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Tensions between rhetoric and practice in Entrepreneurship Education: an ethnography from Danish Higher Education

Sarah Robinson and Per Blenker, Aarhus University Denmark

Introduction

As part of the EU´s 'Europe 2020 strategy' it is argued that one of the key policy issues for Member States and higher education institutions is to 'Stimulate the development of entrepreneurial, creative and innovation skills in all disciplines …. ' (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2011, p. 8). This strategy continues the ideas from the Oslo agenda for entrepreneurship in Europe which aims at 'promoting entrepreneurial mindsets in society …. through Education and Learning'. In the Oslo agenda (European Commission, 2006) it is suggested that national strategies for entrepreneurship education is launched, with clear objectives covering all stages of education; that the development of entrepreneurship education is facilitated within the Bologna process; and that entrepreneurship programs and activities are integrated in the curriculum for schools at all levels, in all fields of study and as a subject in its own right.

Promoting entrepreneurialism, enterprise and entrepreneurial behavior is one goal that many governments share (Clark, 1998). Therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the goals of higher education institutions have in the past three decades increasingly become linked to national economic competitiveness through policy discourses that have resulted in the commercialisation of these institutions. The changes driving the commercialisation of higher education institutions have resulted in linking 'knowledge organizations' to particular constructs of enterprise and commercial outcomes (Shore & McLachlan, 2012). The transformation of society from an industrial society into a knowledge economy has made the production of knowledge an important factor. Many scholars have commented on the position of education as a political tool in the global competition for economic growth (see for example, Apple; 2001, 2004). In Denmark the government has mandated the teaching of entrepreneurship at higher education institutions. As a result Danish policy texts abound with rhetoric about the entrepreneurial university and the entrepreneurial academic, shaping these institutions and the people who populate them in particular ways (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

In this paper we examine how particular *constructions* of entrepreneurialism, enterprise and entrepreneurship that appear in public discourse conflict with at least some *practices* of entrepreneurship education. We focus the ethnographic lens on a group of entrepreneurial academics (Blenker et al, 2012) whose task it is to educate students in entrepreneurship. In this case study we argue that these academics use a particular vision of the entrepreneurial university coupled with the practice of entrepreneurship education as an opportunity to introduce radically new modes of knowing and learning that connotes to classical ideas of critique, self-organization, activism and emancipation. Closer examination of these practices reveals that tensions appear between the political rhetoric at the macro and meso-level and educational practices at the micro level. This discussion has relevance for what we do in our classrooms and lecture theatres and the way we set our students up – as passive receivers of 'knowledge' on the one hand, or as active participants intervening in the world as they shape their own learning, on the other.

This paper begins with a discussion of the discourses that are fuelled by differing political interests. We follow this with a brief explanation of the discourses that pertain to the entrepreneurial university. We

understand entrepreneurship to be both an activity and a discourse that have different agendas. In the discourses circulating around entrepreneurship education we identify three levels of discourse, the macro, the meso, and the micro. The background for the data that inform this paper is outlined. One could imagine two possible contributions from this paper. The first considers an examination of the validity of ethnographic methods in the interplay between rhetoric and practice. While this is not a methodological paper we do maintain that ethnographic methods open up for 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of educational practice that otherwise is overlooked in other qualitative forms of research. The second aspect, and the one that this paper focuses on, aims to encourage the reader to identify and take a stance on which one of the discourses they accept and promote and to consider the premises behind their stance in the light of the evidence presented here. Our conclusions lead us to take a critical stance about our willingness, as academics and teachers, to passively accept the tensions that entwine political discourses and our own practices.

Identification of two or more discourses

Public discourses concerning entrepreneurship have swiftly moved through international and national agendas (European Commission, 2011). At the macro (inter-) national level there is a public discourse about the entrepreneur and enterprising behavior which is politically accepted as a public 'good'. The Danish government (Dec. 2012) explains that 'the ability to be innovative should be a fundamental element in all education from compulsory school to PhD level'. In fact in all further education courses the institutions have a responsibility for ensuring 'more innovation' by providing courses 'that support development of innovative competences alongside basic knowledge and skills'. This rhetoric pervades education policy creating different understanding and new meaning about the roles and identities of not only the people inside these institutions but also the institutions themselves.

