and pose some methodological challenges.

In terms of benefits, my lived experience to date adds value to this research study; I have an understanding and appreciation of courses of study and extra-curricular activities. My experience provides insights and understanding into what staff members share during the interviews. Ease of access to participants in CB is another advantage of my positionality; even in CA, the fact that I work in FE has made making contacts easier because of the professional networking opportunities that exist. For both institutions, building rapport, collecting and interpreting data are informed and facilitated by my knowledge and familiarity with the context being dealt with (Ross, 2017).

In order to avoid potential bias, I constantly question my perceptions and engage in a stream of consciousness writing that helps me refocus upon what the research indicates and not what I may assume to be the case. It is also challenging to desist from making assumptions about shared understandings when it comes to enterprise and entrepreneurship because of my role in CB. I therefore make a conscious effort to put participants at ease so that they can share their perspectives honestly. My positionality makes the establishment and maintenance of a suitable degree of both emotional and social distance complicated (Greene, 2014). To deal with this, I avoid expressions of empathy that might erase important differences between myself as a researcher and the participants. This is vital to gaining an authentic view from each participant so that they do not tell me what they perceive to be what I wish to hear. I focus very much upon being an effective listener, learner and observer (Rossetto, 2014). The next chapter presents a discussion and analysis of the data collected.
Chapter 5 The Story of the Case Study Colleges

Introduction

This chapter and the next present the findings and analysis that explore staff perspectives at the *meso* and *micro* levels (Hodgson and Spours, 2017) of the two FE case study colleges. The sub-research question addressed in this chapter is:

How is enterprise culture perceived by staff in the case study colleges?

Chapter 6 addresses the second and third sub-questions that consider the impact of enterprise culture upon everyday experiences and the consequences of enterprise culture.

As stated in the methods chapter, the data is interrogated through the lens of Ritchie’s ways of framing enterprise cultures (1991; 2015). By way of introducing the differing contexts being dealt with, what was seen during the tours of each institution is first outlined and the enterprise education models adopted by both colleges are then explained. These models indicate the role senior management expect an enterprise ethos to play at the *meso* level of each college. How the data illuminates the staff’s perceptions of enterprise culture is then explored. The perspectives adopted by each member of staff interviewed are presented as a starting point to the discussion as to how enterprise culture is perceived by staff at the *micro* level in the case study colleges. The members of staff are categorised according to one of the four basic roles of *Believer, Sceptic, Analyst* and *Subject* or one of the possible hybrid roles that exist (Ritchie, 1991; 2015). The hybrid roles of relevance in this analysis are those of *Followers, Reactors, Inquirers* and *Disbelievers*. The types of enterprise culture that
result from the stances taken are then outlined in Chapter 6. Using the concept of the cultural web (Johnson and Scholes, 1992), the impact of enterprise culture upon the everyday experiences of staff in the colleges at the micro level is then considered. An examination of rituals, routines, stories and symbols (Johnson and Scholes, 1992) in each institution is then undertaken.

![The Cultural Web: Johnson and Scholes, 1992](image)

As discussed in the methods chapter, rituals and routines, stories and symbols are the soft elements of organisational culture. As per the reference to policy mediation in Chapter 2 (Ball et al, 2011), it is in the day to day activities that we recognise the actual experiences of staff and as such, what may deviate from what is written down (Handscombe, 2003). The organisational paradigm that arises from the interrelation
of the various components of the cultural web is a self-consistent set of ideas and beliefs that act as a filter and influences perceptions in the organisation (Johnson and Scholes, 2017). The part of the organisational paradigm produced by these interrelated soft elements is what can be explored in some depth in a study of this size and what is of interest in this thesis because of my role and relationship to the people and practices being explored (James, 2005).

By examining the stances adopted by the various members of staff, at the micro level, an appreciation of how they conduct themselves in the institutions is obtained (Ritchie, 2015). How the organisations function at the meso level is a factor of how the various individuals, small groups and departments conduct themselves at the micro level. Examined collectively, rituals and routines, stories and symbols result in the organisational paradigm which can then be linked to the types of enterprise culture identified by Ritchie (2015) as Survivalism, Revivalism, Objectivism, Scepticism or the hybrid forms that can exist. This link is made by pinpointing which type(s) of enterprise culture closely matches the rituals and routines, stories and symbols and the resulting paradigm in each institution.

The following section presents the description of what was seen via the tours and the enterprise delivery models adopted by CA and CB to aid understanding of the differing contexts and approaches.

**Tour details and enterprise models adopted by the case study colleges - College A’s tour and campus-wide approach**

The facilities seen in CA in addition to modern classroom facilities include a STEM Centre, a digital learning centre, small businesses, a restaurant, a public theatre and a business incubator.
In CA the STEM centre serves as a purpose-built facility that contains a 3D cinema, an interactive IT suite and investigative labs. CA uses this centre for exhibitions, workshops and a variety of student activities. The centre is also available for hire by community groups, corporate organisations and schools.

The live TV studio, print/production facility, PC and Mac workstations and digital learning area in CA serves as a hub in which students can work on improving their digital skills and share skills and ideas. Supporters from industry give talks, masterclasses and business mentoring in this Centre.

Students wanting to start their own businesses can use the business incubator that CA has created to provide hot desks, Mac computers, networking opportunities and practical advice. Several workshops take place in this space and meeting rooms and presentation facilities are available for people from the community to hire.

The library in CA provides facilities for members of the public. Staff are available to assist when students need help and host special drop-in sessions. In addition to serving members of the public in the library, CA also has several small businesses that are operated by students. The small businesses operated by students are in the following areas: Information Technology (application development); Floristry and Photography. There is also a sports hall and a modern gym that staff and students can make use of. The working theatre that is in the town centre is a joint venture between CA and the local borough council. It provides students with a very well equipped facility in which they learn to collaborate, rehearse and perform for the paying public.

Enterprise activities are embedded across all the departments and areas of CA (Young, 2014). This is known as a campus-wide approach to the delivery of enterprise
activities (Hannon and Pittaway, 2008). As described in the methods chapter, the principal, senior managers and faculty heads provide leadership in what is effectively ‘Education through Enterprise Culture’ or Expansionism (Ritchie, 1991; 2015). Middle managers and lecturers are also engaged in the delivery of a curriculum that is linked to an entrepreneurial approach whenever possible (CA’s chief finance officer). As highlighted in Chapter 3 (Penaluna, 2018) in discussing FE lecturers, the majority of lecturers have worked in a sector of relevance to their teaching prior to joining College A. As the director for creative and digital media explains:

…we have a carousel of activities that run through the POD, iCreate \(^4\) etc. We have identified workshops, masterclasses in pitching your idea, presentation skills, interview skills etc. What happens is staff then map the activities (to their teaching) by saying that I am delivering this so I am going to book you in, when you are not in my class (so students attend) those sessions of entrepreneurial thinking and working as a team etc.

(CA1)

Several other extra-curricular activities are made available to all students attending CA. They include competitions, operating small businesses, pitching to provide services to businesses and developing business concepts and plans. Students are also able to apply for paid work in the garage, beauty and hair salons, the fitness centre and a restaurant open to members of the public (ex-principal cited in Young, 2014). A small team of staff support activities centrally by providing support to academics, developing competitions and working with staff and students.

\(^4\) The POD is a facility with online IT support, meeting rooms with presentation facilities, hotdesks and Mac computers where students from CA and people from the local community can go to work, network and receive practical advice about business ideas. iCreate is a print/production facility, live TV studio and a digital learning area; a place for sharing skills and ideas and a hub for developing digital skills and improving career prospects.
Commitment to enterprise education is witnessed at the *meso level* in CA right across the range of courses in Construction, Business, Creative and Digital Media and Fashion and the Learning Difficulties departments. The manager of the business incubator refers to what is happening as:

‘Bottom-up, think from the bottom, be creative from the bottom, manage creativity…The (former) principal got people to buy into it…to buy into the idea of being entrepreneurial…particularly in this area…in one year, we had four government visitors visit this college, obviously word had got round that this college is not just talking it but showing it… (CA3; CA13; CA14)

Junior staff are encouraged to propose activities and events that promote an entrepreneurial approach to their managers (above them in the organisation’s hierarchy) and to senior staff.

**College B’s tour and single department-led approach to the delivery of enterprise activity**

In CB, the tours were of the two award-winning public restaurants, a conference centre, the business incubator, the Peter Jones Enterprise Academy, the Enterprise Hub in the North London Centre and the library in the central London Campus.

The two restaurants in CB are a brasserie and a fine-dining restaurant. The brasserie seats 150 people and offers a seasonal menu. The first and second-year Culinary Arts students undertake all the cooking and serving under the supervision of the lecturers who are all industry trained and perceived to be experts in their fields. The fine dining restaurant seats 30 people and is operated by 3rd Year chefs studying for the Professional Chef’s Diploma supervised by expert lecturers.
The conference centre at CB has state of the art facilities and modern multimedia resources that can be hired by organisations or individuals. The special suite of five rooms are refurbished classrooms that are used as a source of income for the institution. Unlike CA in which students use all the facilities, CB only allows students to use the facilities for special guest speaker sessions if they have not been booked by external clients.

The business incubator at CB is a separate entity from the college. The space used to be the institution’s Learning Centre. It is a 90 desk co-working space across two floors operated by a company that provides office space, mentoring and support to start-up businesses that focus upon impacting government and the public sector. The company pays the college to use its facilities and offers support to any programmes of study that request guest speakers or tours of the facility. Unlike CA, the incubator is not integrated into the remainder of the institution.

The Peter Jones Enterprise Academy at CB is made up of two rooms in the college that the students who join the programme with a view to setting up their businesses use. The rooms are decorated with images that represent the start-up process, a variety of business concepts, samples of student work and photographs of various events like graduations and celebrity guest speaker sessions.

In CB’s North-London centre, the Enterprise Hub is made up of facilities for a maximum of twenty people to use to aid their start-up activities. A mixture of spaces for individuals and groups provide a comfortable space that students and people from the community can use to either meet or work with the manager of the Hub on various projects. This space is like the incubator at CA but on a much-reduced scale with one
main member of staff taking care of the space assisted by a part-timer who undertakes related administrative duties.

The library in CB’s Central London centre is effectively a quarter of the size it was prior to 2016 when it was relocated to accommodate the private business incubator. It can currently seat about 30 students, but it has a system that enables students to borrow laptops to work in classrooms or in the canteen of the college.

CB’s engagement with enterprise activity occurs at the micro level as the institution adopts a single Department-led model (Hannon and Pittaway, 2008) at one centre and a single department-led outreach model at another centre. The first centre delivers a programme of enterprise and entrepreneurship at Levels 3 and 5. At the second centre, engagement with the exo level occurs as local authority funding has facilitated the setting up of a small hub that can accommodate about 15-20 people. This is where unemployed people from the local borough can receive help and support to start their own businesses. According to the principal, when the decision to deliver a programme of study in enterprise and entrepreneurship was made, there was no intention of that becoming a college-wide (meso level) approach; he said:

There has been more of a sort of mushrooming than I imagined at the beginning. I thought we would have these enterprise bits set up and they would operate on their own and that’s not the way it’s been (CB3; CB11).

The principal expresses the view that whilst engagement at the micro level is appropriate, engagement at the meso level is not perceived to be necessary or suitable. There is limited acknowledgement of enterprise and entrepreneurship across the remainder of the college, compared to what has occurred in CA.
Perspectives/stances adopted by staff in CA

At the *meso* level of the organisation, staff members in CA appear to have a common understanding of what enterprise culture means to them. There is very limited reference to the political rhetoric (typical of Believers) that is witnessed in some of the politician’s speeches and policy documents like Enterprise for All (Fairclough, 2011; Selden, 2011; Young, 2014). None of the staff members in CA advocate that the route to national recovery is through the embracing of an enterprise culture (Burrows and Curran, 2018). Staff are very much focused on the level of disadvantage in the locality (the *exo* level) and their attempts to improve the skills, capabilities and networks of their students. As the chief finance officer says in response to a question about the government’s motives for promoting the adoption of the enterprise agenda:

To us, it doesn’t matter. It is what is right for the people we serve…we looked at what we need to improve the people who come to our college (CA9).

Stances adopted by Staff members in CA

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Inquirers</th>
<th>Analysts</th>
<th>Sceptics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ex-Principal</td>
<td>Chief Finance and Enterprise Officer</td>
<td>Manager of the Business Incubator</td>
<td>Director for Digital and Creative Media</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current Principal</td>
<td>Lecturer in Business</td>
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<td>Lecturer in Learning Difficulties</td>
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<td>Lecturer in Design Technology</td>
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<td>Head of Construction</td>
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Figure 14: Stances adopted by staff in CA
The Believers

As previously highlighted, Believers have faith in enterprise culture and promote its adoption at the meso and micro levels of educational establishments. Believers suggest that education should be embracing of this culture (Morgan, 1990 cited in Ritchie, 1991). The ex-principal of CA and the current principal present themselves as advocates of enterprise culture (Gibb, 1987). Whilst politicians and organisations like the Institute of Directors (Young, 1987 cited in Ritchie, 1991) seem to suggest that the enterprise culture is a miraculous cure for the problems faced by Britain, this does not appear to be the conviction of these leaders. Both senior managers express a commitment to enterprise culture at the meso level to improve the skills and knowledge of their students. The ex-principal describes an enterprise culture as:

‘a way of doing things...where students are enthused and encouraged to have a go ...and motivated to be confident and resilient...’. (CA1)

Her view is that enterprise culture impacts positively upon the personal growth of each student who engages in enterprise activities. What this suggests is that any activity that positively impacts the personal growth of a student can be viewed as arising from the existence of an enterprise culture. What appears to be the most salient difference between CA and other colleges is the choices made at the meso level in terms of the methods the institution employs. These methods focus very much upon engagement with organisations in the locality (the exo level). As the manager of the business incubator says:

…the (named facility) is an area/ a facility that helps students to run businesses, enter competitions, to think about entrepreneurial activities in all kinds of ways. We have competitions; we’ve got
100,000 pounds for eleven students to run their own businesses; these were all loans… A lot of companies also employ students to do their work…we got a contract for five of our apprentices …to paint London East… (CA2; CA3; CA14).

