



A CRITICAL REALIST ACCOUNT OF THE POOR ENGAGEMENT IN BUSINESS OF JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT (JA) HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

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ABSTRACT

An entrepreneurship programme offered to high school students by an organisation called Junior Achievement (JA) was introduced in Eswatini in 2006 with the aim of producing young entrepreneurs. Between 2015 and 2017 twenty-six (26) schools enrolled in the programme with a total of 6616 learners participating. Upon completion, less than 65 (1%) of those enrolled started their own businesses after school. Drawing on critical realism, the study sought to establish what constrain the JA graduates from engaging in business. To do this, the Snowball sampling technique was used to select 20 participants from the 2015 to 2018 class. In-depth semi-structured interviews and observations were used to gather data. The Archer's concepts of culture, structure, agency and a retroductive process of identifying what is cultural, structural, and agential on the data were used as the tool for analysis. The results show that the JA graduates' involvement in business was mainly constrained by culture in that cultural mechanisms were mostly constraining rather than enabling on the JA graduates. It was therefore recommended that, in the curriculum design of the JA secondary school programme, views, beliefs, ideas and principles of participants are identified early enough so as to counteract certain constraining powers as well as reinforcing their enabling powers in learning and teaching processes.

KEYWORDS: Abduction; critical realism; entrepreneurship; retroduction; social realism

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INTRODUCTION

The present unemployment has compelled countries all over the world to find ways to enable citizens to become self-employed. In this regard, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education are seen as a basis for developing social and economic well-being (European Commission, 2006). Entrepreneurship is defined as 'the individual's ability to find a business idea and transform it into practice' (European Commission, 2006). Entrepreneurship education is about learning for entrepreneurship, learning through entrepreneurship, and learning about entrepreneurship' (Gibb, 2005). It is concerned with finding the most favourable ways of transforming learners into individuals who have life skills (Abiogu, 2011). Entrepreneurship education has not been widespread in the general context of education, but the increasing importance of entrepreneurship in the education sector is becoming evident (Haara & Jenssen, 2016). In Eswatini, entrepreneurship is currently not offered as a school subject, but as means to help learners understand entrepreneurship through the introduction of a Junior Achievement school programme in some secondary schools in the country.

The kingdom of Eswatini has been among the slow growing economies in the continent. In retrospect, Eswatini is a small country in Southern Africa in which the youth comprises of 36% of the population (Mavundla et al, 2015). Eswatini is also faced with major context-specific challenges such as high poverty rate (63%), low school attendance (only half of the youth attend school) and the unemployment rate sits at (42.6% for youth aged 15-24) (Mavundla et al, 2015). This context makes the country ideal for examining issues surrounding youth entrepreneurship (Felipe, 2012). This is because being a civil servant and career oriented is what Eswatini youth look forward to, after graduation. On the other hand, the structures providing these opportunities are insufficient (ibid.). To this end, it has become a policy priority in the Kingdom of Eswatini to promote small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and Junior Achievement (JA) in some selected secondary schools since the beginning of 2006.

The purpose of JA is to equip learners with entrepreneurial knowledge and skills that enable them to participate in small and medium scale businesses. The idea is to empower the youth to grow big businesses at some point, and by so doing reducing dependence on formal employment opportunities. This contributes to harnessing the high rate of youth unemployment in the Kingdom of Eswatini (Brixiova et al, 2015). The Junior Achievement Swaziland (JASD) programme is an independent NGO under the auspices of Junior Achievement Worldwide (JAWW). This body runs three main programmes: (i) Economics of Success that develops students' skills, interests, and values at Form 2 and 3; (ii) the JASD Company Programme training students how to set up and run a company beginning in Form 4; and (iii) the Job Shadow Programme equipping students with lifelong skills such as resume writing and interviewing skills at Form 4 and 5. Specifically, JASD trains high school students to be entrepreneurs as well as financial literacy through practical and hands-on courses (ibid). The aim is to prepare graduates for self-reliance and equip them with entrepreneurial thinking for the workplace, and more broadly for success in the global economy. However, records obtained from the JASD office from 2015 to 2019 show a very low engagement in business of the JA high school graduates, shown in table 1 below.