The phenomenon of 'entrepreneurial universities' has been explored in other literature (see for example; Clark, 1998, Guerrero and Urbano, 2012). It is not unusual to read about 'successful' entrepreneurial institutions populated by budding entrepreneurs (academics) with connections to entrepreneurial activities outside of its walls. Scrutiny of the meso-level brings us to another discussion that takes place within academic scholarship and as such is critical of the narrow aims of the entrepreneurship agenda and a focus on economic goals. Mautner (2005; 96) regards the use of the term entrepreneurship in Higher Education institutions 'both as activity and discourse' and describes it as 'one of those imported practices'. As an activity entrepreneurship is used to encourage business start-up and is regarded as a factor to further economic growth and create 'value'. As a discourse entrepreneurship is often defined in terms of commercialisation of the university that leads to academic capitalism and results in mirroring the corporate sector and market driven behavior. This has resulted in an expansion of their third mission activities globally (Shore & MacLauchlan, 2012). At the cusp of business and academia third mission activities have led to new and 'enterprising' ways of viewing the institution of the university and those it serves. In the past decade the pervasion of this discourse has resulted in the establishment of entrepreneurial universities and the introduction of a new set of buzz words that link academics and academia in particular ways with industry and business. This discourse has connotations that are highly ambiguous making the institutions and the people who populate them susceptible to appropriation in a wide variety of agendas (Mautner, 2005). However what is represented here is a particular (narrow) definition of entrepreneurship one which, we will demonstrate, is not supported by the evidence from this case study.

The following questions are posed by Shore and MacLauchlan (2012) in an analysis of the challenges and contradictions the concept of entrepreneurship creates for the public university. What impact does commercialisation have on the meaning and mission of the university? Who are the new academic entrepreneurs of the neoliberal university? What does 'entrepreneurship' mean in a public university context? They discuss the effect of the rise of 'knowledge capitalism' on the university as an institution, on research, on academic roles and identities, and on the subjectification of the student. Traditionally universities' core activities are teaching and research but, they argue, the focus has shifted towards generation of 'knowledge' as a commodity and its marketability in terrains outside the academic (Shore and MacLauchlan, 2012). They suggest that our professional identities are being shaped by political agendas, creating new kinds of subjects, and that, in many ways, power relations are being redefined, leaving the academic powerless to resist or even hinder the movement towards commercialisation of the university. Shore and MacLauchlan (2012; 272) define entrepreneurial academics as 'individuals who effectively combined their academic skills with entrepreneur business acumen'. This in itself is a narrow definition of the term 'academic entrepreneur' which in their discussion is defined to mean someone who brings 'university research to those who have the 'know how' to exploit and market it' (2012; 277). We wish to broaden this definition of the 'entrepreneurial academic' to include academics who work innovatively and creatively to invest their knowledge, experience, time and energy to create value in their work place risking reputation and sometimes even their career prospects to change structure, content and expand the contexts within which they work. To illustrate this we examine a third level of discourse, one which is often overlooked, which takes place at the micro-level and which is the focus for this paper. In order to put the micro-level practices in perspective we briefly examine the development of entrepreneurship education in the next section.
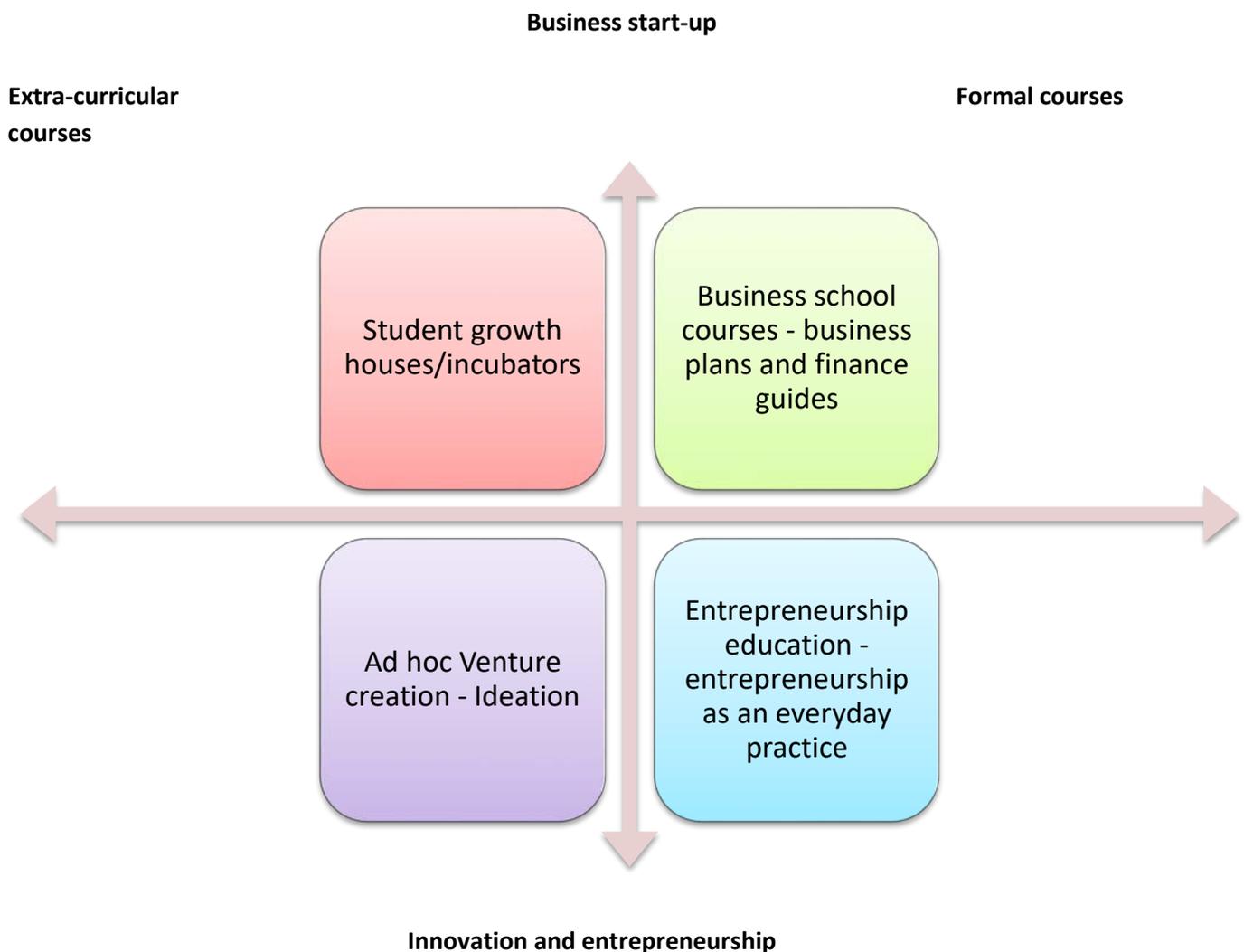
Locating the development of entrepreneurship education