These activities demarcate CA from other colleges where such activity may not be as common at the *meso* level.

In 2011, when CA first engaged with enterprise activity as a college-wide strategy, that referred to an intention to grow start-ups in the institution – that was the widely shared meaning of an enterprise culture (manager of business hub). By 2015, the attempts to do so were acknowledged to have had very limited success. From 2016, staff in CA have shared what is identified in chapter three as a broad definition of enterprise culture which seems to be all-embracing of a variety of activities (Henry, 2013). The current principal suggests, when questioned about what enterprise culture is, says that:

‘it is complex, more than just business. It is about how people think and behave…a culture to promote success and world skills…’ (CA1, CA9)

The views of these senior managers make a clear distinction between what seems to be political rhetoric and what can be feasibly achieved in the light of the constraints they face in the FE sector. Morgan, in describing what enterprise culture is (1990:6 cited in Ritchie, 1991) states that:

Education is the key to an enterprise culture. …Without well-educated citizens, an enterprise culture cannot emerge…This culture is of course capitalist…As businessmen in Britain, our task is to deliver the goods-
create the wealth and win more hearts and minds for capitalism and enterprise.

Writers like Morgan equate being well-educated to being a protagonist for capitalism and the enterprise culture. By implication, an educational institution that advocates the embracing of an enterprise culture advocates a devotion to wealth-creation and capitalism but this is not the case in CA. These senior managers, whilst expressing a sincere belief in enterprise culture, define the concept differently to what Morgan has stated. In their definition of enterprise culture that they both firmly advocate as the culture present in CA, they are therefore Believers in a type of enterprise culture that they see as unique to CA (Delaney, 2013). The ex-principal, in describing what senior management desires says:

…They understand enterprise is not about ‘starting a business’ or making money. An enterprise culture enables students to learn holistically and to develop T-shaped\(^5\) skills that will be key to the forty odd jobs they will do in their lifetime. (CA4; CA9)

Their views appear to be premised on their faith in the concept that they describe (Ritchie, 2015). This belief in enterprise culture is cited as the reason why CA paid a membership fee of £35,000 per year for three years and £15,000 per year subsequently for its membership of the Gazelle group that was formed to promote enterprise in colleges. Gazelle sought to provide ‘innovative new learning models…to

\(^5\) T-Shaped’ refers to the development of a breadth of knowledge and skills and the gaining of competences like teamwork, networking and communication. This enables individuals to have deep knowledge in one area as well as the ability to function as adaptive innovators in various business activities (Martin and Rees, 2019)
deliver an improved outcome to students, their communities and the economy’ (Whittaker, 2014). CA’s ex-principal cites the Gazelle organisation as evidence of how enterprise culture can be inculcated into FE through building an ecosystem with an organisation at the exo level. Her main point of reference with regards to her own institution is the improved performance of students involved in enterprise activities. She speaks about great developmental experiences and beliefs by referring to what people say about CA:

Stories about student successes in competitions, in winning jobs, in leading college initiatives, I can provide examples; national awards, paid commissions, transformation in class from shy to confident etc. Beliefs? Belief in the power of motivation, of encouragement and challenge, belief in students’ fantastic and often untapped potential, belief in fostering enterprise and initiative, belief in the values of creativity, enterprise, innovation, risk taking, high standards (CA1; CA9).

Unfortunately, no return on investment analysis has been undertaken to justify the monies spent on the Gazelle project. Whilst this does not automatically mean that membership of an organisation like Gazelle is not a beneficial commitment, it suggests that there might be a more cost-effective way of engaging with institutions at the exo level of the FE system. It is also indicative of the fact that the education system cannot compensate for societal challenges and is effectively complementary to what goes on in wider society (Brown and James, 2020).

The current principal acknowledges the need to generate income as fundamental to the role of staff but she highlights a belief that enterprise culture is about the development of T-shaped skills. In her view, enterprise and operating in an enterprise
culture is about the possession of certain traits and engagement in certain behaviours and not the establishment of businesses (Morris, 2011).

This description suggests the use of a lens predicated on a belief that enterprise culture is what facilitates successful outcomes in CA. This viewpoint is important because it reflects more than an acceptance of the positive impact upon staff and students. Whilst the principal distances herself from the government, her views suggest what the government advocates. Politicians suggest government intervention in education to transform Britain into an enterprise culture (Burrows, 2015; Morris, 2011). It matches Carr and Beaver’s (2002) definition of enterprise culture cited in Chapter 3 that makes reference to moulding and shaping the behaviour of individuals and businesses so they behave entrepreneurially. This view appears to be the reason why this leader is convinced that CA needs to become a sustainable organisation.

There is no suggestion of advocacy in terms of the situation with macro level issues such as government funding. The fact that government funding at the time of the interview was reducing so that the Skills Funding Agency funding was 50% lower than it was in 2010 (chief finance officer) is accepted as the nature of the situation that CA has no ability to influence. In response to the question about what the government’s motives are for advocating the adoption of the enterprise agenda she says, very much in line with the responsibilising view (Peters, 2001; 2017):

‘Less money-fundamentally so that they spend less- less money per head. There are always winners and losers and we are one of the losers. We have to look at ways of increasing our commercial income (CA5; CA17).

In this leader proposing that CA must find ways of increasing its commercial income, the provision of education appears to be less of a social right of all citizens that should
be funded by government (Molnar, 2006). The stance adopted by both this leader (which effectively downplays constraints on funds and resources) (Ritchie, 1991) and the ex-principal, illuminate the next set of perspectives; that of the Followers who have embraced the Believers’ discourse:

The Followers in CA

As mentioned previously, Followers result from a situation in which Subjects are drawn towards the Believer’s position. The four members of staff classed as Followers are the chief finance and enterprise officer and three lecturers in Business, Learning Difficulties and Design Technology. Their ‘Follower’ classification arises from the fact that although they are members of an educational establishment, the establishment itself has sought to become a replica of enterprise culture (Ball, 2010). Ball has made reference to the fact that one of the three points addressed by the enterprise narrative in education is the situation in which institutions become entrepreneurial organisations. In Ritchie’s words, ‘…many educational organisations defer to the basic replica model which implies that they internalise and reflect something about enterprise culture itself’ (Ritchie, 1991:321). These members of staff have perceived themselves to be working in a business as though they themselves are entrepreneurs (Ball, 2003; 2008; Davies and Bansel, 2007). All these staff members express a belief in enterprise culture that they each directly attribute to their relationship with the ex-principal and/or principal of CA. As staff members who operate in an organisation that has sought to embed its own version of an enterprise culture, their views are positively aligned with the view that an enterprise culture facilitates opportunities for students. The chief finance and enterprise explains that the experience of working with the ex-principal has resulted in the adoption of a similar ethos. In his words:
The leader is key; I mean, the ex-Principal had this vision and she managed to get everyone to buy into it. … the critical mass was tuned that way, and people actually, you know what they say, they follow the leader. … (CA3; CA13).

This senior manager, prior to joining CA would have had no exposure to the curriculum and how it operates. The ex-principal’s convictions about the use of activities such as pitching competitions, live briefs and student-operated businesses are what seem to have caused an adoption of the same ethos. His brief at CA, similar to all other senior managers has a curriculum component as well as responsibility for a support function. He refers to enterprise culture as involving CA’s strategy to ‘…achieve its goals in a much more innovative way’(CA14). Once more a staff member highlights what CA believes enterprise culture to be by saying:

…so, when we say ‘enterprise’, people automatically think of making money -that is part of it…however it is much bigger than that. So what we say in CA is, we want our students, our customers, to come to us, not just leave with a qualification, we want them to go with a portfolio so they are work ready, they are ready to be economically independent… (CA1; CA9; CA13).

This senior manager, in following the Believer’s discourse has worked with colleagues over the years to invest resources various ventures. The following explains his viewpoint:

Growth has been partly through our commercial activity…so we bought a training provider. The college did not have experience in delivering beauty and hair so rather than building it from scratch, we went and bought a private training provider who has a reputation of delivering good
quality training plus they had a commercial salon right in the middle of (named town) (CA3; CA13; CA17).

These physical manifestations of the commitment of CA to enterprise culture, makes it appear natural for all staff to identify with and use this lens of enterprise culture in considering how CA operates and facilitates transformation in the lives of its students. It is very much in line with the Conservative belief in helping people to help themselves or responsibilising self (Peters, 2001; 2017; Selden, 2011).

The lecturer from the Business division is also a Follower of the Believers’ discourse of enterprise culture but not as a tool to facilitate the transformation of the economy and society (Thatcher, 1989). He explains that:

When I started working in this organisation, there was the assumption that enterprise is just about starting your own business … but in fact the culture has actually changed and with having the enterprise hub, having the zone there, it’s raised the profile further from what it was before, to what enterprise is and what it stands for. To me, and to staff, enterprise is starting up your own business, along with supporting them (students) with developing on their softer skills... (CA1; CA2; CA3; CA4; CA9; CA13)

Similar to the senior managers, this lecturer is focused on the impact of enterprise activities upon the improvement of student outcomes. Foucault’s stipulation of presenting multiple choices or opportunities (Vallas and Cummins, 2015) is demonstrated here. As his brief in CA has involved preparing students for competitions both within and outside CA, he has witnessed the impact of taking part in such activities upon the knowledge and skills students possess. He articulates this effectively by saying:
...it is not just about the qualification they get at the end of it; it's all about the added value; it's all about what they experience and how they have developed as individuals; that's also what they leave with... (CA1; CA9; CA13)

Ostensibly, the development of softer skills can be achieved in a variety of ways but this lecturer is convinced that CA’s enterprise activities facilitate this transformation. In line with Jones (2010), the skills, capabilities and networks of the students is of primary concern; he is convinced that the activities enhance the students’ experience of education. The fact that his belief demonstrates a ‘following of’ the convictions of the two senior managers is showcased in comments like:

We define enterprise as developing learners’ T-Shaped skills. That is developing their softer skills, their core skills and that can be through enterprise, through teaching and learning and assessment...

...Absolutely yes, senior managers want such a culture...that ethos is from the ex-principal to the current principal ... (CA1; CA9; CA13)

He is very complimentary of the achievements of the leaders of the organisation in embedding enterprise; there is once more a clear acceptance that is quite unquestioning when it comes to the loss of funding for example. He raises the issue of CA finding ways of becoming sustainable by saying:

Government cuts are coming in so FE needs to be sustainable; so, FE needs to look at how it can be sustainable; government funding; because of how it is going forward so then it will put the college in a better position than other organisations... (CA11; CA13)

This lecturer effectively advances a common-sense argument for self-reliance in view of cuts in public funding (Ball, 2003; 2008; Peters, 2001; 2017; Whiteley, 2011). This
view explains why CA is show-cased by politicians like Lord Young (2014) as an organisation that is benefitting from an enterprise culture that other colleges should aim to emulate.

The lecturer who teaches students with learning difficulties demonstrates his decision to embrace the Believers’ discourse espoused by the senior managers in several statements. In expressing his view about what an enterprise culture is and how he got involved in enterprise activities he says:

We have that here …It’s not about owning your own business, it’s about the steps an entrepreneur takes and the mindset of that and how you can incorporate that into everyday life and not just work …Oh yes, the ex-principal was definitely a massive inspiration for me … (CA1; CA3; CA4; CA9)

This Follower has embraced the senior managers’ belief in enterprise culture as being the way forward. His promotion to a managerial role appears to be taking place in view of his enterprising mindset and views (Ritchie, 1991; 2015). This lecturer has clearly devoted himself to embracing what he describes as endless development and is also matter of fact about the notion of self-sufficiency (Davies and Bansel, 2007; Peters, 2001; 2017). He views himself as one of the privileged members of staff who understands what the organisation is seeking to achieve. He is unquestioning in his acceptance of funding cuts and having to work over and beyond the call of duty to be independent. As he says:

I don’t see any negatives to entrepreneurialism because it opens up all the doors of development… We are a college and we have to move with the times…if we can fund ourselves and create all this real work for
students and get people investing in the college, then that’s less strain on the government… (CA13; CA17)

In his view, austerity and deregulation that has seen a greater role for market forces and a 43% reduction of funding from the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills between 2010-2018 (Hodgson, Bailey and Lucas, 2015:18) is the new norm to be embraced. This view stands in the way of the possibility of questioning what is happening in the sector as colleges seem to then be in a situation where natural selection will take place and only the fittest survive.

