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EDUCATION IN TIMES OF GLOBALISATION.
MODERNIZATION AND HYBRIDISM IN THE
EDUCATIONAL POLITICS IN PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT

Since the sixties, Portugal has begun a renegotiation process of its insertion in the world system. In the field of education it is possible to identify the convergence processes with international policies, convergence that results in similar policies taken by ideologically different parties, as well as the production of a homogeneous speech. From the eighties onwards, a hybrid orientation is developed associating constructivist-like speeches in a critical perspective with apologetic discourses of social efficiency that links the utility of education to economic productivity. In an analysis of political speeches key-words it is clear the predominance of the “modernization” factor, a concept that is based in measures of technical rationality. However, in certain periods, mitigated by preoccupations on equality of opportunities and on the increment of the participation of the social actors.

INTRODUCTION

Portugal has a paradoxical situation. The rich social-historic context presents, on the one hand, a considerable *setback* concerning the generalisation of schools for all – with its inevitable consequences on the educational targets that, usually, when compared to the *developed* countries, are placed at the lower end of the international spectrum - and, on the other hand, show profound and rapid transformations in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Through this perspective, it is also an insurmountable experimenting ground when one searches for new ways for schools and the practice of the teaching profession.

A LATE AND RHETORIC CONSTRUCTION OF MASS SCHOOLING

In 1960 Portugal had an illiteracy rate of 34%, whereas thirty years prior it stood at 62%. In the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1900, it reached a staggering 74%. An undeniable persistent rate of illiteracy¹ – as a privileged indicator of the delay in the generalisation of primary schooling – can only be understood through the long historic duration and allows comprehending the many weak results that the country produces when analyzing the population distribution by levels of literacy², or the distribution of the active population by their levels of qualification and profession.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the European countries were divided into at least two groups, according to their levels of literacy and schooling of the population. In the first group, there were the richer and industrially more developed countries – predominantly (but not exclusively) protestant where literacy programs were developed as soon as the eighteenth century, or even sooner. In the second group, one finds the poorer and more rural Southern and Eastern European countries, predominantly catholic or orthodox, presenting high rates of illiteracy in its populations. However, when countries like Spain, Italy or even Greece took important steps towards the literacy levels of their populations in the beginning of the twentieth century the distance between other European countries and Portugal grew. This evolution is apparently contradictory due to the fact that Portugal was the first catholic country where the State took responsibility and control over the educational system with reforms that at the end of the eighteenth century served as reference for other European countries. Moreover, in 1835, Portugal was the fourth country in the world to pass a law of the principle of compulsory schooling. Since 1844 and to this date, associated with the passing of this law, there are civic and monetary penalties to the parents, students (when adults) and local authorities that do not provide schooling opportunities. On a legislative plan, Portugal, more than in other Southern European countries, shows a remarkable precocity. But the schooling reality is completely different: in the beginning of the twentieth century the rate of inscription on primary education was of 22.1% and thirty years later, in 1930, it was still just 37.7%.

The expansion of schooling for the masses in Portugal can be seen as a typical process of *rhetoric construction of education*: a significant precocity in the legislative front and on the political discourse on the role of the school in modernity and a continued denial of resources for the increment of schooling³. This rhetoric characteristic is present when one analyses the expenses with education in the last 150 years: between 1851 and 1907 the average budget for public education was around 0.2% of the GIP; only in 1927 did it reach, for the first time, the 1% bracket; between 1952 and 1965 the expenses represented less than 1.2% and in 1974, with the Revolu-

tion, it stood at 1.8%: only in 1999 did Portugal reach and surpass even the average budget dedicated to education of member states of OCDE which stood at around 6% of the GIP⁴. The available data allows us to affirm that the construction of modernity in Portugal was made with a persistent under-spending towards education – even in the periods of greater economic growth and financial stability.

Why then this under-spending even though there have been remarkable breakthroughs in the political discourse and legislative production?