The term entrepreneur is most often associated with business enterprise, someone who starts a business and produces economic growth (Schumpeter, 1934; Kirzner, 1973). The figure of the entrepreneur has become reified to, if not a God-like status, at least a heroic one (Gibb, 2002). The entrepreneurship discipline is however, as most other disciplines, characterized by having a number of different paradigmatic positions struggling with each other. Despite disagreements two central elements tend to align the paradigmatic positions within the entrepreneurship discipline. One is that entrepreneurship is about innovative new forms of value creation; the other that entrepreneurship essentially explores the individual-opportunity nexus (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). Central discussions today are thus about the scope of the notion of value and whether opportunities exist and are waiting to be discovered – or whether opportunities are socially constructed and are waiting to be created by entrepreneurial individuals (Sarasvathy, 2001). Whether you believe that the entrepreneur has the ability to discover or create opportunity there seems to be consensus that entrepreneurship is about the creation of value. But what kind of value and whose sets of values are questions that are important to pose.

Entrepreneurship research has shifted from analyses of entrepreneurial qualities to analyses of the factors that promote enterprising behavior that (in the West) have resulted in growth of entrepreneurship courses. The growth of entrepreneurship education courses is one element in this discussion another is just how these courses are designed and what their aims are. The matrix (Diagram 1) below illustrates the different

kinds of entrepreneurship discourses that are offered in different institutions including Higher Education. The axis left to right demonstrates teaching activities on a spectrum from informal extra-curricular activities on the left to formal teaching courses on the right.