In questioning the lecturer who teaches culture and creative studies about success in terms of recruitment, retention and achievement, her response indicates that she has moved towards the stance of a Believer and is a Follower of what the senior managers espouse. Having worked full-time for College A since 2004, she explains her perspective in the following words:

Initially, we had a principal called (named ex-principal) and she was the driving force behind us starting on this path to be honest. But she has set us on this route and we’ve taken the challenge I suppose. The staff got with it and yeah .... you ended up having to be like that or you fell away. (CA4; CA13; CA14)

Her convictions about this approach to curriculum delivery have been informed by what she has seen students experience. This lecturer balances the challenge of an existence in a context where she sees a lack of government support with the satisfaction of seeing increased confidence in her students. In her view:

As is the case in working in FE, we feel the government is not really helping FE colleges; and that is so sad. I can’t see how they can’t see how amazing they are. The courses are so perfect for getting work and
for university; for both you know...It’s a difficult one. I wish they could be behind us more. You know, visit here but we need more funding; that is what we need to make it better. ...I am amazed at what we do with what little we have to be honest (CA5; CA7; CA11).

This *Follower* is the only member of staff in CA that seems to reflect upon and acknowledge the possibility of improved funding to aid what CA is seeking to accomplish at the *meso* level. Other members of staff accept the cuts in funding as a norm in an age of austerity (Fletcher, Gravatt and Sherlock, 2015; Hodson and Spours, 2015). In so doing, it is then more likely that FE’s lack of advocacy will continue; a college popular with the government appears to manage even though the students’ contact hours (with lecturers) have been reduced from twenty hours in the nineteen nineties to nine hours in 2016.

The last member of staff classed as a *Follower* was also a *Subject* prior to joining CA. Subjects are often described by *Believers* as trailblazers or gazelles who will make a better tomorrow possible in British society as they operate small businesses that have the potential to grow (Bridge and O’Neill, 2018; Dellot, 2014). In CA, the head of construction describes enterprise culture from the point of view of his own experiences but very much in line with the principal and ex-principal’s viewpoints. He is enthused by what he has experienced at College A and says:

CA has been successful because it has been driven; when I first came here it was a college; a learning establishment but we had a principal who changed the direction we were going in. We weren’t just teaching people down a qualification route; we were broadening their horizons… having come from owning my own company, that’s exactly what I wanted
to hear. I bought into it straight away and spread the gospel if you like… (CA1; CA4; CA13)

The head of construction valorises the positive impact of enterprise activities on students. As an ex-small business owner, CA’s attempts to give opportunities to students is something he views as what sets it apart and prevents the tag of “just another college” being placed upon the institution. He mentions how staff have had to be fully committed to an enterprise culture by saying:

…I would warn people that it doesn’t just happen, you’ve got to work hard at it. You’ve got to be prepared to work. As I say, I put the hours in, the ex-principal used to put the hours in, the current principal and the rest of the leadership team, they really put the work in. This has not come from someone giving us a whole heap of money; it has been worked for, every single thing has been worked for… (CA3; CA11; CA13; CA14)

By contrasting what now happens in CA with what happened prior to the ex-principal adopting this approach, this senior manager highlights how older tutors resisted the change to the organisation’s culture. He pinpoints a requirement to go beyond one’s normal teaching remit as a new norm that was resisted by old lecturers who have been replaced by younger staff. New members of staff have been described as getting right on board and being ready to go with what is now the natural flow in CA - a truly responsibilised institution (Peters, 2001; 2017).

**The Inquirer**

An *Inquirer* is a member of staff who starts off as a *Subject* and changes position as they are drawn towards the *Analysts’* position as previously explained. The manager of the business incubator has dealt with over 200 students in the period covered by
the study. Less than five percent of the attempts to set up businesses have been successful. This experience has changed his stance to that of an Inquirer in view of the limited positive outcomes. This reflects a draw towards the Analyst’s position in Ritchie’s (2015) framework. He expresses the fact that he continues to believe in the possibilities afforded by the opportunities he can put at the disposal of students by saying:

I’ve been in FE for such a long time; you’ve (i.e. he has) done everything but this is different... (area in East London) has the highest number of self-employed start-ups and the biggest failure rate as well. … we had an organisation called Gazelle that we were closely working with and they obviously tried to embed the ideas of entrepreneurs and employment. That was obviously quite good… it was all about developing… (CA2; CA14; CA19)

He supports the concept as a person who is assisting students with business start-ups but is experiencing challenges that have made him question what is taking place. As previously highlighted, structural factors pose a barrier to entrepreneurship for young people (Athayde, 2012; Meager et al, 2003; Packham et al, 2014). Whilst this manager is still enthused about competitions and various opportunities, he is the one member of staff who sees first-hand what happens to those who attempt to get a business off the ground. Other members of staff are able to refer to enterprise culture as being illustrated by a gamut of activities but this manager’s job is primarily about helping students create entrepreneurial start-ups. It is clear that this responsibility is the main reason why he no longer has a total commitment to a Follower's perspective.

The Analyst

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The adoption of an objective stance means Analysts seek to make an assessment based on the evidence they gather about what is occurring in a particular context (Ritchie, 2015). The director for digital and creative media is classed as an Analyst; she joined CA with no previous experience of enterprise culture in education. She articulates her view by saying:

… it is about jobs and what the State agenda is; it’s about bringing them off benefits …it’s going back towards the American system which is get employers, get that partnership there, so that employers can sponsor you. Come up with ideas that you can actually charge people for so that we don’t have to give you as much funding… …they (government) are saying to educational establishments ‘if you want to survive, you’ve got to think of innovative ways to gain income’… (CA5; CA7; CA9; CA13)

This senior manager recognises the impact of macro level policies and the need for the institution to mediate policy in a manner that facilitates the achievement of organisational objectives (Steer et al, 2007). She describes how the staff body is made up of a range of people, some that have an entrepreneurial approach whilst others are more traditional in their approach. To her mind, it is not automatic that enterprise culture is ubiquitous. She is the second member of staff whose stance reflects the different types of learners that exist in CA. Whilst the Followers focus solely upon the merits of enterprise culture, she has a more measured approach and says ‘…we have to recognise that not all learners are going to be entrepreneurial’ (CA16). She thus allows for a situation in which approaches can vary, depending on the needs of the learners being dealt with. She is the only member of staff who verbalises a view that allows for some deviation from what other senior managers say; at a time in FE when the individual’s value depends on the extent of alignment with that of the institution
(Bennett and Smith, 2018). It is entirely possible that there may be some other senior managers who have a different view but the fact that all those interviewed seemed to share what they describe as ingrained values is quite interesting.

What is enterprise culture according to College B?

In College B, there is a disparate understanding of what enterprise culture means; there is no commonality at the meso level. The definitions range from utilitarian viewpoints referring in the main to commercialisation to transformative views (Jones and Thomas, 2005). Transformative views stress the impact of enterprise education on students’ chances and likely progress. Progress here relates primarily to programmes of study as well as future careers.

**Stances adopted by Staff members in CB**

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<th>Disbelievers</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Reactors</th>
<th>Analysts</th>
<th>Sceptics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Principal &amp; Centre Director of Central London site</td>
<td>Programme Manager – Hospitality Department</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Enterprise Consultant</td>
<td>Head of Faculty-Adult Programmes &amp; English</td>
<td>Principal</td>
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<td>Faculty Head of the Hospitality Department</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lecturer in Enterprise</td>
<td>Programme Manager-Adult Programmes &amp; English</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hourly paid Lecturer in Enterprise</td>
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Figure 15: Stances adopted by staff members in CB: Developed by the author

**The Believers**

The staff in College B that take the stance of Believers are the vice-principal and the faculty head of hospitality. The vice-principal refers to the need to be self-sufficient as an institution. He is more inclined to agree with the notion of the need to cure the
culture of dependency where institutions are overly reliant on government funding. (Keat, 2011; Peters, 2001; 2017).

In his words:

…the college has to be committed to an enterprise agenda because it will require more and more commercial activity to survive. … this is the 21st century and a modern economy will be increasingly less reliant on government and more self-reliant through commercial activity (CB4; CB8; CB10; CB17).

His advocacy of a greater need for commercial activity suggests a belief in the operation of educational establishments as commercial enterprises (Keat, 2011; Smyth, 1999). He proposes that the government’s motive for encouraging enterprise activity in FE is in order to meet the needs of an economy populated by an increasing number of start-ups. His stance is more of an act of faith in the enterprise message when it comes to areas outside of his hospitality remit.

The faculty head describes enterprise culture as:

    giving staff and students a chance to express themselves, take risks, make the most of opportunities that will be beneficial for their future, the provision of tools to succeed in the future.…. (CB1; CB3; CB9; CB13)

He views the fact that people think his centre is more of a restaurant and not a college as a positive thing. He advocates turning some rooms in the building into a hotel. He is minded to ‘press education still further into the service of this enterprise culture’ (Ritchie 1991:317) as he outlines his views:
… (the Centre) is very much customer driven, the Faculty …has an entrepreneurial culture and an understanding of how to operate professionally… People think of us more as a restaurant and not a college. It would be good to ultimately change some rooms in the building into a hotel. That, as a long-term plan would be very good (CB3; CB10; CB13; CB17)

His views suggest a belief in the notion that education is the key to an enterprise culture and wealth creation (Morgan, 1990; Nabi et al, 2017; Packham et al, 2010). Wholesale devotion to commercialisation can become a hinderance to education provision (Molnar, 2006) if we lose sight of why our institutions exist in the first place and focus upon numbering, measurement and ranking as has been the case since incorporation (Fletcher, Gravatt and Sherlock, 2015).

The Disbeliever

The programme manager in the hospitality department who was originally a believer has altered her perspective as she has reflected upon her experiences in FE. She defines enterprise culture as:

   Basically thinking outside the box, being innovative, looking at opportunities and developing them; making the most of them (CB1; CB3).

Her experience of College B after two years has driven her towards the Sceptics’ stance. She highlights a consequence of enterprise culture that reflects her change in perspective:

   I think the negative is that we are always pushing forward but sometimes we forget the basics – in terms of not just what the students need but the
staff as well. I think sometimes it’s all about the next step, not the actual positives, you know just ‘thanks for what’s been achieved’. … I think that’s possibly the negative that’s related to that (CB3; CB14).

This manager, who has prior to the last year been enthusiastic about her work, has recognised the onerous demands placed upon staff in the department in CB that seeks to operate more as a commercial undertaking.

**The Reactors**

*Reactors* are members of staff who have been involved in operating a small business and are therefore familiar with the challenges and the everyday grind that is characteristic of such operations. They recognise the painful realities small business owners face and as such, they do not often have the overly optimistic perspectives displayed in some media sources (MacDonald, 1991). They are classed as *Reactors* when their experiences give them a sceptical perspective towards enterprise culture.

Three members of staff who have been involved in working in parts of CB outside of the successful hospitality department have become *Reactors* because of their experiences. All three originally came to CB to work on enterprise programmes. The two lecturers have been involved in teaching in an enterprise academy since 2012 and as such, they have been working in what is a semi-autonomous business within the institution. The third person works as a consultant in CB and is also a small business owner. She owns three small businesses and has been the person in charge of the Enterprise hub at the North London site of CB. Her view of enterprise culture in education is that of a *Reactor* because of the experiences she has had in her efforts to assist about 200 people start businesses between 2012 and 2016. In that period, about five of the people she has worked with have managed to start a business. She
is of the view that a clear majority of the people referred to her for assistance were unsuitable candidates. The criteria used to give people access to her assistance included the requirement to be unemployed and under 25 years of age. People in that category are more likely than not to have lower skill levels and lack networks and financial capital (Ozer and Mitri, 2012). In talking about enterprise and enterprise culture she says:

It is a bad thing if education is turned into a business —...Education cannot be seen as a business... Education cannot be commoditised. ...with young people, enterprise is more about skills development (not setting up a business). For adults, there is a need to look at things in a brutal and harsh way...there needs to be a spotlight on the business owner to be clear regarding what they can and cannot do (CB1; CB5; CB9; CB11).

She now advocates that CB should be focusing upon giving students access to opportunities that will improve the likelihood of them being employed. The idea of being able to start a business is relegated in her thinking in view of the lack of skills, networks and financial capital (Meager, Bates and Cowling, 2003).

The two enterprise lecturers who are also classed as Reactors in CB originally started out as Believers (Ritchie, 1991). They originally assumed engagement with enterprise activities would facilitate business start-ups.

One of the lecturers views the concept of culture as having two dimensions. She distinguishes between an enterprise culture which to her is about business set-up and an enterprising culture which is more to do with qualities and behaviour – this demonstrates the adoption of the narrow and broad definitions of enterprise (Keat,
2011; Leonard and Wilde, 2019). Having joined CB to work solely on its enterprise programmes, she outlines how her enthusiasm has diminished. She explains her view in response to a question about whether senior managers want an enterprise culture by saying:

I think some people say they do but their actions would suggest something different. This is whether we are talking about enterprise culture or being enterprising. You get a sense of them wanting things to be done their way and if that does not happen, it is not acceptable to them. To me, being enterprising is about looking at things differently… (CB3; CB11).

An examination of what has occurred in CB points to a situation in which there has been a reluctance to invest resources in developing the infrastructure necessary for entrepreneurship related activities. Whilst this lecturer perceives that management are unsupportive of enterprise outside of the successful hospitality department, CB appears more pragmatic and a little cynical about what can be done; as the principal of CB says:

… the promotion of the enterprise culture by government is a cynical thing. It is a way for governments to say we do have a policy in relation to changing the educational experience of young people and we will dress it up in a certain way. This appears in terms of this generation to be … a bit of a fashion that they will pass over (CB5; CB11; CB14)

The numbers of students recruited to enterprise programmes do not suggest a return on investment that warrants further resources being provided for this activity. Whilst some of the members of staff interviewed in CB suggest that senior managers in CB
have interests linked more to the political ideology of the right (Gibson, 1994) this is not necessarily proven by what has taken place CB according to participants.