Different authors emphasize that the origin, the institutionalisation and increment of schooling for the masses is not a specific function of endogenous characteristics such as industrialisation or urbanisation, the class structure or dominant religion but the main result of the formation of state-nation fed by a worldwide political culture that emerged in the multiple and dynamic conflicts of the capitalist world (Ramirez & Ventresca, 1992). Jaime Reis (1993) shares a similar explanation – due to Portugal's peripheral geographical situation and slow economic development, not having been a part of the social conflict of ethnic and religious characteristics that most European countries faced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it did not need profound socialisation mechanisms of integration towards the national construction. Understanding the social reality as a historical system, the Portuguese social reality is surely the result of a long permanence in the semi-periphery of the world system, with its roots since the end of the sixteenth century and with consequences in all of the plans aspects of national life. Culture-wise the weak levels of schooling and education and professional qualification converge with the great difficulties in the promotion of the patterns of urban culture and middle class with the reception of dominant cultural patterns of central countries – deemed as reference for the important population groups (Santos Silva, 1991). In economy, all the characteristics associated with intermediary levels of development are present. In social organisation, the weak state-step that has difficulty in taking in its administration culture the social rights as *rights* (and not as State grants), corresponds to a strong society-step in community relations, in the help amongst each other and reciprocal knowledge (Santos, 1990).

However, since the sixties Portugal has begun a renegotiation process if its insertion in the world system. The economic turnaround of Portugal towards the European space in the sixties, the Revolution of 1974, the end of the imperial cycle, the process of integration in the European Economic Community – today the European Community since 1976 – and, more recently, the participation in the first phase of economic and monetary union represent multiple signs of an assumed intention of reviewing Portugal's old position in the global system. This strategic turnaround in the Portuguese situation had profound implications on the public politics of education.

Despite Salazar's regime reticence, the post WWII Portuguese society suffered in the demographical plan, territorial reshaping and active popu-

lation structure a set of invisible changes that quickly changed its face. Even though the years of educational policy shift can be found in the fifties, with the implementation of the reform of the technical education and the Plan of Popular Education – and in the sixties with the participation in the Regional Plan of the Mediterranean⁵ – it will be during the seventies with the *Veiga Simão reform* that education will take a central role in the process of resetting of the State and in the debates on modernisation and development of the country (Stoer, 1986). Due to its central role, education as public policy soon revealed the complete exhaustion of the renovating action of the last President of Council (and the Minister for Education) of the Estado Novo (political designation for government at the time) as well as a total exhaustion of that political form, in increasing contradiction with the social aspirations and insertion of a progressively European aimed economy.

THE REVOLUTION OF APRIL OF 1974 AND THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS

According to Huntington (1991), on a world scale, the rupture initiated with the Revolution of 1974 paved the way for the *third wave of democratization* in the modern world. However, on a national plan it meant the attempt of overcoming the double crisis of legitimacy and hegemony that since the end of the sixties deeply crossed the State and Portuguese society. The social mobilization allowed by the revolution permitted that huge steps could be taken towards the affirmation of citizenship rights leading to the construction of a State-Step that – even though incipient in relation to the dimension that other States of the central countries in Europe – was only possible due to the disenchantment of social policies with accumulation demands during the short period of revolutionary crisis of 1974 and 1975.

In the specific field of education policies, the revolution allowed for a new centrality for the educational problems, remobilizing the aspirations of access to different levels of schooling, amplified in the beginning of the seventies by the meritocratic discourse of the last Minister of Education of the Estado Novo, and paving the way for new fronts in the participation plans in school management and structure reform and teaching contents. In this period of revolutionary crisis, education – apart from being a stage for heated political discussions – became a privileged ground of legitimacy of the new democratic situation, aimed at showing a radical change from the previous dire Estado Novo policies. If, after the military coup, at first, it was intended to carry on with the educational reform just as it had been outlined in the Decree n.º 5/73, soon it was tried a formulation of a program that responded to the largely global political goal of building a *society towards socialism*⁶.