Diagram 1: Scope of courses in entrepreneurship education

Business start-up

Extra-curricular courses

Formal courses

Student growth houses/incubators

Business school courses - business plans and finance guides

Ad hoc Venture creation - Ideation

Entrepreneurship education - entrepreneurship as an everyday practice

Innovation and entrepreneurship

In Higher Education entrepreneurship education courses were initially found in Business Faculties but are now flourishing throughout Higher Education. In the policy and government discourses most of these courses would remain in the top right area between formal teaching and a focus on business start-up. In Denmark entrepreneurship education courses can be found in for example, Engineering, Medicine and areas of the Arts and Humanities. The spread of entrepreneurship courses has resulted in an increasing diversity in what is being offered. There has been a movement towards the growth of Student Incubators (Growth Houses) and less formal teaching activities. Introducing these practices leads us to ask a number of

questions; what is being taught, what is the content of these courses, what are their aims and methods, and finally what is achieved?

While teaching is recognized as one of the core activities of Higher Education institutions it is often forgotten or is under-analyzed in research. Not only has there been little research into this core activity but when we locate the growth of entrepreneurship education as a new and separate discipline it is often ignored in the discourses on the entrepreneurial university. Löbler (2006), writing on constructing entrepreneurship education courses, opens his discussion with a quote from a student whose experiences with investing pocket money as a youth resulted in his participation in a university economics course. The student was disappointed and found the course 'boring and meaningless' (2006; 20). Löbler (2006) maintains that an institutional belief that 'knowledge' can be taught as a purely cognitive process is outdated and useless if we want to encourage innovation and entrepreneurial acts. It is therefore necessary, he argues, to recognize the need for 'a more process driven pedagogy with an open learning process' (Löbler, 2006; 20). He maintains that we need to be aware of whether the practices we use in our teaching foster entrepreneurial competencies or suppress entrepreneurial attitudes. Here he articulates entrepreneurship as both a method and a goal.

It is generally accepted in entrepreneurship education literature that there are three distinct ways to approach entrepreneurship education. The first is 'about' entrepreneurship – reading the history and theory of entrepreneurship, the second is 'for' entrepreneurship which involves the students preparing to become entrepreneurs through understanding of skills and tools, for example a business plan or learning about finances. The third is 'through' entrepreneurship where the students reflect on their identity, their networks and their competences and resources and with this understanding are encouraged through exercises in the classroom and outside the safe environment to experiment and act out their ideas. In a study of entrepreneurship courses Pittaway and Edwards (2012) found that approx. 50% of courses taught 'about' entrepreneurship, 34% taught 'for' entrepreneurship while only 10% taught 'through' entrepreneurship. We now introduce a group of entrepreneurial academics whose goals and practices are to a large extent different from the ones articulated in the literature on entrepreneurial academics and whose practices focus mainly on the last category; educating 'through' entrepreneurship while combining elements of about and for.

Methodology

The empirical evidence is drawn from an on-going ethnographic study of entrepreneurship education at Masters Level at a Danish University. The data is drawn from a larger project entitled 'Promoting a Culture of Entrepreneurship' (PACE) that is funded by the Danish Strategic Research Council (2012-2016). The aim of the PACE project is to interrogate the extent to which innovative pedagogies and teaching practices work in interdisciplinary settings and in different cultures. The project focuses on a summer school entitled 'Combining academic curiosity with value creation; a process course on entrepreneurship and innovation' taught in Denmark, Finland, France and the United States. The ethnographic data includes observation of all the teaching and reflective interviews with the teachers and students attending the summer school who are interviewed pre and post-summer school. However the data for this paper are solely gathered from observations of two accredited entrepreneurship education courses. The researcher used the data to inform her about 'every day' practices in entrepreneurship teaching prior to the summer school.

The first course is an entrepreneurship course in a Masters in Innovation Management program taught by one teacher from the Business School and the other is an entrepreneurship course in a Masters in Experience Economy program at the School of Humanities taught by two teachers from the Business School. Both the courses took place over a three month period in the fall of 2012. A total of 76 teaching hours were observed, notes were taken and later written up. Following each observation the teacher was interviewed. A total of 16 interviews were carried out. The interviews were semi-structured, digitally recorded and later transcribed in full. The questions explored the teacher's intentions, their practices and goals. The observation data was used to make a comparison of the two courses (see Diagram 2). The observation notes were also used to inform the questions posed to the teachers. The interviews resulted in the teachers reflecting on their practices together with the interviewer. Through these reflections the teachers became more aware of what worked and why and developed a deeper understanding of the link between their aims and classroom practices for the future. These findings are documented in forthcoming work. The focus here is on the teachers' understanding of entrepreneurship as a method and discipline.