Table 1: Number of participants in JA school programme and in business

Year of participation in the JA programme	Number of learners reached through the JA programme	Number of individual businesses after completing school	Percentage (%)
2015	1080	5	0.0046
2016	1241	8	0.0064
2017	1372	24	0.0175
2018	1387	19	0.0136
2019	1536	9	0.0059

The table shows that, while enrolment into the programme is very high, the engagement of graduates in business is too low: 1% of the total number of enrolments each year. This observation has motivated this study to establish possible factors behind a declining engagement of JA graduates in business in spite of going through the programme. The purpose of the study therefore, was to try and come up with possible mechanisms militating against the programme. In this respect, the specific questions answered were: (1) Which structural mechanisms have conditioning influence on JA graduates' participation in business? (2) Which cultural mechanisms have conditioning influence on JA graduates' participation in business? (3) Which agential mechanisms have conditioning influence on JA graduates' participation in business? (4) Which mechanisms exert more influence on the participation of JA high school graduates in business?

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Theoretical framework

Critical realism guided this study in exploring mechanisms with power to condition the tendency of JA graduates' none engagement in business after completing high school. This is because, critical realism, is based on the assumption that there is a deeper layer of reality that has conditioning power on what people see and experience in this world (Bhaskar, 1978; de Bernardi, 2019). From a critical realist perspective, the lack of engagement by JA graduates in business could be seen as knowledge that is at the level of the 'actual'. The level of the actual is about events of the world which are conditioned by mechanisms at a deeper layer of reality which critical realists call the layer of the 'real'. To understand the concept, which is none engagement of JA graduates in business, this was based on the assumption that, there are mechanisms existing on this layer of reality. These when they interact, exert constraining power on the ability of the JA graduates' participation in business.

The study further drew on social realism, as expanded by Margaret Archer's critical realism. Social realism is based on the assumption that, a person is a social being on which social influences are unavoidable (Archer, 1995). According to Archer (1996), social life consists of three elements: culture; structure, and agency. These were the basis of differentiating mechanisms or the knowledge that resides at the level of the 'real'. For Archer (1996) culture, refers to ideational aspects of social life including the values and beliefs of society. Structure refers to material aspects of social life including resources, positions and roles. It is structure and culture that exert influence on people, not that they determine what people will do, as they are also responsible for structural and cultural influences (Archer, 1995). As such, agency is the human aspect of social



life including the way people act or respond to structures. Social realism, is therefore based on the assumption that, the level of the real consists of knowledge about mechanisms that are structural, cultural and agential in nature' (ibid). It is from this assumption that this study saw social realism as an important paradigm for shedding light on the deeper layer of reality in the none engagement of JA graduates in business. Influenced by social realism, the study made the assumption that, the none engagement of JA graduates in business is due to the interaction of mechanisms that are structural, cultural and/or agential in nature. In this respect, social realism serves as both a conceptual framework and an analytical framework understanding the paper.

While social realists see social life as the interplay and interconnectivity of structure, culture and agency, they believe that these mechanisms (structure, culture and agency) have an objective existence (Archer, 1996). They are different and each has unique powers. Because of their (structure, culture, and agency) uniqueness, they can be analysed separately in order to understand what they are and how they influence the way things are in social life. Separating them helps achieve a deeper understanding of their differences and influences on social reality. Guided by social realism, structural, cultural and agential mechanisms were explored separately in order to understand their uniqueness and autonomous powers in influencing the engagement or none engagement of JA graduates in business. The purpose was to identify the mechanisms at play, how different they are and the power they have to influence none engagement in business by JA graduates. This helped one have a better understanding of the none engagement of the JA graduates in business.

Empirical studies

A number of empirical studies have shown that entrepreneurship education contributes positively to young people's creativity and self-respect, as well as their skills in cooperation and decision-making (Johansen & Schanke, 2013; Huber, Sloof & Van Praag, 2014; Wennberg & Elert, 2012; Matlay, 2008). They have also demonstrated that such education changes young people's attitudes towards entrepreneurship, and that young people who participate in entrepreneurship education are more likely to become entrepreneurs compared to the general population (Johansen & Schanke, 2013).

