

Aleksandar Bulajić, Tamara Nikolić, Cristina C. Vieira (Eds.)

Navigating through Contemporary World with Adult Education Research and Practice



**Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia
ESREA - European Society for Research on the Education of Adults
Adult Education Society, Serbia**

NAVIGATING THROUGH CONTEMPORARY WORLD WITH
ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Editors

Aleksandar Bulajić, Tamara Nikolić, Cristina C. Vieira



1838

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

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Publishers

Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy,
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ESREA – European Society for Research on the Education of Adults
Adult Education Society, Serbia

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Cover Design Illustration and Illustrations of the Sections' Front Pages

Jelena Jaćimović

Design and Typesetting

Irena Đaković, Dosije Studio, Belgrade

Printing

Službeni Glasnik, Belgrade

Circulation

300 copies

ISBN 978-86-80712-40-6 (Print)

ISBN 978-86-80712-39-0 (Online)

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Belgrade, 2020

The authors who participate in this book are responsible for the content of the chapters that were submitted to a blind peer-review process. Their perspectives and opinions may not necessarily represent the official positions of the scientific entities that support the publication, the publishers or the perspectives of the editors. The proofreading of each chapter was ensured by the respective authors, the editors not being responsible for the quality of written English.

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Vukašin Grozdić

University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION – NEW CONTENT FOR THE NEW PARADIGM

Abstract

The dominant theme of modern economics and political discourses are small and medium enterprises and the promotion of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship serves as an engine of economic development and considers it a way to reduce unemployment. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the state from the largest part of the public services, where it previously had a larger role, such as adult education, led to new forms of satisfying social needs and introduced a concept of social entrepreneurship. Between stimulating a good business environment, affordable sources of financing, a general social climate that is benevolent to entrepreneurial ventures, entrepreneurship education is an important pillar in the overall support to entrepreneurship development, and as such has been embedded into educational policies. For Europe and Serbia, this nontraditional goal in adult education introduces novelties into educational policies and opens new areas for research. Therefore, we conducted research with the goal of finding the presence of entrepreneurship content in strategic policy papers issued by the competent authorities in the European Union and the Republic of Serbia in the period from 2000 until 2019. Our assumption is that the presence of entrepreneurship content without acknowledging its social side is an indication of a change in state paradigm, showing the abandonment of the state's welfare discourse and the movement towards a neoliberal conception. In the research, we applied document analysis with content and discourse analysis. The results of the research indicate a growing presence of entrepreneurship education in education policies, without accompanying content of social entrepreneurship. This indicates a gradual abandonment of the welfare state concept and a turn towards neoliberal discourse, which is an indicator of the paradigm shift.

Keywords: adult education policies, entrepreneurship education, welfare state, neoliberalism, social entrepreneurship

Introduction

The modern state is no longer able to fulfill the responsibilities assumed in the 20th century, primarily in the economy and social protection. World unemployment amounts to 170 million people, of which over 30 million are in Eu-

rope, making mass unemployment one of the biggest problems of modern society. Environmental issues such as green gas emissions, global warming, plastic waste and environmental disasters caused by the leakage of nuclear reactors and oil spills into rivers and oceans are also challenges to which states fail to respond adequately. Responding to contemporary challenges in the economy and other social spheres, they are no longer seen in cumbersome, inherent bureaucratic institutions, or even in large private corporations. One exit strategy from this situation focuses on the human factor, on people with the idea, inspiration, initiative, courage and competence, who can drive change and progress at all levels, assuming social responsibility for the future of themselves and their families, as well as the future of the wider community.

Such a strategy certainly has its own ideological framework. In this paper, we seek answers to the questions of whether such a strategy involves the implementation of entrepreneurial content in the education system? Could we claim that the presence of entrepreneurial content in adult education policies indicates a paradigm shift from welfare to a neoliberal state? What about social entrepreneurship and what is its role? Does social entrepreneurship emerge as a hybrid form of conflict with neoliberalism in a system that neglects awareness and concern for the collective, or serves it as loyal opposition by accepting action within the given framework?

The end of welfare state and the rise of neoliberalism

The dissolution of the Soviet Union (as well as Yugoslavia in the Balkans) marks the end of the polarized world – a world that offered two distinct models of development and organization of society, and the victory of Western liberal democracy. This event is also known as an “end of history” (see Fukuyama, 1989). The neoliberal concept of capitalism has prevailed and remains the dominant and only vision of social order. A human being as a measure of everything has been replaced by a man who can be measured by the size of his wallet. The virtue of personal fulfillment has been replaced by the virtue of wealth, and principals of cooperation and mutual assistance with motives of acquiring and competing.