According to José Alberto Correia while in the stable democracies there is training of the democracy-integrated citizens, in Portugal after the

first phase of April of 1974, education built democratic formation itself. In this work, the author discourses on the transformations in the educational speech of the educational definition field. Correia (2000) points out that between 1974 through to 1999 there were four educational ideology-types: (i) *democratizing and critical ideology*; (ii) *democratic ideology*; (iii) *modernization ideology* and (iv) *invasion ideology*, which, in turn, are inspired respectively in “four legitimate modes of defining education”: (i) the *political* definition, (ii) the *jurisdiction* definition, (iii) the *economic* definition and (iv) the *organizational* definition.

According to Correia, (2000), only in the post-revolutionary phase is the democratizing and critical ideology recognizable. The discourses assume themselves as “(pre)occupied speeches towards contradictory tensions and, therefore, marked by an inhibitory intrinsic instability of its appropriation as normative speeches”, which “makes them especially aimed at providing evolving dynamics essential to the development of a project action sustained in the permanent recreation of its utopian dimension (p.8). The normativity deficits and lack of regulatory targets provide, according to Correia (2000), the appearance of educational spaces of transforming emancipating dimension.

Rui Grácio (1995) illustrates this dimension when referring to schooling practices of the time:

(...) a different school, open to the actual world, to the concrete reality, to the productive activity (economic, social, cultural), to the close community; a school capable of mobilizing, in a perspective of critical and creative intervention, of teachers and students and capable of active cooperation of parents, of workers and other people and groups of the community, of making both responsible agents in the social and cultural transformation. (p. 356)

THE EUROPEAN INTEGRITY AND THE MODERNIZATION POLICIES OF PORTUGUESE SOCIETY

With the revolution period normalized – with the transposition of the setbacks in the construction of a social and political hegemony for the State's interior – whereas before it was on the outside, in the social organizations and in the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) – education kept a centrality status in public policies, although with a shift of the priority axis. With the integration in communitarian Europe as an exogenous drive for the development of the country assumed, the discourse on educational priority began to privilege the role of the school system in the qualification of man-power, associated to the affirmation of urgency in realizing that it gave coherence to the educational system and answered to the necessities that the economical system – in this phase of European integration – attributed to education.

The dominant reference in the drive of the educational policies of the late seventies, eighties and the first half of the nineties was situated in the scope of the modernization ideology (Afonso, 1999) matched with that type of *State-as-imagination-of-the-centre* that dominated the process of European integration⁷. A discursive line then gradually takes place that is constituted as common and guiding ground of the member-states and relies on an education concept intimately linked to the economy and work world.

In one of the most commonly known classifications of the periods of Portuguese economy after the Revolution of April 1974 (Vasconcelos e Sá, 1998), we discern the identity of three economy cycles: (i) from 1975 to 1985, in various moments and circumstances, a political convergence with the then European Community on issues of an increasing open market and pre-joining aid; (ii) from 1985 to 1997 the macroeconomic convergence was registered, in the slow approximation to European conditions; (iii) and, since 1998, alongside the monetary and financial identification pathway with the euro, and the stability pact, there was a process much supported by the Operational Programs (OP) that have tried to this day to modernize the various areas.

Meanwhile, there was a factual approximation to Europe in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) based essentially, however, at the cost of three facts: (i) The European Community funds (that made up 2.5% to 3% of the annual GDP), (ii) the increase of private consumption and (iii) the increase of the number of active workers (Serra, 2000). This picture of the 1985–1995 period is deemed exhausted with the predictable decrease of Community funds allied with the clear fact that consumption cannot increase without a corresponding creation of wealth. The crucial denominator is now productivity.

There is a clear converging tendency with other European countries in terms of social policies in Portugal, namely from 1986 onwards. Indeed, an influence of patterns of policy decision of the European Union has reflected on the intended social policies. Hespanha (2002) recognizes this fact but also points out that convergence is made, however, with imposing commitments like the role they perform as structural funds and in the cohesion of making social programs possible — like the monetary system that through the convergence argument indirectly compels a retraction in the social policies.