The second enterprise lecturer is even more castigating in her views about the lack of managerial support. She describes an enterprise culture as a stimulating and rewarding environment that encourages initiative and innovation. She is quick to say that the senior management of College B do not desire such a culture. This lecturer is of the view that CB and other colleges, should be providing many more courses in entrepreneurship and support for lecturers teaching such courses. In answer to a question about the government’s motive for advocating the adoption of an enterprise agenda she says:

The government’s motive is to tackle unemployment and it cannot be done without the education and training of entrepreneurs to stimulate business start-ups and to encourage innovation in existing SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) (CB2; CB4; CB7; CB8; CB13; CB14).

This lecturer supports the view amongst some right-wing thinkers that enterprise culture in education is what will solve the nation’s problems (Burrows, 2015; Kuratko, 2005; Nabi et al, 2006; Packham et al, 2010). This view is quite divergent from the view of all senior managers at this college apart from those in the hospitality department. It is not surprising that she is disappointed by what she views as a lack of the support necessary to advance entrepreneurship at the meso level of CB. Her stance appears to be informed by her personal experience of a lack of support for the enterprise programme she has been involved with. In response to a question about behaviour that is encouraged and what is discouraged she says:
Definitely, hard work and diligence are unappreciated and management is totally lacking when it comes to transparency … (CB8)

Whilst her disappointment can be appreciated, the evidence to date is of extremely few businesses being established since the programme started in 2012 (head of business programmes). There is no clear indicator of the stimulation of business start-ups and innovation in CB to warrant further investment beyond the enterprise programme. The number of students that have achieved a qualification from that programme has been no higher than other programmes in CB (programme manager for enterprise courses). As such, it is difficult to make a case for further investment in entrepreneurship courses if start-ups are not emerging as expected; other benefits that students presumably gain are hard to quantify in an organisation that tends to base its decisions more on hard evidence than on faith in a concept as seen in CA. There is a danger that the focus on enterprise culture at the *macro* and *exo* levels may be accompanied by complacency, an uncritical acceptance of enterprise policy initiatives and the continued investment of public money (Athayde, 2012:722).

**The Analysts in CB**

The head of the language faculty and the programme manager in charge of international programmes have the Analyst’s perspective in College B. The intellectual detachment (Ritchie, 2015) to the concept of enterprise that they demonstrate hails from their perception of enterprise as being unrelated to their area of work. The programme manager describes enterprise culture as being linked to ‘…creativity with a business objective; generating an income is a big part of that’ but also then adds that he thinks senior management wants such a culture. In his words, ‘…it is not my
area of work’. The faculty head refers to the link between employability, enterprise and entrepreneurship by saying:

Enterprise is related as we see it, it is related but different to employability in the sense that enterprise is putting more onus on the kind of entrepreneurship and self-generated economic activity as opposed to more generic skills which are required for employment (CB2; CB16).

These two managers are like the hospitality managers in viewing enterprise as being linked to commercialisation and income generation. However, whilst the hospitality managers would press for more commercialisation for the institution as a whole, these managers believe it has a place only in particular areas of the organisation. The faculty head makes clear his perception of how enterprise is now viewed in CB by saying:

I get the impression myself that there was quite a boost to entrepreneurship two or three years ago and although it is still there, it has probably faded from the foreground to some extent (CB2; CB14).

This manager takes this view of the concept having faded in importance by referring to training and development events that no longer incorporate an enterprise theme when this was very commonplace from 2012-2014. The commitment to enterprise activity is on an equal footing with any other initiative promoted by policy changes or linked to funding.

The above view is shared by the programme manager who highlights the lack of any evidence that supports further investment in enterprise activities. Students obtaining qualifications in entrepreneurship does not distinguish them from other qualifications
His concern about a lack of evidence for the return on investment is captured by the following comment:

Actually, I am not sure exactly how the success of enterprise courses is measured; if it is measured in terms of a qualification, that is one strand and why not? That does not distinguish between enterprise and any other area of the curriculum. (CB2; CB9; CB13)

He mentions the lack of empirical evidence supporting further engagement in enterprise activity. This viewpoint can be understood in the light of the fact that there has been little by way of results beyond students on enterprise programmes achieving their qualifications.

**The Sceptics in CB**

The *Sceptics* in CB are those who view the whole idea of enterprise culture with suspicion. They doubt the claims made by *Believers* who present the concept of enterprise culture as crucial to the success of educational establishments. (Ball, 2010; Ritchie, 1991).

The principal of CB and a lecturer who teaches English, are those amongst the interviewees with a sceptical perspective in CB. The Principal expresses a view of himself and the notion of being entrepreneurial by saying:

I have never regarded myself as an entrepreneurial person. If I was just trying to do something with my own money, I would be absolutely useless at putting what I have earned, what I have managed to achieve or the money that I have managed to create for myself at risk (CB3; CB10).
It would appear that the decision to engage with an enterprise programme does not arise from a strong conviction about what might be achieved at the meso level of the organisation. This most senior member of staff also explains his view by drawing upon his experiences as a lecturer in FE:

…in my early teaching career, there were things like TVEI which was a government initiative and you did things like ‘mini-enterprise’ which was I think the worst thing we do with enterprise; the Cake Stall idea where you go and buy some Krispy Creme donuts from Victoria Station and just sell them on …I have talked to people at (a college in the east of England) and I am a little bit sceptical about all of that you know, this is a business here, a business there, and everything being possible to deliver whole courses through these businesses. I’ve got no idea if that is possible or not… (CB2; CB5; CB13)

This stance is further accentuated by the consideration of what the government at the time was doing:

…as far as the government is concerned, I am very, very cynical about it. I think that it is too often an excuse for not providing good enough careers guidance or not providing enough jobs for young people; for not getting employers sufficiently involved in recruiting young people; I think it is a way for the government to avoid some of those issues. I am not desperately convinced that the government really believes that they are creating a more entrepreneurial generation of young people… (CB5; CB10; CB14)
In talking about another institution and the government of the day, this senior manager is of the view that there is limited evidence of claims made by both. He doubts that significant parts of the curriculum can be delivered as businesses and this has been proven to be the case with the closing down of the business incubator in the said college. The Principal’s perspective is also informed by what has happened in terms of cuts to education and other public services. (Hodgson and Spours, 2015; Tuckett, 2018). Consequently, this sceptical view informs the decision made in CB to regard enterprise activity as peripheral to the whole institution although its 2016 prospectus claims enterprise is embedded in all programmes in the institution.

The language lecturer is also quite sceptical about enterprise culture, especially from the point of view of the reasons why the government is promoting activities and various initiatives. She explains that:

Any sort of capitalist government is going to promote that sort of thing because it is money going into education without them having to put their hands into their pocket. Call me a cynic but that’s the way I look at it. Of course, they are going to want to promote that because it’s one headache less for them. …It is not necessarily all bad. For example, the advantage is that they are getting people who may be more willing or have more money to put into education where the government wouldn’t have to put that much. (CB5; CB7; CB13; CB14)

Her convictions stem from the belief that often, those who engage with such activities in a meaningful manner already have the knowledge, skills, networks and financial resources necessary for some level of success. As Athayde (2012) highlights, young people participating in enterprise programmes experience a positive impact
moderated by factors like gender, ethnicity, socio-economic background and type of school attended. The language lecturer expresses concern that education is suffering so political interests can be accommodated by saying:

… I think principles are being overlooked in this process. I am particularly worried about education and the principles of education. …and once money starts being an issue and its either you know, balance, education/money; the two are not very good bedfellows, are they? Things are sacrificed in educational terms to accommodate economic and other political interests I think (CB5; CB7; CB12; CB13; CB14).

The lecturer goes further to pinpoint that those in need of support could be further alienated by the pursuit of commercialisation. Her concern demonstrates the dangers of a situation in which students who cannot fit the mould required by businesses may find they are not catered for. Money that comes into institutions like CB from corporations, tends to be earmarked to showcase the organisations’ social responsibility credentials (enterprise lecturer). These organisations then have a voice and some influence where policy and practices are concerned (Ball, 2010).

The staff from CB presents as an institution that is made up of people with divergent views about enterprise culture at the meso level. The way it is defined has a few common threads around a more commercial approach to the operation of an educational establishment and self-sufficiency (Peters, 2001; 2017). Senior management in the hospitality department embrace this and propose a greater pursuit of activities that can be described as enterprise related. The principal who has overall responsibility for the strategy of CB acknowledges some positive elements but views
the whole concept with scepticism especially where government is concerned. This view has made room for enterprise culture to be only one of many themes recognised at the *micro* level as potentially viable in CB. Members of staff who have been involved in such programmes outside the hospitality department are no longer enthusiastic after reductions in support and the observation of the impact on their wellbeing. Whilst some staff may be blaming reductions in support for enterprise culture not growing in popularity in CB, this also results from wider issues such as the perceived lack of return on investment in such activities (Mueller et al, 2008).

Several conclusions can be drawn from the variety of stances identified in both CA and CB. At the *meso* level, CA staff interviewed have defined enterprise culture as a concept that fits its context considering the level of disadvantage suffered by a significant number of students that attend the college. By embracing and redefining this culture to suit what the institution has determined to achieve, the participants from CA assume that enterprise culture is an inherently positive concept that definitely enriches the experience of the students the college serves. The college has effectively embraced a broad definition of enterprise (Leonard and Wilde, 2019; QAA, 2018) and in so doing, almost all activities taking place in the organisation are perceived to be linked in some way to enterprise. What the institution gains from enterprise culture is primarily qualitative and a cost/benefit analysis does not appear to be deemed necessary.

According to the staff interviewed, CB by contrast, is much more measured at the *meso* level in its approach to everything directly linked to the enterprise agenda. The staff who appear to be in support of enterprise culture seem to be those who embrace a right-wing ideology, not necessarily linked to what the college espouses (Ball, 2008).
The organisation makes investments with a careful consideration of the costs and what benefits should accrue.

The two institutions effectively illustrate what takes place when one institution appears to embrace what appears to be an appropriate solution whilst another recognises the wider issues that need to be addressed to achieve sustainable positive change (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). Education on its own is insufficient to change the trajectory of a young person's life; socio-economic issues must also be addressed (Ball, 2017; Brown and James, 2020; Meager et al, 2003; Packham et al, 2010).
Chapter 6 Types of enterprise culture and consequences in CA and CB

Introduction

This chapter explores the types of enterprise culture that exist in both organisations by virtue of the perspectives identified above and also presents the consequences of enterprise culture. It provides details of the culture of Expansionism seen at the meso level in CA and also explores the Revivalism and Objectivism seen at the micro level in CB. Objectivism in this study is defined as a pragmatic way of operating as total objectivity is unlikely as mentioned previously. The rituals and routines, stories and symbols that indicate the dominant paradigms in each of the institutions are then explored in answer to the second sub-research question that considers the impact of enterprise culture upon the everyday experience of staff. In the second part of the chapter, the consequences of enterprise culture for both organisations are considered and an appropriate conclusion drawn based on the discussion undertaken.

Types of enterprise culture of relevance to this study

In terms of the limited conclusion that can be drawn because of the sample size, from speaking to nine members of staff, CA’s culture is a hybrid culture that arises from Ritchie’s (1991; 2015) Survivalism and Revivalism cultures. CB’s culture is made up of Revivalism in the hospitality department and Objectivism in the remainder of the organisation in view of the range of stances adopted. At the meso level, the principal makes decisions with his senior team in a pragmatic fashion that embraces some enterprise activities at the micro level of CB. The types of culture of relevance to this study are briefly described as follows:

Survivalism, (Education as enterprise culture) is a type of enterprise culture in which an organisation itself seeks to internalise and reflect enterprise culture at the meso
Organisations with this approach tend to look more entrepreneurial than others with clear branding and missions that enshrine entrepreneurial values (Ball, 2003; Ritchie, 1989). In an organisation adopting a Revivalism culture (education unto enterprise culture), a faith in enterprise culture underpins activities and drives the ethos. Revivalism is depicted as what ultimately permits transformation and the redemption of a nation via the adoption of enterprise culture in all spheres of life (Morris, 2011). When Survivalism and Revivalism combine, a hybrid culture of Expansionism (education through enterprise culture) arises. This culture focuses upon stressing the existence and harnessing of opportunities for growth and expansion in educational establishments (Ritchie, 2015).