The social system and organization in which it has lived and been promoted by the Western world over the last four decades can be labeled as neoliberalism. Its presence permeates almost all social spheres: economy, financial sector, culture, education, sports, media, and others. In economic theory, the emergence of the neoliberal paradigm is a turning point in the Keynesian model of state-economy relations, which was the dominant post-war conception. The previous model saw the prominent role of the state as an organizer of economic activity, sought full use of the population, reduction of public debt, the state intervened through public works and determined the branches of the

economy to be stimulated. In the early 1980s, due to the economic slowdown, the Keynesian concept was abandoned, replaced by the idea of free-market policy, deregulation, privatization, state non-interference in economic relations and selling state-owned enterprises and resources. This period is referred to as the transition from the “Golden Age of Capitalism” to the “Washington consensus” (Marglin & Schor, 1992).

The theoretical underpinning of neoliberal conception was encouraged by the “Austrian School” as well as the “Chicago School,” which gathered scholars from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Chicago (Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009). It came to reality with the arrival of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in power in the United States and the UK (Davies, 2014), while its internationalization and global domination came through international organizations gathered around the “Washington Consensus”. Alternatives to the neoliberalism have been seen by movements that advocate for greater equality, but which have so far not gained sufficient visibility, primarily from the inability to prove economic superiority or at least sustainability.

After the global economic crisis of 2008, all the shortcomings of this concept were brought to light, especially when the state was the one that assumed all the losses incurred meaning that the remediation of the damage was distributed to all citizens, while the previously gained profits remained private property. Although it was expected that a sharp reaction and demand for a change in the economic paradigm would follow, the opposite was true. There has been a consolidation of the existing neoliberal paradigm and even stronger demand for other countries of the world to embrace the neoliberal concept and to apply its principles more strongly in all spheres of social organization.

Theoretical framework

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial competence

Probably the most significant contribution to the theory of entrepreneurship was given by Joseph Schumpeter, whose view of entrepreneurs is both economic and psychological (Casson, 1993). From an economic perspective, an entrepreneur signifies an individual who creates new products and introduces new processes, enters new markets, finds new sources of raw materials, and creates new types of organizations. From the psychological stand of view, the entrepreneur is a “dreamer” who wants “his own kingdom”, wants to conquer, to fight, to be above others and who enjoys creating. It was Schumpeter’s understanding of the entrepreneur that influenced the creation of today’s image of the entrepreneur as *a brave and courageous individual*, ready to take risks and face dangerous and uncertain challenges.

Psychology scholars find the connection between entrepreneurship and personal characteristics is evident, manifesting as self-control, self-confidence, and competitiveness, while the main motivation is most often the motive for achievement, independence and willingness to take risks (Kalkan & Kaygusuz, 2012). Responding to market challenges requires the development of entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurial skills, in order to enable individuals to identify opportunities in problems, develop the ability to take initiative, analyze data, think creatively, look ahead, optimistically view life and the world, develop independence and individuality, success orientation, teamwork, etc. It is the entrepreneurs who shift economic resources from low to high productivity, creating value through technological, industrial, marketing or demographic change. They are the ones who realize the technological transfer, i.e. the transition of innovations from the development centers into market and commercialization (Avlijaš & Avlijaš, 2015). The importance of entrepreneurial competence is also discussed by Draker (1991), pointing out that organizations that do not have developed entrepreneurial competence will not be able to face the challenges they face. This means that entrepreneurial competence is not only personal but also organizational, viewed in the context of the learning organization. Avlijaš and Avlijaš also give their definition of entrepreneurship as “the process of creating something new and useful by investing time and effort, assuming existing financial, physical and social risks, with the ultimate rewards of material character and personal satisfaction and independence” (2015, p. 8).

A relatively new term in entrepreneurship theory is the notion of social entrepreneurship. Thompson (2002) explains that instead of profit, social enterprises set out a social mission for the wider community as well as for the individual vulnerable categories: poor, unemployed and unskilled, elderly, migrants, people with disabilities, ethnically and sexually marginalized groups, victims of domestic and sexual violence, victims of human trafficking. In their business, social enterprises use the principles of modern management, have a market orientation and include categories of vulnerable persons in their work processes, enabling them to simultaneously generate income and gain competence. In addition, the management structure is horizontal, so that employees are involved in important decision-making processes. They strive to maximize revenue, with the result that the generated profits are reinvested in the prescribed goals for which the organization was founded. In our view, this concept arises from conflict with the neoliberal model of social order and its emergence correlates with the weakening of the welfare state, i.e. with the withdrawal of the state from most spheres where it was traditionally present: education, health, culture, social protection...