The educational discourse and the governing modalities follow these cycles, reflecting the result of the European diffusion of ideologies and educational organization patterns. Constituted itself as a supra-national body, the communitarian intervention has been developing and perfecting the methods for the accomplishment of the policies that strengthen convergence. Antunes (2004a, 2004b) evidences the existence of pathway in this Europeanization process — initiated in the eighties through the Action Programs, reinforced between 1986 and 1992 by an agenda “sustained in community actions and (intensified) normative processes” (2004a, p.106)

acquiring in these last years a new development in a more imposing fashion.

“It is the definition of the supra-national level as a locus of formal inscription and explicit of the policies to develop for the educational and training systems where political execution is object of control made by the institutions that define it, the “Education” Council, the European Community, The European Council and based in previously defined parameters and indicators, regularly surveyed and publicly divulged.” (2004b, p.7)

In the field of education is, thus, possible to identify the convergence processes with international policies, convergence that results in similar policies taken by ideologically different parties, as well as the production of a homogenous speech, justified by the obligatory need of modernization that promises the approximation to the central countries. Speeches such as the value of competences, of external evaluation as guarantee of quality and instrument of control, of the privatization of schools, or of the social regulation evidence a progressive internationalization of policies.

The impossibility of questioning of the development model that legitimizes the modernization speech in educational policies has its ideological matrix in the linear evolutionism concept. A concept that is hostage to the scientific and ethnocentric character of the Western knowledge that tries to establish general rules for particular cases, grants to the Portuguese social system — due to its historical semi-peripheral condition — an intermediate stadium, unfinished, only fulfilling its completion when it reaches the condition of a country from the centre (Magalhães, 1998). This *rational* part of the notion of global social constructions whose principles and practices assume universal character and are diffused by indicators that build the meaning of these same policies.

HYBRIDISM IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

From the eighties onwards, if the educational policies and the speeches that justify them understand convergence as a *myi jomari*, they also present a hybrid character resultant of two parallel ways of dealing with the issue, conferring in different perspectives on the concept of school for the masses — one that perceives school, with its mainly cognitive competences, as training ground for a future job, and another one that perceives school as a means for emancipation (Magalhães & Stoer, 1998).

Correia (2000), in his analysis of educational ideologies finds in the speeches of the eighties a removal of education's role for democracy and a growing increase of an “entrepreneurialism of the semantic field of education” (p. 15). It does so, however, through a modernization speech where this term is imbedded with polyssemics that conceal the ideological options of neo-liberal nature.

Following a revolutionary period of democratizing ideology, followed by a process of normalization, guarantee of a democratic stability, juridically based, the period that is started in the eighties is characterized by the discursive persistence of the theme modernization, legitimized by two themes respectively "structuralizing of the democratizing speech and the democratic speech" (Correia, 2000, p.16) – characteristics of the previous periods. Thus, alongside the thematic of contextualizing diversity of the educational offers and the thematic of equality of opportunities, the entrepreneurial intervention is exalted in the local offers of training and a "managerial logic based on a meritocratic ideology" is promoted" (idem, p.16).

Rui Gomes (1999) also finds "a neo-liberal, unruly speech", associated – paradoxically – to "a constant increase of state intervention in the juridical, curricular and managerial perspectives" (p.138). Almerindo Afonso (1998) defines two vectors in tension that generate this paradox: on the one hand, the *State-Step* that lies on the idea of expansion of the State – through democratization and opening of equal opportunities in the Access to education; on the other hand, a neo-liberal mindset with the reduction of that same State and "paving the way for the private sector to march into the educational field" (p.210).

In 1987 the then Prime-Minister, Cavaco Silva, said, when presenting the XI Program of the Constitutional Program to the members of parliament:

Is it now widely regarded that in modern societies the excessive State control hinders development, hardens the social structures and limits freedom. (...) In these terms one understands the growing public support of many countries for de-regulation, privatization and liberalization.⁸

Consequently, alongside the announcement of a path of privatization in State sectors with the logic of "progress strategy based in the primordial role of private initiative, of competition and market mechanisms", the prime-minister announced, at the same time, a profound "reform of the educational system", which, in turn, "conquers the European integration challenges" and "assures a national future of a more competent and entrepreneurial generation (...) with a greater sense of autonomy, capable of taking risks, open to innovation and, thus, better prepared for the completion of complex tasks of the modern world".⁹