Background

All three teachers are part of an Entrepreneurship Education research group and are all active teachers and researchers within entrepreneurship education. The three teachers carry out research and teaching into entrepreneurship and postulate the same understanding of entrepreneurship as an everyday practice. For two of the teachers the courses they taught were developed over a period of a number of years. In the Innovation Management course the teacher Mary had initially been asked to teach business models and had refused saying that she was happy to teach entrepreneurship but it would have to be the way she thought it should be done. Mary was allowed to develop the course. In brief her course has developed through a focus on the individual student learning process in and outside the classroom. In many ways this directly contrasts with the second course in Experience Economy. Here the teacher Henry had also developed the course over a number of years working from his belief that learning is socially constructed. Therefore his focus was on the social processes between the students that affect learning both in and outside the classroom. The third teacher, Laura was herself a young graduate from the Experience Economy Masters, who had been groomed by the established male teacher to take over the teaching role. With her 'insider' knowledge of the course, her passion for the social processes that resulted in her learning experience, Laura is an enthusiastic advocate for the course. Moreover her recent completion of the course two years prior to this research meant that she was able to establish close bonds with the students which Henry, the mature teacher was unable to do. The data which follows draws from interviews and observations with all three teachers. Common to both courses is the idea;

- that entrepreneurship cannot be taught in 'traditional' ways
- students need to be able to reflect on their learning
- the teaching must be set up as an active process
- that there are no 'wrong' answers (and therefore no one right answer)
- that grades affect learning (often detrimentally) and therefore grades are given for engagement with process

Comparisons and similarities between two entrepreneurship education courses

In the diagram below (Diagram 2) two entrepreneurship education courses are illustrated. The two courses have a number of similarities and like-wise a number of differences. Both courses build on the notion that identity construction is fundamental to the development of entrepreneurial thinking and both courses use reflective learning logs as a tool to record experiences. They explore the identity of the individual, working to become explicit about skills and competences. The courses then move to examine networks, who the individual knows through direct contact with family and friends and to distant networks reached through the close ones. At the heart of both courses is the belief that students have personal disharmonies, annoyances or irritations that are based in everyday problems. An exploration of these disharmonies results in a qualification of the personal disharmony to an general anomaly which is shared by others, in other words, that other people recognize the problem as one that should be 'invested in'.

In contrast the two courses take a different starting point. The course based in the Business School on the Innovation Management programme explores identity, networks, resources, heritage and culture through a continuous focus on individual student reflections while the course based in the Humanities in Experience Economy explores identity, networks, resources, heritage and culture through a continuous focus on how the students enact their everyday lives in social settings. When it comes to grading the students the final exam is structured in different ways. For the Business School students there is an individual 48 hour take home exam in which they are required to imagine themselves five years from now. They are asked to imagine that they have been invited to an entrepreneurship class to tell their story and to draw on their practical experience and theoretical underpinnings to reflect on their journey. For the Humanities students the groups are asked to reflect on the process, on the qualification of their personal disharmonies to one anomaly and to use the theory to substantiate the decisions they have made about the qualification of their anomaly and the resulting solution.

Diagram 2: Comparison of two entrepreneurship education courses

Teaching	Innovation Management	Method	Experience Economy	Method	Learning
Identity construction	Who am I? (individual)	Symbolic Growth Experience	Who are we? (group)	Appreciative Inquiry (AI)	Reflection individual/group
Identity construction	What can I do? (Self-efficacy)	Story-telling (narratives)	What can we do? (Self-efficacy)	AI	Reflection individual/group
Networks – social construction	Who do I know?	Creating buy-in	Who do we know?	AI	Reflection individual/group
Disharmony identification	Identification of personal disharmony	AI	Identification of personal disharmony	AI	Reflection individual/group