Societies and communities are fostering an environment for entrepreneurship and along this path, questions are raised that come from different spheres:

How entrepreneurship directly and indirectly contributes to establishing institutions, what institutions are needed to foster entrepreneurship, how many resi-

dents are employed in the entrepreneurship sector, what is the impact of family, religion and culture on entrepreneurship development, is there a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship in society, or it is condemned and stigmatized. (...) how big is the value that entrepreneurial initiatives create in the national and global economy, how big is the revenue they generate, what are the financial institutions that stimulate and facilitate business – banks, microfinance institutions, leasing companies, accelerators, business angels, venture capitalist. (...) Psychology has a particular interest in the motives, attitudes, frustrations and conflicts, psychological consequences, dispositions and character traits of entrepreneurs, since the development of entrepreneurship is inseparable from the individual who will embark on an entrepreneurial venture. (Grozdić & Miljković, 2016, p. 10)

As entrepreneurship involves starting a new venture, searching for opportunities, securing and combining resources while accepting financial and psychological risks, it is clear that so as to successfully execute entrepreneurial venture a certain competencies are required, linked by the umbrella term *entrepreneurial competence*. This further implies that education sciences also have a legitimate place in the study of entrepreneurship. The questions they ask relate to the identification of relevant entrepreneurial knowledge, skills and beliefs, opportunities and preconditions for their development by education, curriculum development, creation of educational setting and selection of working methods, limits of formal and the role of nonformal education in stimulating entrepreneurial activity, ways of self-education and training, questioning educational barriers and motives and other issues.

Neoliberalism and entrepreneurship

On the one hand, highlighting the weakness of the state to respond to all the needs of the population for which it has traditionally been responsible, and on the other hand, launching new ventures with a willingness to risk and insecurity by entrepreneurs, represented a suitable ground for linking the neoliberalism paradigm to entrepreneurship as a key conception of the economic, and later cultural, social, educational and other development. Highlighting the positive attributes of entrepreneurship: initiative, desire to create new value, willingness to take the risk, a motive for achievement, the neoliberalism promoted entrepreneurship as the basic and best conception of development. Emphasizing examples of wealthy individuals who had no assets at the beginning of their lives or careers, the neoliberal paradigm seeks to suppress the existence of structural differences and to reduce it and explain everything through personal initiative, perseverance and commitment to work. Furthermore, the existence of socio-economic differences, structural barriers and social/cultural capital which is not equally distributed among individuals are completely neglected.

Neoliberalism does not need entrepreneurs so much as it promotes individuals who will accept all that entrepreneurs face: independence in undertaking ventures, taking personal responsibility, taking risks, accepting failure and loss as a possible outcome, although the majority of people will be employed and will not run their own businesses. Big capital embodied in the ideology of neoliberalism has expectation that everyone (including their employees) is flexible, willing to accept job insecurity and instability, does not have affiliation with trade unions or other associations protecting workers' rights. That is because neoliberalism views people as replaceable, and the labor market as the market for every other commodity. Moreover, the expectation is that skilled people resource is quickly and easily procured and can also be replaced in the same manner.

The promotion of entrepreneurship as a new social paradigm, Fuko (2008) sees "more as an attempt to remake social and personal life in its entirety, around an ideal of *enterprise* and performance. (...) an ethos of competitiveness is seen as permeating culture, education, personal relations and orientation to the self" (as cited in Davies, 2014, p. 315–316). According to Olssen and Peters (2005) "in neoliberalism, the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur", while Canaan (2013) concludes that "neoliberal policies are using different supranational bodies, such as the European Union, as instruments. They are also dismantling the welfare state, deepening economic and social crisis, and commercializing public institutions, such as universities" (as cited in Fernández-Herrería & Martínez-Rodríguez, 2016, p. 315). Fernández-Herrería and Martínez-Rodríguez (2016) are speaking about "entrepreneurial self", which has been introduced by neoliberalism as a new identity. In a new globalized world, it is expected to have an individual how is flexible, ready to take a risk, skilled and competitive. Consequently, education is seen as a tool to create this type of individual.