At the same time, the Minister for Education, Roberto Carneiro, in a speech where alongside humanistic concerns based on democratic and emancipating values was a concept of education as "a decisive investment of development", "seen through an economical and material progress perspective", supporting an action that would be a challenge with "five vectors" – (i) democratization of education, (ii) quality for the promotion of excellence, (iii) education for the success an "education for trust and

autonomy, for the creation of competent, entrepreneurial, innovative men capable of taking risks", (iv) education for the active life, (v) valuation of the nation, of the language and the Portuguese culture.¹⁰

From 1992 to 1995, in the second phase of Cavaco Silva's government, the Ministers of Education strengthen the political speech that enhances the relation between education and economic competitiveness, seen as an obligatory process in the path to modernization of a country. A management orientated towards the system efficiency and centred on results is the motto of the political speeches of this governmental period. In the words of the Minister of Education Manuela F. Leite, in 1994, "there must be total commitment (through) an educational policy that should be centred on system efficiency (...) that should adjust itself to the demands of the work market"¹¹.

The Socialist Party governments that took Office between 1995 and 2002 aimed to distance themselves from the ways of previous governments especially in the means of discursive domain. Government-wise, this rupture will enhance the social character of the governing concerns and, in terms of educational policy, abandons the idea of a top down Reform of the previous Ministry to elect the national consensus as a privileged field in education and emphasises the participation as a means of democratization. The Minister for Education MARGAL GRILO presents a document entitled *Educational Pact for the Future*, to the members of parliament:

We intended to practice an open pact that allows a sharing of responsibilities. The State will take on an irreplaceable strategic role, taking its share of investment, regulation and orientation. But society will be responsible for the task of embodying and consequence of the policies, in the name of respect for the constitutional principles linked to the right of education and to the freedom of teaching and learning.¹²

It is in this period that educational political hybridism is most present. Regardless of the insistence in concepts of equality of opportunities and inclusion – brought by measures that lead to the creation of Educational Territories of Priority Intervention Program¹³ and the Alternative Curricula¹⁴, the constant references that ally education to development – in a homogenised and universal logic of modernization – reveal the existence of continuity of the fundamental parameters of educational policy.

As a consequence, a hybrid orientation that associates constructivist-like speeches in a critical perspective with apologetic discourses of social efficiency that links the utility of education to economic productivity is developed. It is from this hybridism that the speech on curricula based in abilities is hostage. According to some pedagogues (Stoer & Magalhães, 2005), "as knowledge gains centrality as a production factor" the competency of competence tends to correspond "to the demands of the market" (p. 46, 47). If reduced to that function of articulation of education

with the market world, the curricula based in competences, presented in its educational genesis as a participant of a constructivist model promoter of a reflexive and emancipating learning, it transforms into a regulatory model, aimed towards specialization and result control. It is in this period of curricula construction through competences that the result control is intensified with the introduction of external evaluations and national exams (abolished since 1980). At this time the Cabinet of Educational Evaluation, a central service of the Ministry of Education is created. Its function was to elaborate exams and national exams.

The constructivist source, assumed in the educational governing of the Socialist Party is clearly wiped out in the new generational educational policy of 2002 – 2004 to which Lúcio Lima (2003) attributes “a liberal vision” “of individualistic logic, of emulation and competitiveness”, “naturalizing equality of opportunities with resources” (Lima, 2003). The speeches witness a growing tendency for the valuation of regulation based on results and, consequently, towards the backing of external evaluation with the publishing of “quality” for each school.

“We reject either the social Darwinism or the equalitarian pretence” or “We want to highlight the best schools” are words of the Minister for Education of the PSD-CDS/PP government David Justino in 2002¹⁵. They are a reflection of the guidelines etched in practical terms but also strongly supported by *opinion makers* in Portuguese society.

The new political cycle initiated in 2005 with the victory of the Socialist Party (and its leader José Sócrates) seems to be characterized by the emergency of rationalization policies that are based in two guidelines: (i) “moralizing” the public school system as a social justice factor and promoter of equality of opportunities¹⁶, and (ii) promoting social control, defending an external evaluation of school and teachers made by agents of civil society¹⁷.