Previous studies (Huber, Sloof & Van Praag, 2014) analysed the effectiveness of early entrepreneurship education on pupils in upper primary schools. The study evaluated a leading entrepreneurship programme that is taught worldwide in the final grade of primary school by conducting a randomised field experiment. The findings revealed that, entrepreneurship education has the potential to improve an individual's non-cognitive competencies (e.g. persistence, creativity and forward-thinking behaviour) when best developed at an early age. It also emerged that, knowledge was unaffected by the programme. However, the programme had a robust positive effect on non-cognitive entrepreneurial skills. The study by Huber et al (2014) is different from this study because it focused on pupils in upper primary not high school graduates. In addition, the study did not find out the causes enabling graduates to start or constrain them from starting their own businesses after acquiring entrepreneurship skills. This study therefore fills this gap in investigating possible reasons for the ineffectiveness of entrepreneurial JA school programme.

Wennberg and Elert (2012) quantitatively investigated the effects of Junior Achievement's Company Programme (JACP) in Sweden. The researchers followed three cohorts that participated in the training programme JACP in the mid-1990s to investigate the long-term effects of JACP on an individual's labour potential. The study is similar to this study in that it also



focused on secondary school graduates who had undergone the JA programme. However, the study does not focus on how effectiveness the programme was on helping graduates start and run their own businesses after completing school. Instead, it focused more on how the skills learnt could help the individual to become an effective manager at the place of work, and thus having a higher chance of getting higher income as an employee.

In a study that was conducted by Matlay (2008) in the United Kingdom which investigated the perceived influence that various entrepreneurship courses had on a cohort of sixty-four (64) graduate entrepreneurs from eight Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), Semi-structured, in-depth telephone interviews were conducted annually over a ten-year period (1997 to 2006), to document, measure and analyse respondent progression from graduation into entrepreneurship. The results showed that graduates needs for entrepreneurship education did not match actual outcomes in terms of skills, knowledge and attitudes. This mismatch influenced an entrepreneur's perceptions of actual and future educational needs. However, most of the graduate entrepreneurs seemed to be satisfied with the outcomes of their entrepreneurship education. Matlay's study investigated the impact of entrepreneurship education and did not explore the practicality of the impact hence this study fills in that gap by finding out what constrain or enable engagement in business after having gone through an entrepreneurial education course or programme.

Studies have reported on the extent to which young people in other contexts are involved in business (Wilde & Leonard, 2018; Olugbola, 2016). The studies indicate that engagements of the youth in business is very low and two of these are reported here. First, a case study conducted by Wilde and Leonard (2018) between 2013 and 2016 on young people in the United Kingdom has concluded that despite policies put by government to encourage entrepreneurial practices by the youth, many still do not engage in business. For those who did, very few felt their businesses were successful because of the disappointment following failure to sustain the businesses. On the other hand, their uncertainty about the stability and future of their businesses made those who had not yet committed themselves into starting and running a business to stop trying (ibid).

Olugbola (2016) analysed the entrepreneurial readiness of the youth in terms of opportunity, identification, motivational factors, resources and entrepreneurial abilities. He examined the effect of entrepreneurship training on young people's readiness to engage in entrepreneurial activity and the components behind successful start-ups. The findings revealed positive effect of opportunity, identification, motivation and resources on entrepreneurial training in all factors, including entrepreneurial ability. He observed that a number of approaches had been used to encourage the youth towards entrepreneurial activities such as giving bank loans, business facilities and access to finance (capital) in order to influence their career options (ibid). The study concluded that, despite all these efforts, youth participation in entrepreneurial activities was still very minimal. The findings were that the Youth were mainly discouraged by limited funding (ibid). The studies by Wilde and Leonard (2018) and Olugbola (2016) and others not reported here indicate the importance of conducting such studies in order to understand factors discouraging youth from engaging in business.