In addition to the strong arguments for accepting entrepreneurship as a sole tool of neoliberalism, there is also another side to the coin. When a father, mother or grandfather direct their descendants to start their own businesses, preparing them with advice, engaging in business, developing work habits and making contacts in the business world, then we have a decades and centuries-long model of family entrepreneurship with a wide positive impact on the community. Establishing a social enterprise that solves burning social problems or helps vulnerable categories (refugees, victims of trafficking, people with disabilities), along with participative management and obligation to reinvest profits into the organization, we also face with the positive social impact and collective well-being. Furthermore, if the state administration provides the necessary preconditions that will minimize the financial and psychological risk for entering the entrepreneurial venture, it shows that the state does not promote entrepreneurship because of the inability to secure jobs, but precisely from a clearly thought out strategy for further social and economic development.

Therefore, it is important to recognize whether the state creates an environment conducive to entrepreneurship, does it promote entrepreneurship as a cultural pattern that often entails failure in an entrepreneurial venture, is there a room for support to social enterprise, whether it creates a financing framework for these risky ventures and a model of commercial law which benefits them at a stage while they have no income yet. Positive answers to these questions open the space for entrepreneurship within the ideology of the welfare state.

Neoliberalism and adult education

The founding postulates of the European and Serbian (formerly Yugoslav) educational traditions are inherently different from the assumptions of the neoliberal paradigm. For adult education, as a traditionally social and state sphere of interest and action, neoliberalism most often has a negative connotation. We can argue that there is a kind of insidious reflection of the neoliberal policy on adult education. As Davies (2014) describes it:

Neoliberal policy targets institutions and activities which lie outside of the market, such as universities, households, public administrations and trade unions. This may be so as to bring them inside the market, through acts of privatization; or to reinvent them in a ‘market-like’ way; or simply to neutralize or disband them (p. 310).

Furthermore, Davies points out that the national states are the ones who are expected to take an active role in this transformative process in order to reshape and reorganize current social and economic entities.

According to the aforementioned tradition, the adult learner is not a passive consumer of the educational service as viewed from the economic neoliberal paradigm. There are certain similarities where the learner a user of the service, may demand the promoted quality he has paid or which is paid, then he may change the service provider if (s)he is not satisfied with the existing ones. However, the specificity of adult education lies in its interactive relationship and shared responsibility. The learner cannot acquire knowledge without their active participation in the educational process and the final outcome of the education will depend on the fulfillment of the obligations of both parties: educational institution as well as the learner.

Apart from the transfer of knowledge and the development of competence, another specific feature of the educational providers is the authority to issue licenses to perform certain jobs, embodied in public documents – diplomas. Speaking in the word of the neoliberal paradigm, “knowledge is capital” and professional individuals are a “highly desirable resource” in the market. So that the diploma is proof of knowledge and expertise possession, there is a great demand for this valuable resource. The desirability of diplomas in the market, motivates

educational institutions (whose income depends on the number of students enrolling) to lower their admission and evaluation criteria, which leads to a state where knowledge transfer becomes a secondary activity, while the exchange of licenses for money takes on a primary function.

Therefore, the idea of the profitability in the field of education is inherently dubious. Complete deregulation in education would lead to a lack of quality control; the postulate of competitiveness would end up in segregation on successful and unsuccessful is contrary to the principles of accessibility, school returners (second chance) and equality of opportunity, which are the basic principles of the traditional education paradigm. Moreover, Brown and Lauder (as cited in Patrick, 2013) found that neoliberalism denies the bare existence of inequality in education:

Children from wealthy backgrounds no longer have an unfair advantage over children from disadvantaged backgrounds, because of the international character of the labour market. What holds back the children from disadvantaged backgrounds is not the fact that those from privileged backgrounds enjoy all the educational advantages, but their lack of credentials, knowledge, and skills which prevent them from competing in the global competition for high-skilled, high-wage employment. Therefore, a “fair” educational system is no longer one that attempts to create a level playing field but one dedicated to raising the standards of all and facilitating greater access to higher education in order to arm the workforce with the credentials, knowledge, and skills that are valued in the global labour market (pp. 2–3).