Objectivism (education about enterprise culture) arises from the dominance of the Analyst’s position in an institution. This is a Rationalist culture that seeks to look objectively at what is occurring with a view to pinpointing true meanings and consequences. An educational establishment adopting Objectivism is pragmatic and would for example tend to observe the impact of enterprise activities and policies before making any decisions about their adoption and fit with its context. This Objectivist culture is a flexible approach to viewing enterprise. Engagement with enterprise activities are based on perceived benefits and not predicated on faith in the concept as a whole. As such, educational establishments are not likely to invest large sums of money into buildings or activities that may not give a return on investment.
Expansionism in CA

The stances adopted by the staff interviewed in CA, point to an overall culture of Expansionism, a hybrid of Survivalism and Revivalism (Ritchie 1991). Survivalism and Revivalism are both present in CA. As per the chief finance and enterprise officer’s comments:

We have an entrepreneurial culture here... it started with all our values and as you can see, it is quite prominent everywhere. For example, our mission is written all over and staff knows that. ...it is a holistic approach, the work we do plus the environment. (CA3; CA4; CA13; CA14).
The stances adopted by the leaders of CA have effectively caused CA to seek to internalise and reflect enterprise culture itself and promote its dominance at the meso and micro levels of the institution. The management has indicated its desire to be entrepreneurial through the enshrining of entrepreneurialism into its mission and values. There appears to be a commitment to a situation in which enterprise is seen as both the process and content of education (Coulby 1989:109). That is to say that students are engaged in enterprise activities as an integral part of their learning and are also taught entrepreneurship concepts. One of the strategic objectives of CA is to have ‘Transformational, inclusive and entrepreneurial teaching, learning and assessment and empowered, motivated and entrepreneurial people’ (Strategic deliverables document, 2012-17: 4). The following comment from the ex-principal alludes strongly to the combination of Survivalism and Revivalism:

(We tell) stories about student successes, …about belief in fostering enterprise and initiative, belief in the values of creativity, enterprise, innovation, risk-taking…it is not the usual run of the mill college-it feels so different; like a commercial organisation (CA3; CA4; CA13; CA17) (Revivalism)

(ex-Principal of CA)

This quotation suggests an acceptance of neo-liberalism and governmentality (Davies and Bansel, 2007; Vallas and Cummins, 2015)). The reference to CA being like a commercial organisation alludes to the acceptance of the quasi-market that incorporation established and what governments until very recently have promoted (Spours et al, 2019).
...whilst the average London College is going down, we are going up,...since 2010, the government has cut funding every year...the Skills Funding Agency budget is now down by 50%. However, we have grown by 26% over the last five years so all this transformation enabled us to do that (CA3; CA13; CA14; CA17).

*Survivalism and Revivalism*

(Chief Finance and Enterprise Officer)

Once more, the existence of the market is acknowledged and accepted and staff take on entrepreneurial stances in thinking of themselves within the organisation (Ball, 2003). The references made to survival illustrate a lens that is common to the *Believers, Followers, Subjects* and the *Analyst* in CA. The staff make copious mention of opportunities, the creation of which is the hallmark of *Expansionist* culture. Almost every member of staff makes mention of opportunities provided to students when describing the culture of CA:

*We provide a quality service - responsiveness. Our relationship with employers is well developed and because of that there are increasing opportunities – it is now quite vast; to give students the opportunities. It is huge; things like designing some of the spaces in the college* (CA3; CA9; CA13; CA14)

(Principal of CA)

CA’s enterprise culture is very much about the creation of opportunities; the results of the creation of opportunities appears to be referred to in qualitative terms. The difference it makes to the lives of students is viewed as transformational in the eyes of the staff taking part in this study (Jones and Thomas, 2005). As there is a
fundamental belief amongst senior managers about the validity of enterprise culture; the staff do not question the investments made especially in the light of the growth of income between 2011 and 2016 (chief finance officer).

**Revivalism and Objectivism in CB**

*Revivalism* is seen at the *micro* level in the one department of CB that appears to have embraced the term ‘enterprise culture’ as if by default. The two public restaurants operated by the department plus the industry projects and competitions have been in existence for many decades. The reference to these practices indicating the existence of an enterprise culture just appears to fit the description of what the department has been engaged in as a leading hospitality school in England.

Comments such as the following illustrate the *Revivalism* seen in the department:

> Our industry partners recognise the cultural differences (in the different parts of the college) and treat this centre as they would a hotel or a restaurant. They recognise that we are a professional establishment. There needs to be a big cultural change in the UK. In terms of our faculty, we are perceived to be a major player with students creating their own businesses. We should not be waiting for the government to do anything for us (CB2; CB4; CB8; CB10; CB13). (Head of Hospitality Faculty)

This faculty has a culture that promotes the belief that education can be linked to economic performance and can reduce the dependence of educational establishments on government funding (Henry, 2013; Kuratko, 2005; Packham et al, 2010). Whilst this department has been successful in, for example, the operation of two restaurants with a turnover of £864,000 in 2015-16 (Head of Hospitality Faculty), this level of income can be viewed as something that is quite uncommon in FE. Having said that,
the practice of having a restaurant is not unique to this establishment. Ealing, Milton Keynes, Oaklands, Wiltshire and Suffolk Colleges (amongst others) have student run restaurants. The senior managers suggest that what has taken place in the hospitality department can be replicated elsewhere in CB but that is not likely to be achievable in the short to medium term. Their advantageous situation of decades during which the department has built an ecosystem in conjunction with organisations at the exo level that students and staff benefit from, can be viewed as the main reason why the department has been so successful (Abubakar and Mitra, 2007).

The decision to class the remainder of CB’s culture as Objectivist (defined as a pragmatic approach) is an attempt to embrace the very different perspectives encountered from talking to senior managers and staff at the micro level of departments and members of staff. As mentioned above, some activities that can be classed as arising from an enterprise culture have existed for over one hundred years in one particular department of the institution. Since the principal interviewed has been in post, he has allowed the department to continue its activities and pursue a number of commercial ventures. This is in spite of the scepticism with which he views the notion of delivering courses through businesses. His scepticism has not negatively impacted that department; we see the nesting of an entrepreneurial approach at the micro level with the meso level providing support as required. Where new programmes of study have not produced the expected return on investment, CB has not invested further resources and has decided to discontinue some programmes. It appears that every aspect of the way the organisation operates is based on an analysis of what the benefit will be to the organisation rather than a belief in enterprise culture as an underpinning ethos.

The following comment illustrates the Objectivism seen in CB:
When I came to the college ten years ago, I heard stories of a college that had great aspirations but did not quite know how to realise those aspirations...there was still goodwill and the hope that someone approaching the task in a more pragmatic and realistic way would be more successful- I think that is what we have achieved (CB11; CB16).

(CB’s Principal)

The leader of the organisation is clearly focused upon embracing what is practical and achievable in the organisation’s context. He does not appear to think that a common viewpoint on how the organisation should operate at the meso level is feasible or in fact desirable. This approach to policy mediation (Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins, 2011) helps staff assume a stance that helps them manage funding and performance management constraints.

I think we are becoming more commercial because the funding we receive does not cover what you need it to ...the restaurant downstairs is very commercial but that income props up the full-time courses, so I think it is a means to an end really... (CB13; CB17)

(Programme Manager –Hospitality)

Whereas in CA the staff interviewed espouse a fundamental belief in enterprise culture as the reason for the institution investing in buildings, membership of Gazelle and a plethora of other activities, CB has quite a different approach. An assessment of the benefits that they expect to accrue is undertaken before the organisation invests resources in activities. The number of activities that can be termed enterprise activities are centred in the hospitality department that appears to have a tried and tested business model. This Objectivism appears to suit the institution; the resulting
‘federation of cultures’ the principal refers to, appears to be appropriate for what CB seeks to achieve in terms of student numbers, retention and success (principal).

How enterprise culture impacts the everyday experiences of staff

This section explores how the everyday experiences staff have spoken about are impacted by the type of enterprise culture that exists at the *meso* and *micro* levels of the organisations. Stories, rituals and routines and symbols (Johnson and Scholes, 1992) are explored and Ritchie’s (1991; 2015) framework helps categorise the types of enterprise culture that can be identified from the understanding of these three soft elements of culture (Johnson and Scholes, 1992).

Those who listen to the stories told are able to decipher what is important in an organisation from the subjects of these stories that have almost invariably impacted the thinking of staff in the organisation. Rituals and routines are the way staff behave towards each other and the events that take place in the organisation that emphasise what is viewed as important in the institution. The language, styling, logos and trappings, what privileges exist and the deference that can be observed are all symbols that indicate behaviour that is valued in the organisation (Handscombe, 2003).

The stories, rituals & routines and symbols of College A

![Diagram](image)

Figure 17: The stories, rituals & routines and symbols of CA: Developed by the author
The variety of stories, rituals and routines and symbols observed in College A (Johnson and Scholes, 1992) serve to promote and embed the ethos of education through enterprise culture or *Expansionism* (Ritchie, 1991;2015) at the *meso* level of the institution. The table below presents examples of stories, rituals and routines and symbols and how they are linked to *Expansionism*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples of answers to question about stories people tell about CA (Quotations)</th>
<th>What is emphasised by the story</th>
<th>Link to <em>Expansionism</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stories about student success in competitions, in winning jobs, in leading CA initiatives. I can provide examples - national awards, paid commissions, transformation from shy to confident etc. (ex-Principal)</td>
<td>Student exposure to a plethora of opportunities.</td>
<td>‘Expansionism amplifies a rhetoric of opportunities’ (Ritchie, 1991:26) This culture is all about making opportunities available to those in organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have a student who left school with poor self-esteem …a local newspaper offered her a paid column to focus on dyslexia… (Director for Creative Media)</td>
<td>The potential for transformation facilitated by opportunities given to students.</td>
<td><em>Expansionism</em> urges particular subjects to harness opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New members are sold the brand…they are told of the opportunities we create for our learners (Head of Construction).</td>
<td>The provision of opportunities made available to students.</td>
<td><em>Expansionism</em> is about the provision of opportunities that can bring transformation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We had a very entrepreneurial ex-principal. She brought new ideas about entrepreneurialism …two of my students won 10,000 euros -they went against 10 businesses</td>
<td>The change in approach started by the ex-principal.</td>
<td>Belief in what can be achieved with an entrepreneurial approach.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our relationship with employers is quite vast - to give students the opportunities – it is huge (Principal).

The volume and diverse nature of the opportunities made available to students.

The rhetoric of opportunities that characterises Expansionism.

Figure 18: Stories told in CA: Developed by the author

The stories told by the various members of staff in CA are very much about the opportunities facilitated by the decision to adopt an entrepreneurial approach at the meso level. When it comes to live briefs and commissioned work for example, any student can apply and has a chance to improve their skills with real organisations paying a market rate for what they require students to do (director for creative media).

By working with many industry partners and organisations, CA is able to promote the concept of improving soft skills, a bedrock of its decision to adopt an enterprise culture (Delaney, 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rituals and routines</th>
<th>What is emphasised</th>
<th>Link to Expansionism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellence awards (Chief Finance and Enterprise Officer).</td>
<td>Achievements of staff and students.</td>
<td>Highlights what can be achieved when students and staff take advantage of opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspiration days- famous people are brought to meet students and staff (Head of Construction).</td>
<td>The experiences these people have been through and especially how they managed to become successful.</td>
<td>Highlights the opportunities that people from all walks of life have harnessed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Classes and pitching events (Lecturer in Business).</td>
<td>Extra-ordinary success and attempting to advance an idea.</td>
<td>Highlights opportunities that exist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitions (ex-Principal).</td>
<td>Taking part – not just winning.</td>
<td>Demonstrates the existence of opportunities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19: Rituals and routines in CA: Developed by the author

The rituals and routines engaged in by members of CA, are very much linked to recognising and rewarding those who take advantage of opportunities and go beyond
the call of duty (chief finance officer). There is an attempt made to focus upon the transformation of lives achieved by others through the harnessing of opportunities (head of construction). This is clearly inspirational if the ‘…slippage between pleasure and tyranny within the performativity regime…’ (Ball, 2008:52) does not take place. It is implied that those who are slow to adapt to the changes CA has experienced are those closest to misfits in the organisation. There is a note of caution to be sounded as it is entirely possible that failure amongst staff and students may be attributed to individuals not working sufficiently hard whilst success is celebrated as the fruit of one’s labour or as a result of some innate ability when the reality is most likely much more complex (Ball, 2003; 2008; James, 2005).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>What they emphasise</th>
<th>Link to Expansionism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Branding</td>
<td>The ‘entrepreneurial look’ of the institution itself</td>
<td>This highlights the Survivalism aspect of Expansionism; the organisation operating as a business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-Shape</td>
<td>Students gaining access to opportunities beyond the qualification they signed up to achieve.</td>
<td>Expansionism is about the facilitation of opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall of Stars</td>
<td>What Alumni from different walks of life have achieved.</td>
<td>Expansionism promotes a rhetoric of harnessing opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Hub, TV Studio, STEM Centre, YouTube Channel</td>
<td>A commitment to promoting enterprise and entrepreneurship.</td>
<td>Provides physical spaces for engagement in activities/taking advantage of opportunities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20: Symbols in CA: Developed by the author

The symbols staff interviewed highlight in CA point to a serious commitment to entrepreneurship activities and the facilitation of opportunities. The physical resources devoted to entrepreneurship provide students with a space in which they can work with staff to take advantage of the opportunities they are presented with (manager of
business hub). This indicates the importance of these activities at the *meso* level of the institution. Until research is conducted into what happens to Alumni from CA, it is not clear whether the provision of these opportunities result in greater career success than that experienced by students from other colleges.

College A’s paradigm concerning enterprise culture is summarised in the diagram below.

![Paradigm (Expansionism)](image)

**Figure 21:** CA’s paradigm for enterprise culture: Developed by the author

Staff who are rewarded in CA are those who embrace entrepreneurialism – the awards given to staff are linked to participation in enterprise activities. The belief in pursuing greater autonomy and a reduced reliance upon the government appears to be a sensible stance (Davies and Bansel, 2007; Peters, 2001; 2017).