Other studies were concerned about the readiness of young people towards entrepreneurial activities (Staniewski & Awruk, 2015, 2016; Abreu & Van Leeuwen, 2019). Shane et al, (2012), for example, did a study on Entrepreneurial Motivation in Australia and found that many youths possess business ideas but only a few have the capacity and ability to turn them into viable businesses. The youth differed in their willingness and ability to act and the variation among them had important



effects on the entrepreneurial process. It was established that, new business start-up depends on youth readiness to turn their ideas into viable projects. In other words, the discovery of opportunity and ability to utilise it depends mainly on the readiness of the youth to participate in such entrepreneurial activities. Almost similar to the above study is one conducted by Staniewski and Awruk (2016) who explored factors that underlie business intentions of college students. The study was conducted in Poland on 347 students in various majors. Data were collected using Start-up Intentions Questionnaires (SulQ), the Hope Scale (HS), and the Multidimensional Personal and Business Data Sheet. The results indicated that potential entrepreneurs displayed stronger start-up intentions. Deepening one's convictions, especially about one's skills and persistence in solving problems were considered as one of the factors underlying start-up intentions. These two studies are similar to this study in that they seek to explain what, and also sought to find out what made the youth want to engage or not to engage in business. The studies were however, quantitative rather than a qualitative approach.

Staniewski and Awruk (2015) identified various factors that influence readiness of young people towards entrepreneurial activities. The factors included self-realisation and self-satisfaction, the possibility of higher earnings, independence in decision-making, lack of professional experience and funding, lack of skills, lack of assistance, lack of capital, lack of experience and fearing the future. Other factors included lack of experience, lack of capital, risk business activity, lack of precise business ideas, fear of eventual loss of current job and permanent income, absence of business partners, doubt of one's opportunities, lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem, lack of expected support from the relatives and close friends, and fear of responsibility. Staniewski and Awruk (2015) were concerned with readiness of the youth to engage in business, Abreu and Van Leeuwen (2019) focused on experiences of those that were engaging or trying to engage in business. The study was a survey on 50 000 in the United Kingdom from 2009 to 2017. The study showed that, for many, engaging in business was satisfying as there was ease of doing business and being able to have quality time with their loved ones as opposed to being employed and having to work for longer hours. This, they said was because in business, they become their own boss and therefore are able to decide on what and when.

However, in adverse to Staniewski and Awruk's findings, Shephard et al, (2010) focused on emerging entrepreneurs and found that they are frequently subjected to great stress as they venture into business. The high stress levels are due to that those new business owners have few resources, energy and skills to perfectly run their businesses. For this reason, they tend to get frustrated by being not highly efficient. These studies took other approaches in identifying what enabled and constrained participation of the youth in business, and this study takes a critical and social realist approach by differentiating, enabling, and constraining mechanisms into structural, cultural and agential as indicated in the theoretical framework.

Henderson and Robertson (2000) on studies in the UK on young adults examined their attitude towards entrepreneurship as a career. They concluded that, although entrepreneurial education is criticized for being theoretical, educationalists can take influence on students to take their choice of entrepreneurship as a career. In their case study on the impact of entrepreneurship education on partnership venture intentions using 220 students at Kumasi Polytechnic in Ghana, Peterman and Kennedy (2003) argued that participation in entrepreneurship programmes has positive influences on desirability to start a new business. They observed that the youth need motivation either through funding or other support mechanisms from all stakeholders such as government, family, friends and religious groups in order to bring the dream about business to reality. Chrisman et al, (2012) found that entrepreneurship education courses did not have significant impact on venture and performance. They were investigating the impact of entrepreneurship education on 256 individuals



from the Pennsylvania Small Business Development Centre in the United States.

According to an analysis of peer-reviewed research by Dickson et al (2008) in the US, it was concluded that education can stimulate entrepreneurial mindset and this can equally enhance business venture creation skills previously acquired via entrepreneurship education. A survey by Rieva (2001) conducted in the UK revealed that mentoring by another entrepreneur, advice from management and business courses, lack of business know-how and personal issues such as student debt, fear of failure and the belief that capital is difficult to obtain has influence on business start-ups.