These claims could also be applied to adult learners. Neoliberalism, whose involvement has been largely contributed by economic theorists, sees education solely as a preparation for participation in economic relations. On the other hand, it neglects the fact that the goals of education are much broader than vocational education and that in addition to acquiring the technical knowledge and skills necessary for inclusion in economic relations, the education process must lead to the self-awareness, understanding of our own needs, goals, motives and striving for the complete development of personality: emotional, psychological and social. With the abandonment of the nation-states concept and more intense globalization, the educational contents that served to build national and religious identity, as well as the identity of the local community, are also lost from adult education. What is particularly worrying is the neglect of civic education and education for democracy. Individuals cannot be aware of themselves unless they are aware of the world in which they live, if they do not understand the origin and messages received from politicians and corporations through mass media, and ultimately the foundation of a healthy and sustainable economy is a stable political system consisting of educated and informed citizens.

Goal, method and source of data

In this paper, we aim to explore the presence of entrepreneurial goals and content in EU and Serbian education policies and to draw a conclusion on whether there has been a shift in paradigm towards the neoliberal concept in adult education. Our hypothesis that the presence of entrepreneurship content without acknowledging its social side is an indication of the neoliberal agenda and that it is currently dominating educational policy on the EU level as well as in Serbia.

Although we understand education policy broadly as “the skill of managing educational flows in a particular social community (...) through consciously creating the conditions, legal, material, financial, personnel and other, to realize an established conception, strategy and system” (Alibabić, 2002, p. 78), for the purposes of this research, we focused on the strategic policy papers issued by the competent authorities in European Union and Republic of Serbia in the period from 2000 until 2019. As a research method, we applied document analysis with content and discourse analysis. We looked for a presence of terms and notions: entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial spirit, entrepreneurial competence, entrepreneurship education (formal and non-formal) and other similar terms.

Findings

Entrepreneurship content in the European adult education policy

As education policies are the responsibility of EU Member states, it is difficult to talk about European adult education policy in general. That is the reason why we examined and limit the research on the documents that have been discussed in the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of Ministers and especially within the European Commission which acts as a facilitator for the promotion of education initiatives (in this case entrepreneurship education) through policy papers, exchange of best practices among countries, dissemination of knowledge and development of tools and manuals.

In order to understand the role of adult education in the broader context of the EU policy, we start with the document from the year 2000 entitled *Lisbon strategy*. Document creators, who are member states leaders, stated that by 2010 they want EU “to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Parliament, 2000, Preparing for enlargement section). The great changes brought about by globalization and the new knowledge-based economy require the modernization of the social model and the education system, i.e the construction of an active welfare state. Although it is said that “The Union must shape these changes in a manner consistent with its values and concepts”, the education and training systems

“need to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality of employment” (European Parliament, 2000, Preparing for enlargement section). We can draw a conclusion, that in trying to find the balance between social inclusion and competitiveness, state leaders emphasise on one side investing in people and developing an active and dynamic welfare state, and on the other achieve goals of a knowledge-based economy. Furthermore, they were unambiguous for having the most competitive knowledge-based economy, which we find impossible to achieve without interfering in adult education policy. In the document, the Council asks the Commission to present “a communication on an entrepreneurial, innovative and open Europe together with the Multiannual Programme in favour of Enterprise and Entrepreneurship for 2001–2005” (European Parliament, 2000, Creating a friendly environment section). Numerous studies had previously concluded that when there is a requirement to create an entrepreneurial environment, there is also a need for entrepreneurship education and training, which is considered as an integral part of the that environment (see Gartner, 1985; Bruyat & Julien, 2001; Kuratko and Hodgetts, 2004, as cited in Makhbul & Hasun 2011; Avlijaš & Avlijaš, 2015).

In the following year, the Commission of the European communities (2001) prepared a required reflection on the concrete future objectives of education systems. The report highlighted a development of the spirit of enterprise as one of the main objectives and called schools and training systems to build this content into their curricula. Here we find and explicate call for embedding entrepreneurial content into the education curricula.

In 2003 Commission of the European communities published *Green Paper: Entrepreneurship in Europe*, stating an importance of entrepreneurship and proposing a strategy for its realization (Commission of the European Communities, 2003). There years later, European Parliament and Council adopted a *Recommendation on key competences for lifelong learning*, where a sense of initiative and entrepreneurship are identified as one of the eight key competences needed by all, while in the recommendation review from 2018, Council reaffirmed the position of entrepreneurship competences in the framework.