The structuralizing concepts of the speeches on education throughout the last 25 years are present in the words that sustain these speeches, key-words that document the educational political thought that have covered the considered period (see table). In its analysis, it is clear the predominance of the “modernization” factor, a concept that is based in measures of technical rationality, with priority towards the reforms of managerial nature, inspired and legitimized by need of convergence with solutions practiced by the leading countries of the world ranking, especially European ones.

Keywords map of the Ministers of Education discourses about Educational Policies priorities (K12)

<i>Minister of Education</i>	Roberto Carneiro 17.08.1987 to 31.10.1991	E. Marçal Grilo 28.10.1995 to 25.10.1999	David Justino 06.04.2002 to 17.07.2004	Maria Lurdes Rodrigues 12.03.2005 to ...
<i>Prime Minister Political majority</i>	A. Cavaco Silva Social Democratic Party (liberal) (Center right)	António Guterres Socialist Party (Center left)	José M. Durão Barroso Social Democratic Party + Popular Party (Center right + Right)	José Sócrates Socialist Party (Center left)
<i>Keywords</i>	Modernity/ Modernization Freedom (of choice) Solidarity (National) Identity Equal opportunities Plurality Educational reform Quality (Family) Values Autonomy (schools)	Educational pact Partners/ Agreements/ Negotiation Gradualism/ incrementalism Network Innovation Citizenship Community (educational) Diversity Autonomy (schools & teachers) Inclusion	Freedom (of choice) Merit/Meritocracy (Against egalitarian schools) Rankings Evaluation (schools, teachers & students) Exams (standards/nationals) Authority (teachers)	External assessment Results Social control (teacher' exercise) Teacher's evaluation Authority/hierarchy (school's leaders) Rationalization Equal opportunities (Social & educational) Quality (of public schools)

From the educational reform of 1986, that was meant to be widespread, the importance of the managerial quality and efficiency criteria as important in the pedagogical options is, in certain periods, mitigated by discursive preoccupations linked to the question of equality of opportunities and to the increment of the participation of all of the social actors. It is of relevance, however, to note that the word "modernization" – no matter the ideological positioning of who states them – is accompanied by the idea that its promotion is the process that guarantees a qualified democratization. The last governments have enhanced a "rationalization" that is based on the democratization of merit, regardless of the social origins, tending by means of competitiveness mechanisms and always published towards either privatization of State-run schools or its defence as a public institution in incidence of the dialectic that supports the different party identities. In any case, the tendency towards management value is clear through external evaluation mechanisms, thus reducing the power of teachers and unions and reinforcing social control (participation of parents and other social actors of the community in the evaluation) and the external monitoring (closing down of the schools with worst results, standardization of evaluation, etc.).

The hybrid character in the definition of educational policies leans towards the understanding that the importation of exterior models, even those legitimized by international agencies or by the European Union, is mitigated in the confrontation with the national context, historical or political, in other words, the Portuguese economic, political and social setting is not cancelled with mere transpositions from the exterior that the temptation of the centre harvests.

Pedro Hespanha (2002) notes that in any comparison it is not possible to alienate the specific nature that results in the hybridism that characterizes the Portuguese State-Step, which "combines at the same time, corporativism, universalism and liberalism". Corporativism that is still witnessed in public social systems like social security, regardless of the universalism of social rights that is present in the national health system and of a liberalism – that is currently conducting the political decisions – that select the access to those rights.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1994) also recognized the specific and singular nature in this process of joining the European Union in Portugal. The market was not homogenous. The State's guardianship was still commanding even though attenuated by the State's own initiative. Fragments of non-capitalist agriculture with global marketing processes still existed; industrial regions were de-characterized and local industries pushed forward. The principle of the community presented atony in the level of autonomous regulation. A corporative deficit and the wiping out of civil society in favour of State domains were registered. In the rationalities of emancipation there co-existed imported and dependent measures of dominant movements in the central countries with pre-modern forms.