CA has made the choice to pursue an entrepreneurial ethos at the *meso* level and this to all intents and purposes is helpful to its students. The organisational paradigm that appears to go beyond this to embrace greater autonomy and self-reliance appears to unwittingly accept the cuts that have been made to FE budgets (Fletcher et al, 2015; Peters, 2001; 2017).
The stories, rituals and routines and symbols of College B

**Stories**
- Business-like nature
- Excellent reputation in hospitality
- Strength of trade union
- Front line staff are heroes
- Managers are villains

**Rituals and routines**
- Staff conferences & awards
- Staff meetings
- Hospitality & Enterprise events
- Trade union meetings

**Symbols**
- Enterprise Academy & Enterprise hub branding
- Business dress & chef whites
- Office size & location
- Mobile phones

Figure 22: The stories, rituals and routines and symbols of CB: Developed by the author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stories</th>
<th>What is emphasised</th>
<th>Link to Revivalism or Objectivism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our industry partners …treat this centre as they would a hotel or restaurant…we are a professional establishment (Head of Hospitality Faculty)</td>
<td>The demarcation between the hospitality department and the remainder of the college</td>
<td>Promotes the commercialisation of education as a means to making FE less reliant on government (<em>Revivalism</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…it has always been known for having everything basically …it is at the forefront of everything we do in our profession (Programme manager in Hospitality)</td>
<td>The superior nature of the department in CB and in FE</td>
<td>An honest assessment of the reputation of a department (<em>Objectivism</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I heard a story of a person being taken into an office the day they arrived and being told this is a trade union college and you will behave in a certain way (Principal)</td>
<td>The variable nature of the micro level of the college – the expectation of conformity to what is normal behaviour in each part</td>
<td>A culture that depends on the area of activity and the perspective held there (<em>Objectivism</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are some exceptional teachers...those who are extremely dedicated and innovative (Head of English Faculty).

The commitment demonstrated by some members of staff.

An analysis of what occurs in practice in the organisation (Objectivism).

The current senior managers would be villains (the principal is exempt)-there appears to be a plan to promote the hospitality aspects but not much else (Enterprise lecturer).

The preferential treatment afforded the hospitality department.

An acceptance of the exceptional nature of the department by senior managers. (Objectivism).

**Figure 23: Stories told in CB: Developed by the author**

The stories relayed in CB vary at the *micro* level of departments and individuals. Staff in the hospitality department tell stories that promote further engagement with enterprise activities and the success enjoyed by students. In so doing they illustrate the perceived superiority of that department. For a pragmatic organisation, this appears to be acceptable when one considers what the department has achieved. Stories shared from other parts of the college reflect the diverse nature of activities engaged in and also demonstrate a commitment to assessing the return on investment before committing further resources to any initiatives. The suggestion that managers are villains for example is not perceived as fair in the light of the fact that their decision to withdraw support for the Enterprise Academy and Enterprise Hub are based on a realistic assessment of what can be achieved going forward in the light of constraints imposed by *macro* level policies (Steer et al, 2007).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rituals and routines</th>
<th>What is emphasised</th>
<th>Link to Revivalism or Objectivism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff conferences &amp; awards</td>
<td>What is being prioritised at the <em>meso</em> level changes depending on what is perceived to be appropriate</td>
<td>Focus shifts based upon the analysis of what is of relevance to the institution (<em>Objectivism</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff meetings</td>
<td>Recruitment, Retention and achievement drive the agenda.</td>
<td>Analysis of statistics to ensure goals are achieved (<em>Objectivism</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality and Enterprise events</td>
<td>Industry links and the department’s achievements.</td>
<td>Acknowledgement of achievements that warrant support and promotion of activities (<em>Objectivism</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade union meetings</td>
<td>Equitable treatment of staff especially in the light of senior management pay.</td>
<td>Staff seeking to redress the balance of power that favours senior managers (<em>Objectivism</em>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 24: Rituals and routines in CB: Developed by the author

According to the staff interviewed, what is important in CB is reflected in the decisions made about themes for staff conferences and activities at the *meso* level of the institution. Events linked to the hospitality department are supported by senior managers in the light of what the department achieves and the contribution it makes to the reputation of CB. Other rituals like trade union meetings reflect a commitment to the analysis of what is going on in the organisation in order to pursue equity and fairness for all staff members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>What is emphasised</th>
<th>Link to Revivalism or Objectivism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Academy &amp; Enterprise Hub branding</td>
<td>The entrepreneurial nature of both activities</td>
<td>Emphasis temporarily placed upon entrepreneurship (<em>Objectivism</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dress and Chef whites</td>
<td>The acknowledgement of difference</td>
<td>Acknowledgement of hospitality achievements (<em>Objectivism</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office size and location</td>
<td>Position in the hierarchy.</td>
<td>Assessment based upon position (Objectivism).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile phones</td>
<td>Seniority and managerial staff.</td>
<td>Assessment based upon position (Objectivism).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 25: Symbols in CB

The whites worn by chefs for example, symbolises their superiority in the institution by virtue of the department’s reputation, the famous alumni, the restaurants and other achievements. This part of CB promotes Revivalism and a commitment to increased commercial activity. Whilst the senior managers appear to be withdrawing support for other enterprise activities in view of their limited success in terms of recruitment and new venture creation, the organisation continues to support the work of the hospitality department. A few members of staff perceive this to be unfair.

Figure 26: CB’s paradigm for enterprise culture: Developed by the author

The pragmatic approach adopted by CB has resulted in a number of commonly taken for granted assumptions staff interviewed have indicated as per the diagram above. The institution does not embrace the concept of enterprise culture as a phenomenon at the meso level of the whole institution. This is seen in how CB has dealt with
enterprise programmes outside its flagship hospitality department. CB appears to be sure that education is not something that can be subsumed into enterprise culture so that all aspects of the organisation are impacted by enterprise activity. The fact that the hospitality section has been successful does not guarantee a similar level of success to all other parts of the organisation.

The examination of the data collected in CA and CB using Ritchie’s framework (1991; 2015) and the soft elements of the Cultural Web highlight a variety of issues:

Enterprise culture in both organisations does not illustrate ‘…links from education, through into economic performance towards supposed new national capabilities and well-being…’ (Ritchie 1991:315; Packham et al, 2010). Whilst there is a meso level commitment to the promotion of an enterprise culture in CA, this culture is about the provision of opportunities that prepare students for a future that is uncertain and will likely require them to be versatile and flexible in their approach (Young, 2014). The strong belief of senior managers in this type of enterprise culture has established an Expansionist approach in CA that has underpinned and driven the organisation’s strategies over the last five years. A distinction is made between when the concept was first introduced in 2011-12 as an approach that would result in the creation of many new ventures and 2014-15 when the emphasis shifted to a focus on creating opportunities for students to develop their skills. In so doing, the narrow and broad definitions have both been embraced (Leonard and Wilde, 2019) and almost any type of activity can be said to contribute in some way to the establishment of an enterprise culture in CA at the meso level. This therefore makes the distinction between CA and other FE colleges less clear.
In CB, no single enterprise culture is ubiquitous. The organisation has been careful in its commitment to the concept as it has viewed initiatives such as the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative with some scepticism. Unlike in CA where entrepreneurial behaviour is now classed as more to do with how students think and act (Delaney, 2013), CB views new venture creation as central to enterprise culture.

The *Expansionist* enterprise culture in CA is reflected in stories told about students winning awards and taking part in competitions. Whilst this is the case at the *meso* level in CA, this is mainly seen at the *micro* level; in one department of CB. Rituals and routines that take place in CA highlight the importance of the provision of opportunities for students. In CB, rituals and routines in one department promote a *Revivalism* culture; the remainder of the organisation engages with what will ensure that the important statistics of retention, achievement and student satisfaction are satisfactory.

Considering the fact that even university graduates are now judged to be unlikely to start a new venture directly after completing university (Jones, 2010) it will require a study about what happens to Alumni from CA to enable a judgement to be made about the results of the investments in the facilitation of the huge range of opportunities spoken about (Nabi et al, 2017).

In line with the Marxian truism (Burrows, 2015:3) that ‘people make their own history (agency), but not under circumstances of their own choosing (structure)’, this case study highlights one very interesting point:

Enterprise culture is perceived as a positive thing by the staff interviewed in CA but there is no conclusive evidence that *Expansionist* culture will be more successful in the long term, compared to approaches adopted by other colleges. At this point in
time, when the Conservative government appears to be acknowledging the failure of
the competitive logic that has been the dominant discourse in FE, this turn permits a
more supportive environment at the macro level that can permit more effective
collaborations with institutions at the regional and local (exo) levels (Spours, Hodgson,
Grainger and Smith, 2019).

The consequences of enterprise culture

This section explores staff perspectives on the consequences of enterprise culture.
Consequences refers to the results and impacts of the enterprise cultures in place at
the meso and micro levels of the case study institutions. The exploration of the
consequences of the cultures in place in both institutions, is also considered from the
wider viewpoint of the macro and exo impacts of the wider FE system that include
issues such as marketisation, performativity and social locations (Ball, 2003; Hodgson
and Spours, 2017; Ritchie, 1991, 2015). The concept of social locations talks about
the positioning of institutions in relation to what governments prefer and the level of
involvement in enterprise culture. It builds upon the work on stances and types of
enterprise culture explored previously (Johnson and Scholes, 1992; Ritchie, 1991;
2015).

Consequences of Expansionism in CA

In discussing the impact of Expansionism, staff are concerned with improving the
knowledge, capabilities and skills of students. (Bridge, 2015). CA has partnerships
at the exo level (local and regional) with a large number of employers like Morrison’s,
Vinci, Costain, Siemens, Metro Bank, Ford and Estee Lauder (CA Strategic
deliverables document, 2012-17). This points to an attempt to develop an ecosystem
built around the organisation’s social mission (Grainger and Spours, 2018). The
realistic working environment students experience in this locality appears to be a good thing, especially because employers pay a market rate for the services of the students they employ (CA ex-principal). The economic challenges driven by macro level factors such as unemployment in the locality do appear to push students towards seeking out job opportunities and entrepreneurship because of the limited opportunities available (Mueller et al, 2008; Smith and Air, 2012). As the institution focuses upon providing experiences on programmes, this practice is designed to give students more of a chance of succeeding in the job market post the period spent on their programmes of study (Grigg, 2011).

At the micro level, some members of staff interviewed explain the level of satisfaction and motivation they themselves obtain from working for CA (Grigg, 2011). Work is perceived as more impactful, with the manager of the incubator saying:

I would have loved to have done this long ago. I get people jobs. I get them to make films, I get clients to come in and give them real work to do, it’s great- I never had the opportunity. It was never on the agenda years ago (CA4; CA9; CA13)

In a sense, comments like the above can suggest performativity working ‘…best when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us…’ (Ball, 2008:52) but the staff interviewed seem to be happy in CA. For students who are looking to enhance their vocational skills, CA’s Expansionist culture would appear to be ideal. It is hoped that there will not come a time when the presence of commercial and private sector influences are an encroachment upon the working environment of the students (Grumvell and Murray, 2015). Decreased funding has made colleges increasingly
susceptible to the influence of big money, and this may threaten academic freedom (Hill and Kumar, 2009).

The staff interviewed do not really acknowledge the fact that CA, like most FE colleges, continues to depend on national funding to a large extent and thus is effectively still ‘…dancing to the tune of… political masters’ (Hodgson and Spours, 2015: 201). These stakeholders are not only from the public sector; they are also now from private organisations, charities and social enterprises that work with organisations like CA. CA staff talk about their enterprising attitude to every challenge but that cannot fully compensate for the government’s commitment to the marketisation of public services (Hodgson and Spours, 2015). The caring and transformative roles that are core to the ethos of FE are still referred to as very important (Addo, 2018).

**Macro level impacts - Marketisation and Performativity in CA**

Performativity in this context refers to Ball’s (2003) definition of how the behaviour of individuals or groups might be directed through the measurement of their worth by what they do. The adoption of *Expansionism* in CA appears to have introduced and embedded a mode of performativity (Ball, 2003). This has been achieved through the introduction and imposition of the new discourse of enterprise; the staff interviewed present themselves as the newly appropriate and appropriated members of the social order in place (head of construction). This social order is one in which everything going on in the institution is said to be linked in some way to enterprise (ex-principal, current principal, lecturer in business). Over the period (from 2011 to 2016) described by staff, the changes they have embraced have been presented in the form of choices that they and the institution have made to secure funding (chief finance and enterprise officer) and ensure the success of the organisation. As the business lecturer indicates,
CA is famous for enterprise and it is the one thing that would be noticed if the organisation were to withdraw from that positioning proposition. Staff appear to be conceived as making choices that further the interests of themselves and the students they work with (Ball, 2008). The business lecturer describes the growth of enterprise as facilitating student success and how that encourages staff to engage more deeply with the enterprise agenda. The subjective and organisational conditions for entrepreneurial approaches have been put in place but staff suggest that the adoption of an enterprise ethos has set them free. As previously mentioned, the staff interviewed appear to be happy, unlike the many referred to in Chapter 2 who feel disenfranchised.

The following diagram summarises the impact of enterprise culture in CA:

![Diagram of Social locations and involvement in the enterprise culture]

Figure 27: Social locations and involvement in the enterprise culture: (Ritchie, 1991: 320 & 324)

The powers of government at the macro level have been directed towards empowering the entrepreneurial subjects in their quest for self-expression, freedom and prosperity.
(Heelas, 2011). This freedom can be viewed as something shaped by what the state desires, demands and enables. CA epitomises the enterprise culture the Coalition government in 2014 and the Conservative government since 2015 have sought to establish. Staff seem to be unintended bedfellows with a government advancing an ideology that promotes the dominance of market forces and performativity in education (MacDonald and Giazitzoglu, 2019; Oldham, 2018). The periphery driven component of the diagram refers to groups generally opposed to the government’s stance such as other political parties, trade unions and protest groups.