	(Effectuation)		(Effectuation)		
External resources	Identification of unused resources	Bricolage	Qualification of disharmony	AI	Reflection individual/group
Place, space and culture	History, culture and heritage	Project with local community	Qualification of disharmony to anomaly	AI	
Qualification of disharmony to anomaly	Qualification of disharmony to anomaly	AI (Imaginization)	Qualification of anomaly	AI (Imaginization)	Reflection individual/group
Completion and start	48 hour take home exam	Imagine your life 5 years from now. Reflect on your journey from the entrepreneurial classroom	Group exam	Reflect on the process of how you have created value for yourself and others	Reflection individual/group

Practicing entrepreneurship in the classroom

All three teachers acknowledge that there are many ways to teach entrepreneurship. The three teachers agree that 'through' entrepreneurship, a combination of a problem orientation approach; 'what is wrong in the world, what is wrong with my system, what do I need to change in my system, do others have the same problems so I can I change it?' and an opportunity orientation approach; 'what can I do, what options do I have, with my resources what can I do?' reflects what they are trying to achieve in their teaching. This is not to say that they ignore 'about' and 'for' – both of which provide fundamental elements in their teaching but it is 'through' entrepreneurship that has an effect on the students.

Henry has a background in Economics and Management and the history of ideas and Philosophy. The course has developed from an initial course about Entrepreneurship in the Information Society. Henry remembers being tired of what he calls the 'arse-on-chair' lecture and wanted to see more student involvement, 'based on the ideas that there was something in particular about entrepreneurship that made it non-fruitful to be taught in traditional academic ways'. As he developed the course his research interests developed similarly over three areas; entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship education and the philosophical aspects of entrepreneurship. He established a course in Experience Economy that was cross disciplinary, recruiting students from Economics and from the Arts. At first the university could not accept that there were courses that would include students from two faculties. He explained how they solved the issue:

The only thing we did was we made two courses. We made one course in the Econ department and another course at the Arts department and ran it by accident in the same room. (laughs) (Henry)

On a more serious note he added 'we had created some kind of unique learning process which no one else has created'. The draw-back has been that 'it has been very fruitful in producing that educational logic. The problem right now is that that logic is getting sort of too strong at the university. It is getting main-stream and a lot of people think that this can be used for everything.'

Henry worried that although this approach was deliberately developed for graduate students at the social sciences and the humanities, and therefore a particular disciplinary context at a particular level it may not therefore be applicable to use the same course in Student Growth Houses or at bachelor level. He comments;

It is important to develop entrepreneurship education initiatives which are directed explicitly to the needs of particular students. So the problem right now is we have perhaps won too much. We shouldn't become religious on that particular approach. On the contrary we really need to get critical towards it now. Because it is ... it is already being used far too much I think. (Henry)

He has seen evidence of courses being 'transferred' to faculties, different levels of students, in different disciplines without any reflection on the students' knowledge and way of working. He advocates the recognition of 'a much more contextual dimension in this and be aware that there is not one but there are several (ways) and we should be better at making different courses for different levels, making different courses for different faculties.' (Henry)

He comments on the propensity of entrepreneurship courses in general university courses adding that quantity does not necessarily mean quality. In the course in Experience Economy;

the whole logic of the course as such is to extend the process before they (the students) are allowed to come up with ideas in order to improve the ideas. Of course, the cost of that is to shorten the implementation. We will hopefully have better ideas or concepts or projects which are less ... or worse implemented. But that may not even be the case because if their ideas are better it may well be easier to implement, it may be easier to implement a good idea basically. (Henry)

Laura agrees that the teaching that they do is in direct contrast to what is regarded as 'academic learning' and as it is context dependent it is difficult to define what entrepreneurship education is. She adds these comments;

I can say, for me, entrepreneurship is not only creating value but creating new value so there has to be a new aspect of it. If we are creating value it could be a start-up, it could be a hairdresser, it could be a salon, and it is not entrepreneurship because it has nothing new to add to it. There has to be a new aspect, an innovative aspect. (Laura)

Laura argues that entrepreneurship is a method. 'We are teaching the students a method to pursue the world, basically. So with this knowledge, with this insight, with this data, how can we use it to see new ways of either doing things, or creating new routines, or new behaviors? How can we actually go into the world and change it with this knowledge that we have? It is an act.' (Laura)

Laura explains that the student needs be able to think; 'I need to act upon who I am, and what can I do, and what is within my resources, and what is within my surroundings?' Laura talks about her own experience with the course;