A conference held in October 2006 together with European Commission and the Norwegian government, resulted in a proceeding *Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe*. The conference was a follow-up to the Commission’s Communication *Entrepreneurship Education in Europe: Fostering Entrepreneurial Mindsets through Education and Learning* from February the same year. It aimed “to exchange experiences and good practices, and to discuss how to move forward in promoting entrepreneurship education more systematically, based on concrete evidence and recommendations presented by the Commission’s Communication” (European Commission & Norwegian Government, 2006, p. 5).

In 2008. *Small Business Act* underlined that “the education system, and in particular the school curricula, do not focus enough on entrepreneurship and do not provide the basic skills which entrepreneurs need”, and established pro-

moting entrepreneurship as one of the four main priorities (Commission, 2008, Turning principles into policy action section). The following year, Council adopted the *Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training – ET 2020*, where enhancing entrepreneurship, with creativity and innovation, are seen as a vital objective in all levels of education and training. Influence from the world of business and industry can be found in those two documents, which is indication of a neo-liberal viewpoint.

In 2012, a communication *Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes* was adopted in order to answer the question of how to achieve the objectives related to growth and new jobs. The document calls for developing transversal skills, especially entrepreneurial skills with more real-world experience and problem-based learning across all disciplines in all levels of education. It is stated that urgent action on the EU level is needed so as to “entrepreneurship education actions include: publishing policy guidance on entrepreneurship education in 2013; establishing, jointly with the OECD, a guidance framework for entrepreneurial education institutions; and the development of tools to monitor progress and the acquisition of entrepreneurial competences.” (European Commission, 2012, European level coordination and contributions section).

Investing in entrepreneurship education is seen as one of the highest return investments Europe can make in the paper *Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan: Reigniting the entrepreneurial spirit in Europe*, adopted in 2013. It is expected that all member states include entrepreneurship competence in teaching plans and programs in all levels of education. In order “to bring Europe back to growth and create new jobs, we need more entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan is the Commission’s answer to challenges brought by the gravest economic crisis in the last 50 years” (European Commission, 2013). Once again, entrepreneurship education is seen as a tool for industry needs and new job creation.

To support the creation of social enterprise and social innovation, the European Commission launched the *Social Business Initiative*. It has an 11 priority measures, which are structured around 3 themes: 1) Making it easier for social enterprises to obtain funding; 2) Increasing the visibility of social entrepreneurship and 3) Making the legal environment friendlier for social enterprises. It states that “in European education systems, social entrepreneurship is still under-promoted, although its integration into initial and ongoing training is a prerequisite for reinforcing its credibility” (European Commission, 2011, p. 5). Even though it points to the lack of education for social entrepreneurship, this plan does not prescribe measures that would contribute to its development.

A research conducted by Joint Research Center in 2016, followed by the publication *EntreComp: The Entrepreneurship Competence Framework* (Bacigalupo, Kampylis, Punie, & Van den Brande, 2016), resulted in an important definition about what entrepreneurial competence is and what areas of life it covers:

The framework describes entrepreneurship as a transversal competence, which can be applied by citizens to all spheres of life from nurturing personal develop-

ment, to actively participating in society, to (re)entering the job market as an employee or as a self-employed person, and to starting up ventures (cultural, *social or commercial*). (...) EntreComp can be used as a reference for the design of curricula in the formal education and training sector. It can also be used for activities and programmes in non-formal learning contexts (for instance, to foster intrapreneurship with existing organizations). It aims to establish a bridge between the worlds of education and work as regards entrepreneurship as a competence. (p. 6)

Through in-depth research and consultative two-year process, researchers have come to the conclusion that entrepreneurial competence is a composite of 15 competencies grouped into 3 clusters: *Ideas and opportunities, resources and into action*. Each person should develop these competencies, but without the linear expectation that everyone will start their own business. It is beneficial to acquire basic entrepreneurial skills, to become aware of how to see and seize the opportunities. A person can apply this knowledge on an individual level if employment is seen as an endeavor, or within their working organization if they seek to improve some of the business processes, or ultimately to create their own profit or social organization.