The consequences of CB’s enterprise cultures

A two-tier organisation appears to be in place in CB where at the micro level one part of the college is lauded as entrepreneurial and the remainder dealt with and viewed differently. In commenting on the consequences of enterprise culture, CB’s vice principal distinguishes between what seems to be two very different cultures in the institution. He contrasts what takes place in the hospitality faculty with what occurs in other parts of CB by saying that those staff in the remainder of CB appear to lack up to date industry experience, do not have sufficient time to be creative with the curriculum, have insufficient resources to develop new ideas and prefer to deliver what is safe.

A positive result of what presents as Revivalism in this particular faculty at the micro level has been the number of students that have secured employment at the end of their programmes of study. A few students have started their own businesses but they are in a minority (head of faculty). Students who have come to study in that faculty develop networks and build upon their skill levels through working with some of the most qualified chef instructors in the industry (head of faculty). The faculty has an
excellent network of contacts that has been built up over one hundred years. This combination has made it possible for students to secure work placements and employment in prestigious organisations in London. These include five-star hotels like The Dorchester, The Ritz, The Goring, The Savoy and Claridges (hospitality lecturer). Well known restaurants like Heston Blumenthal’s Fat Duck and private members’ clubs like The Garrick also provide employment and placement opportunities for students. Some employers have commented that seeing a reference to this particular hospitality school is something that gives them a great deal of confidence where the pedigree of applicants is concerned. This situation showcases what is possible when institutions at the exo level work with departments in an FE college – what has been built up over the years is an example of an ecosystem that has at its core a mission of providing young people with skills that make them employable in the hospitality industry (CB’s website).

CB’s symbolic involvement in enterprise culture

At the micro level of the hospitality faculty, the concept of enterprise culture has matched the vocational nature of the curriculum well. Students have benefitted from what has essentially been a good opportunity to practice their craft. The faculty has always had staff from the hospitality industry with excellent skills and knowledge and over the years, it has built up an excellent network of contacts and supporters (Ozer et al, 2012). It would therefore be disingenuous to suggest that the success experienced has been due to a belief in the gospel of an enterprise culture. It appears that what the students are being taught makes running a restaurant a natural thing to do; not something provided by staff in order to express their entrepreneurial approach or provide educational experiences that solve the challenges faced by the UK (Penaluna and Penaluna, 2015). By definition, the hospitality industry provides food
and service to its clients; those being trained to work in that industry therefore have to learn to prepare and serve food. Having public restaurants makes this possible; the popularity of enterprise culture in the period studied cannot really be said to be something that has caused CB to have restaurants; it does appear to be a case of serendipity and not strategic intent. The idea of lauding what takes place in the department as a result of the adoption of enterprise culture amounts to reframing what naturally occurs to fit a particular argument being made for a particular ideological stance (Peters, 2001;2017).

The operation of these restaurants illustrates how a section of the college has held on to its traditional roots at the micro level, mediated policy appropriately and ‘...exploited their expertise and facilities as specialists in ...vocational learning’ (Hodgson and Spours, 2015:205).

The faculty head and programme manager from the English department are two analysts who provide an objective view of the consequences of enterprise culture. Unlike the staff interviewed in CA who are very much focused on the meso level of the organisation itself, the analysts provide a view that takes both the macro level and CB itself into account. The Head of Faculty comments on the government’s motive for adopting the enterprise agenda by saying:

I think the government is pro-business and anti-state ...it wants an increasingly business-minded public to drive industrial growth and interaction and to simultaneously reduce any dependency on the state (CB5; CB10; CB14).

He makes a very insightful point when he says:

...How it (the enterprise agenda) is taken up by individual institutions or people is a different matter. Enterprise itself can be a very positive thing ...some people
are more suited to it than others ... I think there was an attempt to widen it so it existed within organisations but I felt that was somehow twisting the term a little bit ... I mean in the sense that just as we are all managers, we are all entrepreneurs (CB5; CB10; CB14).

This senior manager's view presents an analytical stance that allows for differences in approaches at the micro level of the organisation. He demonstrates a recognition of the government's motive for advocating the adoption of enterprise culture (Grigg, 2011; Nabi et al, 2006) but does not simply dismiss the concept as unsuitable. He is instead cautious about the role this culture can and should play. The aspects that can enhance the student experience are embraced in what is an attempt to assess the worth of enterprise culture without making assumptions. Where aspects of enterprise education can be seen to be beneficial it is embraced. Unlike in CA where by implication 'everyone can be an entrepreneur', there is an acceptance of the varying paths, strengths, interests and opportunities that the reality of life in an FE setting brings (Hodgson et al, 2015).

The programme manager in the same department is like-minded in commenting on the consequences of enterprise culture. He stresses the popularity of enterprise activities especially in the recent past but also highlights the fact that the concept does not appear to be as popular in 2016 (when the interview took place). Once more he points to the business environment by saying:

... in the outside world, there are more and more small businesses, less and less people on payroll employment ... so students come in and they have seen friends or colleagues and parents doing that kind of work (self-employment) (CB2; CB9).
However, he is mindful of the need to balance this view by saying:

> I think there has to be the holistic aspect of education as well and I think that must be there. I don’t think it can only be with the sort of a business mindset. I think there is something about learning to develop yourself as well… clearly, not all those students that are enterprising are out there, doing it for themselves in small businesses … (CB11; CB16)

This viewpoint reflects a stance that is predicated on objectively considering enterprise education on its merits and the contribution it can realistically make to CB (Athayde, 2012). He thus expresses a view that education should not simply exist to create an enterprise culture (*Revivalism*), or an organisation that is a replica of enterprise culture (*Survivalism*). The following conclusion about the two organisations sums up the implications of these consequences for both organisations.

**Conclusion**

The main consequence of the existence of Revivalism and Expansionism is the varying level of engagement that occurs in both institutions at the *meso* and *micro* levels and an oversimplification of the debates at the *macro* level that impact the staffs’ perspectives.

Enterprise culture in CA is quite amorphous and there are clearly some beneficial aspects in terms of what students and staff gain. Staff have been sincere in their use of programmes and initiatives as a means of improving the student experience and increasing the appeal of the education offer. CA depicts what Ball (2010) describes as the three points of address that the enterprise narrative has within education. Firstly, enterprise education takes place in all departments and programmes. Secondly, the institution itself is an entrepreneurial organisation and thirdly, enterprise
is perceived to be a new solution to entrenched social problems and an alternative to public sector provision. If Expansionism is embraced without question, performativity and responsibilisation (Ball, 2003; 2008; Peters, 2001; 2017) appear to be the result, and they provide a shield to stakeholder groups like the government. A parallel can be drawn between what occurs in CA and James’ (2018) view of the need to look beneath the surface when one considers what appears to be progress in the education sphere. It is easy to perceive changes as having wholly positive impacts, but it is important to acknowledge the limitations of any one view of the relationship between education and economic growth for example. As CA supports activity that appears to result in students gaining new capabilities, skills and networks, what has previously been referred to as the need to explore how a given activity in education can have detrimental effects remains important. Where staff in CA apply the sole lens of the personal growth and development of students in the enterprise-related activity the institution engages with, there is the likelihood that negative effects will not be searched for nor discerned. The impact on the staff's values as educators may not receive due consideration and the underlying assumption that informs the organisational paradigm is that the activity engaged in only does good. As one member of staff indicated, they could see no negatives in the enterprise activity engaged in by CA. The staff in CA appear to give less regard to the relational nature of how what occurs can be understood given the various factors that come together to influence the trajectory of a student's experiences and their life (James, 2018).

CB, whilst seemingly involved through what appears to be Revivalism that is hegemonic in one department is more removed as an institution from a commitment to enterprise culture. What presents as Revivalism would most likely continue because of the nature of the vocational curriculum on offer. It is effectively
independent of whether senior managers, middle managers and staff continue to believe in enterprise culture. So long as the department seeks to train people for the hospitality industry, what they do can be viewed in theory to be synonymous with Revivalism.

The remainder of CB seeks to be pragmatic in its engagement with the concept of enterprise culture. The organisation appears to pay lip service to the concept but at best, its involvement is more symbolic and not likely to be the dominant rhetoric in the long term. There is no clear demarcation between enterprise educators and lecturers who seek to provide an excellent service to their students but resource constraints caused by macro level factors and a lack of engagement with institutions at the exo level make it difficult for an ecosystem to flourish for the remainder of the institution. The following chapter summarises what has been learnt from this study.
Chapter 7 Findings, contribution to knowledge and implications for research and practice

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis was to find out what enterprise culture means to the staff in two institutions in the further education context and to explore the implications for the sector. It gave senior staff, middle management and lecturers the space to share their perspectives on the concept. This study has focused upon understanding how the staff in two institutions define the concept of enterprise culture, what their perceptions of the manifestations of this culture are and their view of the consequences that arise from enterprise culture in FE. Prior to this study, we could only guess what staff from FE colleges made of the enterprise culture. Learning from the perspectives of the people on the ground is necessary because they are the ones who have to work with policies linked to enterprise culture, and only they understand the constraints on the ground (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992). The various policies developed cannot make a difference if their application is constrained and hampered by what is occurring in the FE sectoral system.

Findings and contribution to knowledge

As previously mentioned, this is the first time Ritchie’s framework has been tested empirically. The interviews and examination of documentary evidence and the tours undertaken in both CA and CB combine to indicate that no overall consensus exists about the definition of enterprise culture. The agreed definition amongst the staff interviewed in CA presents enterprise culture as being about the development of various skills, capabilities and networks. Staff interviewed suggest that there is a commitment to enterprise-related activity at every level in the organisation. This
commitment is directly linked to the organisation’s purpose and values and is effectively the broad definition of enterprise (Leonard and Wilde, 2019). Clarity about CA’s commitment to enterprise-related activity at all levels translates into rituals and routines, stories, symbols and an organisational paradigm that consistently supports the embedding of enterprise-related activities throughout the institution. The reverse occurs in CB where the approach adopted by senior staff in the organisation permits a proliferation of rituals and routines, stories, symbols and a paradigm not consistently aligned to the promotion of enterprise-related activity. What is classed as Objectivism would be better classed as Pragmatism in the light of the impact of experiences, knowledge and personal convictions on how perspectives are shared. True Objectivism appears to be impossible in practice. Staff in CA and CB highlight consequences of engagement with enterprise-related activity that are both positive and negative. Where positive consequences are concerned, the majority of students who do not have the skills, capabilities, contacts and financial resources to set up a business, still benefit from accessing enterprise-related initiatives. These initiatives help students develop their skills, capabilities and networks. CA’s engagement with a variety of institutions at the exo level, some of which are based on the college’s campus and CB’s hospitality faculty’s strong relationship with various employers, provide meaningful opportunities for personal growth and development for both staff and students. Enterprise-related activity enables the staff in CA and those in the hospitality faculty in CB to do engaging and interesting work. Staff interviewed indicate that they find fulfilment in being given the opportunity to lead on how they engage with enterprise-related activity. The willing engagement of staff is what makes enterprise activity
developmental and rewarding. The participants in this study indicate that their horizons are broadened by the opportunities the various projects and challenges have brought their way.

Where negative aspects of engagement are concerned, a lack of consensus at the *meso* level regarding how enterprise-related activity can contribute to the fulfilment of organisational purpose, does not encourage the engagement of staff at all levels of the organisation. Whilst staff below the most senior level of the institutions that are enthused by enterprise-related activity do not embrace the dominance of the market mechanism and profit-making (Burrows and Curran, 2018), these things impact what is achieved in the institutions.

Conversations with the staff interviewed indicate that engagement with enterprise-related activity is unlikely to be sustainable if staff are increasingly orientated towards the well-being of the institution and its members. This denotes a shift away from concern about general educational and social issues in the educational community (Ball, 2008). This is because *exo* influences and *macro* factors always impact what can be achieved at the *meso* and *micro* levels of institutions.

**Implications of enterprise culture for FE Colleges - Analytical Expansionism (micro level decisions)**

The following model is derived from the perspectives the staff interviewed hold about enterprise culture. In considering the three frameworks employed in this study, it is called an *Analytical Expansionism* model because it summarises the learning from engaging with staff from both institutions. The model indicates the benefits gained from both College A and College B’s engagement with enterprise-related activity whilst considering the wider sectoral factors that impact what can be achieved. The provision of opportunities in FE framed as an *Expansionism* culture is positive for staff and
students but the Analytical component highlights the other considerations necessary when the whole sector is considered.

Firstly, the impact of macro level factors such as funding cuts and governance arrangements constrain what both CA and CB can do and are therefore a central consideration in decisions to engage with enterprise-related activity. For example, the lack of central funding for enterprise and innovation in FE prior to 2010 is highlighted in Hardy’s review of the reasons that have caused this state of affairs. Universities had a £134 million Innovation Fund whilst secondary schools had £60 million devoted to the provision of enterprise capability since September 2004 (Hardy, 2010: 301). The longstanding lack of funding for the sector has created a variety of challenges for FE (Dabbous et al, 2020).

Exo level factors also determine the likelihood of an enterprise-related activity yielding a positive return. In terms of CA and CB, this primarily concerns the existence of organisations that partner with departments within CA and CB to provide opportunities that help staff and students gain skills, capabilities and networks. This is the place-based approach that builds on the resources and assets currently available to institutions (Hazelkorn, 2020).