The Portuguese specific nature cannot, thus, be understood as a characteristic of an intermediate global stadium but as a result of the heterogeneities that articulate themselves and generate singular meanings and agreeing structures. In this social construction the global modernization model will only produce meaning if it is re-contextualized. It is with this argument that one can support – as some have done – the possibility of an educational policy that abides to processes of "education of rationalization" and allow a school – a product of global and local parties – "a public space for experimentation managed in a dialoguing fashion"¹⁸.

NOTES

- 2 The Census of 1991 also pointed out that in the population over 10 years of age the rate of literal literacy (declaring not to be able to write or read) was of 11%. However, ten years later, in 2001, this rate was kept at a 9% rate. Source: <http://www.min-edu.pt/Scripts/ASP/destaque/recenseamento02.asp> (seen on the 14th of June of 2006).
- 3 See Ana Benavente, Alexandre Rosa, António Firmino da Costa & Patricia Avila. *A Literacia em Portugal*. (1996). On the comparison of studies from other countries see CERI (1996).
- 4 On this concept, see Yasemin S. Soygal & David Strang (1989). In the specific case of Portugal, see chapter 2 of the book *A Construção Política da Educação* (Teodoro, 2001, pp. 98–130).
- 5 On the evolution of public spending for education since the first state budget in 1851–1852 to 2000 see Teodoro (2001, pp. 113–130).
- 6 On the participation of Portugal in this first Project of educational planning conducted by OCDE see Teodoro (2000; 2001).
- 7 See the development of this idea in António Teodoro (1999, 2001).
- 8 The characterization is by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1993): "The State-as-imagination-of-the-centre is a political manner with a varied productivity: first, it produces credible and assumed signs of a better future life, making the current difficulties and lacks transitory and, consequently, bearable. Secondly, it allows for the State to take advantage of all of the benefits brought forth by the integration relegating the possible costs for the undetermined future. Thirdly, de-legitimizes any specificity of the national development that does not fit the current goals of the State (the entrepreneurial sector of the State or the small agricultural family nucleus) alleging that they contradict the patterns of European development and, therefore, politically defensible. Fourthly, it gets rid of the internal political process based on the technical inevitability of certain measures in the name of demands for the European integration" (p. 51).
- 9 *Diário da República* n° 004, p.44, 1987, V Legislatura, 26.08.1987 session.
- 10 *Diário da República* n° 004, 1987, p.46, V Legislatura, 1987, 26.08.1987 session.

- 11 Diário da República n° 006 de 1987, p. 131, V legislatura, 28.08.87 session.
- 12 Diário da República n° 077, VI Legislatura, 1994, 26.05.1994 session.
- 13 Diário da República n° 083, p. 2777, 1996, VII Legislatura, 12.06.1996 session
- 14 Educational Territories of Priority Intervention Programs are created by Decree n° 147 – B/96 of the 1st of August that determines the possibility of school establishments and teaching to associate themselves to the idea of the constitution of educational territories – to deemed challenged areas that assure an educational pathway of students through means of accomplishing of its Educational Projects.
- 15 The Alternative Curricula have their legal framework in the Decree n° 22/SEEL/96 of the 20th of April (Diário da República, II series, n° 140 of 19th of June of 1996.) This measure was polemic within the academic and educational means having been seen as innovative in the fight for failure by some, whereas others deemed it as segregation, a social “ghetto”. Some researchers include it in the controlled management concept in the local implementation process. (see Cortesão, I., Magalhães, A.M. & Stoer, S.R.(2000))
- 16 Diário da República n° 004, p.96, IX Legislatura, 2002, 18th of April of 2002 session.
- 17 In an interview, Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues, the Minister for Education, states the objective behind the increase of school hours is “a guarantee for every student to have free access to a set of resources” and that “schools should guarantee the universality of access” (Solidaridade, IPSS journal, of the 17th of September of 2006).
- 18 “I am for external evaluation. The parents are the best suited for this role” stated the Minister of Education in an interview for *Renascença* Radio, 4 of June of 2006.
- 19 See, amongst others, Magalhães (1998) and Teodoro (2003).

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