Entrepreneurship content in Serbian adult education policy

Serbia is not a country with a developed entrepreneurial tradition while entrepreneurship gained a particularly negative connotation in post-war Yugoslavia, which fostered a collectivist mentality and planned economy (Grozdić & Miljković, 2016). In Yugoslavia, means of production were common property, managed at the company level by workers' councils. In order to train workers for new professional and managerial roles, workers' universities were established in all major centers of Yugoslavia, which, together with people's universities, schools, and adult education centers, formed a particularly recognized part of the educational system – adult education institutions (Savicevic, 1968). Savicevic also outlines the principles on which the adult education system was based: permanence, democracy, decentralization, unity, diversity, dynamism and voluntariness. The similarities of the welfare state and the Yugoslav model of adult education are noticeable in the state policy where “all forms of education are accessible to all citizens, regardless of their nationality or their social and religious convictions (...). Further education is available to all adults, even to those without the necessary educational prerequisites, who prove capable of following the instruction offered on a higher academic level (p. 13)”. Similar statements can be seen in today's education policies, but the fact that all programs implemented by adult education institutions were financed from the budget of enterprises and local governments, and thus free of charge for citizens and employed workers, shows that right and access to education was ensured (only programs of foreign languages and arts were partially contributed by individuals). Diversity of the educational offer, which includes contents of vocational, socioeconomic, aesthetic, health and family education speaks in favor of this system's focus on

education and understanding of the whole person. In the last years of its existence, Yugoslavia has entered the process of transition and privatization since the state recognizes and recognizes the importance of entrepreneurship as well as entrepreneurship education. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia continued the process of transition and privatization (which has not yet been completed).

The need for the development of entrepreneurial skills and knowledge is indicated by the *Strategy and Policy of Development of the Industry of the Republic of Serbia from 2011 to 2020*, which recognizes entrepreneurial learning in particular and calls for the introduction of entrepreneurial education in the education system, as well as the development of a specific lifelong learning strategy in the field of entrepreneurship (Vlada Srbije, 2011). The national strategy that defines the place and role of entrepreneurship in the most comprehensive way is the *Strategy for Supporting the Development of SMEs, Entrepreneurship and Competitiveness for the period 2015 to 2020* (Vlada Srbije, 2014). It is stated that “the strategy continues the policy of full respect and implementation of all documents that define the European Union’s policy in the field of entrepreneurship and competitiveness, above all the *Europe 2020 Strategy* and the *Small Business Act*” (Vlada Srbije, 2014, p. 1), from which we could conclude that Serbian policy mostly aligns and relies on European policy initiatives. In its strategic goals, human resources development is set as one of the priorities which yet to be achieved through the introduction of entrepreneurship education at all levels of the education system of the Republic of Serbia, as well as through the in-service teacher education for entrepreneurship. The *Strategy for the Development of Competitive and Innovative SMEs for the period 2008–2013* (Vlada Srbije, 2007), which preceded the aforementioned, also called for a better quality entrepreneurship education encompassing: improvement of entrepreneurial education policies, integrated and continuous improvement of entrepreneurship education at all levels, and a legal and financial framework in place to encourage various forms of formal and informal entrepreneurship education. In addition, the need to support entrepreneurs through the non-formal education system, through training and consulting, is highlighted.

In 2008, mapping of social enterprises was made (Cvejic, Babovic, & Vukovic), since when active public discussion and advocacy on this topic started, mostly driven by newly established NGOs in the following years. Although several draft laws have been proposed that will regulate and stimulate social entrepreneurship and in which entrepreneurship education has taken its place, Serbia does not yet have a regulated or strategically defined this field, meaning no reflection on education policy whatsoever.

In the field of educational policy, the *Strategy for the Development of Education in Serbia until 2020*. states that “the further development of the production system of the Republic of Serbia must be rapidly based on knowledge, entrepreneurship of the educated population, its own and transferred technological innovations without adverse impact on the environment, market economy and international business, technical and other cooperation” (Vlada Srbije, 2012). The

strategy also emphasizes the need to develop measures that will lead to self-employment through entrepreneurship. Introducing business and entrepreneurial skills and knowledge into vocational education programs as one of the nine key competencies which will lead to the, is prescribed by the *Strategy for the Development of Vocational Education*. (Vlada Srbije, 2006a). Development of entrepreneurial skills together with management skills as a measure of rapid access to the labor market is also envisaged by the *Adult Education Development Strategy in the Republic of Serbia* (Vlada Srbije, 2006b).

From the above strategies, we can see that in the Serbian policy the strongest are voices of industry and economy when it comes to promoting entrepreneurship and that European trends are being followed. Influencing the national education agenda through securing financial, technical and expert support, is evident in Serbian politics and the adult education system (see Popovic, 2014; Miljkovic, 2015). Without a regulated and supported area of social entrepreneurship, we see that entrepreneurship education policy is more keen on the neo-liberal paradigm.