In the conversations with staff from CA and CB, they indicate the vital role played by the purposes and values of the institutions. Staff highlight how proposals aligned with the institution’s mission, values and goals when the institution has clarity about who they serve and why (Doel, 2018; 2020) are successful. If senior managers are not committed to enterprise activity, they do not invest in it in a meaningful way and such activity is consequently not sustainable.
Staff from CA point to the valuable addition enterprise-related activity makes to the curriculum through the provision of opportunities to work on business projects, pitching competitions and paid assignments. Alongside the regular curriculum, enterprise projects therefore positively influence the experiences students have in the institutions. The building of networks is highlighted by staff as a benefit that students derive from engagement with enterprise activities. Collaborative networks permit the development of innovative solutions that support students and staff (Duffy, 2020). The interests of all other stakeholders are subjugated to those of the students (Ball, 2010) in decisions made about engaging with enterprise-related activity.

Staff indicate that engagement with enterprise activity can be a means of developing professional identity because of what they are able to achieve for their students from facilitating various opportunities and providing support to students. This is a result of an authentic willingness to engage with such activity and not an imposition driven by performativity or the dictates of the market (Ball, 2003; 2008; Bennet and Smith, 2018).
The Analytical Expansionism model is designed to aid the case study institutions in their deliberations about whether to engage with enterprise and entrepreneurship-related activities. Central to the decision to engage with any enterprise programme is the analysis of the fit between what is proposed and the organisation’s own purpose or mission. It is important to determine how the proposed projects are aligned with the values and goals of the institution so that staff, students and other stakeholders can appreciate the reason why engagement is proposed. The careful consideration of what is taking place in the locality, the region and the nation provides an awareness of opportunities and threats that impact upon the organisation and should be taken
into account when contemplating engagement with enterprise activity. Students are one of the most important stakeholder categories in every institution and as such a consideration of how enterprise activity impacts upon their holistic development as well as their development of skills and knowledge is vital to the institutions. Staff are the group that have responsibility for the delivery of enterprise programmes and in considering the impact proposed programmes will have upon them, institutions are able to harness opportunities to positively impact the individual goals staff may have and their identity as FE professionals.

The next section considers the limitations of this study and highlights further research that can be undertaken.

Limitations

The willingness of staff to share their perspectives with reasonable frankness has been vital to the study. The original selection of participants from CA mentioned as a limitation in the methodology is acknowledged once more as an act that may possibly have changed the results. Choosing to focus on interviewing nineteen people in two institutions means that whilst the results are not generalisable, the views obtained come from a range of experiences and the contextually rich understanding gained can be useful to other FE institutions. Having said that, the study is essentially about the nineteen staff who took part in the study and not representative of the two institutions. The institutions are both London based and quite large – some of the issues of relevance to colleges outside the city that impact enterprise programmes are thus not acknowledged. The deductive approach to data analysis adopted limits the focus of the study to the exploration of the different types of enterprise culture using already established theories – in so doing, whilst this work has built upon what we know and
added to the field, the chance of developing a totally new theory has not been explored.

Another limitation comes from the fact that the data collection occurred in 2016; whilst the circumstances in both FE colleges may have changed, the consideration of current sector-wide issues has ensured that the study has relevance for this period of time (Augar, 2019; Diamond, 2020; Doel, 2020; Hazelkorn, 2020; Kerslake, 2020; Spours et al, 2019).

**Implications of the study for scholarship: academic researchers and college management**

FE is at a crossroads at this point in time (Hodgson and Spours, 2019) and organisations in the sector need to consider whether to remain with the familiar or engage with the opportunity to do things differently. At a conceptual level, there is room for a study that explores how institutions in FE systems engage with enterprise-related activity in what is hoped will be a more collaborative environment (Hodgson and Spours, 2019). By giving due consideration to system-wide factors, a more holistic assessment can be undertaken. Such a study would also highlight the stances adopted by staff in the new environment and the resulting types of enterprise cultures. The salient difference will be the collaborative context that contrasts with the competitive arena in England up until recently. The benefits of collaboration and the challenges it affords can then inform policy and practice.

A longitudinal study of institutions in London that includes students and uses the Learning Cultures approach will permit a better understanding of contemporary issues especially in a post COVID-19 world, in a nuanced way. Such a study will effectively compare and contrast the trajectory of institutions that remain in the reactive and competitive modus operandi with those that attempt to adopt a collaborative ethos. In
undertaking such a study with regards to the unique exo level and the macro level contexts as well as the meso and micro levels of actual institutions, there will be the opportunity to build a story of the next phase of the development of FE (Dabbous et al, 2020) where enterprise and entrepreneurship are concerned.

There is scope for research to be undertaken into the application of the Analytical Expansionism model to an institution. This would permit the exploration of the various dimensions that are effectively a combination of both structure and agency in the sectoral system (Burrows and Curran, 2018).

**Significance of the study and dissemination**

My intention in undertaking this research was to explore an under researched area and the contested concept of enterprise culture. My focus on staff in two FE colleges provided a chance for those who often have ‘policy done to them’ (Bowe et al, 1992; Augar, 2019) to share their perspectives. I believe that I have been able to contribute to what we know about enterprise culture and entrepreneurship in the FE college system setting. By bringing the whole FE system-wide context into my study, I have been able to assess the local and regional dimensions that contribute to the analysis of enterprise culture. My study exposes the positives of enterprise activity from the point of view of a small group of staff without shirking the darker side (James, 2018); it does not fall against or for enterprise culture but provides a balanced approach that covers the various layers of the multi-level ecological framework that represents the FE system.

This study comes at a time when seismic change is occurring (Diamond, 2020). It provides some challenge and food for thought for educators and those engaged with decision-making about such programmes, those who are against such programmes and those who up until now have been detached from this area of education.
I am confident that this study has made some sense of the concept of enterprise culture in the FE context with the aid of existing theoretical concepts. FE colleges’ engagement with enterprise-related activity requires careful consideration of responses in the light of sectoral system factors that can result in positive outcomes and some mitigation of the structural issues that will always pose an element of challenge to institutions.

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Appendix A - Information sheet and consent form

Staff perspectives on enterprise culture - A tale of two colleges (2011-2016)

March 2016 - February 2017

Information sheet for staff at College A and College B

Who is conducting the research?

My name is Irene Brew-Riverson and I am inviting you to take part in my study about Enterprise Culture.

I am a member of staff at College B and currently work as the Business Enterprise Coordinator at a Centre of the College. I am interested in Enterprise Culture and how it impacts upon staff. I am currently studying at the UCL Institute of Education, an organisation that specialises in research in education and the social sciences. I am funding this research myself.

I am hoping to find out what you think enterprise culture is, how you think it affects staff on a day to day basis and what impact such a culture has had on the college. I would also like to find out how you think the college has handled the consequences of enterprise culture.

I very much hope that you would like to take part. This information sheet will try and answer any questions you might have about the study, but please don’t hesitate to contact me if there is anything else you would like to know.

Why am I doing this research?

This research will enable those who read my thesis and I to gain a better understanding of what enterprise culture means in two Further Education Colleges, how it impacts upon the day to day experience of staff in both colleges and the consequences of having such a culture. The way in which the colleges have dealt with the consequences of enterprise culture will also be examined by the research. The concept of enterprise in education has become increasingly popular in Further Education. Not very much research has been undertaken into the perceptions and experiences of staff in colleges. I am hoping to contribute to what we know about the experiences staff have had and the impact of enterprise culture.
Why am I being invited to take part?

You are being invited to take part because you are a member of staff from one of the two colleges being studied. Senior, middle and junior members of staff are being invited to take part in this research so that the views of all members of staff at the various levels in the two colleges can be represented in the study. Eight members of staff from each college have been invited to take part in the study.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

You will be asked to take part in one interview for approximately one hour if you are able to participate in this study. The main purpose of the interview is to find out what you think enterprise culture is, how it impacts upon your day to day activities and what its consequences are in your view.

Will anyone know I have been involved?

All the information you provide will be confidential – no one will know that you have taken part and all references made to what you have said will be made anonymous.

Could there be problems for me if I take part?

I do not see any problems with you taking part. However, if at any point during the interview you feel uncomfortable, you will be free to stop taking part immediately. Any information you have provided can also be withdrawn if you no longer wish for it to be used in the study.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of my research will be published and will be available in the UCL Institute of Education library in London. A summary of the main findings of the research will be presented to the senior managers of both colleges but all contributors will be made anonymous. I will also provide you with a summary of the main findings of my study. The interview data I collect will be kept in the form of transcripts up until my Thesis examination takes place. I will be the only person who will have access to it. The data will be stored on my password protected laptop and on my password protected iPad.
Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. If you choose not to take part, it will have no impact whatsoever on our working relationship or your job.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return to [redacted] by March 21st 2016.

If you have any further questions before you decide whether to take part, you can reach me on [redacted].
Staff perspectives on enterprise culture - A tale of two colleges (2011-2016)

March 2016-February 2017

If you are happy to participate, please complete this consent form and return to Irene Brew-Riverson by September 22nd 2016.

I have read and understood the information leaflet about the research

I agree to be interviewed as outlined on the information sheet

I am happy for my interview to be video/audio recorded

I understand that if any of my words are used in reports or presentations they will not be attributed to me

I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time, and that if I choose to do this, any data I have contributed will not be used

I understand that I can contact Irene Brew-Riverson at any time

I understand that the results will be shared with the senior manager in charge of Enterprise Policy

Name __________ Signed _______________ Date __

Researcher's name ______________ Signed ________ Date __________

Yes No
Appendix B- Interview questions

Research Question:
What is Enterprise Culture and what are its implications for Further Education Colleges?

Sub question 1-How is enterprise culture perceived by staff in the case study colleges?

1) How would you define organisational culture?

2) How would you describe the culture of the college?

3) What is an Enterprise Culture in your view?

4) Does the senior management team want such a culture in the college?

Sub question 2- How does such a culture impact upon the everyday experience of staff?

Stories

1) What stories do people currently tell about the college to new members of staff and others and what beliefs do these stories reflect?

2) What reputation do we have amongst stakeholders?

3) Who do you think are our heroes, villains and mavericks?

Rituals and routines

1) What do you think employees and customers expect when they walk into our college?

2) What would be immediately obvious if we made a change?

3) What sort of behaviour is encouraged and what is discouraged?

Symbols

1) Do you think members of the college community have their own language?

2) What are our status symbols?
3) What sort of image do you think the college has?

Sub-question 3 - What are the unintended consequences of enterprise culture and how have they been addressed?

1) Can you describe what you think the consequences of enterprise and/or enterprise culture have been for staff?

2) What do you think is likely to happen to the Enterprise Agenda at the college in the next five years?

3) What do you think is the government’s motive for advocating the adoption of the enterprise agenda?

5) Do you think enterprise and the whole notion of an enterprise culture is about the neoliberal agenda?

6) Can you name the most entrepreneurial faculty/department and the least entrepreneurial and explain your choices please?
Appendix C- Codes developed from interview data

The important issues raised in the data are highlighted in the nineteen codes listed below. The number of passages related to each code are highlighted to give an indication of the level of participant interest in each code (Creswell, 2007). The following key is used to indicate the links between the codes and the three frameworks used in analysing the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Framework</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Key</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hodgson &amp; Spours multi-level framework</td>
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<td>Exo</td>
<td>E1</td>
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<td>Micro</td>
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<td>Ritchie’s Stances</td>
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<td>Survivalism</td>
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<td>Symbols</td>
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<td>Codes</td>
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<td>CA1-Enterprise culture linked to personal development and developing skills (human and social capital) (M2, E2)</td>
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<td>CA2-Enterprise culture as self-employment or new venture creation (M2, E2)</td>
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<td>CA3-Enterprise culture linked to behaviour/ways of conducting oneself &amp; organisational practices (M2, RR)</td>
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<td>CA4-Positive views of enterprise culture –embracing of the concept but varied definitions of the concept (R, E2)</td>
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<td>CA5-Sceptical and negative views of enterprise culture (eg. working against disadvantaged groups) (S2)</td>
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<td>CA8-Enterprise as a means of ensuring economic prosperity (R)</td>
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<td>CA10-Impact of right-wing ideology and personal politics on appraising the influence of enterprise discourse (R, S3)</td>
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<td>CA11-Acknowledgement of other factors of relevance within and outside institutional control (M1, M2)</td>
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<td>CA12-Education as a social right (M1, M3)</td>
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<td>CA14-Consequences of engagement with enterprise activities within and/or without the organisation (E1, M2, M3)</td>
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<td>CA16-Good teaching and student engagement existing outside enterprise discourse (M2, M3, A, O)</td>
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<td>CA17-Advocating commercial activity as taking greater responsibility (B, R)</td>
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<td>CA18-Status symbols linked to enterprise culture (S6)</td>
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<td>CA19-Involved with Gazelle Colleges Group (B, R)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CB14</td>
<td>Consequences of engagement with enterprise activities within and/or without the organisation (E1, M2, M3)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB15</td>
<td>Enterprise or entrepreneurship educators as a distinct professional group (M2, M3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB16</td>
<td>Good teaching and student engagement existing outside enterprise discourse (M2, M3, A, O)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB17</td>
<td>Advocating commercial activity as taking greater responsibility (B, R)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB18</td>
<td>Status symbols linked to enterprise culture (S6)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB19</td>
<td>Involvement with Gazelle Colleges Group (B, R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>