> I wish that this class was on the very first semester of your bachelors because it is another way of learning. It is not so much studying for the test or studying for the result. It is very much being in the learning process and accepting that I don't know anything in the beginning and learning 'through' the process. (Laura)

Mary who teaches business students on the Innovation Management course has developed her teaching through an idea that socialization in early childhood has an influence on entrepreneurial potential. She explains 'I don't think you are born an entrepreneur. No. But I think you can be socialized into becoming an entrepreneur.' Therefore in her teaching she focuses on students' past experiences and encourages them to reflect on how these have shaped them and how these enhance or hinder the way they behave in the world. In contrast to Henry and Laura her focus is on the individual and on the construction of the individual through social interactions. She admits that when she began teaching entrepreneurship she regarded it as 'new venture start-up, because that was what we researched.'

> There are two views; entrepreneurship as a start-up in business, and there is entrepreneurship as everyday practice, and it is entrepreneurship as everyday practice, that we practice. That's what we try to promote here. And in that we are encountering a lot of barriers and aggravation. People just don't understand it and the politicians don't understand it. Those people who give money don't understand it. (Mary)

The teaching that has developed in the group takes the stance that entrepreneurship is an everyday practice 'which is something that is possible for anybody to carry out and it is possible in most circumstances and a lot of us are entrepreneurial without even knowing it'. (Mary)

Her teaching developed through a personal frustration about her own experiences at university.

> it is so boring that you fall asleep. You are sitting in the lecture, and you are sitting there with your book and your head is hitting the book. I did not want to be that kind of teacher. So I have always tried to involve the students with an active participation.(Mary)

She explains 'for', 'about' and 'through' entrepreneurship are different practices for teaching entrepreneurship.

> The way that we have interpreted 'through' here is that we don't necessarily want them to start a business but we want them to work with entrepreneurial methods and that is the way that we work 'through' entrepreneurship. I think that there are a lot of students at the university who are just educated to become employees. They are not necessarily educated to

become innovative employees, creative employees, entrepreneurial employees, it is about lighting their fire. (Mary)

Findings

For these teachers entrepreneurship education is regarded as:

1. a radically new way of giving intellectual freedom back to institutions, teachers and students
2. an opportunity to introduce radically new modes of knowing and learning
3. conjuncture with classical ideas of critique, self organisation, activism and emancipation
4. teachers may be able to be activists who individually and collectively leverage change within the university

University teachers do not have to be victims of academic capitalism it is possible to be activists who individually and collectively leverage change within the university. The possible effect of this may be that those they influence are encouraged to realize their potential in ways which were intended but have never fully been achieved.

The dangers are that uncritical transfer of explicit teaching practices to other sites can have detrimental effects on possible outcomes (Diagram 3). The growth of entrepreneurship education courses throughout the university without a critique of the content and context of these courses is a concern. It is important to scrutinize what is being offered, by whom and for what purpose.