Guzmán-Alfonso and Guzmán-Cuevas (2012) conducted a study in which they wanted to determine whether entrepreneurial intention models explain the entrepreneurial behaviour of individuals regarding venture creation in Latin America, as well as to test if the three factors usually taken into consideration in these models attitudes, perceived social value and perceived self-efficacy really determine entrepreneurial intentions. The study submitted that, attitude towards entrepreneurial behaviour is a strong determinant of entrepreneurial intention and potential. Gibb and Ritchie (1982) on the other hand, conducted a study in Durham University Business School, England, on a selected group of 54 persons, all with a declared objective of going into business and identified family support, prior experience, social attachments as well as occupational choice as potential factors that could make youth venture into business.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research approach was used to understand what constrains or enables JA graduates to or not engage in business. The study was a historical research in that the writer tracked 20 former students in a school in the Manzini region between 2015 and 2018. Snowball sampling was used to pick those enrolled on the JA programme.

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. On the other hand observations were used to validate the data collected through the interviews. The observations entailed going to the places where participants conduct their businesses to see what they do and how they do it on the ground. Data collection instruments were piloted on the first five JA graduates forming part of the participants. Content analysis was the main method of data analysis as data were narrative in form. Abduction and retroduction were applied during content analysis. The Abduction entailed using Archer's concepts of structure, culture and agency as lens for making sense of the data. Retroduction entailed asking questions such as: What are the JA school graduates really saying? Is this a material thing? Is this an idea, a view, or a belief? Is this a decision the JA school graduate made? Does this constrain or enable engagement in business? It is therein these questions guided the questioning technique why the JA school programme is not achieving its purpose. The questions which guided the retroductive process were derived from the concepts of structure, culture and agency.

Mechanisms with conditioning influence on JA graduates' participation in business.

Structural mechanisms

Structural mechanisms referred to what was available or not available which potentially enabled or constrained the graduates' engagement in business. The analysis, therefore, was concerned with identifying material things which made the graduates not or do business. Table 2 below presents a summary of structural mechanisms with either an enabling or



constraining power on JA graduates' participation in business.

Table 2: Structural mechanisms with power to enable or constrain JA graduates' participation in business

Enabling structural mechanisms	Frequency	%	Constraining structural mechanisms	Frequency	%
Availability of capital:	11	55			
- Family support	(5)	(25)			
- Sponsor	(1)	(05)	Lack of capital	3	15
- Savings	(4)	(20)			
- Allowance	(1)	(05)			
Participation in the JA school programme	9	45	Lack of business ideas	2	10
Participation in a tertiary entrepreneurial course	2	10	Focus on school (e.g. upgrading and acquisition of professional qualification)	9	45
Forced financial independence from parents	1	05	Dependence (doing it together with JA team and not individually)	4	20
Poverty (having to be able to provide for oneself)	1	05			

The table above shows that five structural mechanisms with direct influence to enable engagement of JA graduates into business were identified from the analysed data. These mechanisms include availability of capital (11/20), participation in the JA school programme (9/11), participation in a tertiary entrepreneurial course (2/11), forced financial independence (1/11), and poverty (1/11). Eleven 11 (55%) of the JA graduates had ways of acquiring capital for business which included one or more of the following: family support (5/11), sponsor (1/11), savings (4/11), and allowance (1/11). The table also shows that mechanisms with power to constrain the participation of JA graduates in business were identified from the data and these include: lack of capital (3/20), focus on school (9/20), lack of business ideas (2/20), and dependence on team work (4/20). All these mechanisms exerted constraining influence on the JA graduates' ability to engage in business.

Cultural mechanisms

Cultural mechanisms refers to values, ideas or beliefs held by the JA graduates which enabled or constrained their participation in business. Hence, the analysis was concerned with identifying what the graduates believed in and what they valued that potentially made them do or not do business. Table 3 below presents a summary of cultural mechanisms found to have either an enabling or constraining effect on JA graduates' participation in business.