Conclusion

The research on European and Serbian strategic educational policies issued in the period 2000–2019, was conducted to identify entrepreneurial content in them and to determine the nature of these content. If the call for the inclusion of entrepreneurship contents comes from the sphere of economy and industry, where the promotion of profit, uncertainty and insecurity of the workplace, as well as the taking of great amount of personal material and psychological risks, then we see the orientation of policies towards neoliberalism. On the other hand, if the goal of entrepreneurial action can be social and cultural, and if there is an environment that optimizes the risks that an individual assumes, we can argue that entrepreneurial content exists in the politics of the welfare state.

EU in its documents acknowledged entrepreneurship as a key competence for lifelong learning needed by all, the path of enterprise spirit development as a concrete future for education systems goals, explicitly called for embedding entrepreneurial content into education curricula at all levels of education, developed guidance framework for entrepreneurial education institutions and conducted a thorough research on entrepreneurial competence framework. Recent research conducted by JRC indicates that entrepreneurial competence is more than starting a new business and creating a business. An individual is perceived as a holistic construct and the role of initiative and creativity in all walks of life is recognized: “from nurturing personal development, to actively participating in society, to (re) entering the job market as an employee or as a self-employed person,” and to starting up ventures, but very important, venture as a cultural, social or commercial.

In these strategic documents, entrepreneurial education has repeatedly been seen as the engine of development and as a path to new business creation. The call for the inclusion of entrepreneurial content is most commonly received by

the industry and the economy, with the promotion of flexibility, uncertainty and job uncertainty. We see that the economic function of entrepreneurship has been significantly elaborated, which indicates the orientation of educational policy towards neoliberalism. On the other hand, we recognize that, in the most recent studies, the European educational tradition has shown its influence through recognizing entrepreneurship as a complex of competences whose application can be in the social and cultural sphere, on the basis of which we can expect that further development of the concept of entrepreneurial education will be organized around this tradition which nourishes the elements of the welfare state.

The Serbian educational tradition bears a striking resemblance to the welfare state model, given the policy that proclaimed the accessibility of all forms of education to all citizens, regardless of ethnic or social background, and provided a funding for their realization in the budgets of enterprises and local governments. Due to collective ownership and workers' self-management, entrepreneurial content did not find its place in the politics of Yugoslavia until the last years of the '80s and early '90s when the process of transition and privatization began. Since then, the recognition of entrepreneurship as a legitimate activity has begun, including the adoption of educational policies for entrepreneurship. Relying heavily on European policy trends, the content of entrepreneurship is represented in Serbian policies and the need for entrepreneurship education is recognized. As these policies are solely the result of initiatives from industry and the economy, and since social entrepreneurship has not yet found its place in Serbian politics, we find that there is a paradigm towards a neoliberal model.

Entrepreneurship is most commonly understood as a purely neoliberal agenda, due to its traits such as flexibility, uncertainty, suspense, risk appetite and independence in action. If on the other side, entrepreneurial activity has a broader social goal or there is a system organized so that social partners and nets provide both the development of competence and legal, psychological and financial support which reduces the material and health risk of entrepreneurs, we can talk about the existence of entrepreneurship in the state well-being. Entrepreneurship as a human activity is, therefore, value-neutral because it signifies initiative, willingness to risk, creativity, creation of new or improvement of existing. Depending on who is promoting, for what purpose and at what historical moment, the concept of entrepreneurship gains a different connotation and thus becomes part of one ideology or someone's agenda.

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CIP – Каталогизација у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

374.7(100)(082)

37.014.5(100)(082)

37.018.48(100)(082)

NAVIGATING through contemporary world with adult education research and practice / Aleksandar Bulajić, Tamara Nikolić, Cristina C. Vieira (Eds.) ; [illustrations Jelena Jaćimović]. – Belgrade : Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University : Adult Education Society ; [s. l.] : ESREA – European Society for Research on the Education of Adults, 2020 (Belgrade : Službeni Glasnik). – 591 str. : ilustr. ; 24 cm

Tiraž 300. – Str: 9–30: Contemporary world and adult learning and education / Aleksandar Bulajić, Tamara Nikolić and Cristina C. Vieira. – Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. – Bibliografija uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-80712-40-6 (IFPAAFOFU)

- а) образовање одраслих – Зборници
- б) образовна политика – Зборници
- в) Перманентно образовање – Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 31093257



1838

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ



ISBN 978-86-80712-40-6



9 788680 712406