Diagram 3: Dangers of uncritical transfer
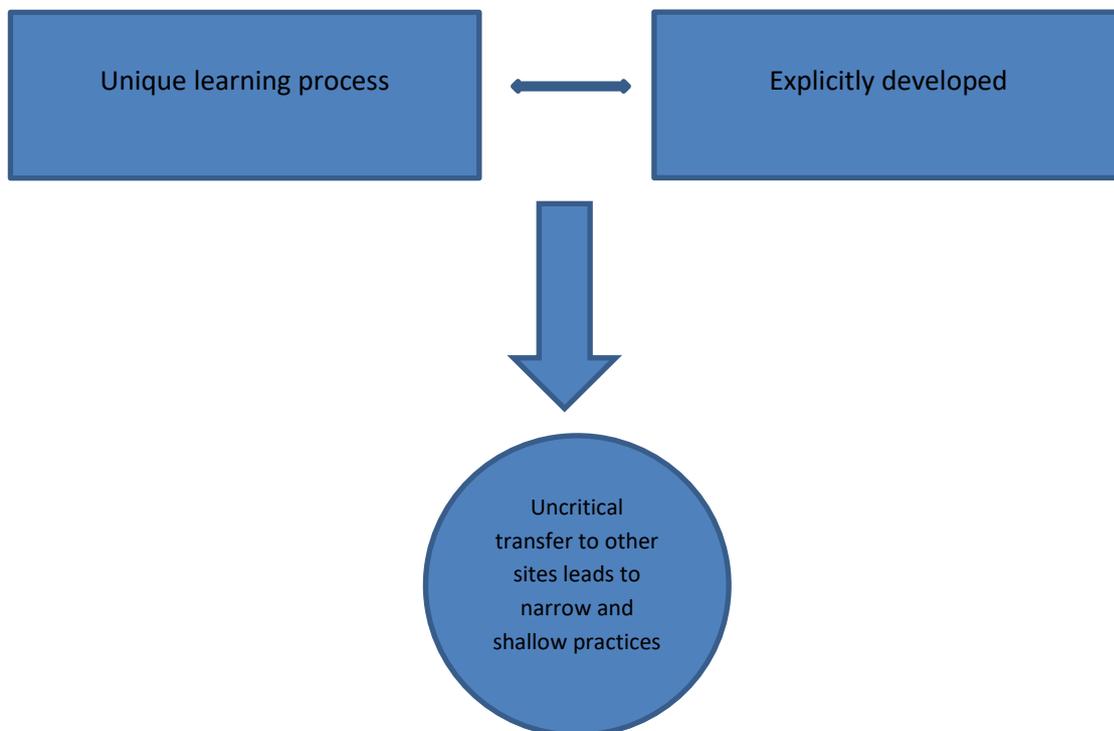
However returning to the dichotomy of a particular rhetoric at the macro level and what is represented in the practices illustrated at the micro level we argue that the rhetoric encompasses a rather narrow definition of entrepreneurship. The narrow definition focuses on business and start-up, on economic growth and benefit to society in the form of profit. For teachers in institutions this means courses may be designed to teach 'about' and 'for' entrepreneurship rather than 'through'. The broader definition, represented in the vision about entrepreneurship and illustrated through the practices of the teachers as we have demonstrated here, visualizes education as an emancipatory process, where learning is central to the development of both students and teachers and the institutions in which they work.

The educational practices illustrated above, based on an understanding of enterprise education as a radical way of regaining intellectual freedom in academia and on classical ideas of self-directed learning, activism and emancipation, may at a first glace look like a new and radical approach to education research. This is however not completely the case. Within general education research and pedagogical philosophy this approach in many ways resembles pedagogical philosophies like problem-based learning, experienced based learning or situated learning, however with the difference that the starting point is not somebody else's problem or situation , but explicitly the problems and everyday practice of the learner herself.

Further, these activist and emancipatory practices of education are in close alignment with the more narrow community of researchers studying and developing 'enterprise education' (Gelderen, 2010; Rae, 2010; Jones & Iredale, 2010; Jones, 2010). Jones and Iredale (2010) thus argue that 'the primary focus of enterprise education is on the acquisition and development of personal skills, abilities and attributes that can be used in different contexts and throughout the life course' and Rae (2010) explains the particular learning taking place within such an education as a learning that is 'led by creativity, informality, curiosity, emotion and its application to personal and real-world problems and opportunities'.

The present study is very much in line with this broad enterprise education approach, but it also differs, in the sense that it not only claims this approach as a pedagogical ideal, but actually identifies it as a living educational practice.

Conclusion

Our findings illustrate the development of entrepreneurship as an emancipatory project. These findings stand in sharp conflict with the external construction of particular assumptions about enterprise and entrepreneurship that dominate the policy discourses and that seek to reshape universities.

Here there are opposing agendas in play. One, primarily afraid of the political rhetoric around the entrepreneurial university, proclaims a subordination of academic freedom to analyse and criticize while the other, primarily expressed by some involved teachers, claims there is not only room for active resistance by the academic to the narrow and particular political agenda that has an economic focus, but also a strategic window for reformulation of classic academic virtues, such as social critique and prudent social re-construction. Teachers, student-peers, organizations and social structures shape the students' roles as learners of entrepreneurship. Processes and structures are in this case part of the academic capitalist regime - but teachers do not have to be victims of academic capitalism. They may also be seen as activists who individually and collectively leverage change from within the university. In agreement with Mars, Slaughter & Rhoades (2008) we suggest that as activists there is an opportunity to act as critics and

change agents, not objects of university activities, but rather as critical subjects who continuously challenge and reshape the university.

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