Table 3: Cultural mechanisms with power to enable or constrain JA graduates’ participation in business

Enabling Cultural Mechanisms	Frequency	%	Constraining Cultural Mechanisms	Frequency	%
Running a business should provide independence and huge earnings.	5	25	Business is something big that is difficult to manage	6	30
One needs to start small in business	1	05	Business should give high profit.	3	15
			One needs a lot of capital.	4	20
			Business may fail and ruin one’s status.	1	05
			Business is a hard thing to do.	1	05
			You need to work first before going into business.	1	05
			One needs to study first then do business.	11	55
			Business is not “my thing”.	1	05

The table above shows that there were more constraining cultural mechanisms identified than enabling mechanisms. Only two cultural mechanisms with power to enable engagement of JA graduates into business were identified from the collected data. These are holding the belief that running a business should provide independence and huge earnings (5=25%) and the belief that you need to start small in business and then grow gradually (1=05%). The two JA graduates are not involved in business. They said this when talking about their future plans relating to establishing businesses.

Eight (8) cultural mechanisms with constraining power were identified from the analysed data. Most of the JA graduates believed that one needs to study first before engaging in business (11=55%). They also believed that the business should be something big (6=30%), therefore to start a business requires a lot of capital (4=25%), and it should be something that will give high profits (3=15%). One believes it is something difficult to do (1=05%), while another believes the business is most likely to fail and ruin one’s status (1=05%). One more holds the belief that one cannot just venture into business before working (1=05%). Furthermore, another believes business is ‘not my thing’ (1=05%). All these beliefs held contributed in constraining 16 of the 20 JA graduates from engaging in business.

Agential mechanisms

Agential mechanisms referred to situations where graduates’ involvement or lack of involvement in business were influenced by particular decisions they took regardless of their beliefs or whether or not resources were available. Notably, no agential mechanisms with enabling power were found in the data. Table 4 below only presents agential mechanisms found to have constraining effect on the JA graduates’ participation in business.



Table 4: Agential mechanisms with power to constrain JA graduates’ participation in business

Constraining Agential Mechanisms	Frequency	%
The decision to focus on school (i.e. to suspend engaging in business while upgrading and acquiring professional qualifications).	6	30
A decision not to engage in business (Lack of interest).	2	10

Table 4 indicates that two agential mechanisms with power to constrain JA graduates’ participation in business were identified from the data. Six (6=30%) of the 16 JA graduates who are not engaged in business took the decision to focus on school first. They were either upgrading or at tertiary level. In addition two (2=10%) of the 20 JA graduates had no reason not to engage in business. These two JA graduates had everything they needed to start and run a business. They expressed that there is nothing stopping them except that they want to start with school before they can think of business. This indicates that this mechanism’s power was exercised regardless of the existence of structural mechanisms with enabling powers. These decisions made by the JA graduates prevented them from engaging in business.

Mechanisms that exerted more influence

All the mechanisms identified and discussed interacted in some way in influencing the graduates’ decisions to or not to engage in business. However, some exercised more power than others in shaping the behaviour of the JA graduates. For example, one of the JA graduates had all needed to start a business (structural) such as capital and support from family. However, because he/she believed that running a business was just not his/her thing (cultural), he/she lost interest and decided to quit (agential). Table 5 below indicates that there were more mechanisms that constrained than enabled the JA graduates who participated in this study.

Table 5: A summary of the number of mechanisms found in the data

Structural		Cultural		Agential	
Enabling	Constraining	Enabling	Constraining	Enabling	Constraining
5	4	2	8	0	2

Table 5 above indicates that constraining mechanisms identified were 14 in total and enabling mechanisms were 7 in total. Of all the constraining mechanisms (14), the cultural were the highest (8/14) indicating that, mainly, cultural mechanisms exerted more influence in constraining participation of the JA high school graduates in business.

DISCUSSION

The enabling structural mechanisms identified in the study included availability of capital, participation in the JA school programme, and participation in a tertiary entrepreneurial course. The JA graduates consider that their participation in an entrepreneurial course stimulated an entrepreneurial mindset. This could equally enhance business venture creation skills acquired through education. The findings of this study corroborated with the studies done by Henderson and Robertson (2000) in which it emerged that educationalists can offer entrepreneurial insight for students to influence their choice of



entrepreneurship as a career. This is true for Peterman and Kennedy (2003) in that participation in entrepreneurship programmes has positive influence on desirability to start a new business. In addition, the finding that participating in the JA school programme has positive influence on the JA high school graduates is supported by Matlay (2008) who concluded that most of the graduate entrepreneurs seemed to be satisfied with the outcomes of the entrepreneurship education they take. This finding, however, is in contrast to what Chrisman et al, (2012) found in their study where they concluded that entrepreneurship education courses did not have significant impact on the venture and its performance.

In the said study, it was found that one of the structural constraining mechanisms was the lack of business ideas on the part of the JA graduates which is in contrast with Shane et al, (2012) who concluded that many youths nowadays possess business ideas but only a few have the capacity and ability to turn them into viable businesses. For this reason established, the study found out that only a few of the JA graduates had some ideas but were not in business. This confirms the conclusion reached by Shane et al, (2012) that the discovery of opportunity and ability to utilise the business ideas depends mainly on readiness of the youth to participate in such entrepreneurial activities. This study is also in agreement with Staniewski and Awruk (2015) on the observation that lack of capital and precise business ideas can constrain young people from participating in business. This possibly explains why of the JA graduates are not engaging in business; they lack business ideas and capital to start any income generating project.

Cultural mechanisms that were found to have an enabling power on the JA school graduates included the belief that running a business should provide independence and huge earnings, as well as the belief that you need to start small in business and then grow gradually. This study substantiates the study conducted by Staniewski and Awruk (2015) in Poland, which identified three crucial motivators on potential entrepreneurs to the commencement of their own businesses; self-realisation and self-satisfaction; the possibility of higher earnings; and independence in decision-making. Equally important, Peterman and Kennedy (2003) also established that motivation was a drive for students venturing into business. The constraining cultural mechanisms include the belief that a business is something big; that requires huge capital; it should generate huge profits; it is hard to do; it may fail and ruin one's status; it cannot be run while studying; it cannot be started before working; and it is not their thing. It is therefore consistent with Rieva's (2001) findings that fear of business failure and believing that capital is difficult to obtain are other factors that negatively influence business start-ups.

Agential mechanisms with power to constrain found in this study were the decision to focus on school and the decision just not to engage in business. This study underlines Guzmán- (2012) who asserts that attitude towards entrepreneurial behavior is a strong determinant of entrepreneurial intention and potential. The finding however, is not in agreement with Gibb and Ritchie (1982) who concluded that occupational choice would make one to want to venture into business. The constraining mechanisms played a more active role than the enabling mechanisms hence 16 of the 20 participants were not engaged in business. The constraining mechanisms were mainly cultural than structural and agential. Enabling structural mechanisms that were dominant in the data are *participation in the JA school programme* and *availability of capital*. However, the enabling power of these structural mechanisms were not exercised with many of the participants since most of them (16) were not involved in business. This means that these mechanisms may have exerted influence on only 4 of the 20 JA graduates. Also, the belief that operating a business should provide independence and huge earnings (Staniewski and Awruk, 2015) did not influence engagement in business for 4 of the JA graduates who held this view, but only stimulated their interest to engage in future.



CONCLUSION

All the mechanisms identified in this study interacted in some way in influencing the JA graduates' decisions to or not to engage in business, while some mechanisms may have had the power to enable engagement in business, their powers were not exercised. It is recommended that Junior Achievement (JA) continuously conduct research to identify enabling mechanisms as well as provide support to ensure their power is exercised. Since cultural mechanisms were found to exert more constraining power, it is important for the JA programme to know the views and beliefs held by participants so to counteract their constraining power as learning and teaching progresses. In addition, Junior Achievement (JA) should also consider including individual business ideas. This is because there must be a smooth transition from the high school JA programme to the other business-oriented organisations on the part of the high school graduates.

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